





WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE

VOLUME I

Seven hundred and fifty copies printed.

No. 87

THE WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS BY RONALD B. MCKERROW TEXT: Vol. I

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U.I



PREFACE

SINCE the four volumes of this edition of the works of Thomas Nashe are to be published one by one as they are completed, it seems desirable to explain briefly the arrangement which has been adopted. The first three volumes will contain the text, together with short introductory notes describing the various earlier editions, and, when necessary, discussing the reasons for the choice of the particular edition which is followed. In these volumes will be contained all the works generally assigned to Nashe, with the exception of *Martins Months minde*, which, at least at present, I see not the slightest reason for attributing to him. The fourth volume will contain a memoir of Nashe, notes to the works, and a glossary.

This arrangement has not been adopted without considerable thought. There is an obvious advantage in having the notes in the same volume as the text to which they refer, but in the case of an author like Nashe, many of whose works are closely interconnected, it seemed that the inconvenience of having constantly to refer from the notes in one volume to those in another would more than counterbalance any advantage thus gained. It is hoped that with this arrangement it will at least be possible with a minimum of trouble to find the editorial matter having reference to any work or passage in a work, and, what is sometimes a matter of no less difficulty, to satisfy oneself whether the information required is or is not given.

It more particularly belongs to this volume that I should offer my sincere thanks to Mrs. Christie-Miller, of Britwell Court, for her kindness in allowing me the use of her copy

PREFACE

of the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell* for the purpose of collation, and that of *The Terrors* of the Night for reproduction of the title-page. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. R. E. Graves for his kindness in connexion with the loan of these two books.

My acknowledgements to others—and they are not few —who have helped me in the preparation of this edition with information and advice, always most readily and generously given, may be more fittingly deferred to the conclusion of my task.

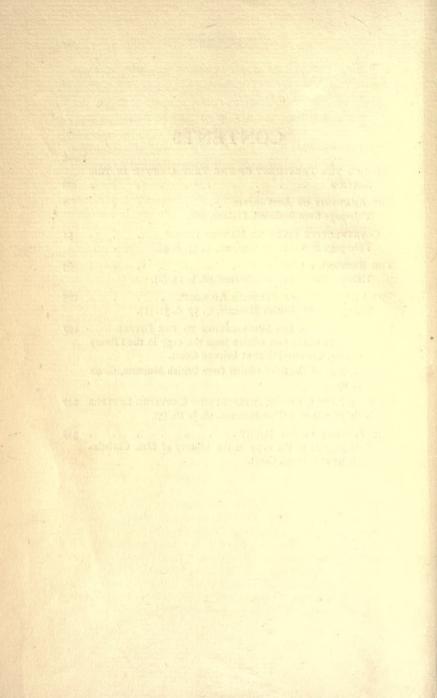
R. B. McK.

LONDON, August, 1903.

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NOTE ON THE TREATMENT OF THE TEXT ADOPTED IN THIS EDITION

Spelling. The spelling of the copy-text, by which, here and throughout the book, I mean the text used in each particular case as the basis of mine, has been followed exactly except as regards evident misprints. These are corrected, the reading of the original being given at the foot of the page. I have been as sparing as possible of alteration, and have allowed a number of forms to stand which would perhaps have been corrected by the original printer if he had noticed them—such forms, I mean, as 'lik' for 'like' and 'buie' for 'buy.'

Hyphens. The copy-text is followed, all departures from it being noted. In the numerous cases in which it is impossible to be certain whether the original has a hyphen or not, an editor must be allowed to use his own judgement, as also in the case of words which, in the original, are divided at the end of a line.

Word-division. The early editions are extremely lax in this respect; when, therefore, words are run together or separated in an obviously wrong manner, I have allowed myself to correct them without a note. I have further allowed myself to suppose the existence of a hyphen at the end of a line where one is clearly necessary. Printers seem to have cared little whether they inserted them or not,

On the other hand, I have always preferred to follow the copy-text where it was at all possible to do so, and whenever by an incorrect division new words are formed, as for example when 'wronged one' becomes in one edition 'wronge done' (see p. 197, l. 27), the mistake is noted though it is an obvious one.

Typography. For convenience of reading s is printed for f.

The old use of u and v, i and j is preserved. When it has been necessary to change a word from the original lower-case letters to capitals, or vice versa, the Elizabethan usage has always been followed; thus such a running-title as 'Pasquill and Marforius' becomes here 'PASQVILL AND MARFORIVS.'

VV and vv are replaced by W and w.

In the case of ligatures the modern usage is followed. In printing from a black-letter original, ée has been replaced by ee.

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Black-letter texts are printed in Roman. Short passages in black letter in a Roman text are however kept in black letter when this was originally used in order to differentiate them from the context.

Words or passages in Roman or Italic type in a black-letter text are alike printed in Italic. Large initials at the beginning of paragraphs, and numerals, are however kept in the original character.

Roman and Italic prefaces and dedications to works in black letter are also printed in the original character.

In the use of Italics and Capitals the copy-text is followed.

Head and tail ornaments are disregarded. Ornamental initials are replaced by plain ones.

Running-titles are, for the sake of uniformity, always printed in Roman capitals, whatever may be the character of the originals. This latter is given in the introductory notes. Mistakes in the running-title are ignored.

One size of type is used for the text throughout. In the original, dedications, prefaces, &c., are often in type of a different size from that used in the body of the text.

Turned Letters. (1) If these are letters which when turned do not resemble others, the turning is disregarded; thus 'it' would be printed 'it' without note.

(2) If, on the other hand, when turned they resemble other letters, they are treated as if they actually were the letters which they resemble. Thus turned n is considered to be u, and turned u to be n, &c.

The letters which come under this head are n, u; b, q; d, p; and (in black letter) a, e.

In the case of all but the last pair certainty is very often impossible, and we may be sure that a reader would take them for the letters which at first sight they appear to be. In many cases they were evidently thus intended by the compositor.

Letters of a wrong fount. No notice is taken of letters of wrong founts, such as single Italic letters in a black letter or Roman word. In such cases as 'Is' and 'to,' I have been guided by the context.

Side notes. The position of side notes seems to have been considered a matter of little importance, and in different editions often varies considerably. They have here been placed, so far as was possible, opposite to the matter to which they seemed to refer. Change of position has only occasionally been recorded, never when in the originals they had been forced out of their proper place by reason of their frequency.

Collation notes which have reference to the side notes are placed above those of the text, and references are to each note as a whole. Thus any word in the first note on a page is referred to by the raised figure '1,' in the second note by '2,' and so on.

Punctuation. In this respect I have attempted a compromise, unsatisfactory, I fear, as all compromises must be. On the one hand, much Elizabethan prose, especially that with a Euphuistic tendency, can hardly be punctuated at all according to modern rules, and even when this is possible, such treatment tends greatly to obscure the antithesis of phrase, often unreal, which is one of its chief characteristics. On the other hand, the old punctuation, more especially the superfluity of commas, is very irritating to a reader.

My principle has therefore been to keep the old punctuation wherever it is neither misleading nor actually disturbing to a reader, but to alter it without scruple where it is so; noting the change, however, in every case where the sense is or might be supposed to be affected.

In the few cases in which it has seemed necessary to alter the sentence distribution by running two into one or breaking one into two, the original punctuation is recorded. I have, however, in some cases altered a full stop before a lower-case letter, or a comma before a capital, when it is clear, as it usually is, that these are mere misprints, probably due to the points being mixed in distribution.

The result is a style of punctuation which is, I confess, hopelessly inconsistent, but which will probably offer no difficulties to the reader, and will interfere as little as possible with the rhythm of the text.

Collations. I think that the form in which these are given does not need much explanation. In the absence of any well established method of giving variants it has seemed better to aim at clearness and convenience than at an absolutely uniform method.

Additions are indicated by giving the word before and the word after, except in cases of the repetition of a word. Thus on p. 229, l. 32, where the text reads 'of Oracles,' the footnote 'of the Oracles 93, 95' indicates the addition of the word 'the' in the editions dated 1593 and 1595.

The omission of small words has usually been indicated in a similar way; thus on p. 236, l. 27, where the text reads 'assault him and torment him,' the footnote 'assault and 95' indicates that the first 'him' is omitted in the edition of 1595. This plan has always been followed when a word which is referred to occurs twice in the same line.

Every footnote implies collation of all the editions given as collated in the introductory notes, that is, generally and wherever possible all

NOTE ON THE TREATMENT OF

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editions before 1600. It will however be understood that the spellings given are only those of the first text cited, and that in the case of misprints, which are as a rule only reported when they occur in the copy-text, the note that they occur in that text does not imply the non-existence of other misprints in other texts.

When the source of the text is not indicated but it is noted that the copy-text has a different reading, it is to be understood that I follow the first edition which is not cited as differing from mine. Misprints are, however, merely corrected from other editions, as much of the word as is correct being retained. Thus a word misprinted in the copy-text as 'secme,' would be given in my text as 'seeme,' even though all other editions should read 'seem.'

Unless the contrary is stated in the introductory note, variant readings of modern reprints, such as those of Collier and Grosart, are only given when the divergence from the quartos seems to be intentional, i. e. when the editors appear to have intended an emendation. Readings which seem mere misprints or errors of transcription are passed over in silence. May the next editor of Nashe do as much for mine !

The following abbreviations are used :-

Q indicates the old edition when there is only one, or all the old editions mentioned as having been collated, when there are more than one. For convenience it is used even when the old editions are not properly speaking quartos but octavos in fours.

The real purport of this sign Q is the negative one of calling attention to the absence of authority in any of the old editions for other readings than the one to which it is affixed, and it is thus sometimes convenient to use it in footnotes to dedications and epistles which are altogether omitted from certain of the old editions. In such cases it is, of course, to be taken as indicating, not all the early editions of the work, but only all those in which this particular item is contained, or, in other words, all the early editions of the particular item.

&-c. indicates the agreement of all the early editions collated, after the one to which it is affixed. Thus, in the notes on *Pierce Penilesse*, 92^{B} &-c. indicates a reading found in the second and third editions of 1592 and the editions of 1593 and 1595. The use of &-c. does not imply the agreement of the modern editions.

c.w. means catch-word. Wishing to give everything which is found in the copy-text, I have been obliged to give the catch-words when they differ, in spelling or otherwise, from the first word of the following page.

Early editions, when there is more than one, are referred to by the

THE TEXT IN THIS EDITION

last two figures of their date when they are of different years; by capital letters when they are of the same year, or by the last two figures of the date and a superior capital when there are both editions of different years and more than one edition of the same year. Thus the editions of *A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior* are referred to as A and B, both being dated 1589, while those of *Pierce Penilesse* are referred to as 92^{A} , 92^{B} , 92^{C} , 93, 95.

When it is necessary to refer to different copies of the same edition they are distinguished by lower-case letters, as in *The Returne of Pasquill*.

Modern editions are cited by an abbreviation of the name of the editor, as *Coll., Gro.* for Collier and Grosart.

It should be mentioned that words inserted in the text have not been distinguished by being placed in brackets or otherwise. It seems quite useless and even misleading to indicate additions when there is no warning of omissions, substitutions, and transpositions. One might indeed invent signs for all these, but it is doubtful whether the advantage gained would compensate for the curious appearance of the text.

Signatures. The signatures of the copy-text are given in the margin opposite the beginning of the page to which they belong. They are always given as \blacksquare 1, A 2, &c., no regard being paid to their original punctuation or character. Errors are corrected.

The stroke '|' showing the page division in the copy-text is placed at the end of the last line on the page and *before* the catch-word. Grosart generally placed it after the catch-word, and when the spelling of the catch-word differed from that of the first word on the following page, followed the former. His action though unusual is not indefensible.

Introductory notes. In the text-volumes only matter which bears on the text as such is admitted, such as descriptions of editions and discussion of their relative merits where any discussion is necessary. Questions of date, authorship, &c., will be dealt with in the notevolume.

In describing the editions in greater detail than is customary in other than bibliographical works, I have not followed any particular theory of what may be called a complete description (would that there were such a theory to follow !), but have simply given such details as seemed most useful for differentiating the editions and for identifying the one to which any particular copy belongs, even though it may be defective. If the result is the bringing to light of any editions hitherto unknown, I shall think my labour has not been wasted.

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The following points may be noticed here :--

I. The placing of a signature within brackets indicates that in the original the leaf is not signed.

2. Leaves are always *referred to* as A I, A 2, &c., in Roman type, even when signed in black letter or Italic in the original. But when a signature is quoted in the contents list under 'Collation' it is, except for the substitution of Roman for black letter, given in the original form.

THE

ANATOMIE OF ABSVRDITIE

Entry in the Stationers' Register :

19 Septembris [1588]

Master hacket

NASHE.

The word NASHE is written in what is apparently an indifferent imitation of the original handwriting, and may be an interpolation (as above, p. 30).

Editions: (1) Early:

1589. The Anatomie of | *Abfurditie* : | Contayning a breefe confutation of the flender | imputed prayfes to feminine perfection, with a fhort | defcription of the feuerall practifes of youth, and | fundry follies of our licentious | times. | No leffe pleafant to be read, then profitable to be remembred, | efpecially of thofe, who liue more licentioufly, or addic-|ted to a more nyce ftoycall aufteritie. | Compiled by T. Nashe. | *Ita diligendi funt homines, vt eorum non* | *diligamus errores.* | [ornament] | AT LONDON, | Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-|mas Hacket, and are to be folde at his shop | in Lumberd ftreet, vnder the figne of | the Popes heade. | *Anno. Dom. 1589.* |

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: ¶⁴, A-E⁴. ¶ wanting, probably blank. (¶ 2) Title, v. blank. ¶. iii. ' To the right worshipfull Charles Blunt ... ' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Epistle. A. i. ' THE ANATOMIE ... ' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Anatomie | of Absurditie. (E 4)[×] blank.

Signatures A to E in Black Letter, except A. iii., which is in Roman. A. iiii. is signed, other fourth leaves unsigned. Sig. E is broken so as to resemble C.

Catch-words: \P 3. poy-(son) \P 4. sinceA I. (a-)boue,B 1. nay,C 1. HeD 1. exceptE 1. learne(Those of \P inRom.,C 1 in Ital., others in Black Letter.)

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 566), wanting E 4.

1590. [Another issue] The Anatomie . . . Anno. Dom. 1590.

The sheets of the former edition with new date on the title-page.

Copy used: That in the British Museum (96. b. 15. (10).)

(2) Modern Editions:

1866 (Coll.) Illustrations of Old English Literature. Edited by J. Payne Collier. London : privately printed. Vol. iii, No. 6.

From a copy dated 1589, perhaps that now at Britwell.

1883-4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . . edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. i, pp. 1-72.

From the copy in the Bodleian Library. Grosart does not state where he took the last leaf from. In the Bodleian copy it is supplied in manuscript.

Note on the issues :

There was only one edition, which was issued first with the date 1589 and later with the date 1590. So far as it is possible to make out without having copies of the two actually before one, not even the title-page was set up again, certainly the text was not. I have therefore thought myself at liberty to use the copy dated 1590 in the British Museum as copy-text.

2

The Anatomic of

Absurditie :

Contayning a breefe confutation of the flender imputed prayles to feminine perfection, with a flort description of the feuerall practifes of youth, and fundry follies of our licentious times.

No leffe pleafant to be read, then profitable to be remembred, especially of those, who live more licentiously, or addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeririe.

Compiled by T. Nashe.

Isa diligendi funt bomines, ut corum nom diligentus errores.



AT LONDON, Printed by I. Charlewood for Thomas Hacket, and are to be folde at his shop in Lumberd freet, vnder the figne of the Popes heade.

Anno. Dom. 1589.



See To the right worshipfull Charles

¶ 3

Blunt Knight, adorned with all perfections of honour or Arte, *T. Nashe* wisheth what euer content felicitie or Fortune may enferre.

(...)

5 TF (right Worshipfull) the olde Poet Persaus, thought it most preiudiciall to attention, for Verres to declaime against theft. Gracchus against sedition. Catiline against treason: what such supplosus pedum may sufficiently entertaine my presumption, who beeing an accessarie to Ab-10 surditie, haue tooke vppon me to draw her Anatomie. But that little alliance which I have vnto Arte, will authorize my follie in defacing her enemie: and the circumstaunce of my infancie, that brought forth this Embrion, somewhat tollerate their censures, that would 15 deriue infamie from my vnexperienst infirmities. What I have written, proceeded not from the penne of vain-glory but from the processe of that pensiuenes, which two Summers since ouertooke mee: whose obscured cause, best knowne to euerie name of curse, hath compelled my wit 20 to wander abroad vnregarded in this satyricall disguise, & counsaild my content to dislodge his delight from travtors eves.

Gentlemen that know what it is to encounter with ingratitude in the forme of *Cupid* will soone ayme at the ²⁵ efficient of my armed phrase: for others that cannot discerne *Venus* through a clowde, they will measure each deformed fury by the Queene of Fayries, all birds by one Phænix, all beasts by one Lyon. For my part, as I haue no portion in any mans opinion, so am I the *Prorex* of my 3° private thought: which makes me terme poyson | poyson, ¶ 3°

as well in a siluer peece, as in an earthen dish, and *Protaeus*

Protzeus, though girt in the apparrell of *Pactolus*. Howe euer the Syren change her shape, yet is she inseperable from deceit, and how euer the deuill alter his shaddowe, yet will he be found in the end to be a she Saint. I dare not prefixe a *Nigrum theta* to all of that sexe, least immortalitie 5 might seeme to haue beene taxt by my slaunder, and the puritie of heauen bepudled by my vnhallowed speeche. Onely this shall my arguments inferre, and my anger auerre, that constancie will sooner inhabite the body of a Camelion, a Tyger or a Wolfe, then the hart of a woman; 10 who predestinated by the father of eternitie, euen in the nonage of nature, to be the *Iliads* of euils to all Nations haue neuer inuerted their creation in any Countrey but ours.

Whose heauenborne Elizabeth, hath made maiestie 15 herselfe mazed, and the worlds eye sight astonied. Time, wel maist thou exult, that in the evening of thy age, thou coceiuedst such a subject of wonder, & Peace, sing io pxan, for that in despight of dissention, she hath patroniz'd thee vnder her wings. Felicitie saw her inuested with royaltie, 20 and became young againe in the beholding. Fortune ashamed each sorrowe shoulde smile, and her face alonely be wrapt with wrinkles, suted poore Flaunders and Fraunce in her frownes, & saluted Englands soule with a smoothed forehead. Plenty and Abundance, that long had lived as 25 exiles with the vtmost Indians, were no sooner aduertised of her aduauncement, but they made their passage through ten thousand perrils, to spende their prosperitie in her presence. Why seekes my penne to breake into the buildings of Fame, and Eccho my amazed thoughts to her 30 brasen Towres, when as my tongue is too to base a Tryton to eternise her praise, that thus vpholdeth our happy daies?

Wherefore since my wordes impouerish her worths, my feruent zeale shall be the vncessant attendant on her weale. I feare right worshipfull, least the affection of my phrase, 35 present mee as a foe to your important affaires, whose hart exalted with the eye sight of such soueraigntie, as

THE EPISTLE

soares aboue humane sight, coulde not but methodize this admiration in this digression of | distinction. But frõ such ¶ 4 entercourse of excuse, let my vnschooled indignities, conuert themselues to your courtesie, and acquaint you with 5 the counsaile of my rude dedication.

So it was, that not long since lighting in company with manie extraordinarie Gentlemen, of most excellent parts, it was my chance (amongst other talke which was generally trauersed amongst vs) to mooue diuers Ouestions, as touchto ing the severall qualities required in *Castalions* Courtier: one came in with that of Ouid, Semper amabilis esto, another stood more stricktly on the necessitie of that affabilitie, which our Latinists entitle facetus, & we more familiarlie describe by the name of discoursing : the third 15 came in with his carpet deuises and tolde what it was to tickle a Citterne, or haue a sweete stroke on the Lute, to daunce more delicatlie, and reuell it brauelie. The fourth as an enemie to their faction, confuted all these as effeminate follies, and would needes maintaine, that the 20 onely adjuncts of a Courtier were schollership and courage, returning picked curiositie to paultry Scriueners and such like, affabilitie to Aristippus and his crue, Citterning and Luting, to the birthright of euerie sixe pennie slaue, and to conclude, dauncing & reuelling, to euerie Taylors holie day 25 humour. But as for those two branches of honor before mencioned, they distinguish a Gentleman from a broking-Iacke, and a Courtier from a clubheaded companion. This discourse thus continued, at length they fell by a iarring gradation, to the particuler demonstrations of theyr 30 generall assertions. One woulde have one thing preferred, because some one man was thereby aduaunced, another, another thing, because some noble man loues it; euery man shotte his bolte, but this was the vpshot, that England afforded many mediocrities, but neuer saw any thing more 35 singuler then worthy Sir Phillip Sidney, of whom it might truely be saide, Arma virumque cano. In this heate of

13 facetius Q. Perhaps the English word 'facetious' is meant.

THE EPISTLE

opinions, many hopes of Nobility were brought in question, but nothing so generally applauded in euery mans comparisons as your worshippes most absolute perfections: whose effectuall iudiciall of your vertues, made such deepe ¶ 4^v impression in my attentiue imagination, as euer | since 5 there hath not any pleasure mixt it selfe so much with my secret vowes, as the vndefinite desire to be suppliant vnto you in some subject of witte. From which, howsoeuer this my vndigested endeuour declineth, yet more earnestly I beseeche vou, by that entire loue which you beare vnto 10 Artes, to accept of it in good part. And as the foolish Painter in *Plutarch*, having blurred a ragged Table, with the rude picture of a dunghill Cocke, willed his boy in any case to drive away all lyve Cocks, from that his worthles workmanship, least by the comparison he might be con- 15 uinced of ignorance: so I am to request your worship, whiles you are perusing my Pamphlet, to lay aside out of your sight, whatsoeuer learned inuention hath heretofore bredde your delight, least their singularitie reflect my simplicitie, their excellence conuince mee of innocence. 20 Thus hoping you will every way censure of me in favour. as one that dooth partake some parts of a Scholler. I commit you to the care of that soueraigne content, which vour soule desireth.

Your most affectionate in all.

Vsque aras,

25

T. Nashe.

STHE ANATOMIE OF ABSVRDITIE.

Z Euxes beeing about to drawe the counterfet of Iuno, assembled all the Agrigentics M pausing had viewed, he chose out fiue of v favrest, that in their beautie, he might imitate what was most 5 excellent : euen so it fareth with mee, who beeing about to anatomize Absurditie, am vrged to take a view of sundry mens vanitie, a suruev of their follie, a briefe of their barbarisme, to runne through Authors of the absurder sort, assembled in the Stacioners shop, sucking and selecting 10 out of these vpstart antiquaries, somewhat of their vnsauery duncerie, meaning to note it with a Nigrum theta, that each one at the first sight may eschew it as infectious, to shewe it to the worlde that all men may shunne it. And euen as Macedon Phillip hauing finished his warres builded 15 a Cittie for the worst sorte of men, which hee called πονηρόπολις, malorum Ciuitas, so I, having laide aside my grauer studies for a season, determined with my selfe beeing idle in the Countrey, to beginne in this vacation, the foundation of a trifling subject, which might shroude 20 in his leaves, the abusive enormities of these our times. It fareth nowe a daies with vnlearned Idiots as it doth with she Asses, who bring foorth all their life long; euen so these brainlesse Bussards, are euery quarter bigge wyth one Pamphlet or other. But as an Egge that is full, 25 beeing put into water sinketh to the bottome, whereas that which is emptie floateth a-|boue, so those that are more A IY exquisitly furnished with learning shroude themselues in

2 Agrigentiue Q. 16 πουεροπολιs Q. 25 in to Q.

AI

obscuritie, whereas they that are voide of all knowledge, endeuour continually to publish theyr follie.

Such and the very same are they that obtrude themselues vnto vs. as the Authors of eloquence and fountains of our finer phrases, when as they sette before vs nought 5 but a confused masse of wordes without matter, a Chaos of sentences without any profitable sence, resembling drummes, which beeing emptie within, sound big without. Were it that any Morrall of greater moment, might be fished out of their fabulous follie, leaving theyr words, we would 10 cleaue to their meaning, pretermitting their painted shewe, we woulde pry into their propounded sence, but when as lust is the tractate of so many leaues, and loue passions the lauish dispence of so much paper, I must needes sende such idle wits to shrift to the vicar of S. Fooles, who in steede 15 of a worser may be such a Gothamists ghostly Father. Might Ouids exile admonish such Idlebies to betake them to a new trade, the Presse should be farre better employed, Histories of antiquitie not halfe so much belved, Minerals, stones, and herbes, should not have such cogged natures 20 and names ascribed to them without cause. Englishmen shoulde not be halfe so much Italinated as they are, finallie, loue woulde obtaine the name of lust, and vice no longer maske vnder the visard of vertue.

Are they not ashamed in their prefixed posies, to adorne ²⁵ a pretence of profit mixt with pleasure, when as in their bookes there is scarce to be found one precept pertaining to vertue, but whole quires fraught with amorous discourses, kindling *Venus* flame in *Vulcans* forge, carrying *Cupid* in tryumph, alluring euen vowed *Vestals* to treade awry, in- 3° chaunting chaste mindes and corrupting the continenst. Hencefoorth, let them alter their posies of profit with intermingled pleasure, inserting that of *Ouid* in steed.

> Si quis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi, Me legat & lecto carmine doctus amet.

I are] om. Q.

8 with in Q.

21 with out Q.

35

So shall the discreet Reader vnderstand the contents by the | title, and their purpose by their posie : what els I A 2 pray you doe these bable bookemungers endeuor, but to repaire the ruinous wals of Venus Court, to restore to the 5 worlde that forgotten Legendary licence of lying, to imitate a fresh the fantasticall dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feyned no where acts, of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of litle Brittaine, sir 10 Tristram, Hewon of Burdeaux, the Squire of low degree, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others. It is not of my veeres nor studie to censure these mens foolerie more theologicallie, but to shew how they to no Common-wealth commoditie, tosse ouer their troubled imaginations to haue 15 the praise of the learning which they lack. Many of them to be more amiable with their friends of the Feminine sexe, blot many sheetes of paper in the blazing of Womens slender praises, as though in that generation there raigned and alwaies remained such singuler simplicitie, that all 20 posterities should be enjoyned by duetie, to fill and furnish theyr Temples, nay Townes and streetes, with the shrines of the Saints. Neuer remembring, that as there was a lovall Lucretia, so there was a light a love Lais, that as there was a modest Medullina, so there was a mischiuous Medea, that 25 as there was a stedfast Timoclea, so there was a trayterous Tarpeya, that as there was a sober Sulpitia, so there was a deceitful Scylla, that as there was a chast Claudia, so there was a wanton Clodia.

But perhaps Women assembling their senate, will seeke 30 to stop my mouth by most voices, and as though there were more better then bad in the bunch, will object vnto me Atlanta, Architumna, Hippo, Sophronia, Lexna: to these I will oppose proude Antigone, Niobe, Circe, Flora, Rhodope, the despightfull daughters of Danaus, Biblis and 35 Canace who fell in loue with their owne Brothers, Mirrha with her owne Father, Semiramis with her own sonne, Phædra with Hippolitus, Venus inconstancie, Junos iealousie.

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the riotous wantonnesse of *Pasiphae*, with who I wil knit vp this packet of Paramours. To this might be added A ² *Mantuans* inuectiue against them, but | that pittie makes me refraine from renewing his worne out complaints, the wounds wherof the former forepast feminine sexe hath 5 felt. I, but here the *Homer* of Women hath forestalled an objection, saying that *Mantuans* house holding of our Ladie, he was enforced by melancholie into such vehemencie of speech, and that there be amongst them as amongst men, some good, some badde : but then let vs heare what was the ¹⁰ opinion of ancient Philosophers, as touching the Femall sexe.

One of the beeing asked what estate that was, which made wise men fooles, and fooles wisemen, answered marriage. Aristotle doth counsell vs. rather to gette a little wife then a great, because alwaies a little euill is 15 better then a great, so that hee counted all women without exception, euill and vngratious. Another of them beeing asked what was the greatest miracle in the world, saide, a chaste woman. One requiring Diogenes iudgment when it was best time to take a wife, answered, for the young 20 man not yet, and the olde man neuer. Pythagoras sayd, that there were three euils not to be suffered, fire, water, and a woman. And the forenamed Cinick deemed them the wisest lyers in the world, which tell folke they will be married, and yet remaine single, accounting it the lesse 25 inconvenience of two extremities to choose the lesse. The selfe same man affirmeth it to be the only means to escape all euils, to eschew womens counsaile and not to square our actions by their direction. The olde Sages did admonish young men, if euer they matcht wyth any wife, not 30 to take a rich Wife, because if she be rich, shee wyll not be content to be a wife, but will be a Maister or Mistresse, in commaunding, chiding, correcting & controlling. Another Philosopher compared a woman richly apparelled, to a dunghill couered with grasse. Socrates deemed it the 35 desperatest enterprise that one can take in hand, to gouerne a womans will.

What shall I say of him that beeing askt, from what women a man should keepe himselfe, answered, from the quick & from the deade, adding moreouer, that one euill iovnes with another when a woman is sicke. Demos-5 thenes saide, that it was | the greatest torment, that a man A 3 could inuent to his enemies vexation, to give him his daughter in marriage, as a domesticall Furie to disquiet him night and day. Democritus accounted a faire chaste woman a miracle of miracles, a degree of immortality, ro a crowne of tryumph, because shee is so harde to be founde. Another beeing asked, who was he that coulde not at any time be without a wife, answered, hee that was alwaies accurst : and what dooth thys common prouerbe, he that marrieth late marrieth euill, insinuate vnto vs, but 15 that if a man meane to marry, he were as good begin betimes as tarry long, and beeing about to make a vertue of necessitie and an arte of patience, they are to beginne in theyr young and tender age. Moreouer, amongst the thinges which change the nature and conditions of men, 20 women and wine are sette in the forefront, as the chiefe causes of their calamitie.

Plutarch in his precepts of wedlocke, alleageth a reason why men faile so often in choosing of a good wife, because saith hee, the number of them is so small. There be two 25 especiall troubles in this worlde saith Seneca, a wife and ignoraunce. Marcus Aurelius compared women to shyps. because to keepe them wel and in order, there is alwayes somewhat wanting : and Plautus saith, that women decke themselues so gorgiously and lace themselues so nicely, 30 because foule deformed things seeke to sette out themselues sooner, then those creatures that are for beauty far more amiable. For my part I meane to suspende my sentence, and to let an Author of late memorie be my speaker, who affyrmeth that they carrie Angels in their 35 faces to entangle men and deuils in their deuices. Valerius in Epist. ad Ruf. hath these words of womens trecherous

works, Amice ne longo dispendio te suspendam, lege aureolum

Theophrasti, & Medeam Iasonis, & vix pauca invenies impossibilia mulieri: Amice det tibi Deus omnipotens fæminæ fallacia non falli. My friend, least I should holde thee too long with too tedious a circumstaunce, reade but the golden Booke of Theophrastus, and Iasons Medea, and thou shalt 5 finde fewe things impossible for a woman: My sweet A 3" friende, GOD Almightie graunt that thou beest not entrapt by womens trecherie. Furthermore, in the same place he saith, Quis muliebri garrulitati aliquid committit, quæ illud solum potest tacere quod nescit: who will commit any 10 thing to a womans tailing trust, who conceales nothing but that shee knowes not? I omit to tell with what phrases of disgrace the ancient fathers have defaced them, wherof one of the saith: Ouid aliud est mulier nisi amicitiæ inimica. &c. What is a woman but an enemie 15 to friendshippe, an uneuitable paine, a necessary euil, a naturall temptation, a desired calamitie, a domesticall danger, a delectable detriment, the nature of the which is euill shadowed with the coloure of goodnes. Therefore if to put her away be a sinne, to keepe her still 20 must needes be a torment. Another sayth: Illud aduerte quod extra paradisum vir factus est, &c. Consider this, that man was made without Paradise, woman within Paradise, that thereby we may learne, that every one winneth not credit by the nobilitie of the place, or of his 25 stock, but by his vertue. Finally, man made better is foud without Paradise in a place inferior, and contrariwise, she which was created in a better place, namely Paradise, is founde to be worser. Another hath these words : Diligit mulier vt capiat, decipit vt rapiat: amat quod habes, non 30 quod es. A woman loues that she may entrappe, shee deceives that she may spoyle, she loves that thou hast, not that thou art. Another writeth after thys manner: Nulla est vxoris electio. &c. There is no choise to be had of a wife, but even as she comes so we must take her: if teatish, if 35 foolish, if deformed, if proude, if stinking breathed, or 20 a way Q.

whatsoeuer other fault she hath, we know not till we be married. A Horse, an Oxe, or an Asse, or a dogge, or what soeuer other vile merchandise, are first prooued, and then bought, a mans wife alone is neuer throughly seene before,

- 5 least shee dysplease, before she be married. Viros ad vnumquodque maleficium singulæ cupiditates impellunt (saith Tully) mulieres ad omnia maleficia cupiditas vna ducit: muliebrium enim vitiorum omniũ fundamentum est auaritia. Mens seuerall desires doe egge them to each kind
- 10 of euill, but one onely affection leades women to all kind of wickednes: for couetousnesse is the foundation of all | womens euill inclinations. Seneca also saith thus in his A 4 Prouerbs: Aut amat, aut odit mulier, nil tertium est, dediscere flere fæminam, mendacium est, &c. A woman
- ¹⁵ either loues, or hates, there is no third thing: it is an vntruth to say, that a woman can learne to forget to weepe: two kinde of teares are common in their eyes, the one of true sorrowe, the other of deceipt: a Woman meditates euill when she is musing alone.
- ²⁰ Thus you see howe farre their wickednes hath made Authors to wade with inuectiues in their dispraise : wherefore I shall not need to vrge their inconstancie more vehemently, resembling them to *Battus*, who was wonne with a Cowe, and lost with a Bull: nor stand to repeate
- ²⁵ that of *Plato*, who doubted whether he shold put women among reasonable or vnreasonable creatures, who also gaue thanks to Nature especiallie for three things, whereof the first and cheefest was, that shee had made him a man and not a woman. I omitte that of *Aristotle*, who alleaging
- 30 the inconueniencie of too timely marriages, expresseth this as the especial incommoditie, that it is the Author of superfluities, & good for nothing but to fill the world with women. Reade ouer all *Homer*, and you shall neuer almost see him bring in *Iuno*, but brawling and iarring
- 35 with *Iupiter*, noting therby what an yrkesome kind of people they are. In some Countries therefore, the Bride at the day of her mariage, is crowned by the Matrons

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with a Garland of prickles, and so deliuered to her husband, that he may know he hath tyed himselfe to a thornie pleasure. The *Massagets* told *Pompey* they lay with their wives but once a weeke, because they wold not heare their scoldings in the day, nor their pulings in the night. 5

But what should I spend my yncke, waste my paper, stub my penne, in painting forth theyr vgly imperfections, and peruerse peeuishnesse, when as howe many havres they have on their heads, so many snares they will find for a neede to snarle men in; how many voices all of them 10 haue, so many vices each one of them hath; how many tongues, so many tales; how many eyes, so many allure-A 4" ments. What shall I say? They have | more shyfts then Ioue had sundry shapes, who in the shape of a Satyre inueigled Antiope: tooke Amphitrios forme, when on 15 Alcmena he begat Hercules; to Danae, he came in a showre of gold; to Læda in the likenes of a Swan; to Io like a Heyfer; to Ægine like a flame; to Mnemosyne like a Sheephearde ; to Proserbina like a Serpent ; to Pasiphae like a Bull : to the Nimph Nonacris in the likenes of Apollo. 20 For crueltie they seeme more terrible then Tygers : was not Orpheus the excellentest Musition in any memory, torne in peeces by Women, because for sorrow of his wife Euridice, he did not onelie himselfe refuse the loue of many women, and liued a sole life, but also disswaded fro 25 their company? Did not mercilesse Minerua, turne the havres of Medusa, whom shee hated, into hyssing Adders? Therefore see how farre they swerue from theyr purpose, who with Greene colours, seeke to garnish such Gorgonlike shapes. Is not witchcraft especially vpholden by women? 30 whither men or women be more prone vnto carnall cocupiscence, I referre them to Thebane Tyresias, who gaue judgment against them long agoe : what their impudencie is, let Antiquitie be Arbiter. Did not Calphernias impudencie, (who was so importunate and vnreasonable in 35 pleading her owne cause) giue occasion of a Law to be

18 Ægiue Q. Mnemosyue Q.

made, that neuer woman after should openly pleade her owne cause in Courtes of iudgment.

Sabina may be a glasse for them to see their pride in, who vsually bathed herselfe in the milke of fiue hundred 5 Asses, to preserue her beauty. Galeria also that gallant Dame, which scorned the golden Pallace of the Emperour Nero, as not curious inough to shroude her beauty, yea Cleopatra according to Xiphilinus iudgment, was not slaine w venimous Snakes, but with y bodkin that she curled her to hayre. To coclude, what pride haue they left vnpractised,

what enticement to lust have they not tried?

Did they imagine that beautie to be most commendable, which is least coloured, and that face most faire, which seldommest comes into the open ayre, they would neuer

- 15 set out them | selues to be seene, ne yet woulde they couet B I to leaue impressions of their beauties in other mens bodies, nor the forme of their faces in other mens fancies. But women through want of wisedome are growne to such wantonnesse, that vppon no occasion they will crosse the
- ²⁰ streete, to haue a glaunce of some Gallant, deeming that men by one looke of them, shoulde be in loue with them, and will not stick to make an errant ouer the way, to purchase a Paramour to helpe at a pinche, who vnder her husbands, that hoddy-peekes nose, must haue all the destil-
- 25 ling dew of his delicate Rose, leauing him onely a sweet sent, good inough for such a sencelesse sotte.

It was a custome in *Greece*, that every married woman, as soone as she was betrothed to her husbande, shoulde touche fire and water, that as the fire purgeth & purifieth 30 al thinges, and the water is cleane, and of nature fitte to clarifie everie part of the body, and to sette the face free from any spot, except it be an *Ethiopian* blot, so she would reserve herselfe chaste and vndefiled to her husband, her head. In *Boëtia* they will not suffer a new married wife 35 at first to goe over the thresholde, because she should seeme vnwilling to enter in there, where shee should leave and lay aside her chastitie. In the same place also they

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burne the Axletree of a Cart before the doore of the bryde, after she is married, signifying that she ought not to gadde abroade, as though that were remooued which might mooue her to make any errants vnto any other place.

In *Rome* the bride was wont to come in with her spyndle 5 and her distaffe at her side, at the day of her mariage, and her husband crowned and cõpassed the Gates with her yarne, but now adaies Towe is either too deere or too daintie, so that if hee will maintaine the custome, hee must crowne his Gates with their Scarfes, Periwigs, Bracelets, 10 and Ouches; which imports thus much vnto vs, that Maides and Matrons now adaies be more charie of their store, so that they will be sure they will not spend too much spittle with spynning, yea theyr needles are nettles, for they lay the aside as needlesse, for feare of pricking their fingers, 15

B r when they are painting theyr faces, | nay, they will abandon that trifling which may stay them at home, but if the temperature of the wether will not permitte them to pop into the open ayre, a payre of cardes better pleaseth her thế a peece of cloth, her beades then her booke, a bowle 20 full of wine then a handfull of wooll, delighting more in

a daunce then in *Dauids* Psalmes, to play with her dogge then to pray to her God: setting more by a loue Letter, then \mathring{y} lawe of the Lord, by one Pearle then twenty *Pater nosters*. Shee had rather view her face a whole morning 25 in a looking Glasse then worke by the howre Glasse, shee is more sparing of her Spanish needle then her Spanish gloues, occupies oftner her setting sticke then sheeres, and ioyes more in her Iewels, then in her Iesus.

Is this correspondent to the modestie of Maydens, and 30 the maners of Matrons ? nay, rather it seemes that law is turned to libertie, and honest civilitie into impudent shamefastnes. Antient antiquitie was woont to bee such a stoycall observer of continencie, that women were not permitted so much as to kisse their Kinsmen, till the *Troyan* Dames first 35 attempted it in *Italie*, for when as by the force of tempestious stormes they were cast vpon the Italian Coaste, and each man landed vpon whom the salt sea fome had not seased, the Women beeing wearie of theyr yrkesome trauaile and long and tedious toyle, abhorring the sight of the Seas, set the shyps on a light fire; by reason of the which deed, they 5 dreading the displeasure of their Husbandes, ran euery one to their Kinsman, kissing most kindly, and embracing most amiably euery one that they mette: from that time forth to this present, it hath beene taken vp for a custome, not to be sparing in that kind of curtesie.

¹⁰ But now craftie *Cupid* practising the wonted sleights and shufling his shafts, meditates new shifts, which each amorous Courtier by his veneriall experience may coniecturallie conceiue. *Menelaus* hospitalitie mooued young *Paris* to adulterie. I say no more, you knowe the rest, the wiser

- ¹⁵ can apply it. Well woorthy are the *Essenians* to be extolled for their wyse-|dome, who abhorre the company of B ² Women and detest the possession of gold and siluer, and they to be deemed as soothing flatterers, who spende so much paper about a proposition of praise, sette apart from
- 20 any apparance of probabilitie. Peraduenture they thinke, that as the Poets inuent that *Atlas* vpholds the Heauens with his shoulders, because by an excellent imagination he found out the course of the stars, euen so they by compiling of Pamphlets in their Mistresse praises, to be called the
- ²⁵ restorers of womankind. But idle heads are vsually occupied about such trifling texts, wanton wits are combred with those wonted fittes, such busie braines sowe where they reape small gaines. When witte gives place to will, and reason to affection, then follie with full saile launcheth
- 30 foorth most desperatlie into the deepe. Did they consider that that prayse is onely priuiledged in wise mens opinion, which onely proceedes from the penne of the praysed, they would have paused a while vpon the worthlesse imputation of such prodigall commendation, and consulted for their 35 credit in the composition of some other more profitable contrary subject.

I leaue these in their follie, and hasten to other mens

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furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, whe as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who wrest- 5 ing places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnes, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid some body should cut too large 10 peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousnes, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified. Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes : of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought yppe all the dayes of their life with 15 bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they

B 2^v had beene Eunuches from theyr | cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such 20 men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting foorth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont, euen so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much 25 wyth inueighing against vice, to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon $\frac{1}{2}$ which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heeretofore by the censures of the learned hath not beene 30 sharply condemned, but teare that peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out of their forepassed paines, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectiues. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing saue the excrements 35 of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge beeing bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced,

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through translaters rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their fluttered sutes before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddle pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to 5 drink, who have wine to sell. At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this know-Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians ledge. vsed money to no other ende but to tell it, euen so these 10 men make no other vse of learning but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes. which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, who with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto 15 them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I know not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in another mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote. to incurre that prouerbiall checke, Ne sutor vltra cre- | pidam, B 3 or that oratoricall taunt, Quam guisque norit artem in ea se 20 exerceat; with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe River; to be conversant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter; to vaunte reading when the sum of their 25 diuinitie consists in twopennie Catichismes: and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse. enquiring most curiouslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues., To prescribe rules of life, belongeth 30 not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of y Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by 35 their medling, their folly by their phrase., View their workes, and know their vanitie, see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small

ship in a shallow Riuer, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very litle vessell, euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subject, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their 5 crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaies, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, should be vnto 10 an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile; a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie ; a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publiquelie make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in 15 nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then have recourse to that B 3 caueat of Christ in the Gospell, Cauete ab | hipocritis. It is not the writhing of the face, the heating vppe of the 20 eves to heauen, that shall keepe these men, from having their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they have the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharisies the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church infeaffe them in the kingdom 25 of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles. and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church millitant heere vpon earth, whe as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, 30 vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleeue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them: and what Heretiques were there ever that did not arrogate as much 35 to themselues? These they be that publiquely pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their private Chambers

the expresse imitation of Howliglasse. It is too tedious to the Reader, to attend the circumstaunce of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my dis-5 course, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie. Seeing their works, shun theyr waies.

Another sort of men there are, who though not addicted to such counterfet curiositie, yet are they infected with 10 a farther improbabilitie; challenging knowledge vnto the-! selues of deeper misteries, whe as with Thales Milesius' they see not what is vnder their feete: searching more curiouslie into the secrets of nature, when as in respect of deeper knowledge, they seeme meere naturals; coueting 15 with the Phænix to approche so nye to the sunne, that they are scorcht with his beames, and confounded with his brightnes. Who made them so privile to the secrets of the Almightie, that they should foretell the tokens of his wrath, or terminate the time of his vengeaunce? But lightly some 20 newes attends the ende of euery Tearme, some Monsters are bookt, though not bred against vacation times, | which B4 are straight waie diversly dispearst into everie quarter, so that at length they become the Alehouse talke of euery Carter: yea, the Country Plowman feareth a Calabrian 25 floodde in the midst of a furrowe, and the sillie Sheephearde committing his wandering sheepe to the custodie of his wappe, in his field naps dreameth of flying Dragons, which for feare least he should see to the losse of his sight, he falleth a sleepe; no star he seeth in the night but seemeth 30 a Comet ; hee lighteth no sooner on a quagmyre, but he thinketh this is the foretold Earthquake, wherof his boy hath the Ballet.

Thus are the ignorant deluded, the simple misused, and the sacred Science of Astronomie discredited; & in truth 35 what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money? What wyl they not faine for gaine? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets,

which every rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and every ignorant Ale knight will breath foorth over the potte. as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a truth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make 5 vope the verse ; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous. But as the straightest things beeing put into water, seeme crooked, so the crediblest trothes, if once they come with in compasse of these mens wits, seeme tales. Were it that 10 the infamie of their ignoraunce did redound onelie vppon themselues. I could be content to apply my speech otherwise, then to their Apuleyan eares, but sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot 15 but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood. Well may that saying of Campanus be applyed to our English Poets, which hee spake of them in his time: They make (saith he) Poetry an occupation, lying is their lyuing, 20 and fables are their mooueables; if thou takest away trifles. sillie soules, they will famish for hunger. It were to be B₄ wished, that the acts of the ventrous, and | the praise of the vertuous were, by publique Edict, prohibited by such mens merry mouthes to be so odiouslie extolde, as rather breedes 25 detestation then admiration, lothing then lyking. What politique Counsailour or valiant Souldier will joy or glorie of this, in that some stitcher, Weauer, spendthrift, or Fidler,

hath shuffled or slubberd vp a few ragged Rimes, in the memoriall of the ones prudence, or the others prowesse? 30 It makes the learned sort to be silent, whe as they see vnlearned sots so insolent.

These Bussards thinke knowledge a burthen, tapping it before they haue halfe tunde it, venting it before they haue filled it, in whom that saying of the Orator is verified : Ante 35 ad dicendum quam ad cognoscendum veniunt. They come to speake before they come to know. They contemne Arts as

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vnprofitable, contenting themselues with a little Countrey Grammer knowledge, god wote, thanking God with that abscedarie Priest in Lincolneshire, that he neuer knewe what that Romish popish Latine meant. Verie requisite 5 were it, that such blockheads had some Albadanensis Appollonius, to send them to some other mechanicall Arte, that they might not thus be the staine of Arte. Such kind of Poets were they that Plato excluded from his Common wealth, and Augustine banished ex civitate Dei, which the

- to Romans derided, and the Lacedæmonians scorned, who wold not suffer one of Archilocus bookes to remaine in their Countrey: and amisse it were not, if these which meddle with the Arte they knowe not, were bequethed to Bridwell, there to learne a new occupation: for as the Basiliske with
- 15 his hisse, driueth all other Serpents from \mathring{y} place of his aboad, so these rude Rithmours with their iarring verse, allienate all mens mindes from delighting in numbers excellence, which they have so defaced that wee may well exclaime with the Poet, *Quantum mutatus ab illo*.
- But least I should be mistaken as an enemie to Poetrie, * or at least not taken as a friend to that studie, I haue thought good to make them privile to my mind, by expressing my meaning. I account of Poetrie, as of a more hidden & divine kinde | of Philosophy, enwrapped in blinde C I
- ²⁵ Fables and darke stories, wherin the principles of more excellent Arts and morrall precepts of manners, illustrated with diuers examples of other Kingdomes and Countries, are contained : for amongst the *Grecians* there were Poets, before there were any Philosophers, who embraced entirely
- 30 the studie of wisedome, as *Cicero* testifieth in his *Tusculanes*, whereas he saith, that of all sorts of men, Poets are most ancient, who to the intent they might allure men with a greater longing to learning, haue folowed two things, sweetnes of verse, and variety of inuention, knowing that delight
- 35 doth prick men forward to the attaining of knowledge, and that true things are rather admirde if they be included in some wittle fiction, like to Pearles that delight more if they

be deeper sette in gold. 'Wherefore seeing Poetry is the very same with Philosophy, the fables of Poets must of necessitie be fraught with wisedome & knowledge, as framed of those men, which have spent all their time and studies in the one and in the other. For euen as in Vines, the 5 Grapes that are favrest and sweetest, are couched vnder the branches that are broadest and biggest, euen so in Poems, the thinges that are most profitable, are shrouded vnder the Fables that are most obscure : neither is there almost any poeticall fygment, wherein there is not some 10 thing comprehended, taken out either of Histories, or out of the Phisicks or Ethicks; wher vpon Erasmus Roterdamus very wittilie termes Poetry, a daintie dish seasoned with delights of euery kind of discipline. Nowe whether ryming be Poetry, I referre to the judgment of the learned: yea, let 15 the indifferent Reader divine, what deepe misterie can be placed vnder plodding meeter. Who is it, that reading Beuis of Hampton, can forbeare laughing, if he marke what scambling shyft he makes to ende his verses a like? I will propound three or foure payre by the way for the Readers 20 recreation.

The Porter said, by my snout, It was Sir Beuis that I let out.

or this,

C IA

He smote his sonne on the breast, That he neuer after spoke with Clark nor Priest.

25

30

or this,

This almes by my crowne, Giues she for Beuis of South-hamptoune.

or this,

Some lost a nose, some a lip, And the King of Scots hath a ship.

But I let these passe as worne out absurdities, meaning not at this instant to vrge (as I might) the like instance of Authors of our time, least in laying foorth their nakednesse, 35 I might seeme to have discovered my mallice, imitating *Aiax*, who objecting more irefully vnto *Vlysses* flattery, detected him selfe of follie.

As these men offend in the impudent publishing of witles 5 vanitie, so others ouershoote theselues as much another waie, in sencelesse stoicall austeritie, accounting Poetrie impietie, and witte follie. It is an old Question, and it hath beene often propounded, whether it werebetter to haue moderate affections, or no affections? The *Stoicks* said none. The

- 10 Peripaticians answered, to have temperate affections; and in this respect I am a professed Peripatician, mixing profit with pleasure, and precepts of doctrine with delightfull inuention. Yet these men condemne them of lasciuiousnes, vanitie, and curiositie, who vnder fayned Stories include
- ¹⁵ many profitable morrall precepts, describing the outrage of vnbridled youth, having the reine in their owne hands; the fruits of idlenes, the of-spring of lust, and how auaileable good educations are vnto vertue. In which their preciser censure, they resemble the that cast away the nutte for
- 20 mislike of the shell, & are like to those which loath the fruite for the leaues, accounting the one sower, because y other is bitter. It may be some dreaming dunce whose bald affected eloquence making his function odious, better beseeming a priule then a pulpit, a misterming Clowne in
- 25 a Comedy, then a chosen man in the Ministerie, will cry out | that it breedes a scabbe to the conscience, to peruse C 2 such Pamphlets; beeing indeed the display of their duncerie, and breeding a mislike of such tedious dolts barbarisme, by the view of their rethoricall inuention. Such trifling studies,
- 30 say they, infect the minde and corrupt the manners, as though the minde were only conuersant in such toies, or shold continuallie stay where the thoughts by chaunce doo stray. The Sunne beames touching the earth, remaine still from whence they came, so a wyse mans mind, although
 35 sometimes by chance it wandereth here and there, yet it hath recourse in staied yeeres to that it ought. But graunt the matter to be fabulous, is it therfore friuolous? Is

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(there not vnder Fables, euen as vnder the shaddowe of greene and florishing leaues, most pleasant fruite hidden in secrete, and a further meaning closely comprised? Did not *Virgill* vnder the couert of a Fable, expresse that diuine misterie, which is the subject of his sixt Eglogue. 5

Iam noua progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

I could send you to Ouid, who expresseth the generall Deluge, which was the olde worldes ouerthrowe, in the Fable of Deucalion and Pirrha: vnder which. vndoubtedly it is manifest, (although diuers Authors are of cotrarie 10 opinion) he meaneth Noes floodde, in so much as there is a place in Lucian in his booke De Siria Dea, by the which it appeareth, that by *Deucalions* Deluge, is vnderstoode, not (as some will) that Enundation, whereby in times past, Greece and Italie was ouerflowne, and the Ile Atlanta 15 destroied, but that vniuersall flood which was in the time of Noe. For thus Lucian writeth in that place, that it was received for a comon opinion among the Grecians, that this generation of men that nowe is, hath not been from the beginning, but that it which first was, wholy perrished, and 20 this second sort of men which now are, be of a newe creation, growing into such a multitude by Deucalion and Pirrhas meanes. As touching the men of the first worlde. thus much (saith he) is committed to memorie, that when as they began to be puft vppe with pride of their pros- 25 peritie, they enterprised all iniquitie, priuiledged by im-C 2x punitie, neither re- garding the observation of oath, nor the violation of hospitalitie, neither fauouring the fatherlesse, nor succouring the helplesse : whereuppon in lieu of their crueltie, they were plagued with this calamitie, the 30 springs brake foorth and ouerflowed their bounded banks, § watrie clowdes with pashing showres vncessantlie sending down their vnreasonable moysture, augmented the rage of the Ocean, so that whole fieldes and mountaines could not satis-fie his vsurping furie, but Citties wyth their suburbs, 35 Townes with their streetes, Churches with their porches,

6 progenis Q. demittis Q

28

were nowe the walke of the waues, the dennes of the Dolphin, and the sporting places of the huge Leuiathan : men might haue fisht where they sold fish, had they not by the suddaine breaking foorth of the showres been made 5 a pray vnto fish : the child in the cradle could not be saued by the embracings of the dying mother, the aged Criple remouing his wearie steps by stilts, was faine to vse them in steed of Oares, till at length his dismaied gray haires despairing of the sight of any shoare, gaue place to death, 10 and was swallowed vppe in the deepe, and so the bellie of the Whale became his graue.

The earth after this sort beeing excluded from the number of the Elements, there was no memorie left of mankinde in this watry world, but onely in *Deucalions* ¹⁵ Arke, who in regarde of his prudence and pietie, was reserved to this seconde generation; who having made a great Arke wherin he put his wife and children, tooke two beastes of every kind as wel Lions as Serpents, Hawkes as Partriches, Wolues as Lambes, Foxes as Geese; amongst ²⁰ which there was such mutuall concord, that as they were harmelesse towardes him, so they were hurtlesse one towards another; al which sailed with him till the waters ceased.

Hetherto Lucian an Heathen Poet. Plutarch also re-25 cordeth in his Treatise De industria animalium, that a Doue beeing sent out of Deucalions Arke, shewed the waters ceasing. By these proofes it is euident, that by Deucalions Deluge is vnderstoode Noes flood, because the very like thinges are sette downe in Genesis, of brute

30 Beastes receiued by *Noe* into the | Arke, and the Doue C₃ sent forth by him also. I trust these probabilities beeing duely pondered, there is no man so distrustful to doubt that deeper diuinitie is included in Poets inuentions, and therefore not to be rejected, as though they were voide of 35 all learning and wisedome.

I would not have any man imagine that in praysing of Poetry, I endeuour to approvue Virgils vnchast Priapus, or Ouids obscenitie; I commende their witte, not their wantonnes, their learning, not their lust: yet euen as the Bee out of the bitterest flowers and sharpest thistles gathers honey, so out of the filthiest Fables, may profitable knowledge be sucked and selected. Neuerthelesse tender youth 5 ought to bee restrained for a time from the reading of such ribauldrie, least chewing ouer wantonlie the eares of this Summer Corne, they be choaked with the haune before they can come at the karnell.

Hunters beeing readie to goe to their Game, suffer not 10 their dogges to taste or smell of any thing by the way, no carrion especially, but reserve the wholy to their approching disport ; euen so youth beeing ready to vndertake more waightier studies, ought in no case be permitted to looke aside to lasciulous toyes, least the pleasure of the one, 15 should breed a loathing of the profit of the other. I would there were not any, as there be many, who in Poets and Historiographers, reade no more then serueth to the feeding of their filthy lust, applying those things to the pampering of their private Venus, which were purposely published to 20 the suppressing of that common wandering Cubid. These be the Spyders which sucke poyson out of the hony combe, and corruption out of the holiest thinges, herein resembling those that are troubled with a Feuer, in whome diuers things have divers effects, that is to say of hote things 25 they waxe cold, of cold things hote; or of Tygers, which by the sound of melodious Instruments are driven into madnesse, by which men are wont to expell melancholie. He that wil seeke for a Pearle, must first learne to know it when he sees it, least he neglect it when hee findes it, or 30 C 3^v make a nought worth pee- | ble his lewell : and they that couet to picke more precious knowledge out of Poets amorous *Elegies*, must haue a discerning knowledge, before they can aspire to the perfectio of their desired knowledge. least the obtaining of trifles be the repentant end of their 35 trauell.

Who so snatcheth vp follies too greedilie, making an

occupation of recreation, and delight his day labour, may happes proue a wittome whiles he fisheth for finer witte, and a Foole while hee findes himselfe laughing pastime at other mens follies, not vnlike to him who drinking Wine 5 immoderatly, besides that hee many times swallowes downe dregs, at length prooues starke drunke.

There is no extremitie either in actiue or contemplatiue life, more outragious the the excessive studies of delight, wherwith young Students are so besotted, that they forsake to sounder Artes, to followe smoother eloquence, not vnlike to him that had rather have a newe painted boxe, though there be nothing but a halter in it, then an olde bard hutch with treasure inualuable, or *Æsops* Cocke, which parted with a Pearle for a Barlie kurnell. Even as a man is is inclined, so his studies are bended, if to vaine-glorie, to eloquence: if to profounde knowledge, to *Aristotle*: if lasciuious, good in some English deuise of verse; to conclude, a passing potman, a passing Poet.

I might haue fitted mens seuerall affections with their 20 sundry studies, but that I am afraide there be many ashamed of their studies, which I will not repeate least some shold blush when as they reade their reproche.

It is a thing of no paines or experience, to ayme at the practises of the proude, the secret inclinations of the 25 couetous, the imaginations of \mathring{y} incestuous, the hooded hypocrisie of those that pretend puritie, which things beeing practised in youth, become trades of profite in age. An vsuall thing it is, that the flower of our yeeres should be the fountaine of follie, which by the conduit pype of con-30 tinuall customs conueiance, causeth the gray headed to

- When the endeuor of youth shal proue naught els but the exercise of all abuses, is it like that a mans after life shall the be without blemish?
- 35 There is almost no man now a daies, who doth not in hys secrete thought estimate vice after his vilenes, yet (securitie hath so blinded many, that loosing the habit of

vertue, they couet to restraine wisedome onely to their wicked waies, concluding that in the imitation of their actions, consists the hygh way to happines, because their humor is such, condemning that state of life which is an enemie to their vicious appetites. It is impossible 5 for these men, either by hearing or reading, to profit in integritie of life, whiles in the one and in the other, they will regarde no more then auaileth to their aduantage. The couetous careth for no more Scripture, then that which priuiledgeth him to prouide for his familie, the proude sort 10 are conversant continually in this Text. They that are in Kinges Courts weare soft rayment: and Theeues reade with delight how the Egiptians in Egipt, were by y Isralites robbed of theyr Iewels. Thus every one maketh that sacred preservative a pernicious poison vnto his sinfull 15 soule, nourishing his vanitie with sacred verities, increasing his damnation by the ordeyned meanes to saluation.

If men in their youthes best lust, and in the prime of prosperitie, would but cast their eye on the one side to future alterations, and thinke of a further felicitie, beholding ²⁰ aduersitie on the other side cladde with follies repentant Robes, compassed about with contempt in steed of a gyrdle, guarded with feends, not accompanied with friends, having for momentarie pleasure endlesse paine, death without date for a dyssolute life repented too late, they woulde then so ²⁵ behaue themselues heere vpon earth, as they might have a Sauiour in heaven.

Pausanias King of the Lacedemonians, bydding Simonides to a sumptuous banquet, instantly intreated him to speak some thing notable which sauoured of learning: why then 30 (quoth he) remember thou art a man. Which saying Pausanias scornfully despised : afterward beeing in pryson C 4[×] in Chalciæco, was | almost famished ere hee died, where remembring Simonides speech, with a loude lamentable voice, he cried, O my friende of Cæos, would God I had 35 regarded thy words.

4 wich Q.

Good counsaile is neuer remembred nor respected, till men haue given their farewell to felicitie, and haue beene ouerwhelmed in the extremitie of aduersitie. Young men thinke it a disgrace to youth, to embrace the studies of age, 5 counting their fathers fooles whiles they strive to make them wise, casting that away at a cast at dice, which cost theyr daddes a yeares toyle, spending that in their Veluets, which was rakt vppe in a Russette coate : so that their reuenewes rackt. and their rents raised to the vttermost, is scarce 10 inough to maintaine ones rufling pride, which was wont to be manie poore mens reliefe. These young Gallants having leudly spent their patrimonie, fall to begging of poore mens houses ouer theyr heads, as the last refuge of their rvot, remoouing the auncient bounds of lands to support 15 their decayed port, rather coueting to enclose that which was wont to be common, then they wold want to maintaine their priuate prodigalitie.

The Temple of Terminus Deus amongst the Romans; who was supposed to have the preheminence over the 20 boundes of lands, had euer a hole in the roofe, for as much as they thought it vnlawfull for the bounds of landes to be couered, and that rich men might learne to know their landes from poore mens grounds. A strange thing it is, that these men cannot learne to thriue before all be gone, 25 and that they in the midst of their plentie, should be more needy, then those that sauing their day labour, are nought but pouertie. But as the Brooke Achelous carrieth whole trees and huge stones w hidious roaring noyse downe his streames, so the Courte is as it were a deuouring Gulfe of 30 gold, and the consumption of covne. It fareth with the as it did with Calchas that cunning Soothsayer, who died for

sorrowe because Mopsus surpast him in science, so if they see any excell them in brauerie, in whose steps at euery inche they are not able to treade, they hang the heade as 35 they were halfe dead.

Howe farre are these fondlings fro imitating Crates the DI

Τ

³⁵ they they Q 36 How c. w. 31 cunning] running Q. D

Philosopher, who to the intent that he might more quietly studie Philosophy, threw all his goods into the sea, saying, hence from me, you vngratious appetites, I had rather drowne you, then you should drowne me. By this that hath beene alreadie sette down, it may plainely appeare, 5 that where pride beareth sway, hospitalitie decaies: nay, this kind of men, will neuer be saued by their workes, in so much as the poore alwaies mysse, as often as they seeke to them for almes, yea, they seeme onely to be borne for themselues, and not to benefite any els; who with the 10 woers of Penelope, will by their Porters, prohibite the poore from having accesse vnto their porches, terming the the marrers of mirth and procurers of sadnes : but what ende doo they propounde to themselues in their prodigall expences, but the feeding of their Mistris fancie, and y foster- 15 ing of their lawlesse lusts? shrouding vnder their Purple roabes and embroydered apparrell, a hart spotted with all abuses: wherefore they may be aptlie resembled to v Ægiptian Temples, which without are goodly and great, their walles arrising vnto a huge height, with statelie 20 Marble turrets, but if you goe in and looke about you, you shall find for a God, either a Storke, a Goate, a Cat, or an Ape. Did they consider that no vestis sed virtus hominem euchit, they would reject all superfluitie as sinfull, and betake themselues to a more temperate moderation in each 25 degree of excesse.

When as the outward garment, not the inwarde vertue, must be faine to commend a man, it is all one as if a man shold loue the Snake for his gray coloured skin, or poison because it is in a siluer peece, or pilgrim salue because it is 30 in a painted boxe. It is learning and knowledge which are the onely ornaments of a man, which furnisheth the tongue with wisedome, and the hart with vnderstanding, which maketh the children of the needy poore to become noble Peeres, and men of obscure parentage to be equall with Princes in pos- 35 sessions; with who if you talke of lineall discents, they will

23 not vestis Coll., Gro. Oy. read 'no'? 29 gray] gay Coll.

lay before you the pence, being able to fetch their petigree from no ancient house. | except it be from some olde Hog- D IN stie, deriving their kindred fro the Coffer, not from the Conquest; neither can they vaunt any notable seruice of 5 their auncitry in the field, but can tel you how their Grandsire vsed to sette his folde : neither doo I speak this to the disgracing derision of vertuous Nobilitie, which I reuerence in each respect, but onely endeuour summarilie to shewe, what goodlie buildings Fortune doth raise on 10 vertues slender foundations. I am not ignoraunt, that many times the couetous ignorant scrapeth that from the tayle of the Plowe, which maketh all his after posteritie thinke scorne to looke on the plough, they ouerseeing that by a seruant, on which theyr father was as Tilsman attendant. 15 beeing translated by his toyle from the Parrish, good man Webbe in the Countrey, to a pertly Gentleman in the Court, bestowing more at one time on the Herralde for Armes, then his Father all his life tyme gaue in almes. No matter though such vanting vostarts, which have as little 20 vertue as antiquitie to honest their posterity, become the scoffe of a Scholler and the stale of a Courtier, which will

make them if they faile heereafter in Nobilitie of byrth, to seeke it by learning. In times past, ignorance in eache sexe was so odious, 25 that women as well as men, were well seene in all liberall

²⁵ that women as well as men, were well seene in all liberall Sciences: was not *Gracchus* who was counted a most excellent Orator, instructed by his Mother *Cornelia* in eloquence? what should I speake of *Aripithis*, the King of *Scithias* Son, whom his mother *Istrina* likewise instructed
³⁰ in the elements of the Greeke tongue? But least in praysing of learning in so learned an age, I should bring manifest truethes into question, and so swarue from the Logicians prescriptions, or by dilating on so affluent an argument, might seeme to gather stones on the sea shoare, as I will cease to prosecute the praise of it, and will propound

vnto you the speciall plague that is iminent vnto it. Science hath no enemie but the ignoraunt, who contemne

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it as vile, because their grosse capacitie perceiues nothing in it diuine. Such an ignorant was Valentinianus the Emperour, who was a professed enemie to all excellent D 2 Artes, or Licinius, | who likewise termed learning, the plague and poison of the weale publique. Such couetous ignorance 5 dooth creepe amõgst the cormorants of our age, who as the Chamelion which is fed with the avre. stands alwaies with his mouth wide open, so these men which live vpo almes, haue alwaies their mouthes open to aske, and hauing felt the sweetnes of Abby Landes, they gape after Colledge 10 liuing, desiring to enrich themselues as much with the siluer of the one, as their auncesters got by the gold of the other : much like to him that having bathed his hands in the blood of wilde beastes, proceedeth to the slaughter of men. the one no more satis-fied with money, then the other with 15 murder. If such goodly buildings were againe to arise by the common cost, a man may easily gesse, how backward they would be in giuing, who are now so forward in detracting. Can Common weales florish where learning decaies? K shall not felicitie haue a fall when as knowledge failes? 20 yea, peace must needes perrish from amongst vs, when as we rather seeke to choke then cherrish, to famish then feede, the Nurses of it, depriving them of all outward ornaments (as much as in vs lyeth) who are the onelie ornaments of our state : but I hope their needie enmitie shall returne 25 to them in vaine, and not proue the procurement of our common plague and paine, that the more they oppugne our prosperitie, the greater shalbe our welfare, like to the Trees in whom those partes are stronger that are opposite to the North, then those which bend towarde the South or 30 West winde.

I will not stand to amplifie their discredit, which endeuour to turne our day into night, and our light into darknesse, nor yet will compare them to those that are called *Agrippæ*, who beeing preposterously borne with their feete forward, 35 are saide to enter into the world with ill fortune, and to the great myschiefe of mankind, as *Marcus Agrippa*, and Nero: onelie this I will wish, that beeing dead, the learned may give them such Epitaphes of disgrace, as they deserve, and that the Chronicles may record their reproch vnto all ages. Amen say all they that are friends to the Muses.

- ⁵ How can we hope for anie further exhibition when as we D 2^{*} see men repine at that we haue alreadie? It fareth with finer wits, as it doth with the pearle which is affirmed to be in the head of the Toade: the one beeing of exceeding vertue is inclosed with poison, the other of no lesse value, to copast about with pouerty. Learning now adaies gets no solution if it come empty handed. Promotion which was wont to be ŷ free propounded palme of paines, is by many mens lamentable practise, become a purchase. When as wits of more towardnes shal haue spent some time in the
- ¹⁵ Vniuersitie, and haue as it were tasted the elements of Arte, and laide the foundation of knowledge, if by the death of some friend they shoulde be withdrawne frõ theyr studies, as yet altogether raw, and so consequently vnfitte for any calling in the Common wealth, where should they finde
 ²⁰ a friend to be vnto them in steed of a father, or one to perfit that which their deceased parents begun: nay they may well betake themselues to some trade of Husbandry, for any maintenance they gette in the way of almes at the
- Vniuersitie, or els take vppon them to teach, beeing more ²⁵ fitte to be taught, and perch into the pulpit, their knowledge beeing yet vnperfit, verie zealouslie preaching, beeing as yet scarce grounded in religious principles. How can those men call home the lost sheepe that are gone astray, comming into the Ministery before their wits be staid? This greene.
- 30 fruite, beeing gathered before it be ripe, is rotten before it be mellow, and infected with Scismes, before they haue learned to bridle their affections, affecting innouations as newfangled, and enterprising alterations wherby the Church is mangled.
- 35 But some may object, that I goe beyond my Anatomie, in touching these abusiue enormities. I answer, that I discourse of these matters as they are become the follies of

our time, and the faults of our age, wishing the redresse of such rashnes, and the suppression of the forenamed rauenous rable, these abuses beeing as intollerable as the worst, and therfore to be condemned with the first. I trust there is no man so simple, who can discerne wisedome from 5 D 3 folly, and knowledge from ignorance. | but his mother wit wil afford him so much vnderstanding, that there is necessary vse of learning in euery calling, bringing praise to them that possesse it, and shame to them that want it, without the which no externall ornament is any whit auaileable to 10 aduancement, but seemeth rather a disgracing deformitie, having dislike his attendant. Reject then pride, to embrace it to your profit, neglect vain-glory, and striue to attaine to the knowledge of Arts, the pathway to honor. Let the liues of the Philosophers be the direction of vouthes imita- 15 tion, who ware no more clothes then wold keepe away cold. and eate no more meate then would expell hunger; yea, many of them the more to keepe downe their bodies, being placed in the midst of plentie, haue contented themselues with a thin hungry diet, the copanion of scarsitie. Diogenes 20 chose rather to lick dishes at Athens, then to live daintily with Alexander. Plato had rather bid Dyonisius adiew, then he would be driven from his philosophicall dyet. Porus that peerelesse Indian Prince, contented himselfe with breade and water as his accustomed cheere. Agesilaus 25 King of the Lacedæmonians, passing through y Countrey of Thasius, being louingly met by the nobles, and entirely welcommed by the common sorte into the Countrey, with diuersitie of dainties and brauery of banquets, would not taste any thing saue Breade and Water, notwithstanding 30 earnest entreatie to the contrarie; but their importunitie increasing, to put by all suspition of ingratitude, he willed his slaues and footmen to take their repast with their prouision, saying, that abstinencie and temperancie, not varietie of viandes and delicacie, beseemeth him that is placed in 35 Chayre of authoritie. Constantius kept himselfe so hungerly, that many times hee woulde craue a crust of breade of

a poore woman to expell hunger. The Priests of Ægipt abstained from flesh & wine. The Persians were satis-fied with breade, salt, and water. In Rhodes he was reputed a grosse braind man, which fed on any thing but fishe. So 5 warily in times past hath temperate moderation beene observed in all Nations, that by Zaleucus law, he was put to death, which dranke wine without the Phisiti- | ons D 3" aduice. The Matrons and Ladies of Rome, were expresly prohibited the taste of it, in deed by this counsaile squaring to their decrees, that wine is the efficient of heate, heate of lust, lust of murder. Eg. Macenius slew his owne Wife, (as Plinie recordeth) for that shee loued wine too much, and was by Romulus Law saued from death: in which place of *Plinie* it is also specified, that a certaine Matron 15 of Rome was adjudged to die, because shee closelie kept the key of a Celler of wine. Censoriall Cato was so curious in $\overset{\circ}{v}$ observation of this ordinaunce, that hee customably caused certaine men to kysse the women, to know whether theyr breath smelled of wine: in whose time, no man what-20 soeuer, whether he were Consul, Senator, Tribune, or Dictator, might drinke any Wine, before he was thirtie and fiue yeres of age. I doo not alleage these examples, to the end I might condene the moderate vse of wine as vnlawfull, but to shew by the comparison, how farre we 25 exceede them in excesse, whose banquets are furnisht with such wastfull superfluitie.

It is a common complaint, that more perrish with the surfet then with the sworde, which many haue followed so farre, that to the recouering remedie of this surfeting 30 maladie, they haue restrained a healthfull diet to two or three dishes; deeming our disgestion would be better, if our dishes were fewer. Which opinion, although Sir *Thomas Eliot* a man of famous memory, in his booke called the Castle of health, in some politique respects doth 35 seeme to fauour, yet I doo think in his private iudgment, hee did acknowledge the diversitie of meates not to be so

7 Phisiti- | tions Q.

THE ANATOMIE

incommodious as he there pretendes. But that I may aunswere what they vrge, first say they, what say you to brute Beastes, who beeing nourished but with one kinde of meate, and onely after one manner, are farre more healthfull and sounde of body then men, that diet themselues 5 with sundry dishes? to this I answer, that either of these assertions are vntrue, for neither doo they vse onely one kind of nourishment, neither are diseases more distant from thế, then from vs. The first is prooued by the choyse of

D A Pastures wherein they graze, where there is grasse both 10 bitter and sauorie, soure & sweete, some nourishing colde, some nourishing hote iuvce. Is then the substance of their meate simple, who feede vppon boughes and weedes, besides so many sundry kinde of field hearbes, no lesse diuers in nutriment then in name? To prooue that diseases are no 15 lesse incident to beastes then to men. I will sticke to Homers authoritie, who reporteth the pestilence to be begun by brute beastes. To shew how great the infirmities are of other creatures, the short life of some of them may sufficientlie serue, except you have recourse to those 20 recorded Fables of Crowes and Rauens, who commonly sease vppon all kinde of carrion, picke vp each sort of new sowne seede, and are at hoste with euery kind of fruite in the Orchard. Secondly they adde, that there was neuer Phisition so confidently carelesse of his Patient, that he 25 woulde prescribe the vse of diuers meates at once, to him that is distressed with a Feuer, wherby (say they) it may be gathered, that one kind of meate is more auaileable to a speedie disgestion then many, because that Phisitions prescribe but one kinde of meate to them, whose disgestion 30 is weakest.

This objection is thus taken away, first there is not the same proportion to be observed in diet, in sicknes, & in health. Secondly, in as much as they are wont to set before them onely one sort of meate, it is not because it is $_{35}$ more easie of disgestion, but least the sight of much meat should breede in $\overset{\circ}{y}$ weake stomacks a lothing of it. Thirdly

they object, that the nourishment of diuers meates is no lesse noysome, then the drinking of diuers kinds of Wines is daungerous. Euery one knowes that he that washeth his braines with diuers kinds of wines, is the next doore to 5 a drunken man, and he like (say they) to be endangered by diseases, who affecteth variety in his diet. Here doe I denie the coherence of the coparison, for what is hee that by eating ouermuch, doth incurre the like inconvenience that he dooth, that drinketh much? hee that hath ouerloded 10 his stomacke with sundry meates, is pained a little perhaps in his bellie, hee that hath ouercharged his braine with wyne, is no | better then a mad man for the time; which D 4 % the rather seemes to me, because the grosenes of v meate remaining in one place, expecteth the administration of 15 disgestion, and beeing thorowly consumed, is suddainly voided, but Wine beeing by nature lighter, ascendeth higher, and tickleth the braine placed in the top, with the inflamation of a hote fume, and therefore diuersitie of wines at once. is shunned of them that are wise, least the matter which is 20 readie to possesse the head on a suddaine, in a moment ouerturne the seate of reason, which daunger in the diuersitie of meates, no reason can be rendred why we shoulde dread. But they will perhaps say, that the diuersitie of iuyce, framed of the diuersitie of meats, agrees not with our 25 bodies, as though our bodies were not compounded of qualities, as of hote and cold, dry and moist; but he which feedeth onely on one kinde of meat, sendeth foorth but the iuyce of one qualitie: the Spring is hote and moist, the Sommer dry and hote, Autume dry and cold, Winter both 30 moist and colde together, so also the elements which are our beginninges; what reason is it then that our bodies should be restrained to one kind of meat? Thus then we see that diuersitie is not so incomodious, but one kind of meate may be as daungerous, for gluttony may as well be 35 committed by one dish as twentie. May not a man as soone surfet by eating a whole sheepe with Phago, or an Oxe with Milo, as by the sipping taste of sundry dainties?

But why stand I so long about meates, as though our life were nought but a banquet? or why am I so large in disputing of the diet of our bodies, as though thereby wee shoulde purchase quiet to our soules? what is this but to imitate the foolish tender mother, which had rather her 5 childe should be well fed then well taught? Wherefore to make vse of my Anatomie as well to my selfe as to others, I will prescribe as neere as I can, such a rule for Students, that therby squaring their actions, they shall not be easily attached of any notable absurditie.

There be three things which are wont to slack young Students endeuour, Negligence, want of Wisedome, and E For- | tune. Negligence, when as we either altogether pretermit, or more lightly passe ouer, the thing we ought seriously to ponder. Want of wisedome, when we observe no method in 15 reading. Fortune is in the event of chaunce, either naturally happing, or when as by pouerty or some infirmitie, or natural dulnes, we are withdrawne from our studies, and alienated from our intended enterprise, by the imagination of the rarenesse of learned men : but as touching these three, for the first, 20 that is to say, negligent sloth, he is to be warned: for the second, he is to be instructed: for the thirde, he is to be helped. Let his reading be temperate, whereunto wisedome, not wearines, must prescribe an end, for as immoderate fast, excessive abstinence, and inordinate watchings, are argued 25 of intemperance, perrishing with their immoderate vse, so that these thinges neuer after can be performed as they ought in any measure; so the intemperate studie of reading incurreth reprehension, and that which is laudable in This kinde, is blamewoorthy by the abuse. Reading, two 30 waies is lothsome to the mind, and troublesome to the spirit, both by the qualitie, namely if it be more obscure, and also by y quantitie if it be more tedious, in either of which we ought to vse great moderation, least that which is ordained to the refreshing of our wittes, be abused to 35 the dulling of our sences. We reade many things, least by letting them passe, we should seeme to despise them ; some

things we reade, least we should seeme to be ignorant in them; other thinges we reade, not that we may embrace them, but eschew them. Our learning ought to be our liues amendment, and the fruites of our private studie ought to 5 appeare in our publique behaviour.

Reade that sitting, which may be thy meditation walking, shunne as well rude manners as rude phrase, and false dealing as much as false Latine, & choose him to be thy teacher, whome thou maist more admire when thou seest to then when thou hearest. *Quid faciendum sit, a faciente discendum est.* Learne of all men willingly that which thou knowest not, because humility may make that common to thee, which nature hath made proper to euery one. Thou shalt be wiser then all, if thou wilt | learne of all. Ery

- ¹⁵ Heed what *Chrisippus* saith in his prouerbs, that which thou knowest not, peraduenture thy Asse can tell thee. If thou be desirous to attaine to the truth of a thing, first learn determinate conclusions before thou dealest with doubtful controuersies; he shall neuer enter into the reason
- ²⁰ of the trueth, who beginneth to be taught by discussing of doubts. Thinke not common things vnworthy of thy knowledge, of which thou art ignorant: those thinges are not to be contemned as little, without the which great things cannot stand. Post not rashlie from one thing to
- ²⁵ another, least thou maist seeme to have seene many things, and learned fewe. *Nil assequitur qui omnia sequitur*. I am not ignorant, that farre more ardent is the desire of knowing vnknowne thinges, then of repeating knowne things: this we see happen in Stageplayers, in Orators, in al things,
- 3º men hast vnto nouelties, and runne to see new things, so that whatsoeuer is not vsuall, of the multitude is admired, yet must Students wisely prefer renowned antiquitie before newe found toyes, one line of *Alexanders* Maister, before the large inuectiue *Scolia* of the *Parisian* Kings Professor.
- 35 Many there be that are out of looue with the obscuritie wherein they liue, that to win credit to their name, they care not by what discredit they encrease others shame, and

least by the contention, their vaunted victory might be destitute of all glorie, they encounter with them on whose shoulders al Artes doe leane, as on Atlas the heauens; thinking that men shoulde thus imagine, that none except he knewe himselfe sufficientlie furnished with the exquisite 5 knowledge of all excellent Arts, durst vndertake such a taske, as though any were more readie to correct Appelles, then the rude Cobler, to contend with Appollo, then contemptible Pan. But these vostart reformers of Arts respect not so much the indagation of the truth, as the ayme of 10 their pride, and coueting to have newe opinions passe vnder their names, they spende whole yeeres in shaping of sects. Which their pudled opinions are no sooner published, but straight way some proude spirited princocks, desirous to differ from the common sort, gets him a liuerie Coate of 15 E 2 their cloth, | and slaues it in their seruile sutes, enlarging the wilful errors of their arrogancie. Nothing is so great an enemie to a sounde judgment, as the pride of a peeuish conceit, which causeth a man both in life and beliefe, either to snatch vppe or hatch newfangles. This one thing also 20 deceiueth many, forsooth they wyll seeme wise before their time, that nowe they both beginne to counterfet that which they are not, and to be ashamed of that which they are: and therein they are most distant from wisedome, wherein they thinke themselues to be thought wyse. Others there 25 be that thinke so well of themselues, that no word can so much as scape by chaunce, but they thinke it worthy of a pen-mans paines, and striuing to speake nought but prouerbs, they make their bald eloquence a common by word, cockering themselues in their owne conceits, till they 30 be scorned as cockscombes. These they be that knowing not howe to speake, haue not learned to hold their peace, teaching manie times the thinges they vnderstand not, and perswading what they knowe not, becomming the "Maisters of the ignorant before they be the Schollers of 35 the learned. There is no such discredit of Arte, as an ignoraunt Artificer, men of meaner iudgement, measuring

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oft times the excellencie of the one, by the ignoraunce of the other. But as hee that censureth the dignitie of Poetry by *Cherillus* paultry paines, the maiestie of Rethorick by the rudenesse of a stutting *Hortensius*, the subtiltie of 5 Logique by the rayling of *Ramus*, might iudge the one a foole in writing he knewe not what, the other tipsie by his stammering, the thirde the sonne of *Zantippe* by his scold-

ing; so he that estimats Artes by the insolence of Idiots, who professe that wherein they are Infants, may deeme the Vniuersitie nought but the Nurse of follie, and the knowledge of Artes, nought but the imitation of the Stage. This I speake to shew what an obloquie these impudent incipients in Arts are vnto Art.

Amongst all the ornaments of Artes, Rethorick is to be 15 had in highest reputation, without the which all the rest are naked, and she onely garnished : yet some there be who woulde | seperate Arts from Eloquence, whose censures we E 24 oppugne, because it abhorres from common experience. Who doth not know y in all tongues taske eloquence is 20 odious if it be affected, and that attention is altogether wanting, where it is rejected. A man may baule till his voice be hoarse, exhort with teares till his tongue ake and his eves be drie, repeate that hee would perswade, till his stalenes dooth secretlie call for a Cloake bagge, and vet 25 moue no more then if he had been all that while mute, if his speech be not seasoned with eloquence, and adorned with elocutions assistance. Nothing is more odious to the Auditor, then the artlesse tongue of a tedious dolt, which dulleth the delight of hearing, and slacketh the desire of 30 remembring, and I know not how it comes to passe, but many are so delighted to heare themselues, that they are a cumber to the eares of all other ; pleasing their Auditors in nothing more then in v pause of a ful point, when as by their humming and hawking respit, they have leisure to 35 gesture the mislike of his rudenes. To the eschewing therefore of the lothing hatred of them that heare them,

17-8 whose oppunge Q: whose [opinion we] oppugne Gro.

I would wish them to learne to speake many things in few. neither to speake all things which to theyr purpose they may speake, least those things be lesse profitably spoken which they ought to speake: neither would I have them ouershoote themselues with an imitation of breuitie, so that 5 striuing to be very short, they should prooue very long, namelie, when as they endeuor to speake many things breefelie. Perswade one point throughlie, rather then teach many things scatteringly, that which we thinke let vs speake, and that which we speake let vs thinke; let our 10 speeche accorde with our life. Endeuour to adde vnto Arte Experience: experience is more profitable voide of arte. then arte which hath not experience. Of it selfe arte is vnprofitable without experience, and experience rashe without arte. In reading, thou must with warie regard 15 learne as wel to discerne thy losse as thy gaine, thy hurt as good, least being wonne to haue a fauourable like of Poets wanton lines, thou be excited vnto the imitation of their lust. It is very vnseemely that nobler wits should be dis-E 3 credited with baser stu- dies, and those who high and 20 mightie callings doo expect, shold be hindered by the Vinticements of pleasure and vanitie. Young men are not so much delighted with solide substances, as with painted shadowes, following rather those thinges which are goodly to the viewe, then profitable to the vse, neither doo they 25 loue so much those things that are dooing, as those things that are sounding ; reiovcing more to be strowed with flowers then nourished with frute. How many be there that seeke truth, not in truth, but in vanitie, and find that they sought not according to trueth, but according to vanitie, and that 30 which is most miserable, in the words of life, they toile for the merchandise of death. Hence commeth it to passe, that many make toyes their onely studie, storing of trifles, when as they neglect most precious treasures, and having left the Fountaines of truth, they folow the Rivers of 35 opinions. I can but pittie their folly, who are so curious in fables, and excruciate themselues about impertinent ques-

tions, as about Homers Country, parentage, and sepulcher, whether Homer or Hesiodus were older, whether Achilles or Patroclus more ancient, in what apparrell Anacharsis the Scithian slept, whether Lucan is to be reckoned 5 amongst the Poets or Historiographers, in what Moneth in the vere Virgill died, with infinite other, as touching the Letters of the Hiacinth, the Chestnut tree, the children of Niobe, the trees where Latona brought foorth Diana, in all which idle interrogatories, they have left vnto vs not 10 thinges found, but things to be sought, and peraduenture they had founde necessary things, if they had not sought superfluous thinges. Innumerable such vnnecessary questions, according to Philosophy, are made as touching the soule, as whence it is, what maner of one it is, when it 15 doth begin to be, how long it may bee, whether it passeth not from his first mansion els where, and so alter his abiding, or shift into other formes of brute Beastes, whether one soule serueth no more but once and one, what it shall doo, when as by vs it shall cease to doe any thing, 20 howe it shall vse his libertie, when as it is escaped out of this dungion, or whether it be forgetfull of former things? what do al these | things auaile vnto vertue ? Wherefore, E 3" even as he that enterpriseth to saile over the endlesse Ocean, whiles he cannot passe any further, is constrained 25 to returne by the way he came, so these men beginning to sound the infinite depth of these misteries in ignorance, are faine to cease in ignorance : let the therfore refraine from such folly, and not seeke that which is not to be found, least they find not that which is to be found. Socrates 30 who reduced all Philosophy vnto the manners, sayd, that thys was the greatest wisedome, to distinguish good & euill thinges. Vnto which discerning distinction is required deliberative meditation, in so much as in it consists our liues vertuous direction. Neither is it to liue well one 35 daies worke, but the continuall exercise of our whole life, beeing the best effect that euer knowledge did afford. When as wee duely consider, whether euery way leadeth, or

wisely ponder with our selues to what end we refer each one of our actions, and exact of our straying thoughts a more seuere account of their wandering course, we shal find no victory so great as the subduing of vice, nothing so hard as to liue well, no such vnestimable iewell, as an 5 honest conversation : let him that is inclined but to one extreame, secretly try by himselfe, with what facilitie or difficulty he may suppresse it in himselfe, and his owne practise will teache him, that he is led captiue by his owne inclinations, and ouercome by his wicked cogitations. If 10 the so difficult a thing in accomplishment, seemes one sins suppression, howe laborious woulde be the reformation of an altogether euill conversation. Since then the onely ende of knowledge ought to be to learne to liue well, let vs propound this vse and end vnto our selues, least after so 15 many yeres paines, we misse of the marke whereat our parents in our education aymd. Turning ouer Histories, and reading the liues of excellent Orators and famous Philosophers, let vs with Themistocles, set before our eves one of the excellentest to imitate, in whose example insisting, our 20 industry may be doubled, to the adequation of his praise.

I know the learned wil laugh me to scorne, for setting down such Rams horne rules of direction, and euen nowe E 4 I begin to | bethinke me of *Mulcasters Positions*, which makes my penne heere pause as it were at a full point; ²⁵ which pause hath changd my opinion, and makes me rather refer you to *Aschame* the antienter of the two; whose prayses, seeing Maister *Grant* hath so gloriously garnished, I will referre you to his workes, and more especially to his Schoolemaster, where he hath most learnedly censured 30 both our Latine and Greeke Authors. As for lighter studies, seeing they are but the exercise of youth to keepe them from idlenes, and the preparation of the minde to more weightie meditations, let vs take heede, least whiles we seeke to make them the furthering helps of our finall 35 profession, they proue not the hindering harmes of our

12 reformation Q

intended vocation, that we dwell not so long in Poetry that we become Pagans, or that we make not such proceedinges in *Aristotle* that we prooue proficients in Atheisme. Let not learning, which ought to be the

5 Leuell, whereby such as liue ill, ought to square theyr crooked waies, be the occasion vnto thế of farther corruption, who haue already sucked infection; least their knowledge way them downe into hell, when as the ignorant goe the direct way to heauen.

And thus I ende my Anatomie, least I might seeme to haue beene too tedious to the Reader in enlarging a Theame of Absurditie, desiring of the learned pardon, and of Women patience, which may encourage me heereafter to endeuour in some other matter of more moment, 15 as well to be answerable to the expectation of the one, as to make amends to the other. In the meane time I bidde them both farewell.

FINIS.

E



A COVNTERCVFFE GIVEN TO MARTIN IVNIOR

Entry in the Stationers' Register : None.

Editions: (1) Early:

1589 (A). A | Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iu-|nior: bythe venturous, hardie, and | renowned Pafquill of England, | Caualiero. | Not of olde Martins making, which newlie knighted | the Saints in Heauen, with rife vp Sir Peter and Sir Paule; But | lately dubd for his feruice at home in the defence of his | Countrey, and for the cleane breaking of his | ftaffe vppon Martins | face. | [device] | PRINTED, | Betweene the skye and the grounde, | VVithin a myle of an Oake, and not many fieldes | of, from the vnpriuiledged Preffe of the | Aff-ignes of Martin | Iunior. | Anno. Dom. 1589.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A. ij. ' PASQVILL OF ENGLAND...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pasquill of England | to Martin Iunior. A 4 is not signed.

Catch-words : A 2. Moone A 2[×]. who A 3. grounded A 3[×]. them A 4. Rounde-(layes)

Copy used: That in the British Museum (C. 37. d. 48).

1589 (B). A | Countercuffe giuen to | Martin Iunior : by the venturous, | hardie, and renowned Pafquill of Eng-|lande, *Caualiero*. | \clubsuit | Not of olde Martins making, which newlie knighted | the Saints in Heauen, with rife vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule ; | But latelie dubd for his feruice at home in the defence of his | Countrey, and for the cleane breaking of his | ftaffe vpon Martins face. | (••) | [ornament] | \clubsuit Printed between the skye and the | grounde, wythin a myle of an Oake, and not manie | Fieldes off, from the vnpriuiledged Preffe of | the Aff-ignes of *Martin* | *Iunior*. | *Anno. Dom.* 1589.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation : As edition A. But A 4 is signed A. iiij.

Catch-words : A 2. hold A 2[×]. Maugre A 3. grounded A 3[×]. as A 4. In.

Copy used: That in the Lambeth Palace Library (xxx. 6. 25. (1).)The other copy in the same library (xxx. 6. 26. (1).), which seems to be identical, has also been referred to.

(2) Modern Editions:

(1) 1883-4. The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe... edited by A. B. Grosart, Vol. i, pp. 73-85.

From the copy in the British Museum.

(2) 1903. (The present edition.)

From the same copy (C. 37. d. 48), collated with copy of edition **B** in the Lambeth Library (xxx. 6. 25. (1).)

Note on the Editions:

The edition here designated **B** does not seem to have been noticed before. It differs from **A** chiefly in the following respects: (1) different arrangement of the titlepage, (2) the use on the title-page of a square ornament of lines instead of the printer's device used in **A**, (3) different page division, (4) different spelling, and (5) the reading on A 4^{\vee} of 'the sixt of *August*' instead of 'the eight of *August*'.

At first sight this last difference might be taken to indicate that **B** was an earlier edition than **A**, but I think that a fuller consideration will show that these dates can hardly represent the actual dates of publication, and hence are of no value in determining the priority of the editions.

In the first place the wording of the passage, 'From *Grauesende* Barge the eight [sixt] of *August*' shows that the date was meant as that of writing, not of printing; it seems therefore unlikely, though not, of course, impossible that it should have been altered by the printer.

GIVEN TO MARTIN IVNIOR

Further, if we assume that these were the dates of two consecutive editions, we shall have to suppose that within two days a whole edition was printed off; the type distributed; so many of the copies sold that it seemed necessary to the printer to issue a second, and the type set up again. To me this seems in the highest degree improbable. The book is certainly but a small pamphlet, a single sheet in quarto, but printing was slow and there is every reason to suppose that a considerable sale would be anticipated, and a large first edition prepared; it must be remembered that the book appeared just when the Martinist controversy was at its height.

I think then that we must give up the idea of there having been two consecutive editions, which appeared on August 6 and 8 respectively. At the same time I confess that I have no other explanation of this difference to offer.

The printer's device which appeared in \mathbf{A} is found also on the title-page of two tracts which followed this one, apparently from the same pen, *The Returne of Pasquill*, 1589, and *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie*, 1590; its absence in \mathbf{B} is therefore worth attention. This seems to me to point to one of three conclusions, (I) that \mathbf{B} was the earlier edition and that the printer, perhaps thinking it better to conceal his identity, did not at first intend to use any mark, but afterwards changed his mind, (2) that the device was at the time being used for *The Returne* of *Pasquill*, and was hence not available, (3) that it was being used in printing another, simultaneous, edition of the *Countercuffe*.

Of these three I think that the last is most probable. We must remember that the printer had nothing to lose but rather much to gain, at least in credit with the authorities, from his identity becoming known. The form of the imprint is of course borrowed from that of the Martinist tracts, and no evidence at all of any wish for concealment.

The second alternative is by no means more probable.

The Returne was printed in October of the same year. It seems hardly likely that the printer, after waiting two months to produce a second edition of the *Countercuffe*, should choose for doing so precisely the time when the first sheet of *The Returne* was being worked off, and when naturally his office would be most busy. He might well have waited a few days longer and have issued the two books uniform in appearance.

The suggestion that two editions were printed simultaneously is, I think, strongly supported by the fact that the catch-word on A 3, which comes just halfway through the matter, is the same in both editions, while those on other pages differ.

The chance that this was accidental seems to me to be so small that it may with safety be neglected. We may then argue that neither were the two editions set up from independent manuscripts, in which case the chances would be greatly in favour of all the catch-words being different, nor was one edition set up from a printed copy of the other, for in that case it would have been most natural for the compositor to follow the original line for line and page for page all through, as was generally done when the type employed was similar, and the catch-words would have corresponded throughout.

I would suggest that what happened is this: the manuscript was divided in the middle, most probably at the end of a page, and was given to two pairs of compositors to set up in duplicate; the second pair would of course start at the head of a page with the word 'grounded,' and the first pair would have to end their third page with the same word as catch-word. Seeing that the first page is not a full one, there would not be the slightest difficulty in their doing this, though we must suppose that, contrary to the usual practice, the matter was first set up in a galley, and that the division into pages and the addition of catch-words and signatures took place afterwards.

Another possibility is that the decision to duplicate was

not come to until half had been set up; but without supposing duplication of some sort I do not see how we can account for the facts. There would have been no object in ending the first half at any particular point if the whole of the manuscript had been available at once, as it would naturally have been if the editions had been consecutive. If on the other hand it be maintained that the circumstances merely point to the manuscript being divided between two compositors when the second edition was set up, I can only answer that it may, but that to divide so small a job as this indicates great need for haste, and haste is perhaps less likely in the preparation of a second edition than a first.

Thus I think it very probable that, anticipating a great demand and wishing to put as many copies in circulation at once as possible, the printer set the book up in duplicate. At the same time I wish it to be understood that I put this forward as a mere guess, which seems to fit the facts rather better than any other suggestion that I can offer. The whole thing is a question of the most likely among several possibilities, and I should not be in the least surprised if other evidence coming to light should prove me wrong.

Fortunately the text is practically identical, except for the difference of dates already commented upon, so that it is little more than a matter of convenience which edition one uses as the copy-text. If my theory is correct the one with the printer's mark is in a sense the original, the other a duplicate; I have therefore followed **A**.

Note on the Printer :

Though it does not properly belong here, I think it advisable to say a word or two as to the printer of this and the two following tracts. There seems to be strong reason for supposing them to have been the work of the same house, the printer's device, the type, and the general style of composition being identical in all three. It has however

56 A COVNTERCVFFE TO MARTIN IVNIOR

been stated, on what evidence I have been unable to learn, that The First parte of Pasquils Apologie was printed by James Roberts for John Danter. As however the same device was used in The Recantations as they were seuerallie pronounced by Wylliam Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell ... At London, Printed by Iohn Charlewood and William Brome. Anno Domini. M.D.LXXXVIII. and in Lyly's Endimion, ... At London, Printed by I. Charlewood, for the widdowe Broome, 1591, and as further the initial I on page A 3 of the Apologie appears also in Endimion, we need feel little doubt in assuming them to be the work of Charlewood or Brome, or perhaps of the two in partnership.

Of the device itself I need only say that it was originally Baldwin's, the D in the centre being a remnant of his name the rest of which was cut away, as was also the motto round the frame. See, for facsimile of the device in its original state, Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, III. 503.

It afterwards came into the hands of James Roberts, who after Charlewood's death in 1593 married his widow and took over his business, and was used by him on the title-page of Robert Southwell's Saint Peters complaynt ... Printed by I. R. for G. C. 1595, and of The Treasurie of hidden Secrets. Commonlie called, The Good-huswiues Closet of provision, for the health of her Houshold ... Printed by I. R. for Edward White ... 1600.

The same device was also used in Hypnerotomachia. The Strife of Loue in a Dreame ... Printed for William Holme ... 1592¹, but no printer's name is given.

¹ Other copies have 'for Simon Waterson' and 'for Iohn Busbie,'

A

Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior : by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of England, Cauabero.

Notof olde Martins making, which newlie knighted the Saints in Heauen, with rife vp Sir Peter and Sir Paule; But lately dubd for his fernice at home in the defence of his Countrey, and for the cleane breaking of his ftaffe vppon Martins Face.



PRINTED, Betweene the skye and the grounde, VVithin a myle of an Oake, and not many fieldes of, from the vnpriuiledged Preffe of the Aff-ignes of Martins Junior.

PASQVILL OF ENG-LAND TO MARTIN

IVNIOR.

Aliant Martin, if euer the earth carried anie Gyants, as fabulous antiquitie hath auouched, which entred into wars and conspiracies against GOD, thy father Mar-prelat was a whelpe of that race; who to reuiue the 5 memory of his auncesters almost forgotten, hath broken into heauen with his blasphemies. If the Monster be deade, I meruaile not, for hee was but an error of Nature, not long liued: hatched in the heat of the sinnes of England, and sent into these peaceable Seas of ours, to 10 play like a Dolphin before a tempest. The heads this Hydra lost in a famous place of late, where every newe Bugge no sooner puts out his hornes, but is beaten downe : The Anotamie latelie taken of him, the blood and the humors that were taken from him, by launcing and worm-15 ing him at London vpon the common Stage; The maine buffets that are given him in every corner of this Realme,

- are euident tokens, that beeing thorow soust in so many showres, hee had no other refuge but to runne into a hole, and die as he liued, belching.
- Turkie hath very good cause to bewaile his death, for theyr Religion like an ancient building, worne with extremity of age, riues, & threatens ruine on euery side, if it be not supported by newe proppes. One of the best meanes the deuill inuented to holde that vppe, was the 25 helpe of thy Father, to pull downe all other Religions vnder heauen. His Conclusions and thy Epilogue, are two as fitte swordes, as *Mahomet* himselfe could desire to kill

A 2

PASQVILL OF ENGLAND

a Christian. But because thy Father wained with the A 2Y Moone for want of strength, when he left thee his Theses without life or limme, I woulde wishe thee to put them in Moode and Figure for his sake. Pasquill hath vndertaken to write a very famous worke. Entituled THE 5 OWLES ALMANACKE: wherein the night labours and byrth of your Religion is sette downe : the ascent and descent of the Starres that fauour it, is truelie calculated: the aspects of the Planets raigning ouer it, are expressed, with a iollie conjecture drawne from the judgment of the ro Theame, what end your Religion is like to haue. Now because hee hath reserved a blanke Paper at the end of the worke, for the foure seasons of the vere (as commonly Calculators doe) he is determined to keepe that in his hand, till your Syllogismes be made, that he may fill yppe 15 his Booke with the diseases and remedies of your Arguments, in what guarter of the yeere so euer they fall.

Pasquill hath taken vp your Gloue, and desires you to charge your weapon at him like a Man. If you play with him, as your father and your selfe haue doone with the 20 Bishops heretofore, if you barke like a Curre and bite behind, he will have a tricke with his heele to strike out your teeth. Whilst you consult with your Topicks to ground your reasons sure, Pasquill wyll come vppon you with another venewe. For he came latelie ouer-sea into 25 Kent, fro thence he cut ouer into Essex at Grauesende, and hearing some tidings of Hartford-shire, because hee cannot ride far without a bayte, he made as much haste as hee could to S. Albanes, where he staid one whole Sabaoth at the Christopher, and having there pestered 30 a newe paire of Writing-tables with profitable Notes for that quarter, he sette forwarde the Munday following to North-hampton-shire, smyling and glauncing as he turnd his Horse about to bidde the Congregation of Saint Michaels adjewe. 35

To be brefe with your worshipfultie, *Pasquill* hath posted very dilligently ouer all the Realme, to gather some

fruitfull Volume of THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS, which Mauger your fiue hundred fauorites shall be printed. There shall you read of that reuerend Elder of your Church, | who beeing credited with the stocke of the poore, A 3 5 pertaining to the Bride-well house of Canterburie, to sette men a work, was compelled to keepe it to himselfe, because no poore folkes of the houshold of Faith could be found in all that Cittie. There shall you see the life and learning of a Pastor of your Church, which expounding the ro Articles of our Beliefe in Deuon-shire, when he came to handle the descending into Hell, wrote a Latine Letter to a neighbour Minister of his to craue his aduise, and rapt it out lustilie, Si tu non vis venire mihi, ego volo venire tibi ; and so by the leakes that remaine in his Latine. 15 made more worke for the Tinker, than euer your Father made for the Cooper. I will leape ouer one of your Brother Preachers in North-hampton-shire, which is as good a Hound for his sent to smell a feast as euer man sawe. Pasquill met him betweene Bifield and Fawseley, 20 with a little Hatte like a Sawcer vppon hys crowne, a Filch-man in his hande, a swapping Ale-dagger at his back, containing by estimation, some two or three poundes of yron in the hyltes and chape, and a Bandogge by his side, to commaund fortie foote of grounde wheresoeuer he as goes, that neuer a Begger come neere him to craue an Almes. O how my Palfrey fetcht me vppe the Curuetto, and daunced the Goates iumpe, when I ranne the ring round about him to retriue him : it should seeme by the manages my beast made, that hee knewe his Maister had 30 a speciall peece of seruice in hande. You shall have a goodly bande of these men in the volume of the Saints. Pasquill is nowe gone ouer-sea to commit it to the Presse, and it is his pleasure (because it is the first opening of his shop) to giue you a taste of his Wares before you 35 buy them, like a franck Merchant.

In the mean season, sweet *Martin Iunior*, play thou the knaue kindly as thou hast begun, and waxe as olde in

iniquitie as thy father. Downe with learning and Vniuersities: I can bring you a Free-mason out of Kent, that gaue ouer his occupation twentie yeeres agoe. He wil make a good Deacon for your purpose: I haue taken some tryall of his gifts; hee preacheth very pretilie ouer 5 a Ioynd-stoole. These Bishops are somewhat too well A av grounded for greene-heades ; so long as they keepe their place and power, it is impossible for thee to cast the Religion of this Land into a newe Molde euery newe Moone. The whole state of the Lande perceiues it well 10 enough, that to deliver vppe the Prelacie to Martin is a Canker more daungerous to the Church and Realme, than it was for the Athenians to deliuer theyr Orators to Phillip of Macedon their ytter enemie : or thã it is for the Sheepe to betray their Sheepheards to the Woolfe. These staid 15 Fathers, through their long studie, practise, and experience in the Church of God, are skilful Phisitions, acquainted with the beating of euery pulse that beates out of order : they are able to discerne at the first touch, from what kinde of Hæresie, euery one of these new Feuers that 20 trouble vs, had his beginning. Therefore, as the high way to hasten the ende of the sicke, when you thinke to profit by their death, is eyther to counsell them to despise the Phisition, and cast both the Goblet and Potion against the walles: or els to deliuer them into the handes of an igno- 25 rant Leache, which by ministring euerie Sowters receipt to reforme the state of the bodie, plyeth them with purgatiue vppon purgatiue, till hee weakeneth the stomacke, and rots both the Liuer and the Longes; So the readie course to poison her Maiesties louing people, is to discredite 30 the Phisitions of their soules vnto them, and to suffer euerie Martin and Mounte-bancke to practise on them.

By these meanes shall you see Religion haled with violence into her graue, the goodly frame of this Commonweale shall fall, and Banck-rouptes and Atheists pocket 35 vppe the peeces. But our comfort is, that the wisedom

35 Athists B.

of her most excellent Maiestie is knowne to be greater, then to be traind from so high a seate to so base a lure, as every *Martinist* casteth out vnto her. Her sacred Maiestie knowes, that it behooueth all Princes to have 5 a watchfull regarde vnto their estate, which is to be preserved as well by dooing of nothing that may endomage them, as by seeking of any thing convenient for them.

Neuer bragge in this quarrell of your fiue hundred Brethren of credit and abilitie; *Pasquill* hath excellent To Ferrets to followe | them in their owne Boroughs: and he A 4 can tell you that there is a common kinde of affection, which men of this age carrie to such as you, whilst they haue any seruice to put you to, like vnto them that hauing somwhat to doe with a confection of poyson, reioyce when T5 they finde it, yet they hate the malice of it, and throw it out of the doores when their turne is serued. Neither doubt I, but that the same reckoning in the ende wyll be made of you, which your fauourers commonly make of theyr olde shooes, when they are past wearing; they 20 barter the awaie for newe Broomes, or carrie them foorth to the dunghill and leaue them there.

I coulde tell you manie strange stratagems of your best Friendes, but *Pasquill* is a Trauailer, and he knowes that Writers and Printers in these daies are like to Men placed ²⁵ at the *Persian* Banquets; if they rowle theyr eye neuer so little at one side, there stands an Eunuch before them with his hart full of iealousie, and his Bowe readie bent to shoote them through, because they looke farther then the Lawes of the Countrey suffer them. Neuerthelesse, because your 30 faction is suddainlie growne stale like an Oyster, and gapes so wide, that euery Fishwife at Billings-gate sees into you, either wee must wilfullie winke, and put out our eyes, or els wee cannot choose but discouer a number of your deformities. *Pasquils* experience in thys generation teacheth 35 him, that many of your Bowlsterers may be compared to Bookes that are gilded & trimlie couered, they sette a faire

6 endamage B. 25 they eye A: their eye B.

face of Religion vppon your cause, but when they are opened, they are full of Tragedies, eyther Thyestes eating vppe the flesh of his owne Children, or cursed Oedipus in bed with his owne Mother.

Can you nowe Mast Martin, perswade your selfe you 5 shal haue a pride in your Pistle making, when you vaunte of thys brotherhood, and deceiue the world with such drugs as please your owne taste. If your fore-heade be so harde that you can indeede, forwards and spare not, Pasquill is readie to pull your Feathers. You shall shortlie haue 10 a Glosse and a Commentarie vppon your Epilogue, with A 4^v certaine Hayes, Iigges, Rimes, | Roundelayes, and Madrigals, seruing for Epitaphes to your Fathers Hearse, to make the world laughe out the long Winters nights, which verie shortlie will steale vpon vs. 15

In the meane season, because the Winde and the Tide will staie for no Man, and I was just at the making heereof as merrie as your selfe, and taking Shippe to bring that braue Catalogue of the Saints to light ; I bid your Masterdome fare-well till Michaelmas Tearme, commending your 20 worshippe to the line and the leading of your owne spirite. From Grauesende Barge the eight of August, the first and last yeere of Martinisme, which like the vntimelie fruite of his Masterships Mother, dieth before it sees the Sunne, and withereth as the Grasse vppon 25 the house toppe before the Mower be able to fill his hande with it

To come to the close. In Rime or in Prose, In spight of thy nose, Thine for these seauen yeeres:

> Pasquill of Englande.

30

22 eight] sixt B.

THE RETVRNE OF PASQVILL

Entry in the Stationers' Register : None.

Editions: (1) Early:

1589. THE | Returne of the renowned Caualiero | Pafquill of England, from the other fide the Seas, | and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon | the Royall Exchange. | \Rightarrow | VVhere they encounter with a little houshold talke of Mar-lin and Martinifme, difcouering the fcabbe that is bredde in | England: and conferring together about the fpeedie | differfing of the golden Legende of the | liues of the Saints. | (*) | [device] | \bullet If my breath be for hote that I burne | my mouth, fuppofe I was Printed by | Pepper Allie. | Anno. Dom. 1589.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-D⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A. ij. 'PASQVILS RETVRNE...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pasquill and Marforius. (D 4)' blank.

Leaf D 2 is signed D. *ii*. D 2^{\vee} has no catch-word in copies **a**, **b**, **c**, **d**, (v. infra), others have the catch-word 'by.'

Catch-words; A 2. Realme B I. them-(selues) C I. new D I. dissem-(ble).

Copies used or referred to:

a. British Museum, 96. b. 15. (8).

b. ", ", C. 37. d. 49.

c Lambeth Palace Library, xxx. 6. 26. (2).

- d. Guildhall Library, N. 2. 2.
- e. British Museum, 3932. d. 7.
- f. Lambeth Palace Library, xxx. 6. 25. (2).

g. Bodleian Library, Malone, 566.

(Gro. The copy in the Huth Library, as represented in Grosart's text.)

Ι

(2) Modern Editions:

1883-4. The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . . edited by A. B. Grosart, Vol. i, pp. 87-139.

From a copy in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

From a copy in the British Museum (96. b. 15. (8).), with occasional use of the other copies mentioned above. All Grosart's readings which differ from the copy-text have been recorded, reference to the copy which he used being impossible at the present time and there being hence no means of knowing which are errors of transcription and which readings peculiar to that copy.

Note on the relationship of the Copies:

The question of the relationship between the various copies of this book is one of extraordinary difficulty. I do not at present feel able to put forward with confidence any theory on the subject, but on the other hand it is clearly impossible to pass it over altogether in silence. It will be necessary therefore to state, as briefly as possible, the chief facts of the case, leaving a more detailed discussion to some future time, when it is to be hoped new evidence will render possible a more certain conclusion.

Of the seven copies which I have examined I find that a, b, c, d, are practically identical or only differ in such points as may be accounted for by supposing them to have been made up of more or less corrected sheets.

The copy from which Grosart printed and g^1 seem however to form a group apart. On certain pages they differ considerably in spelling, and occasionally in reading, from the first group. These differences are confined to particular pages and do not necessarily run through a whole sheet. It being impossible to place copies of these two groups side by side there is of course great difficulty in arriving at absolute certainty in this respect, but it may be said with moderate confidence that all of sheet A, B I^{*},

¹ These appear to be identical. As, however, I have not seen the copy from which Grosart printed I am unable to speak with certainty.

THE RETVRNE OF PASQVILL

B 2, B 3^{ν} , B 4 are the same in both, while B 1, B 2^{ν} , B 3, B 4^{ν} are different; all of sheet C is the same with the exception of C 1, while all of sheet D is different except D 3^{ν} and D 4; D 4^{ν} being blank.

Copies e and f vary in a similar way from the first group ¹, but the variations are confined to sheets A and B, and the pages which differ are not the same as in g and Gro. In A, all differ except the title and A 2; in B, B 1, B 2^v, B 3, B 3^v, B 4^v are the same, while B 1^v, B 2, B 4 are different. It will be observed that wherever the first and second groups differ, the third is the same as the first, and wherever the first and third differ, the second is the same as the first. In no case are there more than two varieties.

As to the variations themselves, I can only say here that they consist, besides occasional different readings, in variations of spelling, differences in the use of the plain and flourished forms of Italic capitals, in the e, f group in different paragraph-divisions, and finally differences in the words with which the lines commence, as well when the paragraphs are the same as when they are different. I think it impossible to account for these differences by supposing correction while at press or the accidental drawing out of letters in the inking, and besides why should they only occur on certain pages?

I do not propose to discuss here the reason for these variations in the different copies. It is, I think, evident that they are due not to any correction on the part of the author, but to certain pages being for some reason or other set up twice. To go into the matter in detail and attempt to form a satisfactory theory as to how or why this was done, would, however, lead us into a bibliographical discussion quite out of place in an introductory note of this character.

Fortunately so far as the text is concerned, all this is a matter of but little importance, for in not more than

¹ Examples of this third group may be compared with those of the first both in the British Museum and at Lambeth.

one or two of the variant readings does the difference seem to have been anything but accidental.

I follow **a** as representing the text of the majority of the copies that I have seen. It may belong to the first issue or to a later one; I can see no means of determining¹.

¹ For note on the printer, see the Introductory Note to the Countercuffe.

THE

Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England, from the other fide the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange.

Frhere they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and Martinifme, discoursing the scabbe that is bredde in England : and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the lines of the Saints.

By Thomas Nash



So ff my breath be so hote that f burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by Pepper Allie.

Anno. Dom. 1589.



PASQVILS RETVRNE TO ENGLAND.

A 2

Pasquill and Marforius.

5 PASQVILL. Thou art the man MARFORIVS, I looked for though L little dia MARFORIVS, I looked for, though I little thought to meete thee so suddainly vpon the Exchange. MARFORIVS. Euer since you tooke shipping at Grauesende, I have had the disease of a Marchants wife, so love sicke in your absence, that myne eye was neuer pulde from the Wether-10 cocke, and longing like a Woman for your returne, I neuer sawe gale of wind blow merrilie out of the East, nor heard any Ship shoote off her Ordnaunce in the Thems, but I ranne presently to the water side, to discouer your comming in; I wonder how I missed you? PASQVILL. 15 Neuer maruaile at that, I have learned to maske it : while some of Martins good freendes stood watching for me at Lambith bridge, I came to an Anker in Sandwich Hauen. But of fellowship tell me, howe hath my Countercuffe beene MARFO. It requireth a Summers day and intreated? 20 a Winters night to tell you all. It was verie welcome to the Court, thankfullie received in both Vniuersities, the Citties of the Land doe giue you good speeches; as for the Countrey, after the plainest manner, with hart and good will, they are ready to greete you with a Cake and 25 a cup of Ale in euery Parrish. This onely is the thing that greeueth them, they know not what Pasquill is. They desire in all places of the | Realme to be acquainted with A 2^y you, because they woulde bring you intelligence thicke and threefolde, to further your volume of the liues of the 30 Saints. PASQ. I thinke I shall prooue a state man, my

packets come in so fast alreadie, that I beginne to swell in Bookes as bigge as Surius. If any desire to knowe what I am, tell them that I was once a Barbour in Rome, (as some report) and every chavre in my shop was a tongue full of newes. Whatsoeuer was doone in England, Fraunce, 5 Germanie, Spaine, Italie, and other Countries, was brought to me. The high and secrete matters of Lordes, Ladies, Kinges, Emperours, Princes, Popes, and Monarchs of the world, did ring euery day as shrill as a Bason about my doores. In memory whereof, as Mercurie turnd Battus to 10 a stone for bewraving his theft, it is thought that one Pope or other, mistrusting the slipprines of my touge, blest me into a stone to stoppe my mouth. Others affirme, that the Cittie of Rome, to requite me with honour when I dved, erected mee a little monument of stone, with 15 a body, heade, and hands thicke and short, answerable to my stature, and set it vp in the open streete, where I assure you I have stoode manie veeres in the rayne: my face is so tande with the Sunne, and my hyde so hardened with the wether, that I neither blush when I byte 20 any man, nor feele it when any man byteth me.

MARFO. I wonder howe you were able to continue there? PASQ. To heare every mans talk that passed by, was better then meate and drinke to me. In steed of apparrell, in Summer I wore nothing but paper liveries, $_{25}$ which manie great men bestowed vppon me to their great cost: in Winter, I care for no cold, because I am a stone. MAR. I beseeche you Syr tell me, how came you into England? PAS. Beeing once somwhat busie with Signor Iacomo, about a pretie wench kept at Frescata for the $_{30}$ Pope his Fathers tooth, Gregorie the thirteenth, terque quaterque, shooke his white bearde at me with such a terrible looke, that I was a feard hee would have smytte my heade into Tyber with a Thunderbolt. Neuerthelesse, the olde man beeing of a mylde disposition, and very $_{35}$ mercifull, I received a pardon for that fault. At the last,

22 Run on by Gro. 32 bearde] head e: beard (cancel pasted on) f.

hearing the Schol-llers of the English Seminarie merrie, A 3 as they returned from their Vineyarde, and full of fine tauntings when they talked of the Sects and opinions sprong vppe in Englande, I stole out of Rome by night, 5 to make tryall my selfe of the trueth of theyr reports.

When I came to England, for the good will I carried to my olde occupation, I entred at London into Sprignols shop, where the first newes I heard among two or three Gentlemen as they were a trimming, was of a Martinist. 10 a Broker, not farre from thence, which with a face of Religion, having gotte other mens goods into his hands, was but new run away. With this tidings, I grew very inquisitiue to knowe what Martin was? A knaue, quoth one: a theefe, quoth another: hee teacheth the Courte 15 a Religion to robbe the Church. And some of the Cittie that fauour him, apt Schollers to take such an easie lesson, beginne to practise their cunning vppon their neighbors. Hauing gotten this thred by the end, I neuer left winding till I came to the paper that made the bottome. I fre-20 quented the Churches of the Pruritane Preachers, that leape into the Pulpet with a Pitchfork, to teach men, before they haue either learning, judgment, or wit enough to teach boyes.

MARF. I pray you, Syr, why doe you call them Pruritanes? PAS. A pruritu. They have an itch in their eares,

25 that would be clawed with new points of doctrine neuer dreamed of; and an itch in their fingers, that woulde be nointed with the golden *Ænulatum* of the Church. I knowe marks of a they are commonly called Puritans, and not amisse, that Puritan. tytle is one of the marks they beare about them. They I.

30 haue a marke in the heade, they are selfe conceited, They PROV. take themselues to be pure, when they are filthy in Gods 30. 12. sight; They have a mark in the eye, theyr lookes are 2. haughtie; They haue a marke in the mouth, a verie blacke 3. tooth, they are A generation that cursse theyr father. 35 MAR. How now Caualiero, are you come to Scripture?

6 Run on in e, f. 10 not farre from thence.] the next doore by, e, f. 12 run away, and left his wife to the charitie of the Parrish. e, f. 23 MAR. e, f.

PAS. Doost thou thinke, Marforius, that Pasquill having stoode so many veeres in the streetes of Rome, heard so many A 3^y famous Clarks, especially father Sware, the Spa-Iniarde, and the sifted Greeke witte of Father Augustine, and having spent so much time in private reading the best 5 Bookes that might stirre vppe my deuotion. I would skippe ouer the Booke of all Bookes, the holy Bible? No, no, I have that volume in my hands, when many a Martinist hugges a drabbe in his armes, as you shall perceiue by the lives of the Saints. I tarrie but for one packet of informa- 10 tion from Essex side, and that worke shall come out of the Presse like a bride from her chamber, spangled and trapt, with a full caparizon of the ornaments of this present age. MAR. The Owles Almanack is expected at your hands as well as that. PAS. That is a peece of seruice 15 not to be neglected in his time. I have there set down all the vpstart Religions in this Lande. The Anabaptists; the Familie of Loue; the seauen capitall hæresies for which some haue beene executed of late yeeres in Suffolke ; the diuersities of Puritans and Martinists, wyth a number 20 more which you shall heare of when that Booke is Printed. A lamentable spectacle it will be, to see so many faces in one hoode. But GOD knoweth (before whom I stande) I desire not to cast it out as a blocke in the waies of men. for any to stumble at, or to stand at defiance with all 25 Religion ; but as a Sea-marke to discouer the quick-sands of newe Religions.

I haue heard that *Bernardin Ochin*, a man of great learning, whom I knew in Rome to be the first founder of the order of the Capuchines, beeing once tucht with the 30 finger of Gods spirite, beganne to detest the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and fledde to Geneua. The same man had a desire also to visite England, & during the time of his remaining here, he found so many blind Sects and Religions within the Land, that hee turned backe like 35 a dogge to his owne vomit, and in some sort hee fell into

3 niard, c.w.

the biace of Rome againe. Vnhappie man, that beeing once lightned, looked backe to that Scicilian Ætna, that spues vppe smoake and sulphure into the worlde, to put out the eyes of men; Vnhappie Englande, that by the 5 diuersities of opinions in Religion, sette so many handes on hys shoulders to thrust him downe, that was so ready with a turne | to ouerturne. Howe these newe pampred A 4 factions at this day, haue shaken the harts of many of her Maiesties louing people, and made them Chamælion like, 10 capable of any fayth saue the right, I leaue it to them that looke into it. MAR. Take heede what you say, it is a common reporte that the faction of Martinisme hath mightie freends.

PAS. Thats a bragge Marforius; yet if there be any
¹⁵ such, I shall finde them in the ende, and against the next
Parliament, I wyll picke out a time to pepper them.
Though they were as high as the maste, as sure as the tackling, as profitable as the fraught, and as necessary as the sayles, when the shyppe is in danger, ouerboord
²⁰ with all. What meaning soeuer some men haue in it,
I am assured, that it can neither stand with policie nor with Religion, to nourish any faction in ciuill matters, much lesse in matters belonging to the Church. Quid prod-DIVISION.

est si vos contineat vna domus, et separet diuersa voluntas? 25 What auaileth it, (saith one) for men to be shrowded vnder

one rooffe, if they be not of one hart? One secret faction in a Realme dooth more hurt, then any generall plague or open warre.

The pestilence and the sworde are two heauie scourges 30 in GODS hand, that deuoure many thousands of men in little time, yet they reach no farther then the bodie, but a faction deuours more, and sweepes away both body and soule together. Though the Iewes at the siege of Ierusalem, were pressed by theyr enemies without the walles, and pun-35 ished wyth such a mortalitie within, that the carkases of

I biace of the Church of Rome e, f. 6 on] to e, f. 14 Run on by Gro. 20 withall e, f. 29 Run on in e, f. 30-1 in a little e, f. 31 further e, f.

PASQVILL AND MARFORIVS

One of these factions was the faction of the zealous reformers.

the deade did dunge the grounde, yet they neuer went to the wall, till they grew to be factious, & fell to taking one another by the throate. Giue me leaue a little Marforius to shyft my sayles and come towardes Italie. They that were wise prophecied long before of the state of Rome, 5 that it should neuer decay but by deuision. Which came to passe. For when the factions of Sylla and Marius, Cæsar and Pompey, Anthonie and Lepidus brake foorth, the florishing Cittie beganne to cast her leafe. The great Empire of great Alexander, like a flame of fire in a heape 10 of flaxe, when it was at the highest, did shed it selfe A 4 suddainly in the ayre, and | came to nothing by the dissentios of those that succeeded him. The proude necke of the Græcians, for all their wisedome, was after the like manner brought vnder the Persians and Macedonians. If wee rolle 15 our eves at one side into the bosome of our neighbour Fraunce, wee shall perceiue, that although it were many times inuaded in the skyrts of the Countrey by the Romans. yet it remained inuincible, till Cæsar tooke holde of the discords within the Realme. My heade is full of water, 20 and my cheekes be wette, when I thinke vpon Constantinople, whose particular jarres lavde her gates open to the Turke, vnder whose captivitie she groneth to this day.

Note. A faction in a Kingdome may well be compared to a spark of fire: it catcheth holde at the first in some 25 obscure corner, in a Shoppe, in a Stable, or in a ricke of Strawe, where it lyeth couert a little time, but by little and little it gathers strength, tyll it reare it selfe vp to great houses, Pallaces, and Princes Courtes, and at last it rageth and ouerruns whole Citties & Countries, without 30 quenching before they be vtterly ouerthrowne. In the time of *Iustinian* the Emperor, about the credite and aduancement of two colours, Blewe and Greene, there grewe in Constantinople, two mightie factions, which made such a head the one against the other, that in one day it 35 cost many thousandes of men their liues, and the Emperour himselfe was brought in great hazard, both of his Empire

and his owne person. Vpon as light an occasion in the Dukedome of Florence, for the two collours of Blacke and Whyte, very pestilent quarrels began there, and the factions of the Bianchi and the Neri, breaking forth like a lightning 5 out of the Clowdes, scourde & wasted the Country where they went. These were but litle sparks in the rushes, that Note. euery man treadeth on, and very tryfles at the first, yet gentle Martin. you see howe foule a Cockatrice may be hatcht of so small an egge. If I should rippe vp the stomacks of some in 10 Englande, when wee consider the brawles, the garboyles, the tragicall exclamations for Church apparrell, may wee not say that Englande is falne into that fantasticall faction of Florence, for Black & White? Where had this brable his first beginning | but in some obscure corner, in the BI 15 tippe of the tongue of some blind Parlor-preacher in the land, in shoppes, in stalles, in the Tynkers budget, the Taylors sheares, and the Sheepheardes Tarboxe? I doubt not Marforius, but it will wither where it sprang, and ende where it beganne, in shame and ignoraunce. 20 Thou knowest, that the surest proppe of all Princes, is to promote true Religion, and to keepe it inuiolable when it is established, for this is the well tempered Morter that buildeth vp all estates. He that honors me, (saith God) I will honor him. But this chopping & changing of the 25 Religion of the land (which was acquited of accusations in the time of the famous K. Edwarde the sixt, and now aduaunced by the happy raigne of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, & approued by the wisedom both spiritual & temporal of the whole Realme, & confirmed 30 by a generall consent in the high Court of Parliament) is nothing els, but to picke out the Morter by little and little, that at the next pushe, Martin and his companions might ouerthrow the state, and make the Emperiall crowne of her Maiestie kisse the ground.

35 Where there is a division fostred, there can be no continuaunce of the present state : GOD himselfe hath MATH. 12.

19 ende at where it began e, (the word at blotted out in ink) f.

taught it vs. Martins cheefe practise, in the Prouinces of Englande where I have wandred, is, to perswade the simple, that her Maiestie layeth such a logge vppon their consciences, as they ought not beare, whereuppon they presume to make a shrewde scruple of their obedience, 5 and begin to bounde like a Colt that would cast his ryder. Hath God powred so many blessings vpon the Church of Englande, by the very often, and very miraculous preseruations of her sacred Maiesties royall person, and thereby giuen testimonies out of Heauen to the Religion of the 10 Lande, and dares Martin attempt to make a doubt bothe of it, and her? Credit me, Marforius, this bursting the sinew of peoples obedience to their naturall Prince, cannot be doone, but for a mischiuous intent, what visor soeuer they sette vppon it. I would faine knowe what should be 15 the reason, that so manie hundreds of thousands in this B 1^y Realme, haue hetherto humbled | themselues at the feete of one person? can it be because shee is mightier then all they, she beeing but one and they many millions; she a woman, and they men? Is it any terror thinke you, 20 of the big bodied Holberders that guarde her Maiestie? No Marforius, if there were not some wonderful matter that withheld them also, euen they might be given ouer to a reprobate sence, to bende every man the point of his Holberde at her. If we starth it till the worlds end, we 25 shall find no other cause of this sweet harmonie of peoples harts, that remaine faithful and flexible to the shaking of her princely finger, but only this, the Religion of the Land. Whe Martin shal be suffered to displace God, that nowe dwelles in the bosome of her Maiesties louing people, & 30 buz slaunders of Religion into their eares, whereby they may conceiue, that her highnes by the maintenance of the Gospell, hath shutte vppe their saluation in close prison, and that it moues God in his wrath to draw the sword against her and the Realme (as Martin himselfe auoucheth), 35 what other consequent may we looke for, but that every Pruritane, transported with the heate & ignorance of his

37 and the ignorance e, f.

zeale, will be as readie as a Papist, to lift vp his hand against her; which mischiefe I beseech God to returne into their bowels.

Howe odious and how dangerous innouations of Religion 5 are, Secretarie Machiauell, a pollitick not much affected to any Religion, discloseth by the example of Fryer Sauanaroll. He was a man like Martin, sprong vp in such a time as Martin, when Spayne, Fraunce, Rome, Arragon, and the Emperour, entred a league to make warre altogether 10 vopon the Venetians. Sauanarola boasted of Reuelations. & secret conferences, held betweene the holy Ghost and him; Martin brags hee is a speciall man, raysed vp on a suddaine by the spirit of God, for the good of Englande, as if GOD had beene a stranger to vs all this while. 15 Sauanarola made a bragging proffer, which he neuer performed, that he would passe through the fire, for the confirmation of his doctrine; Martin hath vaunted he wyll seale his opinion with his hart bloode, but you may see by the starting holes he seeketh, that hee neuer meant 20 to keepe hys | promise. Sauanarola brought himselfe and Ba his followers to confusion at last; and so will Martin. I muse howe any state man can abide to heare of innouasions in Religion where the trueth is preached? There is but one God, which cannot be deuided; if he could, he 25 were not GOD. All his graces tende to a gathering together of Gods people in a vnitie of Faith, not to a I COR. scattering into diuers Faithes, wherein the principall grace 2. 12. of a Martinist consisteth. Looke vnto the Heathen: the accusers of Socrates made choyse of this accusation aboue 30 all others, as a matter very worthy of death in him : that he was a fellow that sought to set a newe stampe of his own vppon their Religion. One of the first Lawes that Romulus layd, as a ribbe of yron into his gouernment, was, Deos peregrinos ne colunto.

35 Take a patterne if you wyll, from priuate Families. What a pittifull thing is it to see two Religions in one

4 Run on in e, f. 12 brags] bags a-d.

house? where the Father and the Sonne, the Husbande & the Wife, the Maister and the Seruant, are of diuers Faithes, the ioyntes of that house begin to gape, and the fall of that house is to be feared. The diuersitie of opinions in so high a degree as is Religion, cannot choose but 5 diminish the loue and respect, that the one of them should carrie vnto the other. The Sonne will be carelesse of his ductie to his Father, whom hee takes to be a reprobate ; the Father will make but slender reckoning of the Son. that beleeues not as he beleeues. The Wife will give 10 little reuerence to that Husband, whom she imagineth to be damned; The Husband will be rough and rigorous to such a Wife as obeves not him. The Seruant wyll neuer giue due honor to hys Maister, when he iudgeth him to be the bondslaue of the deuill; The Maister will as hardly 15 protect that Seruaunt, whose hart he perceiues not to be with him.

As then the gouernment of Common-weales was first drawne from the gouernment of private houses, so that which is the ruine of private houses, growes in time to be 20 the ruine of Common-weales. I have taken a little paine to visite divers of the Courtes, Benches, Sessions, that are helde in thys Lande in her Maiesties name, by vertue of her

B 2^v authoritie, but | I neuer saw so bolde, so open, so barbarous contempt of magistracie, in any other part of the 25 whole worlde, as I haue seene heere; such canuaces made, such stales set, such traynes layde, such platformes drawne by the factious, to bring theyr Superiours into contempt: and yet they prooue so ridiculous in euerie steppe they tread, that I am ready to stand on my nose whế I trace 30 them out.

I was once in Antwerpe, when great sute was made to the Masters of the English house (by a Gentleman then emploied in the Queenes affaires) for the entertaining a Preacher amõg them, both to teach & to minister the 35 Sacraments there vnto thẽ. The request was soone

2 and Seruaunt e, f. 26 heere. Such Q. 28 factions Gro.

graunted, & Trauars, a fellow that delighteth in obliquitie. was the man that was brought thither; when he came, he had neither taken the Orders of the Ministerie, nor any lycence to preach, according to the gouernment of the 5 Church of Englande, but ran into a corner among the French to receive it there. At last, one of the Ministers of those Churches, came with him to the companie, and made a sollemne protestation before the all, that he founde Mast Trauars a fitte man for the deuiding of the word, and 10 deliuerie of the Sacraments. Hac oratione finita sweete Maister Trauars, quem oneris causa nomino, for I beare him on my backe till my tale be ended, at the first iumpe read a Statute made in Scotland (for Church gouernment) to the naturall Subjects of the Queene of Englande, and 15 tolde them he woulde followe that. I would gladly be resolued in this place, whether Trauars dvd not begin very pretilie to play the Pope, in taking vppon him to discharge her Maiesties Subjects of the allegiance they owe to theyr naturall Prince, and in stealing away from the crowne of 20 England as many english harts as would harken to him, to translate them at his pleasure to a forraine power? As he layde his foundation in dissention, when hee began to be a builder in Gods house, so hath his worke vnto this day prospered ; the whole frame I perceiue is fallen vppon him.

25 They that were discreete, ventured couragiously to sette a leauer at him, & neuer gaue ouer till he was remooued.

The Chronicles of Englande, and the daylie enclosures B₃ of Commons in the Lande, teach vs sufficiently, howe inclinable the simpler sort of the people are to rowtes, 30 ryots, commotions, insurrections, and plaine rebellions, when they grow brainsicke, or any new toy taketh them in the head: they neede no *Trauars* nor *Martin* to encrease their giddines. It should seeme that the graund Prior of Fraunce (a man now dead) had gotten some taste of theyr dispo-35 sition, whe in a Sonet that hee made for his own pleasure,

to paint out the natures of all Nations, he toucht the pryde, the wantonnes, the mutabilitie, and the mutinies of the Spaniard, the Italian, the French, and the Scotchman, and to the shame of this Nation, hee gives the Englishe a dash ouer the face with a blacke coale, and sayth: Traistre 5 Angloi, the English man is a Traytor. This is the grounde, the Popes and the King of Spayne, these many veeres haue chosen to themselues to worke vpon, and vsed the English in nothing more, then in matters of high treason. Therefore I would wysh the whole Realme to judge 10 vprightly, who deserves best to be bolstred and vpheld in these dangerous times, either they that have religiously & constantly preached obedience to her Maiesties louing people, or they that with a maske of Religion discharge them of theyr obedience? 15

MAR. Speake softly, Caualiero, I perceiue two or three lay theyr heades at one side, like a shyp vnder sayle, and begin to cast about you: I doubt they haue ouer-heard you. This Exchange is vauted and hollow, and hath such an Eccho, as multiplies euery worde that is spoken, by 20 Arithmaticke, it makes a thousand of one, & ympes so many feathers into euery tale, that it flyes with all speede into euery corner of the Realme.

PAS. All the better for me; when I lacke matter to talke of, I may resorte hether to take vppe a little newes 25 at interest.

MAR. I maruaile Caualiero, that you presse not the Martinists with much Scripture: they are great quoters of comon places if you marke them. PAS. Therin they are like to a stale Curtizan, that finding herselfe to be worne 30 out of credite, borroweth the gesture of a sober Matron, B 3^v which makes | her to euery one that knowes her, the more abhominable; for the common sorte whistle at her for her pride, and the grauer sort spyt at her for her impudencie. Howe whorishlie Scriptures are alleaged by them, I will 35 discouer (by Gods helpe) in another new worke which

21 and makes g, Gro. 22 into] vnto g, Gro.

I have in hand, and intituled it, The May-game of Martinisme. Verie defflie set out, with Pompes. Pagents. Motions, Maskes, Scutchions, Emblems, Impreases, strange trickes, and deuises, betweene the Ape and the Owle, the 5 like was never yet seene in Paris-garden. Penry the welchman is the foregallant of the Morrice, with the treble belles, shot through the wit with a Woodcocks bill: I woulde not for the fayrest horne-beast in all his Countrey. that the Church of England were a cup of Metheglin, and 10 came in his way when he is ouer-heated; euery Bishopricke woulde prooue but a draught, when the Mazer is at his nose. Martin himselfe is the Mayd-marian, trimlie drest vppe in a cast Gowne, and a Kercher of Dame Lawsons. his face handsomlie muffled with a Diaper-napkin to couer 15 his beard, and a great Nosegay in his hande, of the principalest flowers I could gather out of all hys works. Wiggenton daunces round about him in a Cotten-coate, to court him with a Leatherne pudding, and a woodden Ladle. Paget marshalleth the way, with a couple of great clubbes, 20 one in his foote, another in his head, & he cryes to the people with a loude voice, Beware of the Man whom God hath markt. I can not yet find any so fitte to come lagging behind, with a budget on his necke, to gather the deuotion of the lookers on, as the stocke-keeper of the 25 Bridewel-house of Canterburie; he must carrie the purse, to defray their charges, and then hee may be sure to serue himselfe.

MAR. Peace, Caualiero, your tongue will be slitte if you take not heede: I have heard some say, you should wringe 30 for this geare if the Queene were dead. PAS. Tushe, thou art but a crauin, Marforius, if thou feare that; hadst thou but one droppe of that water in thine eye, which the Seruaunt of Elisha the Prophet had, when he discouered so many Chariots of fire about his Maister, thou shouldest see 35 the Prayers of the | Church of Englande flie vppe into B 4

2 with] into Gro. 20 on his foote Gro. head] hand Gro. 30 geare] yeare Gro.

heauen for her Maiestie, and returne againe with Oliuebranches in their mouthes (like the Dooue that was sent out of the Arke) to bring tydinges of peace and long life vnto her highnesse. These wonderfull preservations of her rovall person, which the eyes of this Lande every day 5 behold, are euident tokens, that GOD hath a worke for her to doe; there is a navle to be knockt into Siseraes head, before she be called from the earth. But whe extremitie of age shall ende her daies, I am of the minde of many thousandes in this Land. MAR. What is that? PAS. 10 Hee shall doe me a pleasure that cuts my throate. MAR. I perceiue your abode in Englande hath made you participate with the nature of an Englishman; where you sette downe your reste, you are very resolute, and it appeareth by your conceit, you were able to range a faire 15 battaile of Scriptures to charge your enemies, if you were driuen to leade your forces out.

PAS. It greeues me Marforius, to beholde, that by reason of this newe faction, crept into the harts of the most vnlearned of all the Ministerie, the Preachers of England 20 begin to strike and agree like the Clocks of England, that neuer meete jumpe on a point together. Whereby eyther the hearers of these contentions, should say, as the Auditors of the Philosophers dyd in times past, that the trueth is buried in a pitte where it cannot be founde; or els be perswaded 25 at the last, that GOD hath mockt them, and left the way of saluation vnto men, as vncertaine as the way of Hanniball in the Alpes. It is very strange, that the Gospell having beene planted in this Lande by those reuerend Byshops that are gone to GOD, men that watered theyr labours 30 with their owne bloode, Christ seeing this pernicious impugning of all that, which by his Saints and holy Martirs he hath left vnto vs, he should be now compelled to come ouer our shinnes with the same rebuke that hee gaue to Phillip and the rest of his Disciples, Haue I beene so long 35

4 Those Gro. 7 Sisterates a-d, g, Gro. 29 these Gro. 33 vato] om. Gro. he should g, Gro.: she...a-d: hee...e, f. now be Gro.

PASQVILL AND MARFORIVS

with you, and have you not knowne me? Hath Christ been IOHN 14.9. so long, so freelie, so learnedly, so zealously preached in this Land, and must were nowe on a suddaine, (as if God had shewed vs a iuggling | cast) grope for him againe in $B_{4^{v}}$ 5 a Puritans budget, stuft full of rayling & reuiling Pamphlets?

- I am sure the Apostle teacheth me, that the wisedom which is of God, is *Pure* and *Peaceable*: if it be pure, it IAMES cannot comunicate with that tarte taste of the deuils tongue, ^{3. 17-} which is a slaunderer by his occupation. If it be peaceable,
- 10 it is without faction, & neuer runs into the dãgerous gainsaying of *Core*, whose sinne could not choose but be very great, because the punishment thereof was very great. But I feele by the pulse of a Puritane when I touch him, that his disease is the very Apoplexie of the Donatistes, *Quod*15 volumus sanctum est. What soeuer they like is Apostolicall,
- be it neuer so bad; and what they mislike is Diabolicall, be it neuer so good.

I shall neuer forget that man of God, Maister Iohn Foxe, who though he neither sought Benifice nor Bishoprick in the 20 Land, yet whe some of the faction came vnto him with a Scottish Minister, and brought him certaine Articles of Religion (coyned in a Mint among themselues), desiring him to set his hand vnto them, the teares rolling downe plentifully vpon his face, he rejected them all with a sharpe 25 reproofe. An other time, when Paget fawned vppon him, full of play like a wanton whelpe whose worme was not taken out of his tongue, the good Father encountered him in London in an open streete with this greeting, God send thee a right mind to thy crooked gate. A good Prayer 30 beleeue mee for this dogged generation, that is euer barking against the Moone, and as men that are troubled with sore eyes, they think any light or Religion better & wholsomer then that they have, because they want learning to discerne & judge of that they have. Yet they think, I warrant you, 35 to carrie all away with censoricall lookes, with gogling the

7 IAME. Q. 8 tarte] g, Gro. : om. a-f. 16 and and e, f. neither] neuer g, Gro. 28 geeting e, f.

85

eye, with lifting vppe the hand, with vehement speeches, when the Wine which they broach vnto the people, is the very poyson of Dragons and the gall of Aspes, prest from a bitter Grape that neuer came out of Gods Vintage.

Aquitanicus Prosper found this to be the cause of all 5 contention in the Schooles of Philosophers and Rhethoritians, Seipsis ducibus vtebantur. Every one that had a C I whirlegig in his braine, | wold have his own conceit to goe currant for as good paiment as any infallible grounde of Arte: And I perceiue the priuie traine that giues fire vnto 10 all this Gunshot, that hath beene so latelie discharged at God and good men in the Church of England, is an ouerweening that Martin hath of himselfe, when he would have that to be the meaning of the holv Ghost, that his mastership imagins. It pleaseth his worship, in his Proem 15 to his cokish conclusions, to make himselfe merry with the Bishop of Winchester for saying, I am not of opinion that Vna semper debet esse æconomia Ecclesiæ, vet presently he fetcheth his feas himselfe, and leapes very boldlie ouer head and eares, when hee auoucheth, that Christ, his Apostles 20 and holie Martirs, are of opinion, that the gouernment of the Church, should alwaies and in all places be one &c. without setting downe any one testimonie of Christ, or Apostle, or holy Martir in that behalfe. Good Byshop, his opinion must be refused, and Martins opinion must be received; 25 euery Goose of mast Martin must goe for a Swan, and whatsoeuer he speakes must be Canoniall.

MAR. But for all that, though Martin forgot himselfe suddainlie in that streine, beeing somwhat eager of his Game, when hee tost the learned Fathers opinion like a ball 30 with the Rackit, and made full account to bandie the whole Bishoprick away, yet in other places he quoates Scripture. PAS. Hee coateth Scriptures indeed, for he is light of foote, & ouer-runs them, Marforius, in euery place. Qui in Euangelio quod vultis creditis, vobis potius quam Euangelio 35 creditis. They that beleeue what soeuer they lust in holy

8 would c.w. 27 Canonicall g, Gro. 33 New par. Gro.

Scriptures, are a generation that give more credit to themselues than to the Scriptures; therefore it were good (saith a godly father) for such people to tell the worlde plainlie, that they make no reckoning at all of anie Scriptures. And I assure thee, if that man may be taken for a fugitiue and a Rebell, that runnes to the enemie and forsakes his Prince, those simple creatures may worthilie be denounced to be runnagates from God and from her Maiestie, that forsake this sweete gouernment, vnder which they haue 10 manie yeeres enioved the true preaching of the Gospell, to bespeake them a new fashion of Religion at Martins C IV shoppe. Yet is there nothing so familiar in their mouthes, as Templum Domini, and Verbum Domini. The Temple of the Lorde, and the worde of the Lord : they take the 15 word by the nose with a paire of Pinchers, & leade it whether soeuer it pleaseth them. But there wil be a day of account, when GOD, (by whose finger the worde was written) shall reuenge the forcible entries they have made into his possessions, & punish every forrow they have 20 plowed vpon his backe. They are the very Spawnes of the fish Sapia, where the streame is cleere, and the Scriptures euidentlie dyscouer them, they vomit vp yncke to trouble the waters, and labour to bring Religion to this passe, that as Appio the Gramarian reports of himselfe, 25 he called forth Homer out of his graue, onely to aske him what Countriman he was, and who was his Father? So now we must either burne all the Bookes and famous Libraries in the worlde, and take Martins assertions for vndoubted Maximes, or els fetch vp the Apostles by con-30 iuration, to demaund of them whether we be right or no?

As I came through Fraunce, Marforius, I was desirous to ryde from the one ende to the other of Clara Vallis, where I found the last will and Testament of S. Bernard, S. Bernards standing in this forme vpon his Tombe. Tria vobis fratres, wil stand-

35 observanda relinquo, quæ vt potui observavi. Primo. Ne- day vpon mini scandalum feci, si quando incidit sedaui vt potui. hys Tombe. Secundo. Minus semper sensui meo quam alterius credidi.

Tertio. Læsus de lædente nunquam vindictam petii. Ecce charitatem, humilitatem, patientiam, vobis relinguo. Bretheren (saith he) there be three thinges that I bequeath vnto you to be observed, which as well as I could I have observed my self. First, I neuer gaue scandale vnto any person; if 5 I did, I pacified the matter to my power. Secondlie. I stood voon mine owne conceite lesse then I did voon other mens. Thirdly, when I was wronged, I neuer sought reuenge. Beholde, Charitie, Humilitie, and Patience I bequeath vnto you. This good Father shall ryse yppe in judgment to 10 condemne Martin. Had he beene fearefull of giuing anie Scandale vnto the worlde, his vncharitable Pamphlets had neuer seene the Sunne : Had hee giuen lesse credite to his C 2 owne | censures and opinions, than to the censures and opinions of better men, so many good Scriptures had 15 neuer been wrested, so many flowers in Gods Garden had neuer been defaced. Had he been ready to suffer wrong without wringing of reuenge out of Gods hand, he would neuer haue thundred & lightned at so many rare men, whose learning and vertue is a pricke in his 20 eve, and a strong watch that intercepts every passage vnto his Hierarchie. Let him swell while he burst, with the worde in his mouth, so long as hee breaketh the rule of Charitie, and cares not whom he strike, so the edge of his tuske may have a lighting place; wee may 25 easily see what is within him. Infælix lolium & steriles dominantur auenæ. Scripture is often in the typ of his tongue, but Cockle is the graine wee reape with him. It is the propertie of Martin & his followers, to measure Gods mouth, by theyr owne mouth, as you shal see in the 30 May-game that I have promised you: for there you shall haue a number of strange Notes vpon the Text, some of them gathered from William Dike at S. Albanes, in his clarklie Paraphrases vppon S. Luke and S. Iohn, some haue beene brought me from other places, & some I 35 gathered my selfe, in an assemblie of the brotherhood at

2 New par. Gro. 27 dominantse a-f. on the typ Gro.

Ashford in Kent. I went thether with a Student of Cambridge to a sollemne exercise, and comming in the habite of Schollers, we pressed somewhat boldly into their companie to dine with them, assuring our selues to finde 5 some new service at theyr Table. When the dinner was doone, one of them read a Chapter, euery man keeping his place still ; The roome was full of Artificers, men and women, that sate rounde about vppon stooles and benches to harken to it. The Chapter was, the I. Cor. 3, which to being read, the reader began first to vtter his conceit vpon the Text, in short Notes; then it came to his next neighbours course, and so in order Glosses went a begging, and Expositions ranne a pace through the Table, till they came to me, whom they desired to open my mouth among the 15 rest : I vtterly refused to vndertake the taske ; notwithstanding, I was so wonderfully vrged, that I coulde not any way shift the off, and somewhat I spake among them. When I came to the | ende of my cariere, my companion C 2* was requested to pricke it for company with his freendes. 20 I needed no Minstrill to make me merrie, my hart tickled of it selfe, when it came to his turn, because I knew him to be a Gentleman well studied in Philosophie, but he had not yet medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth verse of the Chapter to discourse vpon. Where the Apostle 25 saith, Euery mans worke shall be tryed by fire. But to see how brauely hee trotted ouer all the Meteors bredde in the highest Region of the ayre, to see how louingly hee made the sence of the Apostle and Ouids fiction of Phaetons firing of the world to kisse before they parted, and then 30 howe souldier-like hee made an ende of his manage with a double rest, was sport enough for vs to beguile the way, as we trauailed backe againe from thence to Canterburie.

I have brought many a propper note out of that meeting, for every mans spirit at the Table, had two bowts 35 with the Apostle before hee left him, and one, whilst

9-10 the 1. Cor. 3. which being read. The reader Q. 28 fiction] picture Gro.

another spake, had a breathing time giuen him to whisper with the holy Ghost, to know what shold be put into his head to vtter, against it came about to his course againe.

MAR. Trust mee Caualiero. I take this to be the oddest peece of worke of all that hetherto you have spent your 5 time in ; I trauaile like a woman with child, till this be out. But have you not heard Cooper at Paules chavne, and the rest of the men that are commended to your eares by Martin Senior? PAS. I have followed them also, and I finde them fitte to preach vppon Bellowes, and Bagpipes, 10 and blowne Bladders; they are so full of ventositie, that I cannot come at their matter for winde and words. MAR. What say you to Dike of S. Albanes, how like you him? PAS. He is an Asse, he is an Asse, quoth a learned Gentleman of Lyncolnes-Inne, that went thether to heare him 15 at the last Assises, and found him so bald, so bare, and yet so bold to flie into heauen with a fewe sicke feathers. that Mouit Cornicula risum. Thys generation hath a little smacke of one of the plagues of Ægipt ; they skippe very lustily into private houses, and fill our eares full of croking 20

- C 3 like the Frogges | of Ægipt. MAR. What should be the cause of these new Sect-maisters ? PAS. This mischiefe hath many fountaines, which I will reduce for thy sake into a little compasse. One cause I finde to be meere ignoraunce. GODS Church is compared to an Armie, 25
- CANT. 6. 9. well ordered and sette in good aray. In an Armie you haue manie Commaunders, Corporals, Sergiants, Lieutenants, Captains, and Coronels; yet not all of equall authoritie, but all vnder the direction of one Generall, for the better leading in and out of the whole forces : and in 30 Gods Church, as it hath grown great, companies coming daily in vnto it out of euery tongue, and Tribe, and Countrey, and Nation, so all Ecclesiasticall and Christian Histories and Antiquities teache vs, that there hath beene a diuersitie of learned and skilfull leaders, some higher, some lower 35 then others in theyr places, and all vnder the controlment

4 odde Q: odde[st] Gro. 17 toflie a-d. 27 Leiutenants Q.

of one Generall, Christ himselfe, for the greater terror of Hæreticks & enemies of the Church and for the grace. the beautie, and order of euerie Cornette and Ensigne in the same; which is a thing glorious in Gods eye, because 5 he is the GOD of order. But the Martinists (sillie wretches) ignorant and vnlearned men, vnfitte for any eminent charge in the Church themselues, seeke to drawe euery place in this Campe royall to an equalitie with theselues. A preposterous humor noted in the Ecclesi-10 asticall Histories, diuers that were sette beside the cushion when Bishoprickes were a dealing, sought to make Bishops equall with every Minister. In this daungerous attempt, I finde the three plagues that GOD threatneth for peoples sinnes, to be powred out at this day vpon the Church of 15 England. First. The Sworde is uppon the right eye, and the right hand: what soeuer is right in the Church of England, is wounded by the Martinists, a crooked generation, that loues to swym side-long with the Crabbe. Secondly. Like people, like Priest begins now to be 20 verified : the Preachers of the faction, (like Puppets in a motion) begin to snappe and to turne, and to speake, what, and when, and howsoeuer the people will, at whose tables they are fed, like Geese in the Capitol, to gaggle at euery man that is against them. | Thirdly. Beautie and C 3* 25 Bandes: the two staues that God vses like a Sheepheard to guide his people, are knapt in sunder. Beautie is burst; for our order is turned into cofusion: Bandes are burst also, for our vnitie is fallen into dissention. The maine poste whereuppon the Bucklers, the Armour, the imaginarie 30 Trophes of the faction, is hanged vppe for the simple to gaze and wonder at, is onely this, The Church of England hath committed fornication with the Church of Rome, and tript out her foote like a strumpet, to every devise of mans braine that hath passed by her.

35 Heerein I see the Churches case, is *Susannaes* case: this accusation of incontinencie is framed against her by such as haue sought to be incontinent with her themselues.

Had Susanna prostituted her body to the Elders, her credit had neuer beene called into Question by her accusers : had the Church of England giuen vppe the keyes of her Coffers, to bawdes, beggers, and Banckroupts, the reuerend Elders of Martinisme had neuer put vppe any Billes of 5 endightment against her the last Parliament. But as the storie saith, that Daniell was raysed by GOD to acquite her, and conuince euery scatterer of false reports. I thinke before I end, Signor Pasquill of Englande wyll prooue the man that must sette a gagge in the mouth of Martin 10 the great, and cut vp an Anatomie of all his knauerie. Me thought Vetus Comædia beganne to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought foorth Divinitie wyth a scratcht face, holding of her hart as if she were sicke, because Martin would have forced her, is but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles vppon her cheekes, and poysoned her with a vomit which he ministred vnto her, to make her cast vppe her dignities and promotions.

Thys indeede is the marke that *Martin* shootes at, ²⁰ whereby you may see that one cause of *Martinisme*, is a collop that dropt out of *Mydas* nose, a desire of Gold. This is the roote of all the mischife, by this many men are fast lockt in the deuils snares, many soules are thrust through with many sorrowes. Thys beeing the ground ²⁵ master *Martin* hath made his choise of, when he castes his accounts, and surueighes howe little witte and howe | C 4 little might hee hath to goe thorough with his building, like a furious beast wrapt in the cordes where hee cannot stirre, after many a vayne plunge which he giues to breake away, ³⁰ when he sees his labour lost, transported with a rage, he roares and he fomes, and sets himselfe downe in the

Scorners Chavre.

Though Babies and fooles stagger, and stande amazed to beholde their newe pranckes, yet almost the meanest 35 in Gods Schoole knowes, it is no strange thing, that the

8 and to connince Gro. 15 forced] foxed Gro.

Church sholde be vexed with such enemies. In the time of holy *Dauid* the King, the Church was assaulted by a kinde of people, whose mouthes were as Quiuors, and theyr tongues as Shafts, that did shoote very secretly at 5 the best men. Vnto this kinde of people, holy men of God haue giuen sundry tytles, and thereby, as it were, clapt many Brandes vppon theyr backes, to make them knowne to be rotten Sheepe of the deuils foulde. They are termed to be *Bulles of Bashan*, *Foxes*, *Serpents*, *Vipers*, 10 Woolues, Spyders, Theeues, Firie-ouens, False-ioyes, & a

great many names more of like honor, they have wonne in the fielde, and borne away the prize in every age.

A yeere would scarce suffer me to discouer them all at large. Yet that I may touch at every Coast which ¹⁵ I have descried, they are called *Bulles*, because they dosse out theyr hornes against the truth; *Foxes*, because theyr conspiracies, and incontinencies, theyr vnchaste and disordered life, shewes them to be tied together by the tayles like *Sampsons* Foxes, but their heads be loose, they ²⁰ shake off theyr obedience to their natural Prince. *Serpents*, because they glide vpon theyr bellies; *No sin* among some of them, *from the nauell downward*. *Vipers*, to give light and estimation vnto themselves, they teare open the bowels of theyr owne Damme, and live by the death of her that

²⁵ bred them. *Woolues*, In outwarde appearaunce, they are like to the dogge, and make a shewe to the world they would keepe the Sheepe, but all theyr desire is to kill the Sheepe. *Spyders*, because they sucke out theyr mallice from very good hearbes, and spynne with great studie an

- 30 vnprofitable webbe, good for nothing but to catch Flyes. Theeues, they breake in by night into | Gods house, and C $_{4^{\vee}}$ would spoyle though it were with the bloode of the Saints. Firie-ouens, they have a scorching breathe, and when they are drawn, they deliver a batch for the deuils tooth. And
- 35 to wind vp their vertues in a word or two, they are *Falseioyes*, their substance is brittle, and their Bookes be Glasse; giue the but a filop, they run to powder. What grounde

they have gotten by their practises among the witlesse, I neede not tell you, seeing *Martin Senior* is so forward to tell you himselfe, that he hath a hundred thousand in the Lande, readie to lift vppe a new Presbitery with private hands. Though I know that he lyeth loudlie, yet it were 5 not amisse *Magna componere paruis*, and to looke to his fingers, that he be not as readie when hee spyes his time, to lift vp a newe Prince.

After GOD had once brought his Church out of Egipt, by the hand of Moses, there wanted neither Iebusite, nor 10 enemy a long time to flye in her face, and to hinder her passage to the Land of promise; And since God led his Church in this Land out of the bondage of Rome, by the conduct of her excellent Maiestie, there neuer yet wanted Papist, Atheist, Brownist, Barowist, Martinist, Anabaptist, 15 nor Familie of Loue to bid them battaile, that their course to Gods Kingdome might be stopt. But in all their attempts it fareth with them, as it dooth with the Wrastler within the Lystes ; he winnes now and then, not because he is strong or impossible to be ouer-come, but because the match that 20 he deales withall is weake; Martin hath made some head, in some parts of her Maiesties Dominions, not because his worshippe is inuincible, but because hee hath closde with the clowted shoe, and got a little credite by mens infirmites. 25

MAR. By your leaue, Caualiero, they say Martin hath great vpholders. PAS. It may be so to, some few that are as readie as himselfe, to rob the Church: though hee stand in theyr bosoms like the Grasse vpon the house to scape the Clergies Sickles, Pasquill will have a hooke to 30 pull him down. In the mean season, his state is as the PSAL 34. Grasse vppon the house; they that are wise and religious D I doe passe by him, but they neuer blesse him, as men doe

the croppe vppon the grounde. Curses I have read and heard of many that have followed their humors, that have 35 affected any pillage of the Church. When Symon the

18 Wrestler Gro. 27 to] om. Gro.

mutinous (vppon a particuler grudge hee bare to Onias 2. MAC. 3. the High Priest) had enformed Seleucus the King of Asia, of the Churches Treasure, the King sent Heliodorus his Treasurer to seaze it to the Crowne : Heliodorus came Martins 5 like a Foxe, to visit and reforme the disorders of Cælosvria Visor. and Phænice. When the high Priest perceiued, that reformation was his errande, but golde he sought, the graue countenance of Onias was striken down, and the people beholding their Father heauie, ranne some to the Temple, 10 some to the Cittie-gates, some stood in their windowes looking out, some gadded vppe and downe the streetes, like Bacchus Froes, franticke for the time, and all ioyntly lifted vp their hands, their eyes, and their voice to heauen, for the defence of the Church Treasure. Heliodorus was TE no sooner entred the Treasurie to take the spoyle, but there appeared to him a terrible man in Complet Armour of Gold, mounted on a barbed Horse, which ranne fiercelie at the Kings Treasurer, and trampled him vnder foote. Therewithall appeared also two men of excellent strength 20 and beautie, whipping and beating him with so many stripes, that hee was carried out of the place speechlesse, and without any hope of life at all.

But because *Martin* will say the Bookes of the Machabees are Apocrypha, and *Sprignols* man told me (as he 25 trimd me the other day) that there is a new Barbar in London, about to shaue the Bible, wherin he finds somwhat that he would haue cleane discarded, I will deale with such Scriptures, as preuent them of all euasions. How dangerous it is to gelde the Church goods, the end 30 of *Ananias* and *Saphira* shal witnes for me, for though Acrs. 5. their death was the punishment of their sinne in lying, yet I trust *Martin* will graunt me, that they were drawne to that sin by the corde of Sacriledge. And if a greedie desire of withholding that from the Church which theselues had 35 giuen, was of force to open such a windowe to the deuill, that they were presently giuen ouer as a pray to the iawes

2 high a-f. 36 that] as g, Gro.

Div of hell, to lye and | dissemble with the holie Ghost; howe many foule sinnes and howe many greeuous plagues are to be feared in this Lande, which alreadie hang at the ende of the lyne of Martinisme, and would speedilie be puld voon our heads, if we should but beginne to take that from 5 the Church, which we neuer gaue? It may be, Mast Martin will flappe mee in the mouth with his politique reason, that it is good for the Realme to maintaine their warres by the Church reuenewes, because forraine inuasions are dailie looked for. But to meete with his wisedome at 10 GENE. 47. the halfe sword, I remember that Ægipt in the time of 22. 26. Ioseph the Patriarche, felt so extreame a famine, that the fift parte of the Lande was sold to releeue the Lande, yet the Patriarche in all this care he had, both of the Countrev and the King, to succour the one, & enrich the Coffers of 15 the other, neuer attempted any sale of the lande of the Priestes, nor once diminished the same. If the holie Patriarche in so great extreamitie, neuer venturde to alienate the possessions of Idolatrous Priestes, though it were to the releefe of a whole Kingdome, with what face 20 dares anie politique in the world, curtoll the maintenance of the Church of God, and vntile the houses that by religious Princes haue beene consecrated to Gods seruice?

Let vs see the good that ensueth of their deuices, & let England be warned by the præsidents of other Nations. 25 Celce the Constable of Gertrund King of Burgonie, hauing vnder the authoritie of the King his Maister, enriched himselfe with the goods of the Church, was one day in the Church at his deuotion, and as he hearde the Prophet read, that proclaimes a woe vnto them that ioyne house 30 to house, and land to land, he gaue a shrike suddainlie in the congregation, and cried out, this is spoken to me, this curse is vpon me, and vppon my posterity; and afterward died miserablie. In Fraunce, Lewes the sixt, surnamed the great, was once a protector of the priuiledges of the 35 Church, for perceiuing that the Conte de Clerimont, the

24 deuices] dances Gro. 27 king a-f. 36 Counte g, Gro.

Lord de Roussi, the Lord de Meugn, the Lorde de Beuuieu. and others, had rifled the Bishopricks and Churches within the Realme, he caried Armes in the defence of the Church against | them, and compelled them to restore their rob-D2 5 beries to the Church againe. The same King Lewes the great, vrged wyth extreame necessitie in his age, beganne at the last, to pull the Church himselfe. But S. Bernard. (one of the Lampes of the Church of GOD in those dayes) sollicited the King with diuers Letters, exhorting him 10 fatherlie to give over that course : at the last, perceiving that neither entreatie nor reproofe was able to withdraw him, he began to darte out the thunderbolts of the Church, and to threaten him, that hee shoulde shortlie feele the judgment of God vpon him; which suddainlie came to rs passe, for by the suddaine death of the young Prince his eldest Sonne, the staffe of his age was broken.

MAR. You have made, Signor Caualiero, a sad discourse, yet I feare all this will not save the Bishopricke of Elie, from shivering it selfe into many peeces. PAS.

- 20 What remedie *Marforius*? Though I be but a stone, I am not so sencelesse to presume like a *Martinist*, to teach her excellent Maiestie how to weare a Crowne. Her highnesse beeing so richlie furnished with so rare and high graces from aboue, and knowing which way to hold the 25 Scepter of the defenders of the faith, better by her owne
- experience, than by the wisedome that is every day powred into her bosome by the counsels of others, for *Pasquil* to come in nowe with any aduice for her, were to cast (God wot) one little droppe of water into the Sea. Therefore 30 whatsoeuer I haue alreadie spoken in this behalfe, or shall
- vtter hereafter, when *Martin* or his Maister prouokes me to single Combat, I cowch it heere with all dutie and humilitie at her Maiesties sacred feete.

I know the humor of a *Martinist* to be such, as *Dauid* 35 described long agoe, *Our tongues are our owne*, who is PSAL. *Lord ouer vs*? An ambitious desire to sitte in the doores ^{12.14.}

I Mengu Gro. 14 suddailie a-f.

of euerie mouth, to be seene and talked of, hath made the surfet, and shaken them with many colde fittes of the Feuer of Eutydimus. Hee was a wrangling Logician, that had rather say any thing, then seeme to be conquered in disputation, which made him as a man mad and im- 5 pudent, to maintaine by argument, that his dog was his D 2^v father, and the father of all the world; he grew so peruerse and so slippery in his conclusions, that he proued as quick as an Eele in euery quirke; the harder he was griped, the sooner hee slipt out of every hand. But Pasquill is made 10 of another temper, hee acknowledgeth the least Magistrate in the Land to be Lord of his tongue, & the Lawes of this Country to be the curbe that God & her Maiestie haue made for vnrulie mouthes, least her people should gore one another like brute beastes. Pasquill offereth his back to 15 S. Bernards discipline ; far from the contentions of Martin and Eutydimus, he giueth lesse credit and authoritie to his own wit, than to the least of all those that he findes to be men of more learning and judgment then himselfe.

Martin cryes out (as if he had already poysoned the 20 springs head, where the whole Realme shold fetch water) Let the Court alone; he saith he knowes what a wonderfull working the hope of gaine and of gold hath in that place, yet Pasquill is resolued, that her excellent Maiestie (as hetherto she hath doone) will continue still her princelie 25 fauour to the Priuiledges of the Church of England, and giue the blessing to it that Moses gaue to the Priest-hood DEVT. of the Tribe of Leui, and pray for the. First, That the

^{33.8.} Vrim and Thummim may be among them, wisedom and knowledge for the peoples good, and that when they offer 30 vnto the Lord, The work of their hands may be accepted. Next, that God in his mercie would Blesse their substaunce, and smyte theyr enemies quite through the loynes, that they may neuer rise againe.

MAR. Inough Caualiero, the Clock strikes eleuen, and 35

3 Fenes of Eutydinus Gro. 17 Eutydinus Gro. 18 all] om. g, Gro. 22 knoweth g, Gro.

the Marchants come in to the Exchange apace; I think it were best to talke no longer here. And seeing Martins matters begin to be whust, it were good in my judgment to suppresse your volume of The liues of the Saints. PAS. 5 Nay Marforius, I must have three courses of the Launce with Th. Cartwright, before I leaue. Hath Martin made him his God, and thinketh he to escape my fingers? I will be with him to bring, from the very first rocking of his cradle, to the last penny that hee payd for purchasing. 10 What? shall I neuer take the faction without hypocrisie? wold a man think this companion were persecuted | by the D 3 Church of England, that in the heate of his persecution is so braue a purchaser? Goe toe brother Thomas, tell your neighbors about you, Rogers of Bifielde, Fen of Couentry 15 and the rest, that I keepe a Register of all the Puritane purchasers in the Realme, & I meane to be Clarke of their Audit for these seauen veres : my Patent is already sealed. MAR. Seeing you will forwards with the works you haue taken in hand, giue me some direction for the priuie 20 dispersing them when they come out. PAS. I would haue thee principally, to drop some of the down at Penrie the Welch-mans haunt. MAR. Where is that? PAS. Tut, I perceiue you know nothing. At the signe of the siluer forke and the tosted cheese, where the Painter to 25 bewray both his abuse of the Scriptures, & his malice against the Church, hath drawne him his word with a Text-pen, Zelus domus tuæ comedit me. A speeche holy Dauid did vse, when the zeale of the Church did eate vp the Court, and a speeche now describing the spirit of 30 Penrie, that would faine turne the Church of the Lande to a tosted cheese, that the zeale of the Court might eat vppe her. MAR. You said in the ende of your Countercuffe, that you would sende vs a Comentarie vpon Martin Iunior, I forgot till now to aske you what is become of 35 that? PAS. I fell that night into a traunce, wherein mee

5 Morforius a-f. 12 his] om. Gro. 17 Paten Q. 34 till] tell g, Gro.

13 bother Thomas a-f.

thought I saw a verie golden wit performe that matter, with so keene a tooth, and such a pleasant grace, that I gaue ouer to him, and farthered The liues of the Saints as much as my leysure would giue me leaue. And credit me, when I came to the life of the myncing Dame of 5 Rochester with the golden locks, whose conceipt was so quick, that shee caught a childe whilst her husbande was from her, as her clappe was so suddaine, that no body knowes how it came, or how it went, for since she was deliuered (passe & repasse) the childe was neuer heard of: 10 so my pen was as swyfte as the post-horse of the Towne; I ran a great deale of ground in a litle time about her causes. But who commeth yonder *Marforius*, can you tell me?

MAR. By her gate and her Garland I knowe her well, it 15 is Vetus Comædia. She hath been so long in the Country, D 3" that she | is somewhat altred : this is she that called in a counsell of Phisitians about Martin, and found by the sharpnes of his humour, when they had opened the vaine that feedes his head, that hee would spit out his lunges 20 within one yere. And I promise you she prophecied very truly of him : you may see by the Bookes that he set forth last, that his strength is spent. PAS. I have a tale to tell her in her eare, of the slye practise that was vsed in restraining of her. In the meane season Marforius, I 25 take my leaue of thee, charging thee vpon all our old acquaintance, and vppon my blessing, to set vp this bill at London stone. Let it be doone sollemnly with Drom and Trumpet, and looke you aduance my collours on the top of the steeple right ouer against it, that euery one of 30 my Souldiers may keepe his quarter.

PASQVILS PROTESTATION VPPON LONDON STONE.

I Caualiero Pasquill, the writer of this simple hand, a young man, of the age of some few hundred yeeres, lately knighted in Englande, with a beetle and a bucking tub, to beat a little reason about Martins head, doe make this my Protestation vnto the world, that if any man, woman, or childe, have any thing to say against Martin the great, or any of his abettors, of what state or calling soever they be, noble or ignoble, from the very Court-gates to the Coblers stall, if it please them these dark Winter-nights, to sticke vppe their papers vppon London-stone, I will there give my attendance to receive them, from the day of the date heereof, to the full terme and revolution of seven yeeres next ensuing. 5 Dated 20. Octobris. Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, Per me venturous Pasquill the Caualiero.

MAR. Brauamente Signor. This deuice (I perswade me) will have his working; assure your selfe I wil put it in execution. Is there any thing els you would have me
doe? PAS. Yes, if I thought you were at leysure: you have been very busie I perceiue about Martins death, and though he live yet, it may be you prophecie of his end. Yester-night late, olde Martins Protestation in Octauo was brought vnto mee: I see by the | volume, hee languisheth D 4
euery day more and more, the pride of his flesh is so much falne, that you may tell euery bone in hys body now. I pray thee Marforius, after the Soldatescha bravura of displaying my Banners vpon London-stone, send this Pistle to Martin by the next Poste.

Caualiero Pasquill of England, to Martin the great, wisheth more wit and learning, and a better minde.

MAy it please your Masterdom to vnderstand, that by the last Butterflie you sent abroad, you tel me a tale 5 of a dry Sommer, and protest that you seek not to staunch the hote thyrst of any couetous Courtier, with the Bishoprickes of the Land, but to share the amongst the Ministerie. Fie, fie, doe not you know that a lyer must have no shetle memory? If you looke eyther to your former works, 10 where you vrge the spoyle of the Church for the maintenaunce of wars, or to your son Martin Senior, a man that hath slept in his fathers bosome and knowes your minde, in exhorting his yonger brother, to resigne the care of Church reuenewes to the Court, you shal find your selfe 15 take with an ouerture. Pasquill is not so blind, but he sees Martin to be a man that goes two manner of waies: and peraduenture he followed your last packe of Bookes to the verie Gates where they were carried in. A chip of ill chance, you have lost your iugling stick, your con- 20 ueighance is such, that you shatter, and carrie not halfe so cleane as your freends would have you. You say this quarrell will neuer be determined but by blood. All the better say I, Pasquill will be the first that wyll lay down his life vpon the cause. God hath hardned my face against 25 the faces of men. I have already made vp my reckoning of every danger that may ensue. It is neither losse of liuing nor life, nor so blind a bob as BLIND ASSE, that will scare a Caualiero from this honorable fight he hath vndertaken. The wise & learned (to whose iudgmets I appeale) 30 shall censure vs both. To meet with your affixes at every great post & place of cocourse, by Gods helpe, I will hang such a payre of pendents at both your eares, before it be long, that whosoeuer beholds you, shal say, Don Diego di Martin hath an idle braine. You brag you haue giuen 35

M. D. Bancroft such a sliue ouer the shoulders, as the credite of hys Chaplenship shall not recouer. Though the learning and honestie of the man doe very much credit him, with all that are eyther learned or honest of them-5 selues, yet seeing you come to his Chaplinship, I cannot forbeare you, but tell you plaine, that halfe a looke of his honourable Maister, shall giue him more credit in England in one day, then Martin or all his crew shal be able to robbe him of while the world stands, though they swell 10 at him with enuie like a nest of foule Toades, till their bodies splyt, and poure out theyr bowels vppon the earth. I haue many other things to lay to your charge, which I purpose to wink at, vntill your Dialogue be ended; but then Syr, because you tell me you are yet vnmaried, I wyll 15 take downe your breeches for altogether.

Caualiero Pasquill.



THE FIRST PARTE OF PASQVILS APOLOGIE

Entry in the Stationers' Register : None.

Editions: (1) Early:

1590. THE | First parte of Pasquils Apo-logie. | Wherin he renders a reason to his friendes | of his long filence: and gallops the fielde with the | Treatife of Reformation lately written | by a fugitiue, *Iohn* | *Penrie*. | [device] | Printed where I was, and where I will bee | readie by the helpe of God and my Muse, to fend | you the May-game of Martinisme for an interme-|dium, betweene the first and feconde | part of the Apologie. | Anno. Dom. 1590.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-D⁴, E². A. j. blank, except for signature. (A 2) Title, v. blank. A. 3. 'THE FIRST PART...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The first part | of Pasquils Apologie. (E 2) blank. (Lambeth Library, xxx. 6. 26. (3).)

Catch-words: A 3. (reue-)rende, B I. (pur-)gatorie, C I. writing D I. (be-)ginning E I. name

Copy used: That in the British Museum (C. 37. d. 51. (1).)¹

(2) Modern edition:

1883-4. The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . . edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. i, pp. 207-253.

From the copy in the Huth Library.

¹ For note on the printer, see the Introductory Note to the Countercuffe.



THE First parte of Pasquils Apologie.

Wherin he renders a reason to his friendes ot his long filence : and gallops the fielde with the Treatife of Reformation lately written by a fugitiue, John Pennu.



Printed where I was, and where I will bee readie by the helpe of God and my Mufe, to Iend you the May-game of Martinifine for an intermedium, betweene the first and feconde part of the Apologie.

Anno. Dom. 1590.



THE FIRST PART

OF PASQVILS APO-

LOGIE.

F it be a vanitie and vexation of hart, for a man to 5 toyle in hys life to gather treasure, when he knowes not whither he be wise or foolish that shall inherite it : we may thinke the sweat of our spirits to be somewhat friuolous, which write & print, when we cannot tell whether they will prooue sober or franticke to whom we leave the to possession of our labours. It is nowe almost a full yeere, since I first entred into the lystes against the Faction, promising other Bookes which I keepe in yet, because the opening of them, is such an opening of waters, as will fill the eares of the world with a fearefull roaring. Were I but 15 a dogge, wise men would suffer me to bay in the defence of mine own maister, but being a liuely stone, squared and lavd into Gods building, by the hands of many excellent workmen in the Church of England, when I see the theefe, and the sente of Church-robbers is in my nosthrils, shall 20 I not lay out my throate to keepe them off?

I know, that since the beginning of all these broyles in our Church of England, not onely the L. Archb. of Canterburie in his learned works, but many other reue-|rende, A 3^v religious, and worthy men, both at Paules-crosse, and the ²⁵ Pulpits in Cittie and Country, haue with great skill and sobrietie, toucht euery string of the holy scriptures, and warbled sweetlie, to cast out the foule spirit of the Faction, with Dauids harpe: but their madnesse on the contrarie part hath so encreased, that their attempt is still to nayle 30 our best men to the wall with the speare of slaunder.

By these events you may easily perceive what successe they are like to have, that deale with so leaden and sandie braines, he that hazards his time and cost to teach them,

A 3

aduentures to waken the drowsie out of a dreame, their heads fall downe the lower for the lifting vp, and they defile vs with dust when they shake themselues.

I could for my part be well contented, to throwe my selfe at their feete with teares, and entreatie, to stop their 5 course: that the weake (for whom Iesus Christ hath dyed,) may not see vs runne one at another like furious Bulles, foming and casting out those reproches, which heereafter we shall neuer be able to wipe awaie; and when we should ioyne to encounter the common enemie, the first view of 10 each other, wil enforce vs to braule againe. But seeing sobrietie will doe no good, let them be well assured, that if I catch such a brimse in my pen as I caught the last August, I will neuer leaue flynging about with them, so long as I finde anie ground to beare me. Contention is 15 a coale, the more it is blowne by dysputation, the more it kindleth: I must spit in theyr faces to put it out.

Euer since the last Michelmas Tearme, many thousands of my freendes haue looked for me, whom I am loath to enforce to loose their longing: and though in silence I 20 gloate through the fingers at other matters, yet am I not carelesse of the quarrell nowe in hand. The peace of Ierusalem, which the faithfull are bound to pray for, is the A 4 onely thing that hath brought me to thys long | and quiet pause; wherein I haue set the example of Dauid before 25 mine eyes, seeking with my hart a surcease of Armes, euen of those that hated peace, and prepared themselues to battaile when I spake vnto them. The case so standing, I trust I am worthy to be held excused, if I muster and traine my men a newe, that the enemies of GOD and the 30 state wherein I liue, may be stopt of theyr passage and driuen backe, or vtterly foyled in the field and ouerthrown.

My labour in this peece of seruice will be the lesse, because the byshop of my soule, my L. Archb. of Cant. strooke off the head of the serpent long agone : it is nothing 35 but the tayle that mooueth now. Some small rubs, as I heare, haue been cast in my way to hinder my comming forth, but they shall not profit. It is reported, that a student at the Lawe hath vndertaken to be a stickler betweene vs all: his booke is not in print, and I came a day short of the sight of the coppie of it. For any thing I heare, he 5 quencheth the strife with a pinte of water and a pottle of fire. I little thought his leysure would haue suffered him to haue any more then a common kinde of knowledge, in matters so farre remoued from the course of his studie, place, and calling.

They that are most conuersant in the Scriptures, finde the booke to be shut with many seales; it is not for euery finger to breake them vp; the word is a treasure kept vnder many locks, which are not to be opened with euerie key. He onely that hath the key of Dauid, hath graunted 15 out a commission to the lippes of his Priestes, to come within it. So that if I doubt of any matter there, I may not knocke for it at the Chamber-dore of a common Counseller, but haue recourse vnto them, whom God himselfe appointed to teach Iacob before any Inne of courte
was reard. I can tell him that *M. Bucer, Peter Martyr*, and that auncient *Entellus* of the Church of England, the

B. of Sarisburie, haue trauast our Church | with as graue A 4^v a gate as he, and founde nothing in it to stumble at. Therefore what I say to him, I say to the rest of our
²⁵ Reformers, whose tongues are so busie to licke out the moates of their bretherens eyes, if they haue any wisedome in theyr vessels, let them be carefull howe they lende it out, least that when the suddaine shoute of the comming of the Bridegroome shall be giuen, and euerie virgin would

30 be glad to trime his owne Lampe, there be not enough for them and others.

Some other things there are that made me looke backe, and measure the rase I had runne alreadie, before I bid any man the bace againe. To this I was stirred vp by the 35 dislike that some had of the ierke which I gaue to Fryer Sauanarol: ô quoth one, he was the first that inuented our Religion: this fellow seemes to haue a Pope in his bellie as bigge as Alexander, he would make you beleeue, that our Church hath borrowed the light of her Torche at a Fryers Taper, which is far otherwise. Our Religion in England is no newe excrement of the braine of man, but drawne out of the fountaine of all trueth. God himselfe, 5 who spake in olde time to our fathers, to Adam, to Enoch, to Noah, to Abraham, and so downward, to the Patriarches & Prophets that were all vnder the clowde, and sawe the promise a farre of, which was in the latter daies made manifest to vs in Iesus Christ. Our fayth and Religion 10 is the fayth and Religion of our father Abraham, fulfilling the prophecie of Zacharie who told vs before, that all nations should take holde of the skyrte of a Iewe, and say, we wyll goe with thee, we have heard that God is with thee. Considering what was the hope of our fathers, and the 15 hope of vs, what was preached to them, & what to vs, our Religion may say with the Sonne of God, I came out of the mouth of the most Highest.

I tooke another nybling like a Minew about Bezaes Icones, where you shall finde commendation is given to 20 BI Sauanarol, and the fishe that was strooken with Bezas hooke, is Perceuall the plaine, but because his hande so shooke when he carried his coppie to the Presse, that he crost his accusation out againe, I will sheath every weapon I had drawne in my defence. Onelie I will give the 25 Readers to vnderstand, that the commendations which eyther M. Foxe, or M. Beza, do giue to Sauanarol, are to be attributed to the best parts that were in him, that is, to the glimmering he had of the face of God in so darke a time, wherein he inueighed against the pride of the Court 30 of Rome, a matter that Petrarche the poeticall Priest touched as well as he; I can shewe you euen by the Sermons that spunne him a halter to stop his breath, he was no Protestant. For in some of them he taught the popish distinction of veniall and mortall sinne, in some he 35 preached merit, in some the reall presence in the sacrifice of the Masse, and in the ende of his sixt Sermon made

in Florence, vppon the finishing of Noahs Arke, consider what he sayth. Io vi voglio riuelare vno secreto: che insino a qui, non ho voluto dirlo: perche non ho hauuto tanta certezza, come ho haunto da diece hore in qua, ciascuno di 5 voi credo che conoscesse el conte Giouanni della Mirandola. che staua qui in Firenze: et e morto, pochi giorni sono. Dicoui che l' anima sua per le orationi di frati & anche per alcune sue buone opere che fece in questa vita, et per altre orationi, e nel purgatorio. Orate pro eo, &-c. I wil tel you 10 (saith he) a secrete, which to this day I have refused to vtter, because I had no great certaintie of the matter vntill within these ten howres. I think euery one of you knew the Countie Iohn Mirandola, which lived here in Florence, and died within these fewe daves. I tell you that his 15 soule, by vertue of the prayers of the Friers and of some good works he did whilst he liued, together wyth some

other prayers, is now in Purgatorie : pray for him.

See heere how many blaines breake out of the Fryer in a little space. A reuelation concerning merit, pur-|gatorie, B 1^v 20 and prayer for the dead. Therefore as S. *Ierom* commendeth *Origen* for his memorie, labour, and sharp sight into many places of holy Scripture, yet reproueth him for his errors : so I thinke well with M. *Foxe* and M. *Beza* of that which was good in Fryer *Sauanaroll*, though I compared him 25 with *Martin* for hys factious head, pleading in Florence as Martin did in England, for a newe gouernment, at such a time as Armes and inuasion clattered about their eares. It may be I am of some better sente then you take me for, and finding a Machiauellian tricke in this plot of innouation, 30 I was the more willing to lay *Sauanarols* example before

your eyes, that having to lay Sauanarots example before your eyes, that having recourse vnto Machiauell in whom it is recorded, you might see Machiauels iudgment vpon the same. His opinion is, that when such a peaze may be drawne through the noses of the people as to beare 35 a change, the Maisters of the Faction are most happie; they may doe what they lust without controlment.

⁴ haunto Q. 5 haunto Q. I

I heard a byrd sing more then I meane to say, but riddle me, riddle me, what was he that told a very freend of his, he would owe neuer a pennie in England in one halfe veere? His liuing considered, though it were favre, the sale of all he possessed would hardly doe it : the time 5 was so busie when he spake it, that no such largesse could be looked for at the hands of her Ma. who had requited every penni-woorth of duetie with many a pounde of fauour long before: no fingring of Spanish covne mought be mistrusted : & the Philosophers stone to turne mettles 10 into gold, is yet to seeke: I cannot deuise which way so rounde summes could be so readilie compast, but by the spoyle of Bishopricks, Deaneries, and Cathedrall Churches, which very shortly after were stoutly pushed at. Credit me, hee spake somewhat neerer the point then 15 himselfe was ware of, for if his soule be gone the way of the just, his debt is already canceld. Let him goe, let B 2 him goe, I could tell you myste-ries, but there is a whole Chamber full of sentences in the land, the very painting of the walles is wisedome, whence I learned this lesson, 20 Acerbum est ab eo lædi, de quo non poteris tuto queri: it is a shrewde matter to be wrunge by him, against whom a man cannot with anie safetie open his mouth to make complaint. Sure I am that by practises and pollicies, the garment of Christ is torne in peeces, and the Church 25 is ouertaken with such a flawe, that it is high time euery fugitive of the faction were hurled with Fonas into the They thunder their sentence out of the clowdes, Sea. and contrarie to the rule of Gods Apostle, they take vpon them to judge men before the time. Whosoeuer readeth 30 the Epistle and treatise of Iohn Penrie concerning Reformation, shal discouer thys swelling and sawcie humour in him against her Maiesties right honourable priuie Counsell.

I remember the wisedome of the land in a graue Oration deliuered in the Starre-chamber, compared our Nobilitie 35 and men of marke, to the flowers that stand about the Princes Crowne, garnishing & giuing a grace vnto it : to deface any one of them, is an open iniurie offered to the Crowne it selfe. Howe *Penrie* or any Puritane, that reacheth at the ornaments of the Crowne, can be faithfull or dutifull to her Maiestie, I leaue it to the iudgement euen of the 5 meanest that is but indued wyth common sence. I will let passe the graue testimonie of so graue a Counseller, and set the axe of the word to the roote of this withered tree.

The great commaunder of the world, hath appointed certaine boundes and land marks vnto our lips. Exo. 22. 28. 10 Thou shalt not raile vpon the Iudges, nor speake euill of the Ruler of thy people. You may resolue vpon this, that there is no time of the Moone sette for vs to open the Maister vaine. To charge her Ma. right honourable priuie Counsell with insolencie, iniustice, murther in the highest

- ¹⁵ degree, yea more, the very killing and cru-cifying of B 2^v Christ a fresh, is nothing els but to remoue the Landmarks and lymits by God prescribed, that neuer a subject heereafter might knowe his duetie. I warrant you the cunning Pap-maker knewe what he did, when he made
- ao choyse of no other spoone than a hatchet for such a mouth, no other lace then a halter for such a neck. Yet is *Penrie* become a man of law, he can frame an Inditement out of the Psalmes, against such as sit & taunte at theyr bretheren in euerie corner, when the plea may be turned
- 25 vpon himselfe, in that none haue giuen theyr mouth vnto euill so much as he. Let me deale with him for it by interrogatories. Who had the ouersight of the Libell at Fawslie? *Iohn* of Wales: Who was corrector to the Presse at Couentrie? *Iohn* of Wales: Who wrote the
- 30 last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but *Iohn* of Wales? Is it so brother *Iohn*, can you byte and whine? then heare thy selfe indited againe by *Pasquill*. Thou hast railed vpon the Iudges, and spoken euill of the Rulers of thy people : thou hast ascended aboue the clowdes 35 and made thy selfe like to the most High.

What sentence shall we looke for against him now? I must set the trumpet of Esay to my mouth, and deliver

him nothing but points of warre. Thou that hast sette thy throne aboue the starres, shalt be brought downe vnto the graue, the Princes shall sleepe in glorie, euery one in his own house, but thou shalt be troden as a carcasse vnder feete, & euery one that beholdeth thee shall say, is thys 5 the iollie fellow that shooke kingdoms?

Hauing giuen many hisses of the old serpent against his betters, in the Epistle to the treatise, in the treatise it selfe he begins to rolle vp his head within his scales, and would fayne proue that Puritans be no Traytors. Wyll you see 10 his reason? Because in the treasonable attempts against her Ma. these 31. yeeres, no one Puritane can be shewed, saith he, to haue had any part in them. Is thys the best B 3 proofe he can affoorde vs? I am so sicke in the | stomache

when I reade it, that if some of my freends did not hold 15 my head, I shold cast every minute of an houre : Hath the Toade no poyson before he spits it, and the Scorpion no sting in his tayle before hee thrusts it out? Be there no more Traytors in England then be taken? And is it such a matter as cannot be found, that euer anie Puritane 20 became a Traytor? Without doubt he speakes like an Iland man, that imagins there be no more beastes abroade then such as graze vpon the Mountains of Wales at home. You that are Oxford men, enquire whether Walpoole were not a Puritane when he forsooke you? and you that have 25 trauailed, aunswere for me, whether he be not now a Iesuite in the Italian Colledge of Iesuites at Rome, a sworne seruaunt to the Pope and counsel of Trent? reade the oath in the end of the booke you that have the Counsel, and then resolue me whether no one instance may be giuen 30 of any Puritane, that in all these thirtie one yeeres hath become a Traytor? I could reckon vp vnto him nowe, what excellent hope the English Cardinall conceiueth of a Puritane; he that hath such a dubble quartane of curiositie before he comes amongst them, will prooue passing 35 trecherous, and passing superstitious as soone as he is burnt with the sunne of the Alpes.

But give me leave a little to search what treason may be laid to Puritanes at home. Popish travtors hold that they may excommunicate their King, if he hinder the building of theyr Church, and he being excommunicate, they say 5 they are discharged of theyr obedience. If such a privie Fistuloe doe not eate into the hearts of Puritans at home. I refer you to the Phisitians that dyscouered thys mischiefe before I was able to espie it. You shall finde such a matter in the Appendix to the first treatise of the Aunswer to the 10 Abstract. They pitch themselues vpon a Law of Tenures Pag. 194, for vassals & Lords, and would draw it out like a wier from 195. subjects to Prin-lees, from which they are roundly beaten Bax by a learned Ciuilian in the land. Aboue all other, reade the defence of the Aunswer to the Admonition, in the 15 whole Treatise of the Princes right in matters Ecclesiasticall. beginning Pag. 604. My L. Archb. of Cant. hath so brused the Faction, and cut them in the scull, that they haue lyen groning and panting, breathing and bleeding euer since; many as blinde a Chirurgion as Penrie, 20 endeuouring to close vp their woundes hath made them wider, and left them all desperate vpon their death bed. Considering how weake his Purgation is, let vs examine his Reformation, and try whether that be any stronger.

The first petition he makes is for a preaching Ministerie: ²⁵ he comes in very late with this request, we haue thys alreadie. Thousands of able Ministers in the Church of England; number for number, no kingdome vnder heauen can shew the like. Neuerthelesse, because the reading of the word hath his place in our Church as well as ³⁰ preaching, it is vineger to his teeth, and maketh him very sawcie with his g. of Cant. He challengeth the Archb. for affirming reading to be preaching, wherein my Reformer doth nothing but play the Iugler: he packs vnder-boord, and shewes not how farre forth the Archb. hath affirmed it. ³⁵ Preaching, saith the reuerend father, is taken two waies in the holie Scriptures. Generally, as it signifies euery

31 callengeth Q.

kind of instruction by the word. Acts. 15. 21. Where it is said that Moses is preached in the Citties every Sabboth, when Moses is read in the Citties every Sabboth. Particularly, strictly, and vsuallie, preaching is taken for expounding the Scriptures, and applying the playster vnto 5 the sore. He neyther sayth that reading is expounding, nor that reading is preaching, in respect of him that readeth. but in respect of Gods spyrite, which watereth the word. and makes it fruitfull to conversion in vs when it is read. For proofe wherof the testimonies of S. Cyprian and 10 B 4 Ma. Foxe are there pro-duced, together with the example of S. Augustine, who was converted by reading the latter end of the 12. chap. to the Romains. Cyprian saith that God himselfe speakes vnto vs when the Scriptures are read; and Ma. Foxe gyueth in his euidence of many that 15 in the infancie of our Church were brought out of darknes into light by reading, and hearing the newe Testament in the English tongue.

Penrie speakes not one word of all this, because he was built but for a Flie-boate, to take and leaue; when the 20 skyrmish is too hote for him to tarrie, he may sette vp his sayles and runne away. It is a wonder to see with how terrible an out-cry he takes his heeles, charging the Archb. to be a deceiuer, to haue his right eye blinded, and to deserue to be condemned for an Hæretick. Tantara, 25 tantara, is he fled indeede? let me sende a Sakar after him. Is the holy Ghost a deceiuer, that saith Moses is preached when Moses is read? Is the right eye and vnderstanding of God put out, because he commaunds the message of Ieremie to be set downe in writing, and to 30 be read vnto his people? Are Christ and the Apostle to be condemnd for Hæreticks, because the one stoode

LVKE4.16. vp in the Synagogue on the Sabboth day to read, the other chargeth *Timothie* to giue attendance to reading till he i. TIM. com? Was the reading of the word when there went no 35 preaching with it, no better then Swines blood before the Maiestie of GOD? Howe commeth it to passe then that

CAP. 36.

God would haue it so? and why doth he attribute an effect of preaching vnto reading, Iere. 36. 2, affirming that by this meanes the people may heare and repent, and he may forgiue them their iniquities?

- I wyll thresh at his shoulders before I leaue him, let him make his complaint to his Maister *Cartwright*, and let him dresse him, if he please, when I haue done with him. It is not his emptie reply of emptie feeders, darke eyes, ill work-men to hasten the haruest, that shall stop | my B 4[×] to mouth. I looke for scholasticall graspes, and aunswers to so graue and weightie arguments; he may not thinke to beguile mine appetite as women do their children that cry for meate, when they giue them a bable to play withall. As a man comparing the joy of heauen with the painfulnes REVEL.
- 15 a main comparing the boy of neutron with the paintenness KIVEL.
 15 of feare, cannot say there is feare in heauen: yet as feare is ¹⁵. 3, 4 taken for a reuerence, and admiration of the works, the wonders, the iustice, the trueth, and maiestie of God, it is no hard manner of speech at all, to say there is feare in heauen, feare in the holy Angels, feare in the bosoms of
 20 the blessed : so if you compare the exposition and application that are in preaching, as preaching is strictly taken, with the barenesse of reading, in respect of the person

of him that readeth, you cannot say there is preaching in reading, nor that reading is preaching, without derogation ²⁵ vnto preaching: yet as preaching is taken in holy Scriptures for euery kinde of instruction by the word, the speech may be swalowed with ease enough, to say there is preaching in reading, and reading is preaching, as the Aunswer to the Admonition teacheth you.

- ³⁰ Though they grinne with the mouth, grinde with the teeth, stampe with the feete, and take stones with the Iewes to hurle at me, this truth shall be defended against them all. Neuerthelesse, I wyll not be theyr vpholder which lye sleeping and snorting in their charges, vnapt
- 35 or vnable to stand in the breach, or to run between the wrath of God and the people when the plague approcheth, for I wish with my heart that euery Parrish had a Watch-

man, who with the tongue of the learned might call vpon them: but this is such a matter as cannot by all the Bishops in the land be brought to passe. For suppose that all they who cannot preach could be remoued, where will you finde sufficient men for so manie places as would be voide? 5 If you goe to our Vniuersities, they cannot affoord you one C I for twentie, which | matter T. C. saw well enough, when he had no other shift to aunswer this, but to say he looked for help from the Innes of Court. No doubt manie excellent learned wits, and religious mindes, are nursed there, and 10 suppose the Gentleman whose vnprinted booke I spake of, could find in his hart to make such an honorable change of life, as to forsake the barre to pleade for GOD, I doubt how many hundreds would follow him.

The Church of the Lande beeing still vnfurnisht, what 15 shall we doe? I know what morsels Penrie would have before he gapes, he will cry, let them be restored that are put to silence. If we should yeeld so much vnto him, (though the number of them also would not fill vp the emptie places) yet they must be examined by the Apostles 20 rule of cutting and deuiding the word a right, and not one of them should be admitted, that hath not a steddie hand to cleaue just where the joynt is : where would they stande, trowe you, which in stead of sound doctrine to feede our soules, have given vs the wine of giddines to turne our 25 braines? I wil not trouble them at this time with their triall by the touch-stone of Contradicentes redarguere, for then I should find them so ill appointed, that they must be throwne ouer the Pulpit as thicke as hoppes. Therefore Penrie began to gather his wits vnto him, when he limitted 30 his Petition to certaine bounds: he would have able men in euerie Congregation within England, as farre as possibly they might be prouided. Heere his wit is at the fullest, and presentlie it beginneth to wane againe; fore-seeing the matter, though possible with God, impossible with vs. it 35 is verie boldly doone of him, before he knowes the waie of his own spirit, to judge the spirite of another man, and

pronounce condemnation to a Bishop, before the tribunall seate of God, where he must stand to receive sentence vpon himselfe.

What a watch had S. Ierom before his mouth when, 5 writing against an erroneous Bishop (which neither all C 1y Warwicke, nor all Wales, shall euer be able to prooue by the Archb. of Canterburie), with great humilitie and humblenes of spirit, he sayd, that if the honour of the Priest-hoode, and reuerence of the very name of a Bishop To did not with-hold him, and but that he called to minde the Apostles aunswer, I knew not that he was high Priest, he confesseth with what out-cryes and heate of tearmes he could finde in his heart to inueigh against him. If so learned a Father as S. Ierom, to whom Cartwright and 15 Penrie may goe to schoole, had such a respect to the place & person of the Bishop of Ierusalem, euen then when he was suspected of the hæresies of Origen and Arrius. & refused personally to appeare in a Counsell to cleere himselfe, what a reuerend regard ought euerie one of vs to haue 20 of the Bishops of Iesus Christ, which are and haue beene the very hands, whereby God hath deliuered his truth vnto vs? He that receiveth and honors them, receives and honors not them so much as him, whose Bishops vndoubtedly they are. Heerein neighbour Cartwright I 25 challenge you of a daungerous Angina in your throate: how durst you presume to make so lowde a lie as to sav the B. of Sarisburie, D. Iuell, cals the doctrine of the holy Ghost wantonnes? You would make vs beleeue, that if Pag. 91. humanitie stayed you not, you could breake vope his 30 graue and bite him beeing dead, whom you durst not looke in the face whilst he liued. That Bishop hath a great many learned sonnes, first taught by him in his house, afterwardes maintained by his purse in the vniuersitie; they are all of the nature of the Elephant, the more they 35 see the blood of their Maister shed, the more their courage increaseth, and they breake with the greater force into the

battaile. They have all vowed to hale thee out of thy

trenches by the head and eares; *Pasquill* is the meanest of them.

Moreouer brother *Penrie*, I challenge you, and the | C 2 whole rabble of your confederates, for all your malepart, murderous, and bloodie rayling, against the Archb. of 5 Canterburie, one of her Maiesties right honourable priuie Counsell, against whom it appeareth your tongues are bent, to shoote still in secrete, and not to cease tyll sathans quiuor be spent, and no venim left, for any Hæreticke to vse that shall come after you.

Assure your selfe, the more you reuile him, the greater will his honour be; the world sees it wel enough, and such as are not able to reade his works, may iustly imagine by the course you take, that whom you cannot conquere by learned writings, you goe about to kyll with words. 15 What is this, I pray you, but to fall groueling to the earth in the questions and controuersies scand betweene vs, and beeing downe, to vse the last refuge, to kicke and spurne?

As for the reuerende Bishops of our soules, they know it better then I can tell them, that this is the waie, through 20 which the Apostles of God were led, through good report and euill, as deceiuers and yet true; They are no better then the Prophets, which dwelt as it were in a nest of Hornets; They are not so good as their Ma. Christ, they must feele the scourge of euill tongues as he hath doone. 25 And though in this dogged generation and age of ours, wherein both Prelats & Princes are depraued, they liue euery day in danger to haue theyr skinnes torne, yet God for his Churches sake sprinckled ouer all the kingdoms of the world, shall giue them a bodie of brasse to with- 30 stande the enemie, and make them a patterne to other Nations.

The second venue the Welch-man hath bestowed vpon vs, is a wipe ouer the shinnes of the *Non Residents*, which me thinkes might very well be returned to the brother- 35 hood of the faction in Warwick-shire, of which I haue seene more then I meane to name, mounted vppon their dubble

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Geldings, with theyr Wiues behinde | them, ryding and C 2^v iaunsling from place to place, to feaste among the Gentlemen of the Shyre, and retyre to theyr charge when the whole weeke is wasted in pleasure, to preache to Gods 5 people vpon a full stomach. These be the fellowes that cannot away with a virgin Priest. Goe to, goe to, but for Cholericke diseases this scorching wether, I could point you out one by one, with a wette finger. Yet because that by the length of other mens frailties euery man may to take the measure of himselfe, I will carrie my mouth in my hart, and let them passe, and though there be a pad in the straw that must be rousde, I haue taken out this lesson from the Wise ; there is a time for speech, and a time for silence.

I will not flie from the cause to the person of men, but 15 grapple with the Reformer hand to hand. He gives vs a voley of Scriptures against Non Residents, not one of them proouing the matter he takes vpon him. The places shall be singled out, that you may see howe his wits 20 wandred one from another, when he quoated them. Rom. 10. v. 14. The Apostle sayth, we cannot call vpon God without a Preacher. I graunt it. Nowe because we cannot worshippe him, before we have learned howe to worship him, shall we say we cannot doe it when we have beene 25 taught it, except we have a Preacher continuallie present with vs? I denie it. Tis to reason thus, Mystresse Penrie cannot call vpon GOD without the presence of a Preacher, ergo, she cannot pray in her bed without the presence of a Preacher. He coucheth that in the Scriptures which the 30 Scriptures neuer meaned.

To the next, to the next, more sacks to the Myll. I. Cor. 9. v. 16. Paule confesseth he must of necessitie preach the Gospell, woe is him if he doe it not. And I. Cor. 4. v. 2. The Minister must be faithfull. *Transeat*, 35 for this concludeth nothing, but a necessitie of teaching before learning, and in them that teach, a right cutte of the worde, without gigges or fancies of hæreticall and

C 3 newe opinions. Thys tieth not a Preacher to one place continuallie. Forwarde Sir *Iohn*, you must change your argument. 1. Thes. 2. v. 10. The Thessalonians were witnesses of Paules behauiour among them. And 2. Thes. 3. 10. He desires to see their face. Giue me thy hande, 5 this makes for me. When he was among them, then he was Resident; when he did long personally to be with them againe to teach them farther, then he was absent. ô Paule art thou guiltie of the blood of the Thessalonians? if not, woe be to that wretched mouth of Wales.

These places are too short in the waste to serue hys turne, he will be with vs to bring anone I doubt not. 1. Peter. 5. v. 2. The Minister must feede his flocke willingly. What of this? ergo he must neuer be away. Hoe Ball hoe, I perceiue the fellowe is bird eved, he 15 startles and snuffes at every shadow. Is his braine so bitten with the frost, that no better proofe will bud out of it? Yes I warrant you, either we goe to the wall nowe or neuer. Acts. 20. v. 18, 19, 20. Paule tels the Church of Ephesus, that he had beene among them at all seasons, 20 and taught through euerie house. All seasons, and Euerie house. How like you this? A rodde for the Grammer boy, he dooth nothing but wrangle about words. What a stur have we heere with All and Euerie? The word All, is taken somtimes in the Scriptures for all sorts, 25 or all maner, as Luk. 11. v. 42. The Scribes and Pharisies are saide to tythe Omne olus, that is, all sorts and all manner of hearbes, Minte, Cummin, Anise and the rest. Sometimes the word All in the Scriptures is taken for Manie. Rom. 5. v. 8. By the transgression of one, all 30 are damned (as the Apostle there teacheth vs), but by the benefit of one, all are saued, that is. Manie: for so he expoundeth himselfe in the next verse folowing, where he saith; that as by the first man Adam, there be many slaine, so by Christ there be many saued. To the poynt 35 now, Paul was among the Ephesians at all seasons, not C 3" that he was neuer absent | from them, for howe coulde

he then have preached in Macedonia and other places after he had preached at Ephesus? It falleth out answerable to this distinction, that his conversation among them at all seasons, was all sorts of seasons, all manner of 5 seasons, earely, and late, & manie seasons. In his absence from Ephesus, it may be that he lost some of his sheepe among the Ephesians, as he did among the Galathians. yet when he comes to Ephesus to see them, (determining to goe from thence to Ierusalem, concerning his former 10 absence past, and his latter absence to ensue.) he washeth his handes from the blood of them all, and saith he is guiltie of none of them, in respect he had deliuered them al the counsels of God before. People may not looke to lay all yppon the Parsons shoulders, but they must 15 search, and have recourse vnto the Scriptures, which are able to make the man of God perfect.

By the end I have given the Welch-man to his All, he may stitch vp his Everie when it pleaseth him. Iohn. I. v. 9. The Evangelist declareth Christ to be the true light, which lighteth everie man that commeth into the world. Hath every man that is borne the light of Christ? happie were it then with Turkes, Infidels, Atheists, and happie were it then with Penrie, for he should see, how vnto this day he hath reeled vp and downe like a drunken 25 man, having no scriptures at all to stay himselfe vppon.

When the Apostle saith he taught the Ephesians through euerie house, he makes a difference betweene his publique preaching and priuate counsell, whereby when any were sicke or weake, or occasion required to giue them priuate 30 exhortation, he went vnto them to binde vppe the broken and bring them into the folde; not that he did thys euerie day, or that he set his foote ouer euerie threshold that was in Ephesus. And thys is performed by our Ministers, which in visiting the sicke | and breeding of peace betweene man and C 4 35 man, haue occasion sometime to goe from house to house.

Heere the Reformer beeing falne into the nette, and

22 Turkes Infidels Q. 35 ocsion Q.

fearing it wold be some bodies chaunce to take him vp, tumbling and strugling to gette away, he curseth all those that goe about to aunswere him, neyther considering that the curse which is causeles shall not come, nor remembring the Apostles counsell, who exhorteth vs all to blesse, and 5 not to curse, because we are the heyres of blessing. Thys is but a stone, throwne vp with furie into the ayre, and is likelie to fall vppon his owne pate, *Motus in autorem redit*.

To be aunswered by distinctions, that Chawlke may not beare the price of Cheese, nor copper be currant to goe for 10 paiment, he thinks to fore-stall or to dyscourage vs, by terming it a scornefull rejecting of godly examples, and a matter altogether childish and vnlearned. Wherein you may behold, what violence he offereth to the holie Ghost, to the Apostle Paule, and to S. *Augustine*. Is the holie 15 Ghost a scorner? Is Paule childish? Is *Augustine* that famous piller of the Church vnlearned? The distinction wherewith I haue shaken off his proofe is taught me by the holy Ghost and the Apostle in the places cited, and by S. *Augustine, Enchirid. cap. 13. De correp. & Gra. cap. 14. 20* and *4. Cont. Iul. cap. 8.*

Other excellent points I could presse and pinch him with to the like purpose, were I not contented to strike the winge, and come downe to his capacitie, whom I pittie to see so bare a schoole-man. He hath no way now to slyppe 25 out of my handes, but to take sentrie in the Hospitall of Warwick, with this or some such like shift of descant : That Paule was an Apostle, who had the whole fielde of the world to tyl: Apostles are now ceased in the Church, and euerie Minister is tied to a perticuler plow-lande, from which he 30 C44 may not be absent, as | Paule was, from the places where he had planted. He perceiueth not in all this, that I haue his leg in a string still; though I suffer him to flye to make me sport, I can pull him in againe when I lust. Indeede. the immediate calling of the Apostles, theyr working of 35 myracles, theyr commission to quarter out the world, is ceased, but in respect of preaching the word, in any place

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of the dominion wherein the Preacher liueth, though he haue a particuler plow-land of his owne, Apostles cease not, but continue still in the Church, & shall doe vntil the comming of Iesus Christ. Ephe. 4. 11. The place is plaine.

5 He gaue some to be Apostles; for howe long I pray you? unto the measure of the age of the fulnes of Christ. Let them take heede how they deale with this authorite, for thys beeing a place vppon which they have built theyr Presbiterie, if they pull but one straw out of the nest, al 10 their egges are broken.

How lawfull a matter it is for a Minister to be from his particuler plow-lande, when it tendeth to the commoditie of the same, by his conference abroad with better learned then himselfe, or when it redowndes to the benefit of the TE whole Church of the kingdome wherein he liueth, or when he is called forth by the authoritie of his superiours, is so soundly prooued, in the defence of the Aunswere to the Admonition, by my L. Archb. of Cant. that I rejovce to trace after him aloofe, with reuerence and honour vnto his 20 steppes. To be short in thys poynt, and shut it vp, that I may the better withdrawe the Welch-man from seeking any succour of T. C. concerning the two points alreadie handled, I wyll shewe you three pretie brawles betweene them, and so leave them close together by the eares.

25 Iohn Penrie, in his treatise of Reformation, sayth preaching and Penrie, both at is the onely ordinary meanes to worke fayth in the peoples buffets. harts. Tho. Cartwright saith, it is the most ordinarie Pag. 126. line 14. meane, and most excellent, therein confessing | a lesse D I ordinarie, and lesse excellent meane then preaching is.

30 Againe, Iohn Penrie tyeth the Minister to a continuall feeding, vntill his Maister come, that his Maister may find MAT. 24. hym so dooing. Wherein he considereth not, that the Pastor 45, 46. eyther preaching sometimes in another place out of his charge, continewes feeding, or, conferring with the learned, 35 prouideth foode to be given to his fellow servants in due

time, and there-withall, having put out his talents to vse, and encreased them, shal at the last enter into his Maisters

Cartwright

THE FIRST PART

ioy. T. C. looseth the corde and lets it out a great deale farther, for he holdes, that a Pastor may be absent from his Parish vppon occasion of necessarie worldly busines; it may be he meaneth about purchasing, as he hath doone.

Last of all, Iohn Penrie, to snatch vp the cord again, 5 and tye him shorter, telleth vs that a Minister may put no Substitute in his roome, and so consequently cannot be 44. 8. absent. His proofe for it, is in Ezechiell, Where the Priestes are reproued for appointing others to take the charge of the Sanctuarie vnder them: a common faulte of his, to 10 alleage Scripture before he vnderstandeth it. That place is not vnderstoode of euerie Substitute, but of vncircumcised Substitutes. T. C. seeing well enough though he say nothing, that litle help could be gathered out of this place, teacheth vs. that a Pastor may prouide another in his 15 absence if he be an able man. In these three assertions, where the one of them dasheth out the others teeth, T. C. is the wariest of the two, for he treads nicelie, as one that daunceth vpon a lyne, mistrusting euery foote an ouerturn : the Welch-man leapes bluntlie into the bryars with 20 a leafe on his shinne, caring not much whether head or heeles goe formost.

The last poynt of Reformation to which the treatise leadeth me, is a desire the Reformer hath, that the Bishoppes of the land should be throwne downe, and the Iewes 25 D I^v Synedrion set vp. And why? because from the be-|ginning of the new Testament to the latter end of it, there is not a word spoken of a Lord Archbishop, nor a Lord Bishop. Will he neuer leaue to play the lubber? what a lazie, lowtish kind of argument is this, to reason *ab authoritate* 30 *negatiue*? it is condemned and hyssed out of all Schooles of learning: had it beene a matter of saluation, I could haue borne with him to heare him reason negatiuelie from the authoritie of holy scriptures, and all Schooles of Phylosophers shoulde haue vailed the bonet vnto GOD ; 35 the case standing as it dooth, I cannot but draw my mouth awrie. Not satis-fied wyth the slippe he hath giuen the

Pag. 49. sect. vlt. Vniuersities and Lawes of learning, he is as bolde with the Scriptures and schoole of Angels.

Bishops, sayth he, pollute the Church two wayes, the one is by theyr dealing in ciuill matters, the other, by theyr 5 superioritie ouer inferiour Ministers. I might justly scorne to looke vpon so foule a vomit, were I not perswaded, that the poyson beeing tasted before, the drinke I must give you will be the better welcom. His proofes for these two points are these. Math. 10. 24, 25. The Disciple is not 10 aboue his Maister, &c. Which lesson our Sauiour giueth his disciples, to encourage them to beare the persecution, hatred, nyppes, taunting, and euill speeches of the wicked, according to the patterne he had given the, inferring vpon it, that if they called the Maister of the house Belzebub, 15 much more they would doe so to the seruaunt, and they must looke for the lyke intreatie. You see there is no such matter as the Reformer would force vpon vs. But you may imagine what a terrible burning fitte he is in, by his tossing and turning from place to place to recouer rest, though it 20 torment him much the more.

From the tenth of S. Mathew, he thrustes himselfe into the 18. of S. Iohn. v. 36. My kingdome (saith our Sauiour) is not of this world; if it were, my servaunts woulde | fight D 2 for me. There was an accusation framed against our

25 Sauiour to put him to death, the maine poynt whereof was this, that he affected the Scepter, and sought innouation and change of the present state; whereupon Pilats interrogatorie ministred vnto him was, Art thou the king of the Iewes? Christes aunswere vnto him cleeres him of it.

- 30 They might see by his proceedinges that he had no such pretence, for then he would haue sought it by Armes and inuasion, as they that hunt for kingdoms doe. No broyles nor commotion beeing made by him, or by his followers, they might perceiue he was wrongfully accused, to seeke 35 any subuersion of the state. Thys is *Caluins* iudgment
- vpon that place. Had he founde it to make against mingling of Ecclesiasticall and ciuil authoritie in one person, I dare

auouch he wold haue bent the nose of this Canon vpon vs presentlie.

But when Christ saith there, *His kingdome is not of this world*, he takes it to be spoken in respect of the transitorinesse of worldly kingdoms, that must passe ouer $_5$ the stage with all theyr pompe, and come to a winding vp at last; when his kingdome shall have no end.

They that abused thys place, to prooue out of it, that the cause of Religion ought not to be defended by sword, though it be by sword inuaded, had a little more tincture 10 from hence to lay vppon theyr opinion, than *Penrie* can haue, yet both are from the meaning of the texte. The other quotation of Iohn. 6. v. 15. helps him as little as this. Christes hyding himselfe out of the way when the people went about to make him king, was because he came to 15 suffer, not to raigne: and to shew them theyr error, who thought it was in theyr power to make a king, the setting vp of Princes pertaining not vnto them, but vnto God. To gather from thence, that a Minister may not deale in ciuil causes is to reason as I heard an Ironmonger did 20 in a Pulpit the last Summer; *Moses* refused to be the

D 2^v sonne of *Pharaohs* daughter, ergo a | Minister may not meddle in ciuill causes. Bounse, thers a gunne gone off, doe not the Bishops quake at thys? ô that I could drawe him out of his hole, to print me the poynts which he hath 25 preached; the spirite of the Prophets being subject to the Prophets, and his spirite and doctrine examined by the spirite and doctrine of the Church of England, you should see me so clapper-claw him for it, that he should haue no ioy to runne into Reformation, before he be better 30 learned. The pearle of the word must not be weighed in those scales that men commonly vse to weigh their yron; it is a nicer work.

Now me thinkes the Reformer should smell ere I goe any further, that the rest of his reasons haue taken water, 35 and are rotten before they come to shore. I see not one of his prooues that will abide the hammer, they are so

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beaten to powder by the examples of the old and new Testament. In the old you shall finde, that *Melchisedeck*, *Aron, Eli*, and *Samuel*, were both Priests & Iudges; they both offered Sacrifices, and sate vpon ciuill causes. In the 5 newe Testament, Christ who refused to be made King of the Iewes, tooke vpon him to ouerthrow the tables of the money changers, and whipt the buiers and sellers out of the Temple. Paule also requested Timothie as a Iudge, to receiue no accusation against an Elder, but vnder two or to three witnesses.

Thys authoritie beeing receiued from the Prince, vnder whom we liue, and being exercised in the Church vnder her, The B. of Sarisburie iudgeth to become Ecclesiasticall, in that it serueth to the furtheraunce of the Church. The 15 matter hauing beene so well debated, and resolued vpon by so reuerend learned men, as with great studie and trauaile haue run the race before vs, to teache vs that come after howe to vse our weapons; I wonder how these seelie snayles, creeping but yesterdaie out of shoppes and 20 Grammer-schooles, dare thrust out theyr feeble hornes,

against so tough and mighty aduersaries. | Moreouer, it is D₃ very strange to consider howe many gashes the Faction haue giuen vnto themselues, in denying this iurisdiction vnto our Ministerie, and seeking it vnto theyr owne, wherein 25 they will haue some of theyr Elders to be gouerning and

preaching Elders, to handle the word and the sword together; and whereas our Bishops receive their authoritie from her Maiestie, exercising it in her name and vnder her, *Tho. Cartwright* would have his authoritie to be above as her, in the ruling of the Church, and her Maiestie to be

fitted vnto him, and to his Alder-men, as the hangings to the house.

Looke what a pittifull Megrim it is, that troubleth them in this poynt, thelike, God wot, maketh theyr braines to 35 crow in the superioritie of Bishoppes aboue theyr bretheren. Are all Ministers, I beseech you, of equall authoritie? Howe then commaundeth Paule *Titus* and *Timothie*, and they obey him in the matters he giueth them in charge? Is he that is directed and commaunded, equall with him that directeth and commaundeth? Theyr crosse-blowe of *Fellowe labourers* will not saue theyr ribbes, if they be no better Fencers. 5

The Archb. and inferior Minister are both equal, in respect of theyr fight in the Lordes battailes, as the Generall of the fielde and the common Souldiours are, but not in respect of ordering and disposing of the fight, when euery Souldiour is appointed to his place. Thys ro equalitie beeing hatched by *Aerius*, it is well prooued by Ma. Doctor *Bancroft* in his Sermon at Paules crosse, both out of *Epiphanius* and S. *Augustine*, to haue beene condemned for an hæresie, with the consent of the whole Church. ¹⁵

When S. *Ierom* heares of such a matter, he wonders at it. For the Bishop of Ierusalem beeing requested to appeare in a Counsell, and refusing it, sent one *Isidorus* a Priest in his stead; a Bishoppe was looked for, a Priest came, who to couer the Bishops absence, had nothing to $|_{20}$

D 3^v alleage but that it was all one, and the authoritie of the one as great as the other, because he was a man of God that sent, and a man of God that came. Nihil interest inter Præsbyterum et Episcopum, eadem dignitas mittentis et missi: hoc satis imperite, in portu vt dicitur naufragium. 25

What, saith S. *Ierom*, is there no difference betweene a Priest and a Bishop? is the dignitie of him that is sent, as great as his that sendeth him? This is spoken without wit or learning, and this is euen at the first putting into harbour, to cast away the shyp. 30

The first lifting vp of a Bishop, as S. *Ierom* noteth, was the very phisicke of the Church against Schisme, least euery man drawing his owne priuate way, the ioynts of Gods house should be puld one from another, and so the building fall.

The weakest sight in the worlde may well discerne, that this busic seeking of an equalitie among the Clergie, is the

Ep. ad Pamach.

practice of *Nahash* with the men of *Iabesh* when they were besieged. He would admitte no conditions of peace with them, except he might thrust out theyr right eyes, and bring a shame vpon all Israell. Bishops were lifted vppe 5 into the highest places of the Church, as the right eyes of the people of the Lorde, to keepe watch against Schisme & Hæresie; no peace, no truce, no silence, no agreement will be gotten at the handes of the Faction, except we suffer them to bore out these eyes, that a shame and reproche 10 may be brought vppon all Religion.

Thys is the conclusion of Penries prayer in his Epistle to the Treatise, that the Bishoppes may be thrust as one man out of the Church, and the name of them forgotten in Israell for euer. Nowe is the broode of hell broken 15 loose, the Church is a besieged Iabesh, the deuill having whetted the sword of Spayne against it, & finding open force to be nothing worth, he cals out his Pianers, and sets Martin and Penrie a worke to vndermine | it. But D4 heere is our comfort. As the spirit of God came vpon 20 Saul, and stung him forward to put to sword and to scatter the hoste of Nahash, in such sorte that there were not two of them left together : The spirite of the Lord shall come vpon her Maiestie, and kindle her sacred hart with a newe courage to strike home, that there may not 25 one couple of the Faction be left together in the Realme of Englande, not so much as to binde vppe each others woundes, nor one to be-mone another.

What is it els to desire this equalitie, but that euery man might be his owne iudge, and teach what he wyll in 30 his owne charge, when he hath no Bishoppe aboue him to controll him? Howe dangerous this is in the high and hidden misteries of the worde, a man may perceiue by experience in common matters, for euen in things dailie subject vnto our sences, a mans owne aduice is commonly 35 the worst counseller he can haue. Salomon who was a great deale wiser then any Sect-master euer was, or wyll be, hath giuen vs warning, That if a man beginne once to be wise in his owne conceite, there is greater hope of a foole then of him. And I dare auouch, that whosoeuer is possessed with an ouerweening, or giues two much credit vnto himselfe, needeth not to be tempted of the deuill, because he is a tempter, and a deuill vnto himselfe. 5

Exo. 19. At the delivery of the Lawe in Sinay, GOD commaunded his people to be folded vp, and to stand within the barres, vppon paine of death; At the deliverie of the Gospell, our Saujour branded his sheepe with these two

IOH. 10. 3. marks, *hearing*, and *following*. They must harken to the 10 voice of him that teacheth, and followe the trace of him that leadeth; they may neither commaund, nor goe before. When they beginne to snuffe vppe the winde in theyr noses, like the wilde Asse in the Wildernesse, which tyreth all that follow her; when they stande vpon the pinacle 15

D 4" of euerie Tower & Castle, built in the ayre | by theyr owne conceite, and say to the Bishoppes as the people did to *Ieremie, What soeuer commeth out of our own mouth, that will we doe*, then they are verie easie to be deceiued. And then it fareth with them, as it did wyth the Disciples 20 of our blessed Sauiour, he appearing vnto them vpon the Sea, they tooke him for a spirit, and imagining theyr Maister to be a bugge, they grewe verie fearefull of a great benefit.

Such a dazling it is that afflicteth the eyes of our Re- 25 formers, our Maister Iesus offereth himselfe vnto vs in thys excellent gouernment of the Church, by graue and learned Lorde Bishoppes, but they mistake it to be Satanicall, and tremble and quake at theyr own commoditie.

But to come to anker, if they be of one fayth, and one 30 hope with vs, let them helpe to twine vppe a threefold corde, and become of one hart with vs. Let witte, which is windie, obtaine the lesse, that Charitie, which edifieth, may gaine the more. No doubt but our Sauiour had an especiall care of the vnitie of his Church, both when he made his 35 request vnto his father, that we might be one as the father and he are one, and when he tooke his leaue of his Church

with so kinde a farewell, My peace I giue you, my peace I leaue vnto you.

If this peace wyll not be had at theyr handes, that haue so long troubled the Church of GOD among vs, I cast 5 them my Gauntlet; take it vp who dares, *Martin* or any other, that can drawe out any Quintessence of villanie beyonde *Martin*, the cause shall not want a Champion.

I haue nowe gallopped the fielde to make choyse of the ground where my battaile shall be planted. And when To I haue sent you the *May-game of Martinisme*, at the next setting my foote into the styrroppe after it, the signet shall be giuen, and the fielde fought. Whatsoeuer hath beene written to any purpose of eyther side, shal be | ledde E r out into the plaine, the foote-men and horse, small shotte 15 and artilerie shall be placed; euery troupe, wing and squadron ordered, and the banners displayed. Therwithall I will make both Armies meete, and the battaile ioyne, bullet to bullet, staffe to staffe, pyke to pyke, and sworde to sworde; the blowes dealt, and the breache made vpon 20 the Puritanes shall be discouered, you shall see who be falne and who be fledde, what Captaines are slaine, and what Ensignes taken.

It shall be shewen howe like a good Generall the Archb. of Canterburie hath behaued himselfe with his battle-axe, 25 and howe the braynes of *Tho. Cartwright* flye thys way and that way, battered and beaten out, euery bone in his bodie pittifullie broken, and his guttes trayling vpon the grounde: heere a legge, and there an arme, of his followers shall be gathered vppe, and the carkases of the deade, like 30 a quarrie of Deare at a generall hunting, hurled vppon a heape. Wherein my Supplication shall be to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie at the end, that our Conquerors returning from the chace, may by vertue of her highnesse fauour and authoritie, holde still the honour which they 35 haue wonne, and well deserued, in the seruice of GOD, and the crowne of England.

7 beyoynde Q.

136 THE FIRST PART OF PASQVILS APOLOGIE

Therefore as the Reformer hath made proclamation for Armour and Munition, desiring you to help him to a booke of Church discipline, which he sayth was written in the dayes of King *Edward* the sixt, the Authors whereof, he sayth, were M. *Cranmer*, and Sir *Iohn Cheeke*; the like 5 proclamation make I in his behalfe, because mine, peraduenture, will come to more handes then his. Furnish him I pray you; the better he is prouided, the greater honour it will be to ouerthrowe him. I would be glad he should haue it, (if there be any such) and sette downe 10 what he can ere I come foorth againe, that I may driue E 1^v all before me, and roote out the verie | name of a Puritane from ynder heauen.

In which exployt, as *Berzillai* the Gileadite refused to courte it in his age, resining that place to hys Sunnes, as 15 fitter for younger yeeres; So, I beseeche all our Bishoppes, Doctors, and auncient men, vpon whose siluer heads the Almond-tree hath blossomde, to giue vp this taske to me, and sitte and iudge of my labours. The spirite of the Lord assisting me, opportunitie and other circumstaunces con- 20 curring with it, I trust they shall see me pricke it and praunce it like a *Caualiero* that hath learned to manage Armes. From my Castell and Collours at London stone the 2. of Iuly. *Anno. 1590*.

FINIS.

5 Cheeke. The Q.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

Entry in the Stationers' Register:

viij^o Augusti [1592]

Richarde Jones / Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of the Archbushopp of Canterburie and master watkins / Pierce Pennilesse his supplicacon to the Devill vj^d S. (S. R., ed. Arber, II. 619.)

Editions: (1) Early:

1592 (A). Pierce Penilefse his | Supplication to the | Diuell. | Defcribing the ouer-fpreading of | Vice, and fupprefsion of | Vertue. | Pleafantly interlac'd with variable de-|lights: and pathetically intermixt | with conceipted reproofes. | Written by Thomas Nafb Gentleman. | [device] | LONDON, | Imprinted by Richard Ihones, dwelling at | the Signe of the Rofe and Crowne, | nere Holburne Bridge. | 1592.

No colophon. Quarto. Leaves numbered from sig. B (1-40), leaves 33 and 35 are misnumbered 26 and 28.

Collation: A², B-L⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A 2 'The Printer to the Gentlemen *Readers*.' *Rom. and Ital.* B 'Pierce Penilesse, ...' B. L., *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Diuell.

Signatures in B. L., except A 2, B, which are in Roman. Fourth leaves not signed.

Catch-words: B I. Ah C I. (re-)stored D I. yeeld E I. next F I. thy G I. (a-)boue H I. of I I. Persie, K I. distant L I. gesse (All in B. L. except those of B I and I I, which are in Roman.)

Copy used : That in the Library at Britwell.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

1592 (B). Pierce Penileffe | HIS SVPPLICATION | to the Diuell. | Barbaria grandis habere nihil. | Written by *Tho. Na(h*, Gent. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by Abell Ieffes, for | Iohn Busbie, 1592.

No colophon. Quarto. Leaves numbered from F I to end, (17-40.) No errors in the numbering; F I should, however, of course be 14, if counted from beginning of text as is usual.

Sig. B 4 has, by error, the R-T. Pierce Penilesse his. From F 1 onwards the R-T. is larger, the number of lines to the page 37 instead of 38, and the text follows page for page edition A. In general the workmanship of the earlier part is much inferior to that of the later.

Signatures are in B. L., except A, which is in Roman. B 4 and C 4 are signed. L 3 is signed L. iii., the others with Arabic numerals.

Catch-words: $(2 edi-(tion) A I. And B I. locks C I. (youth-)fulnesse D & E. some F I. the G I. (a-)boue H I. of I I. Persie, K I. distant L I. gesse (All in B. L., except those of <math>(2, A I and I I, which are in Roman. 'the' of sig. F I is an error for 'thy'. Other errors are, on <math>B 4^{v}-C I$. if an [c.w. English-] | drunken bezzle) if an englishman ... $C3^{v}-C 4$. aymeth all [c.w. at] | all at the heart.)

Copy used : That in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 566).

1592 (C). Pierce Penileffe | HIS SVPPLICATION | to the Diuell. | Barbaria grandis habere nihil. | Written by *Tho. Na/b*, Gent. | [device] | LONDON, | printed by Abell Ieffes, for | I. B. 1592.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: One leaf unsigned, \P (should be \P 2), A-I⁴. (?) Title, v. blank. \P (should be \P 2) 'A private Epistle of the Author...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Author to the Printer. A 'Pierce Penilesse...' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Diuell.

Signatures are in B. L., except A and G. Leaves C 4, D 4, and E 4 are signed.

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Catch-words: I the AI. Vaine BI. encap-(tiued) CI. The DI. wher-(to) EI. vp FI. but GI. A HI. Hypocrisie II. heads,

Copy used : That in the British Museum (C. 40. d. 19).

1593. Pierce Penileffe | HIS SVPPLICATION | to the Diuell. | Barbaria grandis habere nihil. | Written by *Tho.* Na/b, Gent. | [device] | LONDON, | printed by Abell Ieffes, for | I. B. 1593.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-I⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A 2. 'A private Epistle of the Author...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his (A 3) 'Pierce Penilesse...' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Divell.

Signatures are in B. L., except A 2, which is in Roman. All fourth leaves are signed. B 4 is misprinted A 4, H 3 misprinted G 3, and the E of E 4 is broken so as to resemble C.

Catch-words: A 2. wish A 3. And B I. lately C I. (pu-)trified D I. al E I. (beg-)garly F I. treate G I. praises H I. How I I. are

Copy used : That in the British Museum (C. 40. d. 20).

1595. [Head ornament] Pierce Pennilefse his | Supplication to the | Diuell. | Barbaria grandis habere nihil. | Written by *Tho. Nafb*, Gent. | [device of N. Ling.] | LONDON | Printed for Nicholas Ling, and are to be fold at | *his fhop*, *at the Northweft doore of S. Paules.* | 1595.

Colophon : LONDON | Imprinted by T. C. for Ni-|cholas Ling.

Quarto. Not paged.

Collation : A-I⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A 2 'A private Epistle of the Author ...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Author to the Printer. A 3 'Pierce Penilesse ...' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Divell.

Signatures are in B. L., except A 2, A 3, which are in Roman. D 4 is signed; E 4 is signed, in error, G 4. Other fourth leaves unsigned.

Catch-words: A 2. Other A 3. For-(giue) B 1. lately, C 1. (pu-)trified D 1. all E 1. (beg-)garly F 1. treat G 1. praises H 1. How I 1. are

Copy used : That in the British Museum (96. b. 15. (11).)

(2) Modern Editions:

1842 (Coll.¹) Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil. By Thomas Nash. From the first edition of 1592, compared with later impressions. With an introduction and notes, by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. London: Reprinted for the Shakespeare Society. 1842. 8vo. pp. xxxii and 108.

From edition A, perhaps from the copy now at Rowfant. It cannot be from the copy at Britwell as Collier specially notes the reading 'Conytus' for 'Cocytus' in the heading of the Supplication, whereas the Britwell copy reads 'Cocytus.' I do not know of any other perfect copy besides these.

1870. (Coll.²) Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell,... by Tho. Nash,... 1592. (Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. I.)

Edited by J. P. Collier from edition B.

1883-4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe... edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. ii, pp. 1-137.

From the copy of B in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

The text is based on the copy of **C** in the British Museum (C. 40. d. 19), collated with copies of the other editions as specified above.

Note on the Editions:

In *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, 1596, Nashe accuses Gabriel Harvey of using the name of Pierce Penilesse to increase the sale of one of his books, in the following words, 'he [i. e. Harvey] takes a new lesson out of *Plutarch*, in making benefit of his enemie, & borrows my name, and the name of *Piers Pennilesse* (one of my Bookes), which he knew to be most saleable, (passing at the least through the pikes of sixe Impressions) to help his bedred stuffe to limpe out of *Powles Churchyard*...' (Sig. F 2).

I have, however, not been able to trace more than the five editions enumerated above. Mr. Hazlitt gives an edition dated 1592, as 'K in fours'; there are also slight typographical differences in the title between it and B; as

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however he states that a copy is in the Malone collection at the Bodleian Library I suspect that the differences are mere errors of transcription, and that edition **B** is meant. (*Handbook*, p. 413, Nash 7 (b).)

Collier, in his reprint of **A** for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, speaking of the various editions used by him, says 'to any subsequent to 1595, it was not necessary to resort.' I do not know whether he means that he had seen any such editions; I have not been able to trace any later than 1595.

In the same book (p. xiii) Collier refers to C as the second edition, not having had at that time an opportunity of collating **B**. He later recognized it to be the third.

The Relation of the texts:

There is, I think, no doubt that the three editions of *Pierce Penilesse* which appeared in 1592 followed one another in the order here assigned to them by referring to them as A, B, and C. Further it seems equally certain that of the four texts B, C, -93, and -95 each was printed from a copy, corrected or uncorrected, of the edition immediately preceding it. If I can show that the latter contention is correct, the truth of the former follows as a matter of course; it will be simpler therefore to discuss the two questions together.

A study of the collations given would probably be sufficient to show that no other relationship is possible, but as it is shown still more clearly by certain small points which either are not recorded or cannot be sufficiently explained in the collations, I will here call attention to some of the more significant.

(1) From the epistle prefixed to all other editions it is evident that \mathbf{A} was the first. We find that, from sheet \mathbf{F} onwards, \mathbf{B} corresponds, page for page, with \mathbf{A} ; it can therefore hardly be doubted that this part at least of \mathbf{B} was printed from a copy of \mathbf{A} .

(2) On p. 166, l. 1, we have the following readings, *eft-soones* A: *eftsoon* B, C. In B however the word ends a line and the

line is two letters short, es having evidently dropped out. It is thus probable that **B** was printed from **A** and **C** from **B**.

(3) On p. 166, the first side-note begins as follows: *i. for* the freedome of gold \mathbf{A} : I for the ... \mathbf{B} : Id est, for the \mathbf{C} . The reading of \mathbf{B} , which is perhaps meant for Ay, for the ..., can only be due to the printer misunderstanding the *.i.* of \mathbf{A} . That of \mathbf{C} is a deliberate correction which will be referred to later.

(3) The use of hyphens in the various editions is often of use in determining their order, as it will frequently be found that the reason of the omission or addition of a hyphen is that in the copy used by the printer the word was divided at the end of a line, and he had thus no means of knowing whether the hyphen was an integral part of the word or not. Such evidence has of course only cumulative value and is strongest when the position or omission of the hyphen in the later editions is unnatural. I give a few instances:

On p. 172, l. 12, we have bug-beares and scare-crowes A, B: bugbeares scar-crowes C, -93. In B the word bugends a line.

On p. 178, l. 22, we have hus bandmens A: husbandmens (husband- ending the line) B: husband-mens C, -93, -95.

On p. 189, l. 21, we have frantick \mathbf{A} : fran-tick (divided at the end of a line) \mathbf{B} : fran-tick \mathbf{C} , -93.

(4) On p. 194, l. 7, *Gentles*... begins a new paragraph in **A**, **B**; but in **B** it begins a page and the preceding line is full. The mistake of running on, as is done in **C** and later editions, is thus rendered a likely one.

(5) On p. 195, l. 5, we have extend some round liberalitie $A : \dots$ rome sound $\dots B : \dots$ some sound $\dots C$.

(6) On p. 186, l. 17, we have aymeth all at the heart \mathbf{A} : aymeth all all at the heart \mathbf{C} . The repetition of all is explained by \mathbf{B} , in which aymeth all are the last words on a page, the catch-word being correctly at. The next page however begins all at, the compositor having mistaken the word. The printer of \mathbf{C} , not noticing the catch-word, printed all all.

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I could give many other instances of the connexion between the texts, which all point in the same direction, but I think these, together with the evidence of the collations, will show sufficiently clearly that the order of the first three texts is as it was stated to be, and that **B** was printed from **A** and **C** from **B**.

There is of course no question as to the order of the two later texts, as these are dated, but I have still to show that -93 was printed from **C**, and -95 from -93.

As regards C and -93, it will be sufficient to call attention to the absence of numerous side-notes in -93 which were first omitted in C; to the way in which -93 follows C even in absurd mistakes such as the word *frantick* already referred to and the word *Com-mon* for *Common* on p. 189, l. 12; and to the general evidence of the collations. The very close correspondence between the two can lead to only one conclusion.

In the case of -93 and -95, there can be no doubt, for the text of the latter follows the former page for page. It is to be noticed that although -95 contains some absurd misprints the proofs seem to have been read with greater care than those of the earlier editions; a considerable number of mistakes, especially in the Latin and in the punctuation, are corrected, though none of these corrections are such as could not be made by a reasonably intelligent printer.

As an instance of the attempt which has been made at correction the following is worth notice, the change being somewhat ingenious :

The confutation of Citizens objections against Players C: The confutation of Citizens against Players -93: The coniuration of Citizens against Players -95 (p. 213).

Choice of the copy-text:

In accordance with the general principle of making the last edition which seems to have been corrected by the author the foundation of the text, I have followed C. It was long ago noticed that A and B presented certain verbal differences which could hardly be due to the vagaries of the printer, while the facts already noticed show sufficiently clearly that it was not printed from an independent manuscript. The following may be noticed as the more important of these variants¹:

P. 166, l. 14, to tel pouertie A: to tell hunger & pouerty B.

P. 169, l. 10, Manibetter A: Swin-snout B.

P. 169, l. 17, delaterie dye-case A: delaterye excuse B.

P. 174, l. 2, gold-finders A: gold-finers B.

P. 183, l. 1, iymiams A : guegawes B.

P. 189, 1. 7, hunting A: to haunt B.

P. 190, l. 3, runnes after A: hath lost B.

P. 240, 1. 3, Iack-dropper A: Inck-dropper B.

P. 240, l. 6, dislikers A: dishlickers B.

P. 241, l. 30, the most Artists A: all Artists for the most part B.

P. 243, l. 29, musicall A: misticall B.

A few of these may perhaps be printer's corrections, but others can only have been made by the author or some person appointed by him.

The fact that all these corrections occur either in the sheets before F, or in the last few pages, taken together with the different printing of the first and second portions of the book (see description of edition B), perhaps indicate that the second portion of the book was for some reason printed first, and that Nashe's corrections arrived too late for it; or perhaps it was given to another printer. In this connexion we may note, though it would be unwise to lay

¹ Grosart, who only knew A from Collier's reprint, seems to have considered the readings in which it differs from B as mere misprints, and no doubt some of them were, but I cannot follow him when he says that 'Lady Swin-snout' was 'misprinted' as 'Ladie Manibetter,' or that 'a paire of shoos and a Canuas-dublet' was 'misprinted' as 'a scholler bread and cheese.' (See Nashe, ed. Grosart, ii, 136.)

It may be well to mention here that in Grosart's observation (as above, p. 137) "guegawes" misprinted "jymiams" (and a nonsensical note on it),' the 'nonsensical note' is Collier's, not, as one would naturally suppose, a side-note in the original.

much stress upon it, that while Nashe in his letter only speaks of the book as 'hasting to the second impression,' the epistles¹ which he declares himself to have written and which he wished to have inserted 'to the later end' could not be used. They would most naturally have come at the end of the 'Supplication,' and it seems not altogether unreasonable to take the letter to imply that this part had been already printed, while if the whole of the book up to the end of the 'Supplication' was ready, 'hasting to the second impression' seems a singularly weak term to employ.

This however is not of much importance in any case; the main point is that B evidently represents, at least in part, a corrected text, and one therefore superior to A.

But when we come to C we find still clearer evidence of correction. I note here a few of the more important changes:

P. 163, l. 14, angels A, B: angels at least C.

P. 166, l. 3, I B: Id est, C.

P. 167, 1. 5, gnaws A, B: gnawd C.

P. 170, l. 13, melancholike course in his gate and countenance, and talke as though A: melancholy in his gate & countenance, course & talke, as though B: melancholy in his gate and countenance, and talke as though C. I think that here we have a correction that was misunderstood in B and put right in C.

P. 171, l. 29, hard A, B: harder C.

P. 173, 1. 28, beanes A, B: bieues C.

P. 174, l. 21, wil scarse get a Scholler bread and cheese A: wil scarse get a paire of shoos and a Canuas-dublet B: will scarse get a scholler a pair of shoos and a Canuas-dublet C. Another case, I think, of the printer of B misunderstanding a correction.

P. 177, l. 12, Princes A, B: queene mother C.

P. 177, l. 24. in a difference from all these kindes A, B: in a different kind from all these C.

¹ These epistles were for some reason or other never printed.

I

P. 177, l. 28, a thrumd hat A, B: a redde thrumd hat C.

P. 178, l. 31, Byshops, Deanes A, B: Bishopricks, Deanries C.

P. 184, l. 15, vnderprop heauen A, B: vnder-proppe heauen alone C.

P. 185, l. 10, where A, B: whence C.

P. 193, l. 6, wonderfull A, B: rough C.

P. 193, l. 7, wings A, B: minde C.

P. 198, l. 13, lamish A, B: lumpish C.

P. 201, l. 31, ouerslipt A, B: out stript C (perhaps an error).

P. 201, l. 32, meate A, B: weake C.

P. 203, l. 33, foure yeare A, B: tweluemonth C.

P. 205, 1. 8, leapes A, B: healthes C.

P. 212, l. 3, the eldest A, B: idlest C.

P. 215, l. 13, those Tragedians admyred before Christ A, B: those admyred tragedians that have lived ever since before Christ C.

P. 217, l. 4, Wenches & Anglers A, B: witches and inglers C (or is this but an ingenious misprint in C?)

P. 228, 1. 5, fiery A, B: ayrie C.

P. 234, 1. 8, lookers on A, B: beholders C (perhaps accidental; it is a change for the worse).

In a few cases C reverts to A, the reading of B being incorrect :--

P. 163, l. 13, some two or three hundred angels A, C: om. hundred B.

P. 177, l. 33, puft vp A, C: stuft vp B.

P. 181, l. 30, furies forheads A, C: furious foreheads B. I cannot but think that C is correct, but -93 and -95 read as B.

Finally in C a very considerable number of side-notes are omitted. In this edition these are placed within square brackets for convenience and in order not to overload the collation-notes.

Though the changes noticed above are, I think, quite

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sufficient to show that in C we have a deliberately corrected text, I do not mean to say that Nashe saw either of these texts in proof; I imagine that in both cases the printer was supplied with a corrected copy of the preceding edition to work from. That the author was not in London at the time of the publication of **B** is evident from his letter to the printer, and considering that the plague continued with almost equal violence during the following year, and that at Christmas he seems to have been in the Isle of Wight (*Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, sig. P I^v,—it can hardly refer to any other year but this), we may feel almost certain that **C** also appeared during his absence.

The question now arises whether Nashe did not again correct the text for the edition of 1593. It is difficult to feel absolutely certain, but on the whole I am inclined to think not. Corrections there are indeed, but these are few and none of them show clearly the hand of the author; I note the most important:

P. 164, l. 11, shame B, C: shape -93 (as A).
P. 166, l. 9, pure A, B, C: poore -93 (an obvious correction).
P. 192, l. 7, instice B, C: inice -93 (as A).

On the other hand -93 contains a large number of misprints which render it generally inferior to **C**.

In the edition of 1595, as I have already remarked, a certain number of small errors in punctuation and in the spelling of Latin words were corrected, but I find no trace of corrections which could not be the work of the printer.

Thus I have come to the conclusion that C was the last text corrected by the author. At the same time C is often inferior to A, being much less carefully printed; indeed in the matter of misprints each text is worse than the one before it, with the possible exception of that of 1595.

There were therefore two alternatives, to print from A, adopting the corrections of C, or to print from C, correcting where necessary from A. I have chosen the latter as

L 2

PIERCE PENILESSE

being on the whole the more consistent; but bearing in mind Nashe's own statement as to the carelessness with which this book was printed (*Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, sig. F 1), and the evident truth of it, I have used somewhat more freedom in restoring to the text from earlier editions words which seem to have been merely accidentally omitted in C, than would have been justifiable if we had had reason to think that the author himself had read the proofs.

Pierce Penilesse his

Supplication to the Diuell.

Describing the ouer-spreading of Vice, and suppression of Vertue.

Pleafantly interlac'd with variable delights: and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofes.

Written by Thomas Nafh Gentleman.



LONDON, Insprinted by Richard Ibones, dwelling at the Signe of the Role and Crowne, nere Holburne Bridge.

1592.

The Printer to the Gentlemen

Readers 1.

GEntlemen:

In the Authours absence, I have been bold to publish this pleasaunt and wittie Discourse of *Pierce Penilesse his* 5 *Supplication to the Diwell*: which Title though it may seeme strange and in it selfe somewhat preposterous, yet if you vouchsafe the Reading, you shall finde reason, aswell for the Authours vncouth nomination, as for his vnwonted beginning without Epistle, Proeme, or Dedication : al which ro he hath inserted conceitedly in the matter; but Ile be no blab to tell you in what place. Bestow the looking, and I doubt not but you shall finde Dedication, Epistle, & Proeme to your liking.

Yours bounden in affection:

15

R. I.

¹ This epistle is found in 92^A alone.

Pierce Penileffe HIS SVPPLICATION to the Diuell.

Barbaria grandis habere nihil.

Written by Tho. Nafb, Gent.



LONDON, printed by Abell leffes, for L.B. 1592



A private Epistle of the Author to € 2 the Printer¹

Wherein his full meaning and purpose (in publishing this Booke) is set foorth.

FAith I am verie sorrie (Sir) I am thus vnawares betrayed to infamie. You write to me my book is hasting to the second impression: he that hath once broke the Ice of impudence, need not care how deepe he wade in discredit. I confesse it to be a meer toy, not to deserving any iudicial mans view : If it have found any friends, so it is; you knowe very wel that it was abroad a fortnight ere I knewe of it, & vncorrected and vnfinished it hath offred it selfe to the open scorne of the world. Had you not beene so forward in the republishing of it, 15 you shold have had certayne Epistles to Orators and Poets, to insert to the later end ; As namely, to the Ghost of Macheuill, of Tully, of Ouid, of Roscius, of Pace the Duke of Norfolks Iester; and lastly, to the Ghost of Robert Greene, telling him, what a coyle there is with 20 pamphleting on him after his death. These were prepared for Pierce Penilesse first setting foorth, had not the feare of infection detained mee with my Lord in the Countrey.

Now this is that I woulde have you to do in this second edition ; First, cut off that long-tayld Title, and let mee not 25 in the forefront of my Booke, make a tedious Mountebanks Oration to the Reader, when in the whole there is nothing praise-worthie.

I heare say there bee obscure imitators, that goe about to frame a second part to it, and offer it to sell in Paules 30 Church-vard, and elsewhere, as from mee. Let mee request you (as euer you will expect any fauour at my hands) to get some body to write an Epistle before it, ere you set it

> ¹ This epistle is not found in 92^A. 17 Machinell 95. 13 scorne] view 95.

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to sale againe, importing thus much; that if any such lewde deuise intrude it selfe to their hands, it is a coseanage and plaine knauery of him that sels it to get mony, and that I haue no manner of interest or acquaintance with it. Indeed if my leysure were such as I could wish, I might 5 $I_{2^{v}}$ haps (halfe a yeare hence) write | the returne of the Knight of the Post from hel, with the Deuils answer to the Supplication: but as for a second part of Pierce Penilesse, it is a most ridiculous rogery.

Other news I am aduertised of, that a scald triuial lying 10 pamphlet, cald *Greens groats-worth of wit*, is given out to be of my doing. God neuer haue care of my soule, but vtterly renoũce me, if the least word or sillable in it proceeded from my pen, or if I were any way privie to the writing or printing of it. I am growne at length to see 15 into the vanity of the world more than ever I did, and now I condemne my selfe for nothing so much, as playing the dolt in Print. Out vpon it, it is odious, specially in this moralizing age, wherein every one seeks to shew himselfe a Polititian by mis-interpreting. 20

In one place of my Booke, *Pierce Penilesse* saith but to the Knight of the Post, *I pray how might I call you*, & they say I meant one *Howe*, a Knaue of that trade, that I neuer heard of before.

The Antiquaries are offended without cause, thinking ²⁵ I goe about to detract from that excellent profession, when (God is my witnesse) I reuerence it as much as any of them all, and had no manner of allusion to them that stumble at it. I hope they wil giue me leaue to think there be fooles of that Art as well as of al other; but to say I vtterly ³⁰ condemne it as an vnfruitfull studie or seeme to despise the excellent qualified partes of it, is a most false and iniurious surmise. There is nothing that if a man list he may not wrest or peruert: I cannot forbid anie to thinke

10 Run on in 93. 18 especially 92^{B} . 21 New par. 92^{B} . Run on in 92^{C} & 25 New par. 92^{B} . Run on in 92^{C} & 30 saye, $I g2^{B}$: say. $I g2^{C}$ & .

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villainously, Sed caueat emptor, Let the interpreter beware; for none euer hard me make Allegories of an idle text. Write who wil against me, but let him look his life be without scandale: for if he touch me neuer so litle, Ile 5 be as good as the Blacke Booke to him & his kindred.

Beggerly lyes no beggerly wit but can inuent: who spurneth not at a dead dogge? but I am of another mettal, they shall know that I liue as their euil Angel, to haunt them world without end, if they disquiet me without cause. To Farewell, and let me heare from you as soone as it is come

forth. I am the Plagues prisoner in the Country as yet : if the sicknesse cease before the thirde impression, I wil come and alter whatsoeuer may be offensiue to any man, and bring you the latter ende.

Your friend, Tho. Nash.

6 New par. 92B. Run on in 92° &c. inuent] event 95.



Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell.

Auing spent many yeeres in studying how to liue, and liu'de a long time without mony : having tired my youth with follie, and surfetted my minde with 5 vanitie, I began at length to looke backe to repentaunce, & addresse my endeuors to prosperitie: But all in vaine, I sate vp late, and rose earely, contended with the colde, and conversed with scarcitie: for all my labours turned to losse, my vulgar Muse was despised & neglected, my paines not regarded, or slightly rewarded, and I my selfe (in prime of my best wit) laid open to pouertie. Where- Discite qui vpon (in a malecontent humor) I accused my fortune, raild sapitis, non here que on my patrones, bit my pen, rent my papers, and ragde in scimus in-15 all points like a mad man. In which agony tormenting my ertes: Sed selfe a long time, I grew by degrees to a milder discontent : acies, & and pausing a while ouer my standish, I resolued in verse fera bella to paint forth my passion: which best agreeing with the vaine of my vnrest, I began to complaine in this sort.

Why ist damnation to dispaire and die, When life is my true happinesse disease? My soule, my soule, thy safetye makes me flie The faultie meanes, that might my paine appease. Divines and dying men may talke of hell, But in my heart, her several tormentes dwell.

Ah worthlesse Wit, to traine me to this woe, Deceitfull Artes, that nourish Discontent: Ill thrive the Follie that bewitcht me so; Vaine thoughts adieu, for now I will repent. And yet my wantes perswade me to proceede,

30

20

25

Since none takes pitie of a Scollers neede. ² malum] nialum 1 Dicite 92° &c.

non] cum Q. Coll., Gro. ³ Ingenio . . .] om. 92^B &c. 92^{BC}, 93. per-92^C ...] om. 92^C & c. · Paupertas

8 earely] 92^B : eraely 92^C contented 93. 16 milde 92A. sequi.

Est aliquid fatale malum per verba leuare.

Ingenio perij qui miser ipse meo.] AIN

Paupertas impulit audax vt

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

Dersus facerem.] 158

Pol me occidistis. amici.

Hei mihi, quam paucos heec mea dicta mouent.]

Forgiue me, God, although I curse my birth, And ban the aire, wherein I breath a Wretch: Since Miserie hath daunted all my mirth, And I am quite vndone through promise-breach. Oh friends, no friends, that then ungently frowne, 5 When changing Fortune casts vs headlong downe.

Without redresse complaines my carelesse verse. And Mydas-eares relent not at my moane: In some far Land will I my griefes reherse, Mongst them that will be mou'd when I shall groane. 10 England (adieu) the Soyle that brought me foorth, Adieu unkinde, where skill is nothing woorth.

These Rymes thus abruptly set downe, I tost my imaginations a thousand waies, to see if I could finde any meanes to relieue my estate: But all my thoughts consorted to 15 this conclusion, that the world was vncharitable, & I ordaind [* Miser est to be * miserable. Thereby I grew to consider how many base men that wanted those parts which I had, enjoyed content at will, and had wealth at commaund*: I cald to minde a Cobler, that was worth five hundred pound, an 20 Hostler that had built a goodly Inne, & might dispende fortie pound yerely by his Land, a Carre-man in a lether pilche, that had whipt out a thousand pound out of his horse taile: and haue I more wit than all these (thought I to my selfe)? am I better borne? am I better brought 25 vp? yea, and better fauored? and yet am I a begger? What is the cause? how am I crost? or whence is this curse?

> Euen from hence, that men that should employ such as I am, are enamoured of heir own wits, and thinke what 30 euer they do is excellent, though it be neuer so scuruie: that Learning (of the ignorant) is rated after the value of

² Hei mihi ...] om. 92^C &c. ³ Miser est ...] om. 92^C &c. The reference-marks are generally from 92^A. They are most irregular in all editions. ⁴ Fortuna ...] om. 92^C &c. ⁵ Meritis ...] om. 92^C &c. 9 grieues 92A. 13 imagination 92A. 22 pounds 92AB.

quicunque ærumnam suam nequit occultare.] [* Fortuna fauet fatuos.]

Meritis expendite causam.]

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the inke and paper: and a Scriuener better paid for an obligation, than a Scholler for the best Poeme he can make ; that *euery grosse braind Idiot is suffered to come *Scribimus into print, who if hee set foorth a Pamphlet of the praise indoctione

- 5 of Pudding-pricks, or write a Treatise of Tom Thumme, or poemata the | exployts of *Vntrusse*; it is bought vp thicke and three- $\frac{passim}{A_2}$ fold, when better things lie dead. How then can we chuse but be needy, when ther are so many Droans amongst vs? or euer proue rich, that toyle a whole yeare for faire lookes?
- 10 Gentle Sir Phillip Sidney, thou knewst what belongd to [Cultor et a Scholler, thou knewst what paines, what toyle, what doctorum trauel, conduct to perfection: wel couldst thou give every sancte Vertue his encouragement, euery Art his due, euery writer virorum.] his desert : cause none more vertuous, witty, or learned 15 than thy selfe.

But thou art dead in thy graue, and hast left too few Heurasuccessors of thy glory, too few to cherish the Sons of the *piunt mala* Muses, or water those budding hopes with their plenty, which thy bounty erst planted.

20 Beleeue me, Gentlemen, for some crosse mishapes haue [Fluctibus taught me experience, ther is not that strict observation of in medias navim honour, which hath beene heeretofore. Men of great calling Palinure take it of merite, to have their names eternizde by Poets : relinquis.] & whatsoeuer pamphlet or dedication encounters them, they

25 put it vp in their sleeues, and scarce giue him thankes that presents it. Much better is it for those golden Pens to raise such vngratfull Peasants from the Dung-hil of obscuritie, and make them equal in fame to the Worthies of olde, when their doting selfe-loue shall challenge it of 30 dutie, and not onely give them nothing themselves, but impouerish liberality in others.

This is the lamentable condition of our Times, that men

¹ Scribimus ...] Placed in 93 opposite middle of preceding paragraph, but generative discrete and graphic matrix of precurs particular graph, out reference-mark relatined here, indexi ...] 92^A, 95: indati docticue poequata 92^B: iuderi doctique poequiata 93. ^a Cultor
 ...] om. 92^C & ^c. ^a bonus 92^C. ^b Fluctibus ...] om. 92^C & ^c.
 5 of Tom Thumme] om. of 92^C. 10 New par. 92^A. Run on in

92^B &c. 21 me] my 93. 23 eternisht 92^A. 25 scare 92^C.

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of Arte must seeke almes of Cormorantes, and those that deserue best, be kept vnder by Dunces, who count it a policie to keepe them bare, because they should follow their bookes the better : thinking belike, that, as preferment hath made themselues idle, that were earst painefull in 5 meaner places, so it would likewise slacken the endeuours of those Students that as yet striue to excell in hope of aduauncement. A good policy to suppresse superfluous liberalitie. But, had it beene practised when they were promoted, the Yeomandry of the Realme had beene better 10 to passe than it is, and one Droane should not haue driuen so many Bees from their hony-combes.

I, I, weele giue loosers leaue to talke : it is no matter what Sic probo and his pennilesse companions prate, whilest A 2* we haue | the gold in our coffers : this is it that will make 15 a knaue an honest man, and my neighbour Cramptons stripling a better Gentleman than his Grandsier. O it is a trim thing when Pride, the sonne, goes before, and Shame, the father, followes after. Such presidents there are in our Common-wealth a great many; not so much of them 20 whome Learning and Industry hath exalted (whom I preferre before Genus & proauos), as of Carterly vpstarts, that out-face Towne and Country in their Veluets, when Sir Rowland Russet-coat, their Dad, goes sagging euery day in his round Gascoynes of whyte cotton, and hath much a doo 25 (poore pennie-father) to keepe his vnthrift elbowes in reparations.

Marry, happy are they (say I) that haue such fathers to worke for them whilest they play; for where other men turne ouer many leaues to get bread and cheese in their 30 old age, and study twentie yeeres to distill golde out of inke, our young maisters doe nothing but deuise how to spend, and aske counsaile of the Wine and Capons how they may quickliest consume their patrimonies. As for me, I liue secure from all such perturbations : for (thankes 35 be to God) I am *vacuus viator*, and care not, though I meete

15 that it is 95. 16 Cromptons 92A 22 &] and 92C, 95.

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the Commissioners of *Newmarket-heath* at high midnight, for any Crosses, Images, or Pictures that I carry about me, more than needes.

Than needes (quoth I), nay, I would be ashamde of it, if 5 Opus and Vsus were not knocking at my doore twentie times a weeke when I am not within; the more is the pittie, that such a franke Gentleman as I, should want: but, since the dice do runne so vntowardly on my side, I am partly prouided of a remedie. For whereas those that 10 stand most on their honour, haue shut vp their purses, and shifte vs off with court-holie-bread: and on the other side, a number of hypocriticall hot-spurres, that haue God alwayes in their mouthes, will giue nothing for Gods sake; I haue clapt vp a handsome Supplication to the Diuell, and sent 15 it by a good fellow, that I know will deliuer it.

And because you may beleeue me the better, I care not if I acquaint you with the circumstance.

I was informde of late dayes, that a certaine blind Retayler called the Diuell, vsed to lend money vpon ²⁰ pawnes, or any thing, | and would lette one for a neede A 3 haue a thousand poundes vppon a Statute Merchant of his soule : or, if a man plide him thoroughly, would trust him vppon a Bill of his hande, without any more circumstance. Besides, he was noted for a priuy Benefactor to Traitors

- ²⁵ and Parasites, and to aduance fooles and Asses far sooner than any; to be a greedy pursuer of newes, and so famous a Politician in purchasing, that Hel (which at the beginning was but an obscure Village) is now become a huge Cittie, whereunto all Countries are tributary.
- 30 These manifest conjectures of Plentie, assembled in one common-place of abilitie, I determined to clawe Auarice by the elbowe, till his full belly gaue mee a full hande, and lette him bloud with my penne (if it might be) in the veyne of liberalitie : and so (in short time) was this Paper-monster, 35 Pierce Penilesse, begotten.

II Court holly-bread 92^A. 15-6 it: and because (run on) 95. 22 throughly 92^{AB}, 93.

I

But written and all, here lies the question; where shal I finde this olde Asse, that I may deliuer it? Masse, thats true: they say the Lawyers haue the Diuell and all; and it is like enough he is playing Ambodexter amongst them. Fie, fie, the Diuell a driuer in Westminster hall? it can 5 neuer be.

Now, I pray, what doe you imagine him to bee? Perhaps you thinke it is not possible he should bee so graue. Oh then you are in an errour, for hee is as formall as the best Scriuener of them all. Marry, he doth not vse to 10 weare a night-cap, for his hornes will not let him; and yet I know a hundred as well headed as he, that will make a iolly shift with a Court-cup on their crownes, if the weather be colde.

To proceede with my tale: to Westminster hall I went, 15 and made a search of Enquiry, from the blacke gown to the buckram bagge, if there were any such Sergeant, Bencher, Counsellor, Attorney, or Pettifogger, as Signior Cornuto Diabolo, with the good face. But they al (vna voce) affirmed, that he was not there: marry, whether he 20 were at the Exchaunge or no, amongst the rich Merchantes, that they could not tell: but it was likelier of the two, that I should meet with him, or heare of him at the least, in those quarters. I faith, and say you so, quoth I? and Ile bestowe a little labour more, but Ile hunt him out. 25

Without more circumstance, thither came I; and, thrust-A 3^v ing my | selfe, as the manner is, amongst the confusion of languages, I asked (as before) whether he were there extant or no? But from one to another, *Non noui Dæmonem*, was all the answer I could get. At length (as Fortune 30 serued) I lighted vpon an old, stradling Vsurer, clad in a damaske cassocke, edged with Fox fur, a paire of trunke slops, sagging down like a Shoomakers wallet, and a shorte thrid-bare gown on his backe, fac't with moatheaten budge; vpon his head he wore a filthy, course biggin, and 35

1 Run on in 93, 95. 11 for hornes 93, 95. 18 Counsailer 92^{AB}, 93, 95. 31 an] on 92^c. 34 thred-bare 95. backt 92^c.

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next it a garnish of night-caps, which a sage butten-cap, of the forme of a cow-sheard, ouer spread very orderly: a fat chuffe it was, I remember, with a gray beard cut short to the stumps, as though it were grimde, and a huge, 5 woorme-eaten nose, like a cluster of grapes hanging downewardes. Of him I demaunded if hee could tell me any tidings of the partie I sought for.

By my troth, quoth he, stripling, (and then he cought) I saw him not lately, nor know I certainely where he keepes: to but thus much I heard by a Broker, a friend of mine, that hath had some dealings with him in his time, that he is at home sicke of the gout, and will not bee spoken withal vnder more than thou art able to giue, some two or three hundred angels at least, if thou hast anie sute to him: to a then, parhapes, hele straine curtesie, with his legges in childe-bed, and come forth and talke with thee: but, otherwise, *Non est domi*, hee is busie with *Mammon*, and the prince of the North, how to build vp his kingdome, or sending his spirites abroad to vndermine the maligners of 20 his gouernment.

I, hearing of this cold comfort, tooke my leaue of him verie faintly, and like a carelesse malecontent, that knew not which way to turne, retired me to Paules, to seeke my dinner with Duke *Humfrey*; but, when I came there, the ²⁵ olde souldier was not vp. He is long a rising, thought I, but thats all one, for he that hath no mony in his purse, must go dine with sir Iohn Best-betrust, at the signe of the chalk and the Post.

Two hungry turnes had I scarce fetcht in this wast so gallery, when I was encountred by a neat pedantical fellow, in forme of a Cittizen; who thrusting himselfe abruptly into my companie, like an Intelligencer, began very earnestly to question with me about the cause of my discontent, or what made me so sad, that seemed too

 I which] with g_2^A , g_5 .
 II dealing g_3 , g_5 .

 I4 hundred] $om. g_2^B$.
 at least] $om. g_2^{AB}$.

 25 vp: he Q.
 26 in his purse] $om. g_3$, g_5 .

13 gine, by som 92^B. 21 tooke me leaue 92^C. 33 with] om. 92^B.

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yoong to be acquainted with sorrow. I nothing nice to A 4 vn-|fold my estate to any whatsoeuer, discourst to him the whole circumstaunce of my care, and what toyle and paines I had tooke in searching for him that would not be heard of. Why sir (quoth he), had I beene priuie to your purpose 5 before, I could haue easd you of this trauell; for if it be the diuell you seeke for, know I am his man. I pray, sir, how might I call you? A knight of the Post, quoth he, if for so I am tearmed; a fellowe that will sweare you any thing for twelue pence; but indeed, I am a spirite in nature 10 and essence, that take vpon me this humaine shape, onely to set men together by the eares, and send soules by millions to hell.

Now trust me, a substantiall trade; but when doe you thinke you could send next to your maister? why, euery 15 day: for there is not a cormorant that dies, or Cut-purse that is hanged, but I dispatch letters by his soule to him, and to all my friends in the Low-cuntries: wherefore, if you haue any thing that you would haue transported, giue it me, and I will see it deliuered. 20

Yes, marry haue I (quoth I) a certaine Supplication here vnto your Maister, which you may peruse if it please you. With that he opened it, and read as followeth.

11 shape] shame 92^{BC}. 21 Supplication 92^C. 22 vnto] to 92^A.

Non bene conducti vendunt periuria testes.

To the high and mightie Prince of A4* Darknesse, Donsell dell Lucifer, King of Acheron, Stix, and Phlegeton, Duke of Tartary, marquesse of Cocytus, and Lord high Regent of Lymbo: his distressed Orator, Pierce Penilesse, wisheth encrease of damnation, and malediction eternall, Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

5

Ost humbly sueth vnto your sinfulnes, your singlesoald Orator, Pierce Penilesse: that whereas your impious excellence hath had the poore tennement 10 of his purse any time this halfe yeer for your dauncing schoole, and he (notwithstanding) hath received no peny nor crosse for farme, according to the vsuall manner*, it *No: Ile be may please your gracelesse Maiestie to consider of him, sworne is and give order to your servant Auarice he may be dis- a book have patched; insomuch as no man heere in London can haue I not. a dauncing schoole without rent, and his wit and knauerie cannot be maintained with nothing. Or, if this be not so plausible to your honourable infernalship, it might 20 seeme good to your helhood to make extent vpon the soules of a number of vncharitable cormorants, who, having incurd the daunger of a Præmunire with medling with matters that properly concerne your owne person, deserue no longer to liue (as men) amongst men, but to bee in-25 corporated in the society of diuels. By which meanes the mightie controller of fortune and imperious subuerter of desteny, delicious gold, the poore mans God and Idoll of Princes (that lookes pale and wanne through long imprisonment), might at length be restored to his powrfull

4 Cocytus] $g_{2^{A}}(Britwell)$: Conytus $g_{2^{A}}(Rowfant)$, $g_{2^{B}} & c.$ 8 humble 93, 95. 26 and the imperious $g_{2^{A}}$.

¹ No ile 92BC, 93.

Monarchie, and eftsoon bee sette at liberty, to helpe his friends that have neede of him.

the freedome of gold.

I knowe a great sort of good fellowes that would venture *Id est, for farre for his freedom*, and a number of needy Lawyers (who now mourne in threed-bare gowns for his thraldome) 5 that would goe neere to poison his keepers with false Latine, if that might procure his enlargement: but inexorable vron detaines him in the dungeon of the night. so that now (poore creature) hee can neither traffique with

B the Mercers and Tailers as he was wont, nor do-minere 10 in Tauernes as he ought.

Famine, Lent, and dessolation, sit in Onvon skind iackets V before the doore of his indurance, as a Chorus in the Tragedy of Hospitality to tell hunger and pouertie thers no reliefe for them there: and in the inner part of this 15 vgly habitation stands Greedinesse, prepared to deuoure all that enter, attyred in a Capouch of written parchment, buttond downe before with Labels of wax, and lined with sheepes fels for warmenes : his Cappe furd with cats skins, after the Muscouie fashion, and all to be tasseld with 20 Angle-hookes, in stead of Aglets, ready to catch hold of all those to whom he shewes any humblenes: for his breeches, they were made of the lists of broad cloaths, which he had by letters pattents assured him and his heyres, to the vtter ouerthrowe of Bowcases and Cushin 25 makers, and bumbasted they were, like Beerebarrels, with statute Marchants and forfeitures. But of al, his shooes were the strangest, which, being nothing els but a couple of crab shels, were toothd at the tooes with two sharp sixpennie nailes, that digd vp euery dunghil they came 30 by for gould, and snarld at the stones as he went in the street, because they were so common for men, women, and

1 Id est, for] 92° &c: i. for 92A: I for 92B.

I eft-soones q2A. 9 now] om. 92^B. poore] 93, 95: pure 92ABC. 13-4 in Tragedy 93, 95. and 92^{BC}, 93. parts 14 hunger and] om. 92^A. 15 there ? this] his 95. 25 Cushion 92AB. parts 95. 27 merchants 95.

The description of Greedines.

children to tread vpon, and he could not deuise how to wrest an odde fine out of any of them.

Thus walkes hee vp and downe all his life time, with an vron crow in his hand in steed of a staffe, and a Sariants 5 Mace in his mouth (which night and day he still gnaws vpon). & either busies himselfe in setting siluer lime twigs to entangle yoong Gentlemen, and casting foorth silken shraps to catch Woodcocks, or in syuing of Muckhils and shop-dust, whereof he will boult a whole cartload to gaine 10 a bowd Pinne.

On the other side, Dame Niggardize, his wife, in a sedge The de-rug kirtle, that had beene a mat time out of minde, a course dame hempen raile about her shoulders, borrowed of the one end Nigardize. of a hop-bag, an apron made of Almanackes out of date 15 (such as stand ypon Screens, or on the backside of a dore in a Chandlers shop), and an old wives pudding pan on her head, thrumd with the parings of her nailes, sate barrelling vp the droppings of hir nose, in steed of oyle, to saime wooll withall, and would not aduenture to spit without 20 halfe a dozen porrengers at her elbow.

The house (or rather the hell) where these two Earthwormes | encaptived this beautifull Substaunce, was vaste, B 1* large, strong built, and well furnished, all saue the Kitchin ; for that was no bigger then the Cookes roome in a ship,

- 25 with a little court chimney, about the compasse of a Parenthesis in proclamation print: then iudge you what diminutiue dishes came out of this doues-neast. So likewise, of the Buttry; for whereas in houses of such stately foundation, that are builte to outward shewe so magnificent,
- ao euery Office is answerable to the Hall, which is principall, there the Buttry was no more but a blind Cole-house vnder a paire of staires, wherein (vprising and downelying) was but one single single kilderkin of small beere, that would make a man, with a carrouse of a spoonefull, runne through 35 an Alphabet of faces. Nor vsd they any glasses or cups

5 gnaws] 92^{AB}: gnawd 92^C, 93: gnaweth 95. 23 buildt 92^C. 24 than 92^A. 20 of 4 Sergeants 95. porrengers 92A.

(as other men), but onely little farthing ounce boxes, whereof one of them fild vp with froath (in manner and forme of an Ale-house) was a meales allowance for the whole houshold. It were lamentable to tel what misery the Rattes and Mise endured in this hard world; how, 5 when all supply of vittualls failed them, they went a Boothaling one night to Sinior Greedinesse bed-chamber, where finding nothing but emptines and vastitie, they encountred (after long inquisition) with a cod-peece, wel dunged and manured with greace (which my pinch-fart penie-father 10 had retaind from his Bachelorship, vntill the eating of these presents). Vppon that they set, and with a couragious assault rent it cleene away from the breeches, and then carried it in triumph, like a coffin, on their shoulders betwixt them. The verie spiders and dust-weauers, that 15 wont to set vp their loomes in euery window, decayed and vndone through the extreame dearth of the place (that affoorded them no matter to worke on), were constrained to breake, against their wills, and goe dwell in the countrey. out of the reach of the broome and the wing : and generally, 20 not a flea nor a cricket that caried any braue minde, that would stay there after he had once tasted the order of their fare. Onely vnfortunate gold (a predestinat slaue to drudges and fooles) lives in endlesse bondage ther amongst them, and may no way be releast, except you send the rot 25 halfe a yeare amongst his keepers, and so make them away with a murrion, one after another.

The complaint of pride.

of an

vpstart.

O, but a far greater enormity raigneth in the hart of the Court : | Pride, the peruerter of all Vertue, sitteth appareled B 2 in the Marchants spoiles, and ruine of yoong Citizens; and 30

scorneth learning, that gaue their vp-start Fathers titles of gentry.

All malcontent sits the greasie son of a Cloathier, & The nature complaines (like a decaied Earle) of the ruine of ancient houses : whereas the Weauers loomes first framed the 35

> 10 pinch-fart penie-father] 92^A: pinch fartpenie-father 92^C. 11 had etaind 92^B. 12]] om. 92^B &c. 17 (] om. 92^B &c. 28 but far 95. II had ' retaind 92B.

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web of his honor, & the lockes of wool, that bushes and brambles haue tooke for toule of insolent sheep, that would needs striue for the wall of a fir bush, have made him of the tenths of their tar, a Squier of low degree; and of the 5 collectios of their scatterings, a Justice, Tam Marti quam Mercurio, of Peace & of Coram. Hee will bee humorous, forsoth, and haue a broode of fashions by himselfe. Sometimes (because Loue commonly weares the liverey of Wit) hee will be an Inamorato Poeta, & sonnet a whole quire 10 of paper in praise of Lady Swin-snout, his yeolow fac'd Mistres. & weare a feather of her rainbeaten fan for a fauor, like a fore-horse. Al Italionato is his talke, & his spade peake is as sharpe as if he had been a Pioner before the walls of Roan. Hee will despise the barbarisme of his 15 own Coutrey, & tel a whole Legend of lyes of his trauailes vnto Constantinople. If he be challenged to fight, for his delatorye excuse, hee objects that it is not the custome of the Spaniard or the Germaine, to looke back to every dog that barks. You shall see a dapper Iacke, that hath been 20 but ouer at Deepe, wring his face round about, as a man would stir vp a mustard pot, & talke English through v teeth, like Iaques Scabd-hams, or Monsieur Mingo de Moustrap; when (poore slaue) he hath but dipt his bread in wilde Boares greace, and come home againe; or been

25 bitten by the shins by a wolfe: and saith, he hath aduentured vpon the Barricadoes of *Gurney* or *Guingan*, and fought with the yong *Guise* hand to hand.

Some thinke to be counted rare Politicians and States- The counmen, by being solitary: as who would say, I am a wise terfeit so man, a braue man, Secreta mea mihi: Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit; and there is no man worthy of my companie or friendship: when, although he goes vngartred like a malecontent Cutpursse, & weares his hat ouer his eies like

1 politian 92ABC.

I bushs g_2^{C} . Io Swin-snout] Manibetter g_2^{A} . I2 Italionate g_5 . I5 own] one g_5 . I6 for] from g_2^{A} . 17 delaterie dye-case g_2^{A} : delaterye excuse g_2^{B} . 20 ouer] once g_2^{A} . 22 Moustrap] Monstrapo g_2^{A} . 29 would] should g_2^{A} . 31 is] g_2^{AB} : om. g_2^{C} &c.

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one of the cursed crue, yet canot his stabing dagger, or his nittie loue-lock, keep him out of the legend of fantastical cockscombs. I pray ye, good Mousier diuel, take some B 2^v order, ^t/_v the | streetes be not pestered with them so as they are. Is it not a pitiful thing that a fellow that eates 5 not a good meales meat in a weeke, but beggereth his belly quite and cleane to make his backe a certaine kind of brokerly Gentleman, and nowe and then (once or twice in a Tearme) comes to the eighteene pence Ordenary, because hee would bee seen amongst Caualiers and braue 10 courtiers, liuing otherwise all the yeere long with salt Butter and Holland cheese in his chamber, should take vope a scornfull melancholy in his gate and countenance. and talke as though our common welth were but a mockery of gouernment, and our Maiestrates fooles, who wronged 15 him in not looking into his deserts, not imploying him in State matters, and that, if more regard were not had of him very shortly, the whole Realme should have a misse of him, & he would go (I mary would he) where he should be more accounted of? 20

Is it not wonderfull ill prouided, I say, that this disdainfull companion is not made one of the fraternity of Fooles, to talke before great States, with some olde moth-eaten Polititian, of mending high waies, and leading Armies into Fraunce? 25

The prodigall voong Master.

A yoong Heyre or Cockney, that is his Mothers Darling, if hee haue playde the waste-good at the Innes of the Court or about London, and that neither his Students pension. nor his vnthrifts credite, will serue to maintaine his Collidge of whores any longer, falles in a quarrelling humor with his 30 fortune, because she made him not King of the Indies, and sweares and stares, after ten in the hundreth, that nere a such Pesant as his Father or brother shall keepe him vnder: hee will to the sea, and teare the gold out of the

2 loue lock g_2 ^C. 8 of a brokerly g_2 ^{AB}. 9 in] om. g_3 , g_5 . 13-4 melan-cholike course in his gate and countenance, and talke g_2 ^A : melancholy in his gate & countenance, course & talke, 92B. 20 more] om. 93, 95. 23 moth eaten 02BC.

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Spaniards throats, but he will have it, byrlady: And when he comes there, poore soule, hee lyes in brine, in Balist, and is lamentable sicke of the scurules: his dainty fare is turned to a hungry feast of Dogs & Cats, or Haber-5 dine and poore Iohn at the most, and which is lamentablest of all, that without Mustard.

As a mad Ruffion, on a time, being in daunger of shipwrack by a tempest, and seeing all other at their vowes and praiers, that if it would please God, of his infinite goodnesse, 10 to delyuer them out of that imminent daunger, one woulde abiure this sinne wher vnto he was adicted ; an other, make satisfaction for | that vyolence he had committed : he, in B 3

a desperate iest, began thus to reconcile his soule to heauen. O Lord, if it may seeme good to thee to deliuer me from 15 this feare of vntimely death, I vowe before thy Throne and all thy starry Host, neuer to eate Haberdine more whilest I liue.

Well, so it fell out, that the Sky cleared and the tempest * ceased, and this carelesse wretch, that made such a mockery 20 of praier, readie to set foote a Land, cryed out : not without Mustard, good Lord, not without Mustard : as though it had been the greatest torment in the world, to have eaten Haberdine without Mustard. But this by the way, what pennance can be greater for Pride, than to let it swinge in

25 his owne halter? Dulce bellum inexpertis: theres no man loues the smooke of his owne Countrey, that hath not beene syngde in the flame of an other soyle. It is a pleasante thing, ouer a full pot, to read the fable of thirsty Tantalus: but a harder matter to disgest salt meates at Sea, with 3º stinking water.

An other misery of Pride it is, when men that have good The pride parts, and beare the name of deepe scholers, cannot be of the learned. content to participate one faith with all Christendome, but. because they will get a name to their vaineglory they will

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¹⁻² haue it byrlady: And when 92AB: haue it, byrlady when 92C, 93: haue it: byrlady whe 95. 18 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. then 95 25 in expertis 92° &c. 29 hard 92^{AB}. 24

set their selfe-loue to studie to inuent new sects of singularitie, thinking to liue when they are dead, by having theyr sects called after their names, as Donatists of Donatus, Arrians of Arrius, and a number more new faith-founders. that have made England the exchange of Innouations, and 5 almost asmuch confusion of Religion in euery Quarter, as there was of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babell. Whence, a number that fetch the Articles of their Beleefe out of Aristotle, and thinke of heauen and hell as the Heathen Philosophers, take occasion to deride our Eccle- 10 siasticall State, and all Ceremonies of Deuine worship, as bug-beares and scar-crowes, because (like Herodes souldiers) we diuide Christs garment amongst vs in so many peeces. and of the vesture of saluation make some of vs Babies and apes coates, others straight trusses and Diuells breeches : 15 some gally-gascoines or a shipmans hose, like the Anabaptists and adulterous Familists; others, with the Martinists, a hood with two faces, to hide their hypocrisie: &, to conclude, some, like the Barrowists and Greenwoodians. a garment full of the plague, which is not to be worne 20 B 3" before it be new washt. |

Hence Atheists triumph and reioyce, and talke as prophanely of the Bible, as of Beuis of Hampton. I heare say there be Mathematitions abroad that will prooue men before *Adam*; and they are harboured in high places, who 25 *The diuell* will maintaine it to the death, that there are no diuels.

hath children (as other men), but fewe of them know their owne father.

It is a shame (senior *Belzibub*) that you should suffer your selfe thus to be tearmed a bastard, or not approue to your predestinate children, not only that they have a father, but that you are he that must owne them. These are but 30 the suburbes of the sinne we have in hand: I must describe to you a large cittie, wholy inhabited with this damnable enormitie.

1 mens 92°.

3 theyr] 92^{AB}: 0m. 92^C &c. sect 92^A. 10 Ecclestasticall 92^C. 12 bugbeares scar-crowes 92^C, 93: bug-beares, scar-crowes 95. 13 amongest 92^A. 17 Martinist 92^C &c. 19 Greenwodians 92^B &c. 28 tearmed bastard 93, 95.

In one place let me shew you a base Artificer, that hath The pride no reuenues to boast on but a Needle in his bosome, as of Artibraue as any Pensioner or Noble man.

- In an other corner, Mistris Minx, a Marchants wife, that The pride 5 wil eate no Cherries, forsooth, but when they are at twenty of Marshillings a pound, that lookes as simperingly as if she were wines. besmeard, and iets it as gingerly as if she were dancing the Canaries: she is so finicall in her speach, as though she spake nothing but what shee had first sewd ouer before in 10 her Samplers, and the puling accent of her voyce is like a fained treble, or ones voyce that interprets to the puppets. What should I tel how squeamish she is in her dyet, what toyle she puts her poore seruaunts vnto, to make her looking glasses in the pauement? how she will not go into 15 the fields, to cowre on the greene grasse, but she must have a Coatch for her conuoy; and spends halfe a day in pranking her selfe if she be inuited to any strange place? Is not
- this the excesse of pride, signior Sathan? Goe too, you are vnwise, if you make her not a chiefe Saint in your 20 Calender.

The next object that encounters my eyes, is some such The pride obscure vpstart gallants, as without desert or seruice, are of pesants raised from the plough to be checkmate with Princes: and of nothing. these I can no better compare than to creatures that are 25 bred Sine coitu, as crickets in chimnies ; to which I resemble poore Scullians, that, from turning spit in the chimney corner, are on the sodaine hoised vp from the Kitchin into the waiting chamber, or made Barons of the bieues, and Marquesses of the Marybones: some by corrupt water,

30 as gnats, to which we may liken Brewers, that, by retayling filthy Thames water, come in few yeares to bee worth fortie B4 or fiftie thousand pound: others by dead wine, as little flying wormes; and so the Vintners in like case: others by slime, as frogs, which may be alluded to Mother Bunches 35 slimie ale, that hath made her and some other of her fil-pot

15 fields] 92AB : field 92C &c. 6 shilling 93, 95. 24 then 95. 28 beanes 92AB. 27 on sodaine 93, 95. 29 mary-boanes 92AB.

facultie so wealthie: others by dirt, as wormes; and so I know many gold-finers and hostlers come vp: some by hearbes, as cankers; and after the same sort our Apothecaries: others by ashes, as *Scarabes*; and how else get our Colliers the pence? Others from the putrified flesh 5 of dead beasts, as Bees of Buls, and Butchers by fli-blown beefe; waspes of horsses, and Hackney-men by selling their lame iades to hunts-men, for carrion.

Sparagus a flowre that neuer groweth but throgh a mans dong.

Yet am I not against it, that these men by their mechanicall trades should come to be *Sparage* Gentlemen and to chuff-headed Burghomasters: but that better places should bee possessed by coystrels, and the Coblers crowe, for crying but *Aue Cæsar*, bee more esteemed than rarer birds, that haue warbled sweeter notes vnrewarded. But it is no meruaile: For as Hemlock fatteth Quailes, and Henbane 15 Swine, which to all other is poyson, so some mens vices haue power to aduaunce them, which would subuert any else that should seeke to climbe by them: and it is inough in them, that they can pare their nailes well, to get them a liuing, when as the seauen liberall Sciences and 20 a good leg, will scarse get a scholler a paire of shoos and a Canuas-dublet.

These whelpes of the first Litter of Gentilitie, these Exhalations, drawne vp to the heauen of honor from the dunghill of abiect fortune, haue long been on horseback 25 to come riding to your Diuelship : but, I knowe not howe, like Saint *George*, they are alwaies mounted, but neuer moue. Here they out-face Towne and countrey, and doo nothing but bandie factions with their betters. Theyr big limbes yeelde the Common-wealth no other seruice 30 but idle sweate, and theyr heads, like rough hewen Gloabes, are fit for nothing but to be the blockhouses of sleepe. *Raynold*, the Fox, may well beare vp his taile in the Lions

¹ facultie] familie g_2^{AB} . 2 gold-finders g_2^{A} . 13 Casar g_2^{BC} . 21-2 get a Scholler bread and cheese g_2^{A} : get a paire of shoos and a Canuasdublet g_2^{B} : get a scholler a paire of shooes, and Canuas-dublet g_3 . 25 object g_2^{B} . 32 of] for g_2^{AB} . 33 Raynard g_2^{B} .

denne, but when he comes abroad, hee is afraid of euery dogge that barkes. What Cur wil not bawle, and be ready to flie in a mans face, when he is set on by his maister, who, if hee bee not by, to encourage him, he casts 5 his taile betwixt his legs, & steales away like a sheepbyter.

Vlisses was a tall man vnder Aiax shield : but by himselfe B 4* hee would neuer aduenture but in the night. Pride is neuer built but vpon some pillers : and let his supporters faile him neuer so little, you shall finde him very humble to in the dust. Wit oftentimes stands in stead of a chiefe arche to vnderproppe it, in souldiers strength, in women

beautie.

Drudges, that have no extraordinarie gifts of body nor The base of minde, filche themselues into some Noble mans seruice, insinual-ing of 15 either by bribes or by flattery, and, when they are there, drudges, they so labour it with cap and knee, and plie it with privile practise to whisperings, that they wring themselues into his good aspyre. opinion ere he be aware. Then do they vaunt themselues ouer the common multitude, and are readie to outbraue 20 any man that stands by himselfe. Their Lords authoritie is as a rebater to beare vp the Peacocks taile of theyr boasting, and any thing that is said or doone to the vnhandsoming of their ambition is straight wrested to the name of treson. Thus do weedes grow vp whiles no man 25 regards them, and the Ship of Fooles is arrived in the Hauen of Felicitie, whilst the scoutes of Enuie contemne the attempts of any such small Barkes.

But beware you that be great mens Fauorites : let not a seruile, insinuating slaue creepe betwixt your legs into 30 credit with your Lords: for pesants that come out of the colde of pouertie, once cherisht in the bosome of prosperitie, will straight forget that euer there was a winter of want, or who gaue them roome to warme them. The sonne of a churle cannot chuse but prooue ingratefull, like his Father. 35 Trust not a villaine that hath beene miserable, and is

17 whispering 93, 95. 26 whilest 92^{AB}, 95. 10 braue 02AB. 22 and] om. 93, 95. 34 vngratefull 92A.

sodainly growne happie. Vertue ascendeth by degrees of desert vnto dignitie: golde and lust may lead a man a nearer way to promotion : but he that hath neither comlinesse nor coine to commend him, vndoubtedly strides ouer time by stratagems*, if of a mole-hil hee growes to 5 a mountaine in a moment. This is that which I vrge: playing the there is no friendship to be had with him that is resolute to doe or suffer any thing rather than to endure the destinie whereto he was borne: for he will not spare his owne Father or Brother, to make himselfe a Gentleman. 10

The pride of the Spaniard.

*As by carrying

tales, or

Pandor.

doutie

Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, are all full of these false hearted Machinillions: but properly Pride is the disease of the Spaniard, who is borne a Bragart in his mothers

CI wombe: for, if he be | but 17 yeeres old, and hath come to the place where a Field was fought (though halfe a yeare 15 before), he then talks like one of the Giants that made warre against Heauen, and stands vppon his honour, as much as if hee were one of Augustus Souldiers, of whom he first instituted the order of Heralds: and let a man sooth him in this vaine of kilcow vanitie, you may com- 20 maund his heart out of his belly, to make you a rasher on the coales, if you will next your heart.

The pride of the Italian.

The Italian is a more cunning proud fellowe, that hides his humour far cleanlier, and indeed seemes to take a pride in humilitie, and will profer a straunger more curtesie than 25 hee meanes to performe. Hee hateth him deadly that takes him at his word : as, for example, if vpon occasion of meeting, he request you to dinner or supper at his house, and that at the first or second intreatie you promise to bee his guest, he will be the mortalst enemie you haue: but 30 if you deny him, he will thinke you have manners and good bringing vp, and will loue you as his brother : marry, at the third or fourth time you must not refuse him. Of all things he counteth it a mighty disgrace to haue a man

2 vnto] into 92B. 92AB : his 92C &c. occasion Coll., Gro.

5 mould-hill 95. 23 that] and 92AB. 28 requesteth 95.

7 no] om. 93, 95. 20 this] 26 hates 95. 27 vpon an 33 at] om. 93, 95.

passe iustling by him in hast on a narrowe causey, and aske him no leaue, which he neuer reuengeth with lesse then a stab.

- The Frenchman (not altered from his owne nature) is The pride 5 wholly compact of deceiuable Courtship, and for the most of the French part, loues none but himselfe and his pleasure : yet though man. he be the most Grand Signeur of them all, he will say, A vostre service & commandemente Mounseur, to the meanest vassaile he meets. Hee thinkes he doth a great fauour to
- 10 that gentleman or follower of his, to whom he talks sitting on his close stoole: and with that fauour (I haue heard) the queene mother wonted to grace the Noble men of France : and a great man of their Nation comming in time past ouer into England, and beeing heere very honourably received,
- 15 he in requital of his admirable entertainment, on an euening going to the priuie, (as it were to honour extraordinaryly our english Lords appointed to attend him) gaue one the candle, another his girdle, & another the paper: but they (not acquainted with this newe kinde of gracing) accom-20 panying him to the priuy dore, set down the trash, & so
- left him: which he (considering what inestimable kindnes he extended to the therin more than vsual) took very hainously.

The most grosse and sencelesse proud dolts (in a different C IV 25 kind from all these) are the Danes; who stand so much of the dane. vpon their vnweldy burliboand souldiery, that they account of no man that hath not a battle Axe at his girdle to hough dogs with, or weares not a cockes feather in a redde thrumd hat like a caualier: briefly, he is the best foole 30 bragart vnder heauen. For besides nature hath lent him a flaberkin face, like one of the foure winds, and cheekes that sag like a womans dugs ouer his chin-bone, his apparel is so puft vp with bladders of Taffatie, and his back like

12 queene mother] Princes 92AB, 3 a] the 92A. 10 sitting 92°. 13 times g_5 . 17 attend vpon him g_2^{AB} . 21 inestimable] g_2^{AB} : m_{eq} . $g_2^{C} \ C_{c}$. 22 took] tooke it g_5 . very] g_2^{AB} : om, $g_2^{C} \ C_{c}$. 24-5 in a difference from all these kindes g_2^{AB} . 28 redde] om. g_2^{AB} . 30 lent] 28 redde] om. 92^{AB}. 30 lent] 33 puft] stuft 92B. 92A : left 92B &c.

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biefe stuft with Parsly, so drawne out with Ribands and deuises, and blisterd with light sarcenet bastings, that you would thinke him nothing but a swarme of Butterflies, if you saw him a farre off.* Thus walkes he vp and downe know him in his Maiestie, taking a yard of ground at every step, and 5 not by any stamps on the earth so terrible, as if he ment to knocke marks, look vppe a spirite, when (foule drunken bezzle) if an Englishman set his little finger to him, he falles like a hogs-trough that fingers, & you shal be sure to find is set on one end. Therfore I am the more vehement half a dozen against them, because they are an arrogant Asse-headed 10 people, that naturally hate learning, and all them that loue it : yea, and for they would vtterly roote it out from among worth thre them, they have withdrawen al rewards from the Professors [The Danes therof. Not Barbary it selfe is halfe so barbarous as they are. 15

First, whereas the hope of honor maketh a Souldior in England: Byshopricks, Deanries, Prebendaries, and other private dignities, animate our Divines to such excelence: the ciuil Lawyers haue their degrees & consistories of honour by themselues, equal in place with Knights and 20 Esquiers: the common Lawyers (suppose in the beginning they are but husbandmens sons) come in time to be chiefe Fathers of the land, and manie of them not the meanest of the Priuie Counsell.

There, the souldiour may fight himselfe out of his skinne, 25 Norewards and do more exploites than he hath doytes in his purse, before from a common mercenary he come to be Corporal of the mouldcheese, or the Lieutenant get a Captainship. None but the son of a Corporall must be a Corporall, nor any be Captaine, but the lawfull begotten of a Captaines 30 body. Bishopricks, Deanries, Prebendaries, why they know

> 2 The Danes ...] om. 92° &c. 1 on voon 95. the peece os.

7 drunken bezzle) if an [c.w. English-] | drunken bezzle) if an englishman g_2^{B} . 9 one] one. 95. 12 amongst g_2^{A} . 16 New par. g_2^{A} . Run on in g_2^{B} & c. 18 to to such g_2^{B} . excelence. The civil g_2^{B} & c. 20 in on in 92B &c. the place os. 22 husband-mens $92^{\mathbb{C}} \mathcal{E}^{\mathbb{C}}$. be the chiefe $92^{\mathbb{A}}$. 27 he come] becom 93. 28 mould Cheese 92A. 30 be a Captaine 31 Byshops, Deanes 92AB. 93, 95.

* If you

of these

on his

siluer

rings,

pence a

enemies to

al learning.]

peece.

amongst them for desert.

no such functions: a sort of ragged Ministers they have, of whom they count as basely as water-bearers. | If any C 2 of their Noblemen refraine three howers in his life time from drinking, to study the Lawes, hee may perhaps have s a little more gouernment put into his hands than another : but otherwise, Burgomasters and Gentlemen beare all the swaye of both swords, spirituall and temporall. It is death there for anie but a husbandman to marry a husbandmans daughter, or a Gentlemans childe to joyne with any but 10 the sonne of a Gentleman. Marry this, the King may well banish, but hee cannot put a Gentleman vnto death in any cause whatsoeuer, which makes them stand vopon it so proudly as they doe. For fashion sake some will put their children to schoole, but they set them not to it till they 15 are foureteene yeere olde: so that you shall see a great boy with a beard learne his A B C. and sit weeping vnder the rod, when he is thirtie yeeres old.

I will not stande to inferre what a prejudice it is to What it is the thrift of a florishing State, to poyson the growth of to make men labor 20 glory by giuing it nought but the puddle water of penury without to drinke: to clippe the winges of a high towring Faulcon. hope. who, wheras she wont in her feathered youthfulnesse, to looke with an amiable eve vppon her gray breast, and her speckled side sayles, all sinnowed with siluer quilles, and to 25 dryue whole Armies of fearefull fowle before her to her maisters Table; now she sits sadly on the ground, picking of wormes, mourning the crueltie of those vngentleman-

like idle hands, that dismembred the beauty of her trayne. You all knowe that man (insomuch as hee is the Image

30 of God) delighteth in honour and worship, and all holy Writ warrantes that delight, so it bee not derogatory to any part of Gods owne worship: now, take away that delight, a discontented idlenesse ouertakes him. For his

1 men] om. 92AB.

2 count] account g_2^A . 3 their] the g_2^A . 10 Gentleman, marry this the $g_2^B & \mathcal{C}_c$. 11 vnto] to g_2^A . 12 cause] case g_5 . 17 yeare g_3 , g_5 . 21 touring g_2^A : soring g_3 , g_5 . 23 an] om. g_2^A . vppon] on g_2^A . gray] gay g_5 . 25 foules g_2^{AB} . 28 dismembreth g_2^{AB} . 10 Gentleman, marry this

hire, any handycraft man, be he Carpenter, Ioyner, or Painter, wil ploddingly do his day labor: but to adde credit and fame to his workmanship, or to winne a maistery to himselfe aboue all other, hee will make a further assay in his trade than ever hitherto he did : hee will have 5 a thousand florishes, which before he neuer thought vpon, and in one day ridde more out of hand, than earst hee did in ten: So in Armes, so in Artes; if titles of fame and glory be proposed to forward minds, or that soueraigntie (whose sweetnes they have not yet felt) be set in likely ro view for them to sore too, they will make a ladder of cord

C 2Y of the | links of their braines, but they will fasten their handes, as wel as their eies, on the imaginatiue blisse which they already enjoy by admiration. Experience reproues me for a foole, for dilating on so manifest a case. 15

The Danes are bursten-bellied sots, that are to bee confuted with nothing but Tankards or quart pots, and Ouid might as well have read his verses to the Getes that vnder-And that stood him not, as a man talk reason to them that have no eares but their mouths, nor sense but of that which they 20 them sence- swallowe downe their throates. God so loue me, as I loue the quicke-witted Italians, and therefore loue them the more,

because they mortally detest this surley swinish Generation. I need not fetch colours from other countries to paint the vglie visage of Pride, since her picture is set forth in so 25 many painted faces here at home. What drugs, what sorceries, what oiles, what waters, what oyntments, doe our curious Dames vse to inlarge their withered* beauties. Their

lips are as lauishly red, as if they vsed to kisse an okerman [*And will every morning, and their cheeks suger-candied and cherry 30 wethers as blusht so sweetly, after the *colour of a newe Lord Mayors postes, as if the pageant of their wedlocke holiday were

> ¹ And that ...] om. 92^C &c. oft times maketh 92^B ² Withered ...] om. 92° &c. Reference-marks in the margin, to this and the ten notes following, are only found in 92A. ³ And will ...] om. 92° &c.

> 9 that any sourceigntie 92^A. 12 of 3 or winne 95. 5 hee] om. 95. of their 92^{BC}. 27 oiles] toyles 95. 28 their] our 92^B. beautics 92^{BC}. 29 a moker man 93 : a mokerman 95.

sence often times maks lesse.]

[* Withered flowers need much watering.] indure all wel as they.]

harde at the doore: so that if a Painter were to drawe any [*They of their *Counterfets on a Table, he needes no more but wet may well his pencill, and dab it on their cheekes, and he shall have countervermillion and white enough to furnish out his worke, faites, since the 5 though he leave his tar-boxe at home behind him. Wise beauly they was that sin-washing Poet that made the Ballet of Blue imitate is starch and poaking stickes, for indeed the *lawne of licen-feyted.] tiousnesse hath consumed all the wheat of hospitalitie. It [*Marke these two is said, Laurence Lucifer, that you went vp and downe letterleaping uaile no Laundresse would give you the washing and good

starching of your face for your labour, for God knowes it [*So saieth is as black as the *blacke Prince.

It is suspected you have beene a great **Tobacco* taker *Rimerus*, 15 in your youth, which causeth it to come so to passe : but *in his first* Dame Nature, your nurse, was partly in fault, else she *booke*, *first page*, *tr* might have remedied it. *She should have noynted your *first line of his Ballad* face overnight with *Lac virginis*, which baking vpon it in *of blew* bed till the morning, she might have pild off the scale like *starch* and *pagehing*.

20 the skin of a custard, and making a pos-set of vergis mixt C₃ with the oyle of Tartary and Camphire, bathde it in it stickes.] a quarter of an houre, and you had been as faire as the diuell floure of the frying pan. I warrant we have old hacksters a great Tobacca in this great Grandmother of Corporations, Madame Troy-taker.] 25 nouant, that have not backbited any of their neighbours [*A medi-

with the *tooth of enuy this twentie yeare, in the wrinckles make of whose face ye may hide false dice, and play at cherry- the diuel pit in the dint of their cheekes: yet these aged mothers of [*He that iniquitie will have their deformities newe plaistred ouer, wipes his nose, and so and weare nosegayes of yeolow haire on their furies fore- hath it not, heads, when age hath written, Hoe God, be here, on their shall forfeit hys whole

his Ballad of blew starch and poking C 3 stickes.] [*The diuell a great Tobacca taker.] [*A medicine to make the diuel faire.] [*He that wipes his nose, and hath it not, shall forfai

¹ They may...] om. 92° &c. ² Marke...] om. 92° &c. ³ So saieth...] om. 92° &c. ⁴ The diuell...] om. 92° &c. ⁵ A medicine...] om. 92° &c. ⁶ He that...] om. 92° &c.

2 on a Table] g_2^{AB} : on Table g_2^{C} & 6 Balled g_3 : Ballad g_5 . 10 then] there g_2^{B} . 11 Landrsse g_2^{C} . 19 pild] puld g_5 . 21 Camphire, and bathde g_2^{AB} . 23 flower g_5 . 29 iniquitie] antiquitie g_5 .

bald burnt parchment pates. Pish, pish, what talke you of old age or balde pates? men and women that haue gone vnder the *South pole, must lay off their furde night-caps in spight of their teeth, and become yeomen of the Vineger Meridian.] bottle: a close periwig hides all the sinnes of an olde 5 whore-master ; but Cucullus non facit Monachum : *tis not their newe bonnets will keepe them from the old boan-ach. Ware when a mans sins are written on his ev-browes, and that there is not a haire bredth betwixt them and the falling sicknes. The times are daungerous, and this is an 10 yron age, or rather no yron age, for swordes and bucklers goe to pawne a pace in Long-Lane: but a tinne age; for tinne and pewter are more esteemed than Latine. You that bee wise, despise it, abhorre it, neglect it; for what shoulde a man care for gold that cannot get it? 15

An Antiquarie is an honest man, for hee had rather scrape a peece of copper out of the durt, than a crowne out of Ploydens standish. I know many wise Gentlemen of this mustie vocation, who, out of loue with the times wherein they liue, fall a retayling of Alexanders stirrops, because (in 20 veritie) there is not suche a strong peece of stretching leather made now adayes, nor yron so well tempred for any money. They will blow their nose in a boxe. & say it is the spettle that Diogenes spet in ones face: who being inuited to dinner to his house, that was neat & braue in all points 25 as might be deuised, and the grunting Dogge, somewhat troubled with the rheume (by meanes of his long fasting and staying for dinner more than wont), spet full in his Hosts face: and beeing askt the reason of it, said it was the foulest place he could spie out in all his house. Let 30 C 3^v their Mistresse (or some other woman) | giue them a feather of her fanne for her fauour, and if one aske them what it is.

they make answer, a plume of the Phenix, whereof there is

¹ Alias...] om. 92^C &c. ² Translated...] om. 92^C &c. ³ noster os.

6 worne-master 93 (broken n), 95. 24 spit 93, 95. 27 his] om. 93, 95. 8 wont] want 92^C. 29 Hosts] 92^A: Hostess 92^B: Hostesse 92^C & C. 28 wont] want 92°. 30 could 92°. 32 for a fauour 92A.

* Alias. Mother Cornelius

* Translated word for word. iuxta originalem.]

The commendation of Antiauaries. Laudamus veteres, sed nostris ntimur annis.

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but one in all the whole world. A thousand guegawes and toyes haue they in their chambers, which they heape vp together, with infinite expence, and are made beleeue of them that sell them, that they are rare and pretious thinges, 5 when they haue gathered them vpon some dunghill, or rakte them out of the kennell by chance. I know one sold an old rope with foure knots on it for foure pound, in that he gaue it out, it was the length and breadth of Christs Tombe. Let a Tinker take a peece of brasse worth a halfe 10 penie, and set strange stamps on it, and I warrant he may make it more worth to him of some fantasticall foole, than all the kettels that euer he mended in his life. This is the disease of our newfangled humorists, that know not what to doe with their welth. It argueth a very rusty witte, so to 15 doate on worme-eaten Elde.

Vt vpon it, how long is Pride a dressing her selfe? The com-Enuie, awake, for thou must appear before Nicalao plaint of Enuie. Maleuolo, great Muster maister of hell. Marke you this slie mate, how smoothly hee lookes? The Poets were ill 20 aduised, that fained him to be a leane, gag-toothd Beldam, with hollow eyes, pale cheeks, and snakie heire: for he is not onely a man, but a iolly lusty old Gentleman, that will winke, and laugh, and jeast drily, as if he were the honestest X of a thousand : and I warrant you shall not heare a foule 25 word come from him in a yeare. I wil not contradict it, but the Dog may worry a sheepe in the dark, & thrust his necke into the collar of clemency & pity when he hath don: as who shold say, God forgiue him, hee was a sleepe in the shambles, when the innocent was done to death. 30 But openly. Enuie sets a ciuil, fatherly countenance vpon it, & hath not so much as a drop of bloud in his face, to attaint him of murther. I thought it expedient, in this my Supplication, to place it next to Pride: for it is his adopted

¹ Enuie] pride- 93: Pride 95.

I guegawes] 92^{BC}: iymiams 92^A: gurgawes 93: gugawes 95. 8 Christ 93. 20 gag toothd 92^C. 21 haire 92^{AB}, 95: heyre 93. 33 next vnto Pride 92^A. sonne. And hence comes it, that proud men repine at others prosperitie, and greeue that any should be great but themselues. *Mens cuiusque, is est quisque;* it is a Prouerbe that is as hoary as Dutch-butter. If a man wil go to the diuell, he may go to the diuell: there are a thousand iugling 5 tricks to be vsed at hey passe come aloft; & the world hath cords enough to trus vp a calf that stands in ons way.

C 4 Enuie is a Crocodile that weepes when he kils, and fights with none but he feedes on. This is the nature of this quick-sighted monster, he will endure any paynes to 10 endamage another, waste his body with vnder-taking exploytes that would require tenne mens strengths, rather than any should get a penny but himselfe, bleare his eyes to stand in his neighbours light, and to conclude, like *Atlas* vnder-proppe heauen alone, rather than any should be in 15 heauen that hee likte not of, or come vnto heauen by any other meanes but by him.

You goodman wandrer about the world, how doe vee spende your time, that you do not rid vs of these pestilent members? you are vnworthy to have an office, if you 20 can execute it no better. Behold another enemy of mankinde, besides thy selfe, exalted in the South, Philip of Spaine; who not content to bee the God of gold, and chiefest commaunder of content that Europe affoords, but now he doth nothing but thirst after humane bloud, when 25 his foot is on the thresholde of the graue : and as a Wolfe. beeing about to deuoure a horse, doth balist his belly with earth, that hee may hang the heauier vppon him, and then forcibly flyes in his face, neuer leauing his hold till he hath eaten him vp; so this woluish vnnaturall vsurper, being 30 about to deuoure all Christendom by inuasion, doth cram his treasures with Indian earth to make his malice more forcible, and then flyes in the bosome of Fraunce and Belgia, neuer withdrawing his forces (as the Wolfe his fastning) till

4 Dutch-bntter g_2^{C} . 8 Enui c.w. II another] other g_5 . 15 alone] om. g_2^{AB} . 16 like not off g_3 , g_5 . vnto] to g_2^{A} . 18 yee] you g_5 . 23 contented g_2^{AB} 29 forcible g_5 . 34 fastning] fasting g_3 , g_5 .

Philip of Spaine as great an enemy to mankind as the diuell. he hath deuoured their welfare, & made the war-wasted carcases of both kingdomes a pray for his tyranny. Onely poore *England* giues him bread for his cake, and holdes him out at the armes end. His Armadoes ($\frac{1}{2}$ like a high 5 wood ouer-shadowed the shrubs of our low ships) fled from the breath of our Cannons, as vapors before the Sun, or as the Elephant flies from the Ram, or the Sea-whale from the noyse of parched bones. The winds, enuying that the aire should be dimmed with such a *Chaos* of wodden 10 clouds, raised vp high bulwarks of bellowing waues, whence Death shot at their disordred Nauy: and the Rockes with their ouer-hanging iawes eate vp all the fragments of oake that they left. So perisht our foes; so the Heauens did fight for vs. *Præterit Hippomenes, resonant spectacula* 15 *plausu*.

I do not doubt (Doctor Diuell) but you were present in this | action, or passion rather, and helpt to bore holes C 4^v in ships to make them sinke faster; and rence out Galleyfoistes with salt water, that stunke like fustie barrels with 20 their Maisters feare. It will be a good while ere you doe as much for the King, as you did for his subjects. I would haue ye perswade an Armie of goutie Vsurers to go to Sea vppon a boon voyage: trie if you can tempt Enuy to embarke himself in the mal'aduenture, and leaue troubling 25 the streame, that Poets and good fellowes may drinke, and Souldiers may sing *Placebo*, that haue murmured so long at the waters of strife.

But that wil neuer be: for so long as Pride, Riot, and whoredome are the companions of yoong Courtiers, they 30 wil alwayes bee hungry, and ready to bite at euery Dog that hath a boane giuen him beside themselues. Iesu, what secret grudge and rancor raignes amongst them, one being ready to dispaire of himself, if he see the Prince but giue

7 Sea Whale g_2^{C} . 10 whence] where g_2^{AB} . 15 plausis g_2^{B} . 19 stanke g_2^{A} . with] wit g_2^{C} . 20 ere] hre g_2^{C} . 22 Vsurers] vsurpers g_7 . 26 may] om. g_2^{A} . 28 so] as g_2^{A} . 30 euery] anie g_2^{A} . 31 besides g_7 .

his fellow a faire looke, or to die for griefe if he be put down in brauery neuer so little. Yet this custome haue our false harts fetcht from other countries, that they will sweare and protest loue, where they hate deadly, and smile on him most kindly, whose subuersion in soule they have 5 vowed. Fraus sublimi regnat in aula. Tis rare to finde a true frend in Kings Pallaces: Either thou must be so miserable that thou fall into the hands of scornful pitie, or thou canst not escape the sting of enuy. In one thought assemble the famous men of all ages, and tel me which of 10 them all sate in the sun-shine of his soueraignes grace, or wext great of low beginnings, but he was spiteblasted, heaued at, & ill spoken of: and that of those that bare them most countenaunce. But were enuy nought but wordes, it might seeme to bee onely womens sinne : but it 15 hath a lewde mate hanging on his sleeue, called Murther, a sterne fellowe, that (like a Spanyard in fight) avmeth all at the heart: hee hath more shapes than Proteus, and will shifte himselfe, vppon any occasion of reuengement, into a mans dish, his drinke, his apparell, his ringes, his stirrops, 20 his nosegay.

Murder. the companion of Enuie.

*Italie, the storehouse of all

O Italie,* the Academie of man-slaughter, the sporting place of murther, the Apothecary-shop of poyson for all murderous Nations: how many kind of weapons hast thou inuented inuentions. for malice? Suppose I loue a mans wife, whose husband 25

D 1 yet liues, and cannot enioy | her for his iealous ouer-looking : Physicke, or rather the art of murther (as it may be vsed), will lend one a Medicine which shall make him away, in the nature of that disease he is most subject to, whether in the space of a yeare, a moneth, halfe a yeare, or what 30 tract of time you will, more or lesse.

In Rome the Papal Chayre is washt, euery fiue yeare at the furthest, with this oyle of Aconitum. I pray God, the King of Spayne feasted not our holy father Sextus,

I for] in 95. II his] this 95. I2 waxt 93, 95. I7 all [c.w. at] |all at 92^{B} : all all at 92^{C} . I8 then 95. 23 Apothecary shop 92^{BC} : Apoticaries shop 93, 95. 33 with the Oyle Aconitum 93, 95.

that was last, with such conserve of Henbane, for it was credibly reported hee loued him not, & this that is now, is a God made with his owne hands; as it may appeare by the Pasquil that was set vp of him, in manner of a note, The Pas-5 presently after his election, Sol, Re, Me, Fa. that is to say, was made Solus Rex me facit; onely the K. of Spaine made me vpon this Pope. I am no Chronicler from our owne Countrey, but last Pope. if probable suspition might bee heard vppon his oath, I As Carthinke some mens soules would bee canonized for Martyrs, dinal Wolsey, for 10 that on the earth did sway it as Monarches.

Is it your will and pleasure (noble Lants-graue of Lymbo) to let vs haue lesse carousing to your health in poison, fewer vnder hand conspirings, or open quarrels executed onely in wordes, as they are in the world now a dayes: 15 & if men wil needs carouse, conspire, and quarrell, that they may make Ruffians hall of Hell: and there bandy balles of Brimstone at one anothers head, and not trouble our peaceable Paradise with their private hurliburlies about strumpets, where no weapon (as in Adams Paradise) should 20 bee named: but onely the Angell of prouidence stand with a fiery sword at the gate, to keep out our enemies?

A Perturbation of mind (like vnto Enuy) is Wrath, which The com-looketh farre lower than the former : For, whereas plaint of Wrath, a Enuie cannot be saide to bee, but in respect of our Supe-branch of 25 riours, Wrath respecteth no degrees nor persons, but is Enuie. equally armed agaynst all that offende him. A hare-Little men braind little Dwarfe it is, with a swarth visage, that hath for the most part are his hart at his tongues end, if he be contraride, and will be most angry. sure to do no right nor take no wrong. If hee bee a Iudge 30 or a Iustice (as some-times the Lyon comes to giue sentence against the Lamb), then he sweares by nothing but by Saint *Newgate*, a Tyborne, & makes Newgate a Nowne Substantiue, | where- D I*

2 Wholsey 92°.

4 in a manner 92^A. 6 King 92^A, 93, 95. 9 would not bee 10 it] *om. 95.* Monarchies 92^{AB}. 11 It is 93, 95. 13 vno 92^{AB} : vnder had 95. 15 & if] as if 92^{AB} . 18 our] your 95. 9 would not bee 92° Ec. 13 vnder-hand 23 26-7 hare-braine 93, 95. 32 wher- c.w. then 95.

example.

name for al prisons, as Homo is a common man or a woman.

to all his other words are but Adjectives. Lightly, hee is an olde man (for those yeares are most wayward and teatish), yet be he neuer so old or so froward, since Auarice name for a like-wise is a fellow vice of those fraile yeares, wee must set one extreame to striue with another, and alay the anger 5 of oppression by the sweet incense of a newe purse of angels: or the doting Planet may have such predominance in these wicked Elders of Israel, that, if you send your wife, or some other female, to plead for you, shee may get your pardon ypon promise of better acquaintance. But 10 whist, these are the workes of darknesse, and may not be talkt of in the day time: Fury is a heate or fire, & must bee quencht with maides water.

A tale of a zuise Iustice.

man.

Amongst other cholericke wise Iustices, he was one, that having a play presented before him and his Towne- 15 ship by Tarlton and the rest of his fellowes, her Maiesties seruants, and they were now entring into their first merriment (as they call it), the people began exceedingly to laugh, when Tarlton first peept out his head. Whereat the Iustice, not a little moued, and seeing with his beckes 20 and nods hee could not make them cease, he went with his staffe, and beat them round about vnmercifully on the bare pates, in that they, being but Farmers & poore countrey Hyndes, would presume to laugh at the Queenes men, and make no more account of her cloath in his 25 presence.

The causes conducting vnto wrath are as diuers as the actions of a mans life. Some will take on like a mad man. if they see a pigge come to the table. Sotericus, the The nature Surgeon, was cholericke at the sight of Sturgeon. The 30 of the Irish Irishman will drawe his dagger, and bee ready to kill and slay, if one breake winde in his company: and so some of our English men that are Souldiers, if one give them the lye: but these are light matters, whereof Pierce complaineth not. 35

> 10 your] you 95. 5 alay] lay 93, 95. 12 or] of 93, 95. 13 with 17 and as os. a maides 93, 95.

Be aduertised, Master Os fætidum, Bedle of the Blackesmithes, that Lawyers cannot deuise which way in the world to begge, they are so troubled with brabblements and sutes euery Tearme, of Yeomen and Gentlemen that 5 fall out for nothing. If *John a Nokes* his henne doo but leap into *Elizabeth de Gappes* close, shee will neuer leaue to haunt her husband, till he bring it to a *Nisi prius*. One while, the Parson such the | parishioner for bringing home D a his tythes : another while, the Parishioner such the Parson re for not takinge away his Tythes in time.

I heard a tale of a Butcher, who driving two Calues A merry ouer a Common, that were coupled together by the neckes tale of a Butcher er with an Oken With, in the way wher they shold passe, his Calues. there lay a poore, leane Mare, with a galde backe; to whome 15 they comming (as chance fell out), one of one side, and the other of the other, smelling on her (as their manner is), the midst of the With that was betwixt their necks rubd her

and grated her on the sore backe, that shee started and rose vp, and hung them both on her backe as a beame; which so being but a rough plaister to her raw vlcer, shee ran away with them (as she were frantick) into the Fens, where the

- Butcher could not follow them, and drownde both her selfe and them in a Quagmyre. Now the owner of the Mare is in lawe with the Butcher for the losse of his Mare, as and the Butcher enterchangably endites him for his Calues.
- I pray ye, Timothy Tempter, bee an Arbitrator beetwixt them, and couple them both by the neckes (as the Calues were) and carry them to Hel on your backe, and then, I hope, they wyll be quiet.
- 30 The chiefe spun vnto wrath is Drunkennes, which, as the touch of an Ashen bough causeth a gidinesse in the Vipers head, and the Batte, lightly strooke with the leafe of a Tree, loseth his remembrance: so they, being but lightly sprinckled with the iuyce of the Hop, become

⁴ sutes in enery 95. 5 If John ...] New par. 92^{C} & ... 7 to haunt] 92^{BC} : hunting 92^{A} : to hunt 93, 95. 12 Com-mon 92^{C} , 93. 16 their] the 95. 21 fran-tick 92^{C} , 93. 23-4 this Marc 95. 26 bee twixt 92^{C} . 31 Ashenbough 92^{C} .

sencelesse, and haue their reason strooken blind, as soone as euer the Cup scaleth the Fortresse of their Nose. Then run their words at random, like a dog that hath lost his master, and are vppe with this man and that man, and generally inuay against al men, but those that keep a wet 5 corner for a friend, and will not thinke scorne to drinke with a good fellowe and a Souldiour : and so long do they practise this vaine on their Ale-bench, that when they are sober, they cannot leaue it. There be those that get their liuing al the yeere long, by nothing but rayling.

A tale of one Fryer Charles, a foule mouthde knaue.

Not farre from *Chester*, I knewe an odde foule mouthde ryer knaue, called *Charles* the Fryer, that had a face so parboyled with mens spitting on it, and a backe so often knighted in Bridewell, that it was impossible for any D 2* shame or punishment to terri-fie him from ill speaking. 15

Noblemen he would liken to more vgly things than himself: some to After my hartie commendations, with a dash ouer the head : others, to guilded chines of beefe, or a shoomaker sweating, when he puls on a shoo: another to an old verse in Cato. Ad consilium ne accesseris, antequam 20 voceris: another, to a Spanish Codpisse : another, that his face was not yet finisht, with such like innumerable absurd illusions: yea, what was he in the Court but he had a comparison in stead of a Capcase to put him in. Vpon a time, being chalenged at his owne weapon in a private Chamber, 25 by a great personage (rayling, I meane), he so far outstript him in vilainous words, and ouerbandied him in bitter tearmes, that the name of sport could not perswade him patience, nor containe his furie in any degrees of least, but needs hee must wreake himselfe vopon him: neither 30 would a common reuenge suffice him, 1 is displeasure was so infinite (and, it may be, common ceuenges he tooke before, as far as the whipcord would stretch, vpon like prouokements) wherefore he caused his men to take him,

3 hath lost] runnes after 92^{A} . 9 those] them 92^{A} . 11 Farre 92^{BC} . 17 my mos hearty 92^{AB} . 18 other 17 vilanious 52^{C} , 93. 29 nor] or 92^{A} .

and brickt him vp in a narrow chimney, that was Neque maior neque minor corpore locato; where he fed him for fifteene dayes with bread and water through a hole, letting him sleep standing if he would, for lye or sit he could not, 5 and then he let him out to see if he could learne to rule his tongue any better.

It is a disparagement to those that haue any true sparke of Gentilitie, to be noted of the whole world so to delight in detracting, that they should keepe a venemous toothd ¹⁰ Cur, and feed him with the crums that fall from their table, to do nothing but bite euery one by the shins that passe by. If they will needes be merry, let them haue a foole and not a knaue to disport them, and seeke some other to bestow their almes on, than such an impudent begger.

- ¹⁵ As there be those that rayle at all men, so there be \checkmark those that raile at all Arts, as *Cornelius Agrippa*, *De vanitate scientiarum*, and a Treatise that I have seene in dispraise of learning, where he saith, it is the corrupter of the simple, the schoolemaister of sin, the storehouse of
- ²⁰ treacherie, the reuiuer of vices, and mother of cowardize; alledging many examples, how there was neuer man egregiously euill but he was a Scholler: that when the | vse D₃ of letters was first inuented, the Golden World ceased, *Facinusque inuasit mortales*: how studie dooth effeminate
- 25 a man, dim his sight, weaken his braine, and ingender a thousand diseases. Small learning would serue to confute so manifest a scandale, and I imagine all men, like my selfe, so vnmoueablie resolued of the excellencie thereof, that I will not, by the vnderpropping of confutation, seeme
- 30 to give the idle witted aduersarye so much encouragement, as hee should surmize his superficial arguments had shaken the foundation of i : against which hee could neuer haue lifted his penne if her selfe had not helpt him to hurte her selfe.

I bricke 92^{AB} : prickt g_{1}^{\prime} , g_{5}^{\prime} . Io their] his 92^{AB} . 15 those] them 92^{A} . 16 those] them 92^{A} . 24 *iuuasit* 92^{C} . 25 weaken] weak g_{5} . 31 surmize] surprize g_{5} . 32 gainst 92^{A} .

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An inuectiueagainst enemies of Poetrie.

*Absit arrogantia, that this speeche shold concerne all diuines. but such dunces as abridge men of their lawand care not howe they speake to their Auditorie.

mons I meane as our sectuaries preach in ditches. and other Conuenticles. when they leape from stal to their pulpits. Poetry.]

With the enemies of Poetrie, I care not if I have a bout, and those are they that tearme our best Writers but babling Ballat-makers, holding them fantasticall fooles that

have wit, but cannot tell how to vse it. I my selfe have beene so censured among some dul-headed *Diuines: who 5 deeme it no more cunning to wryte an exquisite Poem, than to preach pure Caluin, or distill the juice of a Commentary in a quarter Sermon. Prooue it when you will. you slowe spirited Saturnists, that have nothing but the pilfries of your penne, to pollish an exhortation withall : 10 no eloquence but Tautologies, to tie the eares of your Auditorye vnto you: no inuention but heere is to bee full liberty, noted. I stoale this note out of Beza or Marlorat: no wit to mooue, no passion to vrge, but onelye an ordinarie forme unprepared of preaching, blowne vp by vse of often hearing and 15 speaking; and you shall finde there goes more exquisite paines and puritie of witte, to the writing of one such rare *Such Ser- Poem as Rosamond, than to a hundred of your dunsticall *Sermons.

Should we (as you) borrowe all out of others, and gather 20 nothing of our selues, our names should bee baffuld on euerie Booke-sellers Stall, and not a Chandlers Mustardpot but would wipe his mouthe with our wast paper. Newe Herrings, new, wee must crye, euery time wee make our selues publique, or else we shall bee christened with 25 the Coblers a hundred newe tytles of Idiotisme. Nor is Poetrie an Arte whereof there is no vse in a mans whole lyfe, but to The use of describe discontented thoughts and youthfull desires: for there is no studie, but it dooth illustrate and beautifie.

D 3" How admirable shine those Di-Juines about the common 30 mediocritie, that have tasted the sweete springs of Pernassus?

Encomium Siluer tongu'd Smith, whose well tun'd stile hath made H. Smithi.

¹ against the enemies 92^{AB}.

* The vst ...] om. 92° &c.

7 iuice] 92^A, 93, 95: iustice 92^{BC}. 3 Ballad makers 93 : Ballade makers 95. 8 in] in 0 92A. 17 paines] names 93, 95. 21 should] would $92^{A_{B}}$. 23 with our] without 93. 26 is] $92^{A_{B}}$: in 92^{C} & c. 30 aboue] $92^{A_{B}}$: about 92^{C} , 93.

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thy death the generall teares of the Muses, queintlie couldst thou deuise heavenly Ditties to Apolloes Lute, and teach stately verse to trip it as smoothly as if Ouid and thou had but one soule. Hence alone did it proceed, that 5 thou wert such a plausible pulpit man, that before thou entredst into the rough waies of Theologie, thou refinedst, preparedst, and purifidest thy minde with sweete Poetrie. If a simple mans censure may be admitted to speake in such an open Theater of opinions. I neuer saw aboundant 10 reading better mixt with delight, or sentences which no man can challenge of prophane affectation sounding more melodious to the eare or piercing more deepe to the heart.

To them that demaund, what fruites the Poets of our The fruits time bring forth, or wherein they are able to proue them- of Poetry. 15 selues necessary to the state? Thus I answere. First and formost, they have cleansed our language from barbarisme and made the vulgar sort here in London (which is the fountaine whose rivers flowe round about England) to aspire to a richer puritie of speach, than is communicated

- 20 with the Comminaltie of any Nation vnder heauen. The vertuous by their praises they encourage to be more vertuous, to vicious men they are as infernall hags, to haunt their ghosts with eternall infamie after death. The Souldier, in hope to have his high deeds celebrated by
- 25 their pens, despiseth a whole Armie of perills, and acteth wonders exceeding all humane conjecture. Those that care neither for God nor the diuell, by their quills are kept in awe. Multi famam (saith one) pauci conscientiam Plin. lib. 3. verentur.
- 30 Let God see what he will, they would be loath to have the shame of the world. What age will not praise immortal Sir Phillip Sidney, whom noble Salustius (that thrice

² Plin...] Opposite 'Let God' in 92° &c.

1 thy Muses 95. 4 alone] along g_2^{AB} . 5 were 95. man: before g_2^{AB} . 6 enterest 95. rough] wonderfull g_2^{AB} . 6-7 refinest, preparest 95. 7 minde] wings g_2^{AB} . 9 such] om. 93, 95. 11 affection 95. 14 proue] approue g_2^{A} . 16 for most g_2^{BC} . 19 then 95. 27 keept g_2^{C} . 30 see] say 93, 95.

I

singuler french Poet) hath famoused, together with Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord keeper, & merry sir Thomas Moore, for the chiefe pillers of our english speech. Not so much but Chaucers host, Baly in Southwarke, & his wife of Bath. he keeps such a stirre with, in his Canterbury tales, shalbe 5 talkt of whilst the Bath is vsde, or there be euer a bad house in Southwark.

The dispraise of graphers.

D₄ Gentles, it is not your lay Chro-Inigraphers, that write of nothing but of Mayors and Sheriefs, and the deare veere. laie chroni- and the great Frost, that can endowe your names with 10 neuer dated glory : for they want the wings of choise words to fly to heauen, which we haue: they cannot sweeten a discourse, or wrest admiration from men reading, as we can, reporting the meanest accident. Poetry is the hunny of all flowers, the quintessence of all Sciences, the Marrowe 15 of Witte, and the very Phrase of Angels : how much better is it then to have an eligant Lawier to plead ones cause. than a stutting Townsman, that loseth himselfe in his tale, and doth nothing but make legs: so much it is better for a Nobleman, or Gentleman, to have his honours story 20 related, and his deedes emblazond, by a Poet than a Citizen.

> Alas poore latinlesse Authors, they are so simple they know not what they doe; They no sooner spy a new Ballad, and his name to it that compilde it : but they put 25 him in for one of the learned men of our time. I maruell how the Masterlesse men, that set vp their bills in Paules for seruices, & such as paste vp their papers on euery post, for Arithmetique and writing Schooles, scape eternity amongst them; I beleeue both they and the Knight 30 Marshals men, that naile vp Mandates at the Court gate. for annoving the Pallace with filth or making water, if they set their names to the writing, will shortly make vp the number of the learned men of our time, and be as famous

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I siguler $g2^{BC}$.4 Southworke $g2^{C}$.5 with, in] within g3, g5.7 Southwork $g2^{C}$.8 Run on in $g2^{C}$ & it is] its g5.12 sweete g3: 19 is it better 92^A : it is the better 95. 31 gat 92^{BC}. sweete 95.

as the rest. For my part, I do challenge no praise of learning to my selfe, yet haue I worne a gowne in the Vniuersitie, and so hath *caret tempus non habet moribus*: but this I dare presume, that, if any *Mecœnas* binde me 5 to him by his bounty, or extend some round liberalitie to mee worth the speaking of, I will doo him as much honour as any Poet of my beardlesse yeeres shall in *England*. Not that I am so confident what I can doe, but that I attribute so much to my thankfull minde aboue others, to which I am perswaded would enable me to worke myracles.

On the contrary side, if I bee euill intreated, or sent away with a Flea in mine eare, let him looke that I will raile on him soundly: not for an houre or a day, whiles the iniury is fresh in my memory, but in some elaborate,

- 15 pollished Poem, which I will leaue to the world when I am dead, to be a liuing Image | to all ages, of his beggerly D₄^{*} parsimony and ignoble illiberaltie: and let him not (whatsoeuer he be) measure the weight of my words by this booke, where I write *Quicquid in buccam venerit*, as fast <
- 20 as my hand can trot; but I haue tearmes (if I be vext) laid in steepe in *Aquafortis*, & Gunpowder, that shall rattle through the Skyes, and make an Earthquake in a Pesants eares. Put case (since I am not yet out of the Theame *I wold tell* of Wrath) that some tired Iade belonging to the Presse, *you in what book*
- 25 whom I neuer wronged in my life, hath named me ex-*it* is, but I pressely in Print (as I will not do him), and accused me am afraid it would of want of learning, vpbraiding me for reuluing, in an make his epistle of mine, the reuerent memory of Sir Thomas Moore, his latter Sir Iohn Cheeke, Doctor Watson, Doctor Haddon, Doctor daies,
- 30 Carre, Maister Ascham, as if they were no meate but for which hetherto his Maisterships mouth, or none but some such as the son hath lien X of a ropemaker were worthy to mention them. To shewe dead, and beene a how I can raile, thus would I begin to raile on him. Thou great losse that hadst thy hood turnd ouer thy eares when thou wert *printer*.

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⁵ extêd his some 95. some round] g_2^A : rome sound g_2^B : some sound g_2^C & 17 liberality 93, 95. 18 mealure g_2^C . 19 Quic quid g_2^C . 21 steepe] sleepe g_2^{BC} . 26 accuse g_2^C & 28 reuerend g_2^{AB} .

a Batchelor, for abusing of Aristotle, & setting him vp on the Schoole gates, painted with Asses eares on his head: is it any discredit for me, thou great babound, thou Pigmie Braggart, thou Pamphleter of nothing but *Peans, to bee *Looke at the Chandcensured by thee, that hast scorned the Prince of Philo- 5 sophers; thou, that in thy Dialogues soldst Huny for a Flaxwines halpeny, and the choycest Writers extant for cues a peece, that camest to the Logicke Schooles when thou wert vou see no Sope wrapt a Fresh-man, and writst phrases; off with thy gowne and vntrusse, for I meane to lash thee mightily. Thou hast 10 a Brother, hast thou not, student in Almanackes? Go too, Ile stand to it, he fatherd one of thy bastards (a booke Pamphlet as Incerti Authoris Io I meane) which, being of thy begetting, was set forth vnder his name.

Gentlemen, I am sure you have hearde of a ridiculous 15 Asse that many yeares since sold lyes by the great, and wrote an absurd Astrologicall Discourse of the terrible Conjunction of Saturne and Jupiter, wherein (as if hee had lately cast the Heauens water, or beene at the anatomizing of the Skies intrailes in Surgeons hall) hee prophecieth of 20 such strange wonders to ensue from stars destemperature and the vnusuall adultrie of Planets, as none but he that is Bawd to those celestiall bodies could ever discry. What

E I expectation there was of it both in towne | and country, the amazement of those times may testifie: and the rather, 25 *Which at because he pawned his *credit vpon it, in these expresse home iwis, tearmes: If these things fall not out in every point as was worth a dozen of I have wrote, let me for ever hereafter loose the credit least, for if of my Astronimie. Well, so it happened, that he happened not to be a man of his word; his Astronimie broke his day 30 I be not

1 vp in] vppon 92° Erc. Iopzan 92° Erc.

I vpon $g_2^{C} \mathcal{C}'_{\mathcal{C}}$. 3 baboune g_2^{AB} . 4 Peants $g_2^{C} \mathcal{C}'_{\mathcal{C}}$. 5 that thou g_3, g_5 . 6 in] om. g_3, g_5 . 7 exant g_2^{BC} . 8 cam'st g_2^{AB} . 9 Freshman] frenchman g_5 . 10 meane] mind g_3, g_5 . 11 Almanackes, go too g_2^{ABC} : Alminacks go too g_3 : Almanaks? go too g_5 . 12 he] g_2^{AB} : om. g_2^{C} \mathfrak{Gc} . 16 lyes] g_2^{AB} : lyers $g_2^{C} \mathfrak{Gc}$. 17 obsurd g_2^{C} . 18 Conjunctions 95. 21 such] om. 93, 95. 22 vnusuall] 93, 95: vnuseall g_2^{C} : vnuersal g_2^{AB} . 23 Baude 93 : Baudy 95. those] the 93, 95. 26 creditd 92AB. 27 tearmes] wordes 93, 95.

lers shop.

or at the

stall, if

tow nor

vp in the title page

of such a

Pæan.

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with his creditors, and Saturne and Iupiter prou'd honester deceived, men then all the World tooke them for: whereupon the his father poore Prognosticator was ready to runne himselfe through Ropewith his Iacobs Staffe, and cast himselfe headlong from the maker. 5 top of a Globe (as a mountaine) and breake his necke. The whole Vniuersitie hyst at him, Tarlton at the Theator made iests of him, and Elderton consumd his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bearbayting him with whole bundles of ballets. Would you, in likely reason, gesse it were to possible for any shame-swolne toad to haue the spet-proofe face to out liue this disgrace? It is, deare brethren, Viuit, imo viuit: and, which is more, he is a Vicar.

Poor Slaue, I pitie thee that thou hadst no more grace but to come in my way. Why, could not you haue sate

- 15 quiet at home, and writ Catechismes, but you must be comparing me to *Martin*? and exclayme against me for reckoning vp the high Schollers of worthy memory? *Iupiter ingeniis præbet sua numina vatum*, saith *Ouid*; *Seque celebrari quolibet ore sinit*. Which if it be so, I hope
- 20 I am Aliquis, and those men, quos honoris causa nominaui, are not greater than gods. Me thinks I see thee stand quiuering and quaking, and euen now lift vp thy hands to heauen, as thanking God my choler is somewhat asswag'd: but thou art deceiued, for how euer I let fall my stile 25 a little, to talke in reason with thee that hast none, I do
- not meane to let thee scape so.

Thou hast wronged one for my sake (whom for the name I must loue) T. N., the Maister Butler of Pembrooke Hall, a farre better Scholler than thy selfe (in my iudgement) = 30 and one that sheweth more discretion and gouernment in setting vp a sise of Bread, than thou in all thy whole booke. Why man, thinke no scorne of him, for he hath held thee vp a hundred times, whiles the Deane hath given thee

2 than g_2^{AB} . 7 ale-crummed g_2^C &-c. 8 bearebaiting of him g_5 . 11 outline g_2^A : out-line g_3 , g_5 . 14 not you] you not g_3 , g_5 . 15 write g_2^C , g_5 . 17 the] om. g_3 , g_5 . 18 prabat g_2^{BC} : probat g_3 , g_5 . 27 wronge done g_3 . 28 Penbrooke g_3 , g_5 . 29 a] and g_3 , g_5 . 32 no] not g_3 , g_5 .

correction, and thou hast capt and kneed him (when thou wert hungrie) for a chipping. But thats nothing, for hadst E 1" thou neuer beene beholding to him, nor holden | vp by him, he hath a Beard that is a better Gentleman than all thy whole body, and a graue countenance, like Cato, able 5 to make thee run out of thy wits for feare, if he looke sternly vpon thee. I have reade over thy Sheepish discourse of the Lambe of GOD and his enemies, and entreated my patience to be good to thee whilst I reade : but for all that I could doe with my selfe, (as I am sure I may doe as 10 * much as another man) I could not refraine, but bequeath it to the Priuie, leafe by leafe as I read it, it was so vgly, dorbellicall, and lumpish. Monstrous, monstrous, and palpable, not to bee spoken of in a Christian Congregation: thou hast skumd ouer the Schoolemen, and of the froth of 15 theyr folly made a dish of diuinitie Brewesse, which the dogges will not eate. If the Printer haue any great dealings with thee, hee were best to get a priviledge betimes, Ad imprimendum solum, forbidding all other to sell waste paper but himselfe, or else he will bee in a wofull taking. 20 The Lambe of God make thee a wiser Bell-weather then His owne vords. thou art, for else I doubt thou wilt be driven to leave all, and fall to thy fathers occupation, which is, to goe and make a rope to hang thy selfe. Neque enim Lex æquior vlla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua: and so I leaue 25 thee till a better opportunity, to bee tormented world without end of our Poets and Writers about London, whome thou hast called piperlye Make-playes and Make-bates: not doubting but hee also whom thou tearmest the vaine Paphatchet will have a flurt at thee one day : all ioyntly driu- 30 ing thee to this issue, that thou shalt bee constrained to go to the chiefe Beame of thy Benifice, and there beginning a lamentable speech with cur scripsi, cur perii, end with prauum praua decent, inuat inconcessa voluptas, and so with

> 9 read it 92^{AB} . 13 lumpish] lamish 92^{AB} . 16 Brewish 93, 95. 18 to] om. 92^{A} . 21 than 92^{A} . 22 for] 92^{A} : or 92^{B} & c. 33 cu perii 93. 34 prauum] 92^{AB} : parauum 92^{C} , 93. so] om. 92^{AB} .

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a trice, trusse vp thy life in the string of thy Sancebell. So be it, pray Pen, Incke, and paper, on their knees, that they may not bee troubled with thee any more.

Redeo ad vos, mei Auditores, haue I not an indifferent 5 prittye vayne in Spurgalling an Asse ? if you knew how extemporall it were at this instant, and with what hast it is writ, you would say so. But I would not haue you thinke that all this that is set downe heere is in good earnest, for then you goe by S. Gyles, the wrong way to Westminster:

To but onely to shewe howe for a neede I could rayle, if I were throughly fyred. So ho, *Honiger* | *Hammon*, where are E a you all this while, I cannot be acquainted with you? Tell me, what doe you thinke of the case? am I subject to the sinne of Wrath I write against, or no, in whetting my penne 15 on this blocke? I know you would faine haue it so, but it shall not choose but be otherwise for this once. Come on, let vs turne ouer a new leafe, and heare what Gluttonie can say for her selfe, for Wrath hath spet his poyson, and full

platters doe well after extreame purging.

²⁰ The Romaine Emperours that succeeded Augustus were The comparison of them would feed on nothing but the tongues of Phesants and Nightingales: other would spend as much at one banquet, as a kings reuenues came to in a yeare; whose 25 excesse I would decypher at large, but that a new Laureat hath sau'd me the labor: who, for a man that stands vpon paines and not wit, hath performd as much as any Storie dresser may doo, that sets a new English nap on an old Latine Apothegs. It is enough for me to licke dishes heere 30 at home, though I feed not mine eyes at any of the Romane feasts. Much good doe it you, Maister Diues, heere in London: for you are he my pen meanes to dine withall. Miserere mei, what a fat churle it is? Why, he hath

¹ The complaint ...] om. 95.

I life] self g_5 . 2 their] thy g_5 . 3 may] way g_2^{C} . 4 an] a g_2^{ABC} . 7 writen g_3 , g_5 . 10 for need g_3 , g_5 . 11 thoroughly g_5 . 16 but be] to be g_5 . 29 enough g_2^{C} .

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a belly as big as the round Church in Cambridge, a face as huge as the whole bodie of a base viall, and legs that, if they were hollow, a man might keepe a mill in eyther of them. Experto crede Roberto, there is no mast like a Marchants table. Bona fide, it is a great misture, that we have not men 5 swine as well as beasts, for then we should have porke that hath no more bones than a pudding, and a side of bacon that you might lay vnder your head in stead of a bolster.

Nature in England is but plaine in Spaine and Italy because her than we) she is dubbed a Ladie.

It is not for nothing that other Countries, whom we vpbraide with Drunkennesse, call vs bursten-bellied Gluttons: 10 Dame, but for wee make our greedie paunches powdring tubs of beefe. and eat more meat at one meale, than the Spaniard or Italian in a moneth. Good thrifty me, they draw out more use of a dinner with sallets, like a Swart-rutters sute, and make Madona Nature their best Caterer. We must have our 15 Tables furnisht like Poulters stalls, or as though we were to victual Noahs Arke again (wherin there was al sorts of liuing creatures that euer were), or els the good-wife

E 2^v wil not | open her mouth to bid one welcome. A stranger that should come to one of our Magnificoes houses, when 20 dinner were set on the boord, and he not yet set, would thinke the goodman of the house were a Haberdasher of Wilde-fowle, or a Merchant venturer of daintie meate, that sels commodities of good cheere by the great, and hath Factors in Arabia, Turkey, Egipt, and Barbarie, to prouide 25 him of straunge Birdes, China Mustard, and odde patterns to make Custards by.

Lord, what a coyle haue we, with this Course and that course, remoouing this dish higher, setting another lower, and taking awaye the third. A Generall might in lesse 30 space remooue his Campe, than they stand disposing of their gluttonie. And whereto tends all this gurmandise. but to giue sleepe grosse humors to feede on, to corrupt the braine, and make it vnapt and vnweldie for any thing?

7 then 95. 13 month 92AB. 2 viall] voiall 95. 4 credo 92°. 16 Poultrers 92AB. 17 wherin] whereas 95. 23 Marchant ventarer 93: 26 Chiua 92^C & 30 taking] making 95. Merchant venture 95.

The Romane Censors, if they lighted vpon a fat corpulent man, they straight tooke away his horsse, and constrained him to goe a foote : positively concluding his carkasse was so puft vp with gluttonie or idlenesse. If we had such 5 horse-takers amongst vs, and that surfit-swolne Churles, who now ride on their foot-cloathes, might be constrained to carrie their flesh budgets from place to place on foote. the price of veluet and cloath would fall with their belies. and the gentle craft (alias the red herrings kinsmen) get 10 more and drinke lesse. Plenus venter nil agit libenter. &plures gula occidit quam gladius. It is as desperate a peece of seruice to sleepe vpon a full stomacke, as it is to serue in face of the bullet : a man is but his breath, and that may as well be stopt by putting too much in his mouth at once. 15 as running on the mouth of the cannon. That is verefied of vs. which Horace writes of an outragious eater in his time, Quicquid quæsierat ventri donabat auaro, Whatsoeuer he could rap or rend, he confiscated to his couetous gut. Nay, we are such flesh-eating Saracens, that chast fish 20 may not content vs, but we delight in the murder of innocent mutton, in the vnpluming of pullerie, and quartering of Calues and Oxen. It is horrible and detestable, no godly Fishmonger that can digest it. Report (which A rare our moderners clippe flundring Fame) puts me in memorie wittie iest 25 of a notable jest I heard long a goe of Doctor Watson, Watson. verve conducible to the reproofe of these | fleshly minded E3 *Belials. He beeing at supper on a fasting or fish night at *Or rather least, with a great number of his friends and acquaintance, Belly-als, because all there chanced to be in the company an outlandish Doctor, their minde 30 who, when all other fell to such victuals (agreeing to the is on their belly. time) as were before them, he ouerslipt them, and there being one ioynt of flesh on the table for such as had weake

1 Watsons 02AB.

stomackes, fell freshly to it. After that hunger (halfe con-

⁷ budges 95. 9 kinsman 93, 95. 19 flesh-eaten 95. 2I pultery g_1, g_2 . 24 clepe g_2^{AB} . 31 he ourslipt them] g_2^{AB} : he out stript them g_2^{C} : om. g_3, g_5 . 32 weake] meate g_2^{AB} .

quered) had restored him to the vse of his speach, for his excuse he said to his friend that brought him thither. Profecto, Domine, ego sum malissimus piscator, meaning by piscator, a Fishman; (which is a liberty, as also malissimus, that outlandish men in theyr familiar talke do 5 challenge, at least vse aboue vs). At tu es bonissimus carnifex, quoth Doctor Watson, retorting very merily his owne licentious figures vpon him. So of vs may it be said, we are Malissimi piscatores, but bonissimi carnifices. I would English the iest, for the edification of the tem- to poralitie, but that it is not so good in English as in Latine: and though it were as good, it would not conuert clubs and clowted shoone from the flesh pots of Egipt, to the Prouant of the Lowe-countries, for they had rather (with the Seruingman) put vp a Supplication to the Parliament house, 15 that they might have a yard of pudding for a penie, than desire (with the Baker) there might bee three ounces of bread sold for a halfe penie.

The moderation of Fryer Alphonso, K. Philips Confessor. Alphonsus, King Phillips Confessor, that came ouer with him to England, was such a moderate man in his dyet, 20 that hee would feed but once a day, and at that time he would feed so slenderly and sparingly, as scarce serued to keepe life and soule together. One night, importunately inuited to a solemne banquet, for fashion sake he sate downe among the rest, but by no entreatie could be 25 drawne to eate any thing: at length, fruite beeing set on the boord, he reacht an apple out of the dish, and put it in his pocket, which one marking, that sat right ouer against him, askt him, Domine, cur es solicitus in crastinum? Sir, why are you carefull for the morrow? Whereto he 30 answered most soberly, Imo hoc facio, mi amice, vt ne sim solicitus in crastinum. No, I doo it, my friend, that I may not be carefull for the morrow: as though his appetite

1 K.] king 92AB.

5-6 talke do challenge] talked to challeng 93. 8 figures] singures 93. 15-6 Seruingmen 95. 21 at] om. 93, 95. 23 together, one 92^B & c, 27 an] one 93, 95. 30 the morrow to morrow 95.

were a whole day contented with so little as an apple, and that it were enough to paye the morrowes tribute to Nature, |

Rare, and worthy to be registred to all posterities, is the E 3" 5 Countie Molines (sometime the Prince of Parmaes Com- The strang panion) altred course of life, who being a man that lived alteration of the in as great pompe and delicacie as was possible for a man Countie to doo, and one that wanted nothing but a kingdome that the Prince his heart could desire. Vpon a day entering into a deepe of Parmas 10 melancholy by himselfe, hee fell into a discoursive consideration what this world was, how vaine and transitory

the pleasures thereof, and how manie times he had offended God by surfetting, gluttony, drunkennes, pride, whoredome, and such like, and how hard it was for him that liu'd in 15 that prosperitie that he did, not to bee entangled with

- those pleasures: whereupon he presently resolu'd, twixt God and his owne conscience, to forsake it and al his allurements, and betake hime to the seuerest forme of life vsed in their state. And with that cald all his Souldiers
- 20 and acquaintance together, and, making knowen his intent vnto them, he distributed his liuing and possessions (which were infinite) amongst the poorest of them : and having not left himselfe the worth of one farthing vnder heauen, betooke him to the most beggerly new erected Order of
- 25 the Fryer Capuchines. Their Institution is, that they shall possesse nothing whatsoeuer of their owne, more than the cloathes on their backes, continually to go bare foote, weare haire shirts, and lie vpon the hard bords, winter and summer time; they must haue no meate, nor
- 30 aske any but what is given them voluntarily, nor must they lay vp any from meale to meale, but give it to the poore, or els it is a great penaltie. In this seuere humilitie liues this deuout Countie, and hath done this tweluemonth, submitting himselfe to all the base drudgery of the house,

¹⁸ the] his 92^B. 24 newerected 92^C. 27 then 12 pleasure 93, 95. 31 any from] 92A, 95 : from any 92BC, 93. 93, 95. to] om. 92°. 33 tweluemonth] foure yeare 92AB.

as fetching water, making cleane the rest of their chambers, insomuch as he is the *Iunior* of the Order. O what a notable rebuke were his honourable Lowlines to succeeding pride, if this prostrate spirit of his were not the seruaunt of Superstition; or hee mispent not his good workes on 5 a wrong Faith.

Let but our English belly-gods punish their pursie bodies with this strict penaunce, and professe Capuchinisme but one month, and Ile be their pledge they shall not grow so like dry-fats as they doo. O it will make them iolly long to winded, to trot vp and downe the Dorter staires, and the E 4 water-tankard wil | keepe vnder the insurrection of their shoulders, the haire shirt will chase whordome out of their boanes, and the hard lodging on the boards take their

15

flesh downe a button hole lower.

But if they might be induced to distribute all their goods amongst the poore, it were to be hoped Saint Peter would let them dwell in the suburbes of heauen, whereas, other wise, they must keepe aloofe at *Pancredge*, and not come neere the liberties by fiue leagues and aboue. It is your 20 dooing (Diotrephes Diuell) that these stal-fed cormorants to damnation must bung vp all the welth of the Land in their snap-haunce bags, and poore Scholers and Souldiers wander in backe lanes and the out-shiftes of the Citie, with neuer a rag to their backes: but our trust is, that 25 by some intemperance or other, you will turne vp their heeles one of these yeares together, and prouide them of such vnthrifts to their heires, as shall spend in one weeke amongst good fellowes what they got by extortion and opression from Gentlemen all their life time. 30

The complaint of drunkennes. F Rom Gluttony in meates, let me discend to superfluitie in drinke: a sinne, that euer since we have mixt our selues with the Low-countries, is counted honourable: but

3 his] this g_5 . 3-4 succeed in pride g_3 , g_5 . 8 professe the Capuchinisme g_2^{AB} . 11 dorter-slaites g_3 , g_5 . 14 their] the g_3 , g_5 . 19 not] cannot g_3 , g_5 . never g_2^{C} 23 snaphaunce g_2^{C} \mathcal{C}^{c} . 24 and] as g_5 . 26 turnd g_3 .

before we knew their lingring warres, was held in the highest degree of hatred that might be. Then, if we had Drinking seene a man goe wallowing in the streetes, or line sleeping super navnder the boord, we would have spet at him as a toade, a deuise 5 and cald him foule drunken swine, and warnd al our of drinking friends out of his company : now, he is no body that cannot out of drinke super nagulum, carouse the Hunters hoop, quaffe Fraunce; which is. vosev freze crosse, with healthes, gloues, mumpes, frolickes, after a and a thousand such dominiering inuentions. He is reputed man hath turnd wp 'to a pesaunt and a boore that wil not take his licour pro- the bottom foundly. And you shall heare a Caualier of the first of the cup, to feather, a princockes that was but a Page the other day drop it on in the Court, and now is all to be frenchified in his Souldiers bis maile, make sute, stand vppon termes with, Gods wounds, you dis- a pearle sute, stand vppon termes with, Gods wounds, you do not pledge with that 15 honour me sir, you do me the disgrace if you do not pledge is left; me as much as I drunke to you : and, in the midst of his which, if it cups, stand vaunting his manhood, beginning euerie sen- shed, & he tence with When I first bore Armes, when he neuer bare make stand any thing but his Lords rapier after him in his life. If he E 4" $\frac{\partial m}{\partial y}$ 20 haue beene ouer and visited a towne of Garrison, as reason a trauailer or passenger, he hath as great experience as much, he the greatest Commander and chiefe Leader in England. must drinke A mightie deformer of mens manners and features, is this againe vnnecessary vice of all other. Let him bee indued with for his 25 neuer so many vertues, and haue as much goodly proportion and fauour as nature can bestow vppon a man: yet if hee be thirstie after his owne destruction, and hath no ioy nor comfort, but when he is drowning his soule in a gallon pot, that one beastly imperfection will vtterlie 30 obscure all that is commendable in him; and all his good qualities sinke like lead down to the bottome of his carrowsing cups, where they will lie, like lees and dregges, dead and vnregarded of any man.

¹ supernagulum 92^C & c. shed] slide 92^{AB}.

I the] g_2^{AB} : that g_2^{C} & g_5 . 3 line] liene g_3 : laine g_5 . 8 healthes] leapes g_2^{AB} . 14 God-wounds g_5 . 16 drinke g_5 . middest g_5 . 18 with when g_2^{B} & c. bare g_5 . 20 haue] hath g_5 .

Clim of the clough, thou that vsest to drinke nothing but scalding lead and sulpher in hell, thou art not so greedie of thy night geare. O, but thou hast a foule swallow, if it come once to carousing of humane bloud : but thats but seldome, once in seauen yeare, when theres 5 a great execution, otherwise thou art tide at rack and manger, and drinkest nothing but the Aqua vitx of vengeance all thy life time. The Prouerbe giues it forth, thou art a knaue, and therefore I have more hope thou art some manner of good fellowe: let mee intreate thee (since thou to hast other iniquities inough to circumuent vs withall) to wipe this sin out of the catologue of thy subtilities : helpe to blast the Vines, that they may beare no more grapes. and sowre the wines in the cellers of Marchants storehouses, that our Countrev-men may not pisse out all their 15 witte and thrift against the walles. King Edgar, because his subjects should not offend in swilling, and bibbing, as they did, caused certaine yron cups to be chained to euery fountaine and wells side, and at euery Vintners doore, with yron pinnes in them, to stinte euery man how 20 much he should drinke: and he that went beyond one of those pinnes forfeited a penny for every draught. And, if Stories were well searcht, I beleeue hoopes in quart pots were inuented to that ende, that every man should take his hoope, and no more. I have heard it justified for 25 a trueth by great Personages, that the olde Marquesse of the Mar- of Pisana (who yet liues) drinkes not once in seauen yeare : of Pi- FI and I have read of one Andron of Argos, that | was so seldome thirstie, that he trauailed ouer the hote burning sands of Lybia, and neuer dranke. Then why should our 30 colde Clime bring foorth such fierie throates? Are we more thirstie than Spaine and Italy, where the Sunnes force is doubled? The Germaines and lowe Dutch, me thinkes, should bee continually kept moyst with the foggie

¹ driuking 92°.

6 tide] om. 95. 10 of a good 92^{AB} . 14 cellars 92^{A}] and 92^{A} . Merchants 92^{A} , 95. 18 yron-cups 92^{C} , 93. de 95. 28 Aneron 95. 34 keept 92^{C} . 14 cellars 92A: sellers 95. of] and g2A. IO well side os.

King Edgars ordinance against drinking.

wonderful abstinence ques sana, yet liuing.

The

aire and stinking mistes that arise out of their fennie soyle : but as their Countrey is ouer-flowen with water, so are their heads alwaies ouer-flowen with wine, and in their bellies they have standing quag-mires and bogs of English 5 beere.

One of their breede it was that writ the Booke De Arte The bibendi, a worshipfull treatise, fitte for none but Silenus and privat his Asse to set forth : besides that volume, we have generall amongst rules and iniunctions, as good as printed precepts. or drunkards. 10 Statutes set downe by Acte of Parliament, that goe from drunkard to drunkard; as still to keepe your first man, not to leave any flockes in the bottome of the cup, to knock the glasse on your thumbe when you have done, to have some shooing horne to pul on your wine, as a rasher of the 15 coles, or a redde herring, to stirre it about with a candles ende to make it taste better, and not to holde your peace whiles the pot is stirring.

Nor haue we one or two kinde of drunkards onely, but The eight eight kindes. The first is Ape drunke, and he leapes, and drunken-20 sings, and hollowes, and daunceth for the heauens: the nesse. second is Lion drunke, and he flings the pots about the house, calls his Hostesse whore, breakes the glasse windowes with his dagger, and is apt to quarrell with any man that speaks to him: the third is Swine drunke, heauy, lumpish, 25 and sleepie, and cries for a little more drinke, and a fewe more cloathes: the fourth is Sheepe drunke, wise in his owne conceipt, when he cannot bring foorth a right word: the fifth is Mawdlen drunke when a fellowe will weepe for kindnes in the midst of his Ale, and kisse you, saying; 30 By God, Captaine, I loue thee; goe thy waies, thou dost not thinke so often of me as I do of thee, I would (if it pleased GOD) I could not loue thee so well as I doo: and then he puts his finger in his eie, and cries: the sixt is Martin drunke, when a man is drunke, and drinkes himselfe 35 sober ere he stirre: the seuenth is Goate drunke, when,

> ¹ privat] erivat 92BC. 13 your] their 95. 14 of] on 93, 95. 24 bumpish 92°.

F r^v in his drunkennes, he hath no minde | but on Lechery: the eighth is Foxe drunke, when he is craftie drunke, as many of the Dutch men bee, that will neuer bargaine but when they are drunke. All these *species*, and more, I haue seene practised in one Company at one sitting, when I haue 5 beene permitted to remaine sober amongst them, onely to note their seuerall humors. Hee that plies any one of them harde, it will make him to write admirable verses, and to haue a deepe casting head, though hee were neuer so verie a Dunce before.

The discommodities of drunkennesse.

Gentlemen, all you that will not haue your braines twise sodden, your flesh rotten with the Dropsie, that loue not to goe in greasie dublets, stockings out at the heeles, and weare alehouse daggers at your backes, forsweare this slauering brauery, that will make you haue stinking 15 breathes, and your bodies smell like Brewers aprons : rather keepe a snuffe in the bottome of the glasse to light you to bed withall, than leaue neuer an eye in your head to lead you ouer the threshould. It will bring you, in your olde age, to be companions with none but Porters and Car-men, 20 to talke out of a Cage, railing as drunken men are wont, a hundred boies wondering about them; and to die sodainly, as *Fol Long*, the Fencer, did, drinking *Aqua vitæ*. From which (as all the rest) good Lord deliuer *Pierce Penilesse*.

The complaint of Sloth. The nurse of this enormitie (as of all euills) is Idlenes, ²⁵ or sloth, which, having no painfull Providence to set himselfe a worke, runnes headlong, with the raines in his owne hand, into all lasciviousnesse and sensualitie that may be. Men, when they are idle, and know not what to do, saith one, let vs goe to the Stilliard, and drinke 30 Rhenish wine. Nay, if a man knew where a good whorhouse were, saith another, it were somwhat like. Nay, saith the third, let vs goe to a dicing-house or a bowling alley, and there we shall have some sport for our money.

3 that] 92^A: om. 92^{BC}: which 93, 95. 4 I haue] haue I 92^{AB}. 9 and] 92^{AB}: om. 92^C & 26 Providence] 92^B: Province 92^{AC} &.

To one of these three (at hand, quoth pick-purse) your euill Angelship, maister mani-headed beast, conducts them, Vbi quid agitur betwixt you and their soules be it, for I am no Drawer, Box-keeper, or Pander, to be priuie to 5 their sports. If I were to paint Sloth (as I am not seene in the sweetening) by Saint Iohn the | Euangelist I sweare, F 2 I would draw it like a Stationer that I knowe, with his thumb vnder his girdle, who if a man come to his stall and aske him for a booke, neuer stirs his head, or looks to vpon him, but stands stone still, and speakes not a word : onely with his little finger points backwards to his boy. who must be his interpreter, and so all the day, gaping like a dumbe image, he sits without motion, except at such times as he goes to dinner or supper: for then he 15 is as quicke as other three, eating sixe times every day.

If I would raunge abroad, and looke in at sluggards key Videlicet. holes, I should finde a number lying a bed to saue charges before he come out of ordinaries, & in winter, when they want firing, losing of his bed, halfe a weeks Commons together, to keepe them warme then a set breakfast, 20 in the linnen. And hold you content, this Summer an then dinvnder-meale of an afternoone long doth not amisse to afternoons exercise the eies withall. Fat men and Farmers sonnes, nunchings, that sweate much with eating harde cheese and drinking a supper, and a olde wine, must have some more ease than yoong boyes reresupper. 25 that take their pleasure all day running vp and downe.

Setting iesting aside, I hold it a great disputable ques- Which is tion, which is a more euill man, of him that is an idle better of the idle glutton at home, or a retchlesse vnthrift abroad? The glutton, or glutton at home doth nothing but engender diseases, vagrant

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30 pamper his flesh.vnto lust, and is good for none but his owne gut : the vnthrift abroad exerciseth his bodie at dauncing schoole, fence schoole, tennis, and all such re-

1 Fidelicet 95.

creations: the vintners, the victuallers, the dicing houses,

4 Bax-keeper 92C. 6 sweetenings 92AB. 9 and] to 92A. looke 18 & 92AB : om. 92C &c. 17 should] could 95. 95. 14 time 95. 26 a side 92°. 30 but for his 93, 95. 31 owne] om. os. T

and who not, get by him. Suppose he lose a little now and then at play, it teacheth him wit: and how should a man know to eschew vices, if his own experience did not acquaint him with their inconveniences? Omne ignotum pro magnifico est: that villanv we have made no 5 assaies in, we admire. Besides, my vagrant Reueller haunts Plaies, & sharpens his wits with frequenting the company of Poets: he emboldens his blushing face by courting faire women on the sodaine, and lookes into all Estates by conversing with them in publike places. Nowe 10 tell me whether of these two, the heavie headed gluttonous house doue, or this liuelie, wanton, yoong Gallant, is like to prooue the wiser man, and better member in the Common-wealth? If my youth might not be thought partiall, F 2" the fine qualified Gentleman, although | vnstaide, should 15 carrie it cleane away from the lazie clownish droane.

The effects of sloth.

Sloath in Nobilitie, Courtiers, Schollers, or any men, is the chiefest cause that brings them in contempt. For, as industrie and vnfatigable toyle rayseth meane persons from obscure houses to high thrones of authoritie : so Sloath, 20 and sluggish securitye, causeth proud Lords to tumble from the towers of their starrie discents, and be trod vnder foote of euery inferiour Besonian. Is it the loftie treading of a Galliard, or fine grace in telling of a loue tale amongst Ladies, can make a man reuerenst of the multitude ? no, 25 they care not for the false glistering of gay garments, or insinuating curtesie of a carpet Peere ; but they delight to see him shine in armour, and oppose himselfe to honourable daunger, to participate a voluntarie penurie with his Souldiers, and relieue part of their wants out of his owne 30 purse. That is the course he that will be popular must take, which, if he neglect, and sit dallying at home, nor will be awakt by any indignities out of his loue-dreame, but suffer every vpstart groome to defie him, set him at

4 their] the 95. 7 wit 93, 95. 9 looke g_2^{C} . 12 like] likely 95. 15 vnstaid c.w. 22 starrie] high 95. 23 feete 95. 24 among 95. 29 penurie] penny g_2^{A} : penie g_2^{B} .

naught, and shake him by the beard vnreuengde, let him straight take orders, and be a Church-man, and then his patience may passe for a vertue : but otherwise, he shall be suspected of cowardise, and not car'd for of any. The The means 5 onely enemie to Sloth is contention and emulation ; as to sloth. propose one man to my selfe, that is the onely myrrour of our Age, and striue to out-go him in vertue. But this strife must be so tempered, that we fall not from the eagernesse of praise, to the enuying of their persons: for then 10 wee leave running to the goale of glorie, to spurne at a stone that lyes in our waye; and so did Atlante, in the middest of her course, stoope to take vp the golden Apple that her enemie scattered in her way, and was out-runne by Hippomenes. The contrarie to this contention and 15 emulation is securitie, peace, quiet, tranquillitie; when we have no aduersarie to prie into our actions, no malicious eve, whose pursuing our private behaviour might make vs more vigilant ouer our imperfections than otherwise we would be.

20 That State or Kingdome that is in league with all the world, and hath no forraine sword to vexe it, is not halfe so strong or confirmed to endure, as that which liues euery houre in feare of in-Juasion. There is a certaine waste of F 3 the people for whome there is no vse, but warre: and these

²⁵ men must haue some employment still to cut them off. Nam si foras hostem non habent, domi invenient. If they haue no seruice abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres of the State be such, as cannot exhale all these corrupt excrements, it is very expedient they 30 have some light toyes to busie their heads withall, cast

before them as bones to gnaw vpon, which may keepe them from having leisure to intermeddle with higher matters.

To this effect, the pollicie of Playes is very necessary, The defence of Playes.

3-4 he shall be] to be g_2^{AB} . g_2^{C} & I_2 midst g_2^{AB} . 8 be so] so be 92^A. II Atlanto 13 that] om. 92A. 30 withall, to cast Q2AB

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

howsoeuer some shallow-braind censurers (not the deepest serchers into the secrets of gouernment) mightily oppugne For whereas the after-noone beeing the idlest time them. of the day; wherein men that are their owne masters (as Gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of the Courte, and the 5 number of Captaines and Souldiers about London) do wholy bestow themselues vpon pleasure, and that pleasure they deuide (howe vertuously it skils not) either into gameing, following of harlots, drinking, or seeing a Playe: is it not then better (since of foure extreames all the world 10 cannot keepe them but they will choose one) that they should betake them to the least, which is Playes? Nav. what if I prooue Playes to be no extreame; but a rare exercise of vertue? First, for the subject of them (for the most part) it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, 15 wherein our forefathers valiant acts (that have line long buried in rustie brasse and worme-eaten bookes) are reuiued, and they themselues raised from the Graue of Obliuion, and brought to pleade their aged Honours in open presence : than which, what can be a sharper reproofe 20 to these degenerate effeminate daves of ours?

 \rightarrow How would it have ioyed braue *Talbot* (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his Tombe, hee should triumphe againe on the Stage, and have his bones newe embalmed with the teares 25 of ten thousand spectators at least (at severall times), who, in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.

I will defend it against any Collian, or clubfisted Vsurer of them all, there is no immortalitie can be giuen a man 30 F 3° on earth | like vnto Playes. What talke I to them of immortalitie, that are the onely vnderminers of Honour, and doe enuie any man that is not sprung vp by base Brokerie like themselues? They care not if all the auncient

I howsoener] howener g_2^A . censures $g_2^C \mathcal{E}_c$. 3 the idlest] g_5 : the eldest g_2^{AB} : idlest g_2^C , g_3 . 5–6 the number] a number g_3 , g_5 . 7 vpou g_2^C . 20 then g_5 . 24 yeare g_2^{AB} . 29 Cullian g_5 .

houses were rooted out, so that, like the Burgomasters of the Low-countries, they might share the gouernment amongst them as States, and be quarter-maisters of our Monarchie. All Artes to them are vanitie: and, if you 5 tell them what a glorious thing it is to haue *Henrie* the fifth represented on the Stage, leading the French King prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to sweare fealty, I, but (will they say) what do we get by it? Respecting neither the right of Fame that is due to true 10 Nobilitie deceased, nor what hopes of eternitie are to be proposed to aduentrous mindes, to encourage them forward, but onely their execrable luker, and filthie vnquenchable auarice.

They know when they are dead they shall not be brought 15 vpon the Stage for any goodnes, but in a merriment of the Vsurer and the Diuel, or buying Armes of the Herald, who gives them the Lyon, without tongue, tayle, or tallents, because his maister whome hee must serve is a Townesman, and a man of peace, and must not keepe any quarrelling 20 beasts to annoy his honest neighbours.

In Playes, all coosonages, all cunning drifts ouer-guylded The use of with outward holinesse, all stratagems of warre, all the ^{Playes.} cankerwormes that breede on the rust of peace, are most liuely anatomiz'd: they shew the ill successe of treason,

²⁵ the fall of hastie climbers, the wretched end of vsurpers, the miserie of ciuill dissention, and how iust God is euermore in punishing of murther. And to proue euery one of these allegations, could I propound the circumstances of this play and that play, if I meant to handle this Theame

30 otherwise than obiter. What should I say more? they are sower pils of reprehension, wrapt vp in sweete words. Whereas some Petitioners of the Counsaile against them The conobject, they corrupt the youth of the Cittie, and withdrawe of Citizens

¹ The vse...] Opposite par. 'They know' in 95. iuration 95. objections] om. 93, 95. Playes 92^A.

7 to] om. 92^{A} . 9 of] om. 93, 95. 21 ouer-guiled 95. 23 cankard-wormes 93. 30 should] would 95. 32 of] to 92^{AB} . 32-3 against the object 95.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

obiections against Players. 214

Prentises from theyr worke : they heartily wishe they might bee troubled with none of their youth nor their prentises; for some of them (I meane the ruder handicrafts seruants) neuer come abroade, but they are in danger of vndoing: F 4 and as for corrupting them when | they come, thats false; 5 for no Play they have, encourageth any man to tumults or rebellion, but laves before such the halter and the gallowes : or praiseth or approqueth pride, lust, whoredome, prodigalitie, or drunkennes, but beates them downe vtterly. As for the hindrance of Trades and Traders of the Citie 10 by them, that is an Article foysted in by the Vintners. Alewiues, and Victuallers, who surmise, if there were no Playes, they should have all the companie that resort to them, lye bowzing and beere-bathing in their houses euery after-noone. Nor so, nor so, good brother bottle-ale, for 15 there are other places besides where money can bestow it selfe: the signe of the smock will wipe your mouth cleane: and yet I haue heard yee haue made her a tenant to your tap-houses. But what shall hee doo that hath spent himselfe? where shall hee haunt? Faith, when Dice, 20 Lust, and Drunkennesse, and all haue dealt vpon him, if there be neuer a Playe for him to goe too for his pennie, he sits melancholie in his Chamber, deuising voon felonie or treason, and howe he may best exalt himselfe by mischiefe. 25

In Augustus time (who was the Patron of all wittie sports) there happened a great Fraie in Rome about a Player, insomuch as all the Cittie was in an vprore : wherevpon the Emperour (after the broyle was somewhat ouerblowne) calde the Player before him, and askt what was 30 the reason that a man of his qualitie durst presume to make such a brawle about nothing. Hee smilinglye replyde, It is good for thee, O Cæsar, that the peoples heads are troubled with brawles and quarrels about vs and our light matters: for otherwise they would looke into thee and thy 35

4 came 92^C. 10 and Traders] and Trades 93 : 0m. 95. 14 beerebaiting 93, 95. 19 tap-house 93, 95.

A Players wittie answere to Augustus.

matters. Read Lipsius or any prophane or Christian Polititian, and you shall finde him of this opinion. Our A com-Players are not as the players beyond sea, a sort of parison squirting baudie Comedians, that haue whores and com-Players
5 mon Curtizens to playe womens partes, and forbeare no Players immodest speech or vnchast action that may procure beyond the laughter; but our Sceane is more stately furnisht than state.
10 like theirs, of a Pantaloun, a Whore, and a Zanie, but of Emperours, Kings, and Princes; whose true Tragedies (Sophocleo cothurno) they do vaunt.

Not *Roscius* nor *Æsope*, those admyred tragedians that $F_{4^{v}}$ haue liued euer since before Christ was borne, could euer *The due* commenda-

- ¹⁵ performe more in action than famous Ned Allen. I must tion of Ned accuse our Poets of sloth and partialitie, that they will not Allen. boast in large impressions what worthy men (aboue all Nations) England affoords. Other Countries cannot haue a Fidler breake a string but they will put it in print, and
- 20 the old *Romanes* in the writings they published, thought scorne to vse any but domestical examples of their owne hom-bred Actors, Schollers, and Champions, and them they would extoll to the third and fourth Generation: Coblers, Tinkers, Fencers, none escapt them, but they mingled them 25 all in one Gallimafrey of glory.

Heere I haue vsed a like Method, not of tying my selfe to mine owne Countrie, but by insisting in the experience of our time: and, if I euer write any thing in Latine (as I hope one day I shall), not a man of any desert here 30 amongst vs, but I will haue vp. *Tarlton, Ned Allen, Knell, Bentlie*, shall be made knowne to *France, Spaine*, and *Italie*: and not a part that they surmounted in, more than other, but I will there note and set downe, with the manner of theyr habites and attyre.

I Lipsius any prophane 93, 95. 9 resolution 92^{C} . 10 of Pantaloun 92^{C} tc. 13 nor] or 93, 95. 13-4 those Tragedians admyred before Christ was borne 92^{AB} . 18 Countries 92^{C} .

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

The seventh and last complaint. t Lecherie. THe childe of Sloath is Lecherie, which I have plac't last

in my order of handling : a sinne that is able to make a man wicked that should describe it; for it hath more starting holes than a sive hath holes, more Clyents than Westminster-hall, more diseases than Newgate. Call a 5 Leete at Byshopsgate, and examine how every second house in Shorditch is maintayned : make a privile search in Southwarke, and tell me how many Shee-Inmates you finde: nave, goe where you will in the Suburbes, and bring me two Virgins that have vowd Chastitie, and Ile builde 10 a Nunnerie.

Westminster, Westminster, much maydenhead hast thou to answere for at the day of Iudgement; thou hadst a Sanctuarie in thee once, but hast few Saints left in thee now. Surgeons and Apothecaries, you know what I speake 15 is true, for you liue (like Sumners) vpon the sinnes of the people; tell me, is there anye place so lewde as this Ladie London? not a Wench sooner creepes out of the G 1 shell, but she is of the Religion. Some wives | will sowe Mandrake in their gardens, and crosse-neighborhood with 20 them is counted goodfellowship.

The Court I dare not touch, but surely there (as in the Heauens) be many falling starres, and but one true Diana. Consuetudo peccandi tollit sensum peccati. Custome is a Lawe, and Luste holdes it for a Lawe, to live without 25 Lawe. Lais, that had so manie Poets to her Louers, could not alwayes preserue her beauty with their praises. Marble will weare away with much raine: Gold will rust with moyst keeping; and the richest garments are subject to Times Moath-frets : Clitemnestra, that slew her husband 30 to enjoye the Adulterer Ægistus, and bathde her selfe in Milke euery day to make her yoong againe, had a time when shee was ashamed to viewe her selfe in a looking Glasse, and her body withered, her minde being greene. The people pointed at her for a murtherer, yoong children 35

> 23 Heanens 02C. 31 bath 95. 35 Murther 95.

howted at her as a strumpet: shame, misery, sicknesse, beggery, is the best end of vncleannesse.

Lais, Cleopatra, Helen, if our Clyme hath any such, noble Lord warden of the witches and iuglers, I commend them 5 with the rest of our vncleane sisters in Shorditch, the Spittle, Southwarke, Westminster, & Turnbull streete, to the protection of your Portership : hoping you will speedily carrie them to hell, there to keepe open house for all young Diuels that come, and not let our ayre bee contaminated 10 with theyr six-pennie damnation any longer.

> Your Diuelships bounden execrator, Pierce Penilesse.

A Supplication calst thou this? (quoth the Knight of the G IV post) it is the maddest Supplication that euer I sawe; me thinks thou hast handled all the seuen deadly sinnes in it, and spared none that exceedes his limits in any of them. It is well done to practise thy witte, but (I beleeue) our Lord will cun thee little thanks for it.

The worse for me (quoth I), if my destinie be such, to lose my labour every where, but I meane to take my chance, be it good or bad. Well, hast thou any more that thou wouldest have mee to doo (quoth he)? Onely one sute (quoth I), which is this, that sith opportunitie so 25 convenientlie serves, you would acquaint mee with the state of your infernall regiment: and what that hel is, where your Lord holdes his throne; whether a world like this, which spirites like outlawes doo inhabit, who, being banisht from heaven, as they are from their Country, enuy 30 that any shall bee more happy than they; and therefore

seeke all meanes possible, that Wit or Arte may inuent, to make other men as wretched as themselues : or, whether

3 our] your 93, 95. Wenches & Anglers 92^{AB} . 20 qouth 92^{C} . 24 sith] since 95. 30 shall] should 95. then 92^{AB} .

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

it be a place of horror, stench, and darknesse, where men see meat, but can get none, or are euer thirstie and readie to swelt for drinke, yet haue not the power to taste the coole streames that runne hard at their feet : where (permutata vicissitudine) one ghost torments another by turnes, 5 and he that all his life time was a great fornicator, hath all the diseases of lust continually hanging vppon him, and is constrained (the more to augment his misery) to haue congresse euery houre with hagges and olde witches : and he that was a great drunkard here on earth, hath his 10 penance assigned him, to carouse himselfe drunke with dishwash and Vineger, and surfet foure times a day with sower Ale and small Beere: as so of the rest, as the vsurer to swallow moulten gold, the glutton to eate nothing but toades, and the Murtherer to bee still stabd with 15 daggers, but neuer die: or whether (as some phantasticall refyners of philosophie will needes perswade vs) hell is nothing but error, and that none but fooles and Idiotes and Machanicall men, that have no learning, shall be damned : of these doubts if you will resolue me, I shall 20 thinke my selfe to have profited greatly by your company.

He hearing me so inquisitiue in matters aboue humane | G a capacity, entertained my greedie humour with this answere. Poets and Philosophers, that take a pride in inuenting newe opinions, haue sought to renoume their wittes by hunting 25 after strange conceits of heauen and hell; all generally agreeing, that such places there are, but how inhabited, by whom gouerned, or what betides them that are transported to the one or other, not two of them iumpe in one tale. We, that to our terror and griefe do know their 30 dotage by our sufferings, reioyce to thinke how these sillie flyes plaie with the fire that must burne them.

But leaving them to the Laborynth of their fond curiositie, shall I tell thee in a word what Hell is? It is a place where the soules of vintemperate men, and ill livers 35

I a] om. 92^C. 10 here] om. 93, 95. 23 capacitie, c.w. 33 to] vnto 93, 95.

of all sorts, are detayned and imprisoned till the generall Resurrection, kept and possessed chiefly by spirites, who lye like Souldiours in Garison, ready to be sent about any seruice into the world, whensoeuer *Lucifer*, their 5 Lieftenaunt Generall, pleaseth. For the scituation of it in respect of heauen, I can no better compare it than to *Callis* and *Douer*: for, as a man standing vpon *Callis* Sands may see men walking on *Douer* Clyffes, so easily may you discerne Heauen from the farthest part of hell, 10 and behold the melodie and motions of the Angels and Spirits there resident, in such perfect manner as if you were amongst them; which, how it worketh in the mindes and soules of them that haue no power to apprehend such felicity, it is not for me to intimate, because it is pre-15 judiciall to our Monarchie.

I would bee sorrie (quoth I) to importune you in anie matter of secrecie: yet this I desire, if it might bee done without offence, that you would satisfie me in full sort, and according to truth, what the Diuell is whome you 20 serue? as also howe he began, and howe farre his power and authoritie extends?

Persie, beleeue me, thou shriuest me very neere in this latter demaund, which concerneth vs more deeply than the former, and may worke vs more damage than thou art
²⁵ aware of: yet in hope thou wylt conceale what I tell thee, I will laye open our whole estate plainly and simply vnto thee as it is: but first I wil begin with the opinions of former times, and so hasten forwarde | to that manifeste G av verum that thou seekest. Some men there be that, build-30 ing too much vpon reason, perswade themselues that there are no Diuels at all, but that this word Dæmon is such another morall of mischiefe, as the Poets Dame Fortune is of mishap: for as vnder the fiction of this blinde Goddesse we ayme at the folly of Princes and great men in 35 disposing of honours, that oftentimes preferre fooles and disgrace wise men, and alter their fauours in turning of

3 lye] liue 95. 28 manifestum 93, 95. 32 morall] mortal 95.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

an eve, as Fortune turnes her wheele: so vnder the person of this olde Gnathonicall companion, called the Diuell, we shrowd all subtiltie masking vnder the name of simplicitie, all painted holines deuouring widowes houses, all gray headed Foxes clad in sheepes garments; so that the 5 Diuell (as they make it) is onely a pestilent humour in a man, of pleasure, profit, or policie, that violently carries him away to vanitie, villanie, or monstrous hypocrisie: vnder vanitie I comprehend not onely all vaine Arts and studies whatsoeuer, but also dishonourable prodigalitie, 10 vntemperate venery, and that hatefull sinne of selfe-loue, which is so common amongst vs : vnder villanie I comprehend murder, treason, theft, cousnage, cut-throat couetise, and such like : lastly, vnder hypocrisie, all Machiauilisme, puritanisme, and outward gloasing with a mans enemie, 15 and protesting friendship to him that I hate and meane to harme, all vnder-hand cloaking of bad actions with Common-wealth pretences : and, finally, all Italionate conuevances, as to kill a man, and then mourne for him, quasi vero it was not by my consent, to be a slaue to him 20 that hath injur'd me, and kisse his feete for opportunitie of reuenge, to be seuere in punishing offenders, that none might haue the benefite of such meanes but my selfe, to vse men for my purpose and then cast them off, to seeke his destruction that knowes my secrets; and such 25 as I have imployed in any murther or stratagem, to set them priuilie together by the eares, to stab each other mutually, for feare of bewraving me; or, if that faile, to hire them to humor one another in such courses as may bring them both to the gallowes. These, and a thousand 30 more such sleights, hath hypocrisie learned by trauailing strange Countries. I will not say she puts them in practise here in England, although there be as many false brethren G 3 and crafty knaues here | amongst vs, as in any place: witnes the poore Miller of Cambridge, that, having no roome for 35

2 Guathonicall 92^C. 11 vntemperate] vnrepentant 95. 12 among 92^{AB}. 20 my] om. 95.

his hen-loft but the Testor of his bed, and it was not possible for any hungry Poultrers to come there, but they must stande vppon the one side of it, and so not steale them but with great hazard; had in one night notwith-5 standing (when hee and his wife were a snorting) all the whole progenie of their Pullery taken away, and neither of them heard any sturring: it is an odde tricke, but what of that? we must not stand vpon it, for wee haue grauer matters in hand then the stealing of Hennes. Hypocrisie, 10 I remember, was our Text, which was one of the chiefe morall Diuels our late Doctors affirme to bee most busie in these daies; and busie it is, in trueth, more than any Bee that I know: nowe you talke of a Bee, Ile tell you

a tale of a Battle-dore.

- The Beare on a time, beeing chiefe Burgomaster of all the Beasts vnder the Lyon, gan thinke with himselfe how hee might surfet in pleasure, or best husband his Authoritie to enlarge his delight and contentment. Wyth that hee beganne to prye and to smell through euery corner of the
- ²⁰ Forrest for praye, to have a thousande imagynations with himselfe what daintie morsell he was master of, and yet had not tasted : whole Heards of sheepe had hee deuoured, and was not satisfied; fat Oxen, Hayfers, Swine, Calues, and yoong Kiddes, were his ordinary vyands : he longed
- ²⁵ for Horse-flesh, and went presently to a medowe, where a fat Cammell was grazing, whom, fearing to encounter with force, because he was a huge beast and well shod, he thought to betray vnder the colour of demaunding homage, hoping that, as he should stoope to doo him truage, he
- 30 might seaze vpon his throat, and stifle him before he should be able to recouer himselfe from his false embrace: but therein he was deceiued; for, comming vnto this stately Beast with this imperious message, in stead of doing homage vnto him, he lifted vp one of his hindmost heeles, 35 and stroake him such a blowe on the forehead that hee ouer-

2 Poulters 93, 95. 6 Pultery 95. 9 than 92^{AB}. 11 morall] mortall 95. 12 then 95. 18 his] him 95. 23 satisfied? 92^C.

22I

threw him. Thereat not a little mou'd, and enrag'd, that he should be so dishonored by his inferiour, as he thought, he consulted with the Ape how he might be reuenged.

The Ape, abhorring him by nature, because he ouer-G 3[×] lookt | him so Lordly, and was by so many degrees greater 5 than he was, aduised him to digge a pit with his pawes right in the way where this big boand Gentleman should passe, that so stumbling and falling in, he might lightly skip on his back, and bridle him, and then he come and seaze on him at his pleasure. No sooner was this per- 10 swaded than performed : for enuie, that is neuer idle, could not sleepe in his wrath, or ouer-slip the least opportunitie, till hee had seene the confusion of his enemie. Alas, goodly Creature, that thou mightest no longer liue. What auaileth thy gentlenes, thy prowesse, or the plentifull 15 pasture wherein thou wert fed ; since malice triumphs ouer all thou commaundest? Well may the Mule rise vp in armes, and the Asse bray at the Authors of thy death : yet shall their furie be fatall to themselues, before it take hold on these Traitours. What needeth more words? the 20 deuourer feedes on his captiue, and is gorged with bloud. But as auarice and crueltie are euermore thirstie, so far'd it with this hungrie Vsurper: for having flesht his ambition with this treacherous conquest, he past along through a groue, where a Heard of Deare weare a ranging ; whom, 25 when he had stedfastly surueved from the fattest to the leanest, he singled out one of the fairest of the company, with whom he meant to close vp his stomack in stead of cheese: but because the Wood-men were euer stirring thereabout, and it was not possible for one of his coate to com- 30 mit such outrage vndescried, and that, if he were espyed, his life were in perill, though not with the Lyon, whose eyes he could blinde as hee list, yet with the lesser sort of the brutish Comminaltie, whome no flatterie might pacifie.

4 New par. 92^{C} & C. Run on in 92^{AB} . 9 hee [could] come Gro. 11 then 95. 15 the] thy 95. 18 bray] pray 93, 95. 23 flesh 95. 24 a long 92^{C} , 93. Therefore, he determined slylie and priuilie to poyson the streame where this iolly Forrester wonted to drinke; and as he determined, so he did: whereby it fell out, that when the Sunne was ascended to his height, and all the nimble 5 Cittizens of the Wood betooke them to their Laire, this youthfull Lorde of the Lawnds, all fainte and malecontent (as prophecying his neere approching mishap by his languishing) with a lazie, wallowing pace, strayed aside from the rest of his fellowship, and betooke him all careto lesly to the corrupted fountaine that was prepared for his Funerall.

Ah, woe is me, this poyson is pittilesse. What neede I saye more, since you know it is death with whome it encounters? And | yet cannot all this expence of life set G₄ 15 a period to insatiable Murther: but still it hath some Anuile to worke vppon, and ouer-casts all opposite prosperitie, that may any waye shadow his glorie.

Too long it were to rehearse all the practises of this sauadge blood-hunter: how he assailed the Vnicorne as he 20 slept in his den, and tore the heart out of his breast ere he could awake: how hee made the lesser beasts lye in wayte one for the other, and the Crocodyle to coape with the Basiliske, that when they had enterchangeably weakened each other, he might come and insult ouer them both as hee

²⁵ list. But these were lesser matters, which daily vse had worne out of mens mouthes, and he himselfe had so customablie practised, that often exercise had quite abrogated the opinion of sinne, and impudencie throughlie confirmed an vndaunted defiance of vertue in his face. Yet

30 newfangled lust, that in time is wearie of welfare, and will bee as soone cloyed with too much ease and delicacie, as Pouertie with labour and scarcitie, at length brought him out of loue with this greedy, bestiall humour; and nowe hee affected a milder varietie in his dyet: hee had bethought 35 him what a pleasant thing it was to eate nothing but honie

12 New par. in 92^C &c. Run on in 92^{AB}. 18 New par. in 92^C &c. Run on in 92^{AB}. 27 practise 93. 28 impudence 92^A.

another while, and what great store of it there was in that Countrey.

Nowe did hee cast in his head, that if hee might bring the Husbandmen of the soyle in opinion that they might buie honey cheaper than beeing at such charges in keeping 5 of Bees, or that those Bees which they kept were most of them Drones, and what should such idle Drones doe with such stately Hyues, or lye sucking at such pretious Honnycombes; that if they were tooke awaye from them, and distributed equally abroade, they would releeue a great 10 many of painfull labourers that had neede of them, and would continually live serviceable at theyr commaund, if they might enjoy such a benefite. Nave more, let them giue Waspes but onely the waxe, and dispose of the honie as they thinke good, and they shall humme and buzze 15 a thousand times lowder than they, and have the hive fuller at the yeares ende (with young ones, I meane) than the Bees are woont in ten veere.

To broach this deuice, the Foxe was addrest like a shep-G 4" heards | dogge, and promist to have his Pattent seald, to 20 be the Kings Poulterer for euer, if he could bring it to passe. Faith, quoth he, and Ile put it in a venter, let it hap how it wil. With that he grew in league with an old Camelion, that could put on all shapes, and imitate any colour, as occasion serued, and him he addrest, sometime 25 like an Ape to make sport, and then like a Crocodile to weep, sometime like a Serpent to sting, and by and by like a Spaniell to fawne, that with these sundrie formes, (applyde to mens variable humors) he might perswade the world he ment as he spake, and onely intended their good, when he 30 thought nothing lesse. In this disguise, these two deceiuers went vp and downe, and did much harme vnder the habite of Simplicity, making the poore silly Swaines beleeue they were cunning Phisitions, and well seene in all Cures, that they could heale any maladie, though neuer so daungerous, 35 and restore a man to life that had beene dead two daies, II many pianfull of. 23 happen of.

onely by breathing vpon him: aboue all things they perswaded them, that the honny that their Bees brought foorth was poysonous and corrupt, by reason that those floures and hearbs, out of which it was gathered and exhaled, were 5 subject to the infection of euery Spider and venimous Canker, and not a loathsome Toade (how detestable soeuer) but reposde himselfe vnder thevr shadow, and lav sucking at their rootes continually: wheras in other Countries, no noisome or poisnous creature might liue, by reason of the 10 imputed goodnes of the Soyle, or carefull diligence of the Gardners aboue ours, as for example, Scotland, Denmarke, and some more pure partes of the seauenteene Prouinces.

These perswasions made the good honest Husbandmen to pause, and mistrust their owne wits very much, in 15 nourishing such dangerous Animals, but* yet, I know not [*Interhow antiquitie and custome so ouer-rulde their feare, that vuleus none would resolue to abandon them on the sodaine, till rectum videt, est they sawe a further inconvenience : whereby my two cun- vbi peccat,] ning Philosophers were driuen to studie Galen anew, and 20 seeke out splenatiue simples, to purge their popular Patients of the opinion of their olde Traditions and Customes : which,

howe they wrought with the most parte that had least wit. it were a world to tell. For now nothing was Canonical but what they spake, no man would converse with his wife

25 but | first askt their aduise, nor pare his nailes, nor cut his H r beard, without their prescription: so senceles, so wauering is the light vnconstant multitude, that will daunce after euerie mans pipe; and sooner prefer a blind harper that can squeake out a new horne-pipe, than Alcinous or Apolloes

30 varietie, that imitates the right straines of the Doryan melodie. I speake this to amplifie the nouell folly of the hedlong vulgar, that making their eyes and eares vassailes to the legerdemaine of these jugling Mountebanks, are pre-

5 infection] inferiour 95. 11 Gardiners 95. 12 seauenteene] 17. 92^{AB}. 13 New par. in 92^C &c. Run on in 92^{AB}. 19 a new 92^C &c. 24 spake] 92^{AB}: speake 92^C &c. 30 right] eight Coll., Gro. 33 Mountbanks 92^C &c.

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Τ

¹ Interdum ...] om. 92° Ec. est] et O.

sentlie drawne to contemne Art and experience, in comparison of the ignorance of a number of audatious idiots. The Fox can tell a faire tale, and couers all his knauerie vnder conscience, and the Camelion can addresse himself like an Angell whensoeuer he is disposed to worke mischefe 5 by myracles: but yet in the end, their secret drifts are laide open, and *Linceus* eyes, that see through stone walles, haue made a passage into the close couerture of their hypocrisie.

For one daie, as these two Deuisers were plotting by themselues how to drive all the Bees from their Honny 10 combs, by putting wormwood in their Hyues, and strewing Henbane and Rue in euerie place where they resort : a Flye that past by, and heard all their talke, stomaking the Foxe of olde, for that he had murdred so many of his kindred with his flail-driving tail, went presentlie and buzd in 15 Linceus eares the whole purport of their malice; who awaking his hundred eies at these vnexpected tidings gan persue them wheresoeuer they went, and trace their intents as they proceeded into action, so that ere half their baits were cast forth, they were apprehended and imprisoned, and 20 all their whole counsaile detected. But long ere this, the Beare, impatient of delaies, and consumed with an inward greife in himselfe, that hee might not haue his will of a fat Hind that outran him, he went into the woods all melancholie, and there died for pure anger: leaving the Foxe 25 and the Camelion to the destinie of their desert, and mercie of their Iudges. How they scapte I know not, but some saie they were hanged, and so weele leaue them.

How likest thou of my tale, friend *Persie*? Haue I not described a right earthly Diuell vnto thee, in the discourse 30 of this bloodie minded Beare? Or canst thou not attract H 1^v the true image of | hypocrisie, vnder the description of the Fox and the Camelion?

Yes, very well (quoth I); but I would gladly have you

⁸ into] in 93, 95. 14 murthred 92^{AB}. 16 purport] purpose 93, 95. 19 into euery action 93, 95. 27 scape 92^C & 28 weele] wee 93, 95. 29 lik'st 92^{AB}. 31 minded] om. 93, 95. 32 Hypocrisie c.w.

returne to your first subject, since you have mooued doubts in my mind, which you have not yet discust.

Of the sundrie opinions of the Diuell, thou meanest, and them that imagin him to have no existence, of which sort 5 are they that first inuented the prouerbe, Homo homini Dæmon: meaning thereby, that that power which we call the Diuill, and the ministring Spirits belonging to him and to his kingdom, are tales and fables, and meere buggebeares to scarre boies : and that there is no such essence at 10 all, but only it is a terme of large content, describing the rancor, grudg, and bad dealing of one man toward another: as, namely, when one friend talkes with another subtilly, and seeks to diue into his commoditie, that he may deprive him of it craftelie; when the sonne seeks the death of the 15 father, that he maie be infeoffed in his welth : and the stepdame goes about to make awaie her sonne-in-law, that her children may inherit: when brothers fall at iarres for portions, and shall, by open murther or priuie conspiracie,

attempt the confusion of each other, only to ioine house to 20 house, and vnite two Liuelihoods in one: when the seruant shall rob his master, and Men put in trust start away from their oathes and vowes, they care not how.

In such cases and manie more, may one man be said to be a diuell to another, and this is the second opinion. The third is that of *Plato*, who not onely affirmeth that there are diuels, but deuided them into three sorts, euerie one a degree of dignitie aboue the other; the first are those whose bodies are compact of the purest airie Element, combined with such transparant threeds, that neither 30 they doo partake so much fire as should make them visible to sight, or haue anie such affinitie with the earth, as they are able to be prest or toucht; and these he setteth in the hiest incomprehensible degree of heauen. The second, he maketh these whom *Apuleius* doth call reasonable creatures,

I haue] om. g_3, g_5 .5 bomini g_2^{C} .7 to him and] om. g_2^{AB} .9-10 bugge-bearers g_2^{C} & c.11 towards g_2^{AB} .13 seeke g_3, g_5 .14sons seeks g_3, g_5 .16 sonne in-law g_2^{BC} .32 these] thrise g_3, g_5 .

passiue in mind and eternall in time, being those Apostata spirits that rebelled with Belzebub: whose bodies, before their fall, were bright and pure all like to the former : but. after their transgression, they were obscured with a thick, ayrie matter, & euer after assigned to darknes. The third, 5 H 2 he attributes to those men that, by some | diuine knowledge or vnderstanding, seeming to aspire aboue mortalitie, are called Dæmona. (that is) Gods: for this word Dæmon contayneth either, and Homer in euery place doth vse it both for that omnipotent power that was before al things, 10 and the euill spirit that leadeth men to error: so doth Syrianus testifie, that Plato was called Dæmon, because he disputed of deepe Common-welth matters, greatly auailable to the benefite of his Countrye; and also Aristotle because he wrote at large of all things subject to moouing 15 and sence. Then belike (quoth I) you make this word Dæmon, a capeable name of Gods, of men, and of diuels, which is farre distant from the scope of my demand: for I doo onlie inquire of the diuel, as this common appellation of the Diuel signifieth a malignant spirit, enimie to man- 20 kind, and a hater of God and all goodnes. Those are the second kinde, said he, vsuallie termed detractors or accusers, that are in knowledge infinit, insomuch as, by the quicknes of their wits and agreeable mixtures of the Elements, they so comprehend those seminarie vertues 25 to men vnknown, that those thinges which, in course of time or by growing degrees, Nature of it selfe can effect, they, by their Art and skill in hastening the works of nature, can contriue and compas in a moment : as the Magitians of Pharao, who, wheras nature, not without 30 some interposition of time and ordinarie causes of conception, brings forth frogs, serpents, or any liuing thing else, they, without all such distance of space, or circumscription of season, euen in a thought, as soon as their K. commanded, couered the land of Aegypt with this 35

5 ayrie] fiery 92^{AB}. 9 contayneth 92^C. 13 disputed 92^C. 14 also] om. 92^{AB}. 27-8 effect. They Q. 34 assoon 92^{BC}, 93. 35 King 92^{AB}.

monstrous increase. Of the originall of vs spirits, the scripture most amplie maketh mention, namelie, that Lucifer (before his fall) an Archangel, was a cleer bodie, compact of the purest and brightest of the aire, but after 5 his fall he was vailed with a grosser substance, and tooke a new forme of darke and thick ayre, which he still reteineth. Neither did he onlie fall, when he stroue with Michael, but drew a number of Aungels to his faction : who ioint partakers of his proud reuolt, were likewise 10 partakers of his punishmente, and all thrust out of heauen togither by one iudgement: who euer since do nothing but wander about the Earth, and tempt and inforce fraile men to enterprise all wickednesse that maie be, and commit | most horrible and abhominable things against H 2* 15 God. Maruell not that I discouer so much of our estate vnto thee: for the scripture hath more than I mention, as S. Peter, where he saith that God spared not his Angels that sinned: and in another place, where he saith that they are bound with the chaines of darknes, and throwne 20 headlong into hell: which is not meant of anie locall place in the earth, or vnder the waters: for, as Austin affirmeth, we doo inhabite the Region vnder the moone, and haue the thick aire assigned vs as a prison, from whence we maje with small labour cast our nets where we list: vet as are we not so at our disposition, but that we are still commanded by Lucifer (although we are in number infinite), who retaining that pride wherewith he arrogantlie affected the maiestie of God, hath still his ministring Angels about him, whome he emploies in severall charges, ao to seduce and deceive as him seemeth best: as those spirites which the Latines call Iouios and Antemeridianos, to speake out of Oracles, and make the people worship them as gods, when they are nothing but deluding Diuels that couet to have a false Deitie ascribed vnto them, and

3 Archangel] Angel 93, 95. 4 pnrest 92^C. 17 Saint 93, 95. 18 sinned. And 92^C & 23, as in a prison 93, 95. 32 of the Oracles 93, 95.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS

drawe men vnto their loue by wonders & prodigies, that else would hate them deadlie, if they knew their maleuolence and enuie. Such a monarchizing spirit it was that said to Christ, If thou wilt fall downe and worship me, I wil give thee al the kingdoms of the earth: and such 5 a spirit it was that possest the Libian Sapho, and the Emperor Dioclesian, who thought it the blessedest thing that might be, to be called God. For the one being wearie of humane honour, and inspired with a supernaturall follie. taught little birds that were capable of speech, to pronounce 10 distinctlie, Magnus Deus Sapho; that is to saie, A great God is Sapho: Which words, when they had learned readilie to caroll, & were perfect in their note, he let them flie at randon, that so dispersing themselues euerie where, they might induce the people to account of him as a God. 15 The other was so arrogant, that he made his subjectes fall prostrate on their faces, and lifting vp their handes to him as to heauen, adore him as omnipotent.

The second kind of Deuils which he most imploieth, are those Northerne *Marcij*, called the spirits of reuenge, & 20 the authors of massacres, and seedesmen of mischiefe; H 3 for they have com-|mission to incense men to rapines, sacriledge, theft, murther, wrath, furie, and all manner of cruelties, and they commande certein of the Southern spirits (as slaues) to waite vpon them, as also great *Arioch*, 25 that is tearmed the spirit of reuenge.

These know how to dissociate the loue of brethren, and to break wedlock bands with such violence, that they may not be vnited, and are predominant in manie other domisticall mutinies : of whom, if thou list to heare more, read the 3° 39. of *Ecclesiasticus*. The Prophet *Esay* maketh menteon of another Spirit, sent by God to the *Egyptians*, to make them straie and wander out of the way, that is to say, the Spirit of liing, which they call *Bolychym*. The Spirits that entice men to gluttonie and lust, are certaine watry spirits 35

4 to] vnto 92^{AB}. 14 randome 92^{AB}. 20 Martij 93, 95. 29 prodominant 92^C: predominate 95. 30 thou] you 92^{AB}.

of the West, and certaine Southerne spirits as Nefrach & Kelen, which for the most part prosecute vnlawfull loues, and cherish all vnnaturall desires : they wander through lakes, fish ponds, and fennes, and ouerwhelme ships, cast 5 boates vpon ankers, and drowne men that are swimming : therefore are they counted the most pestilent, troublesome, and guilefull spirits that are : for by the helpe of Alrynach, a Spirite of the West, they will raise stormes, cause earthquaks, whirlwinds, raine, haile or snow in the clerest daie 10 that is: and if euer they appeare to anie man, they come in womens apparell. The spirits of the aire will mix themselues with thunder & lightening, and so infect the Clime where they raise any tempest, that suddenlie great mortalitie shall ensue to the inhabitants from the infectious 15 vapors which arise from their motions : of such S. Iohn maketh mention in the 9. of the Apocalips; their patron is Mereris, whoe beareth chiefe rule about the middle time of the daie.

The spirits of the fire haue their mansions vnder the regions of the Moon, that whatsoeuer is committed to their charge they maie there execute, as in their proper consistorie, from whense they cannot start. The spirites of the earth keepe, for the most part, in Forrests and woods, and doo hunters much noiance, & sometime in the broade fieldes, where they lead trauellers out of the right waie, or fright men with deformed apparitions, or make them run mad through excessive melancholie, lik *Aiax Telamonius*, & so proue hurtfull to themselues, and dangerous to others : of this number the chiefe are Samaab

30 and Achymael, spirits of the east, | that have no power to H 3^v do anie great harme, by reason of the vnconstancie of their affections. The vnder-earth spirits are such as lurke in dens & little cauerns of the earth, and hollow creuises of mountaines, that they maie diue into the bowels of the

 7
 Alynach g_{2AB} : Altynach g_{3} , g_{5} .
 14 to] of g_{5} . infestious g_{5} .

 15
 their] the g_{3} , g_{5} .
 16 g_{-1} ninth g_{2AB}^{-AB} .
 19
 New par. Coll., Gro.

 Run on in Q.
 19-20 vnder regions g_{2}^{C} &c.
 29
 Saniaab g_{2}^{C} , g_{3} .

earth at their pleasure: these dig mettals and watch treasures, which they continuallie transport from place to place, that none should have vse of them : they raise winds that vomit flames, and shake the foundation of buildings, they dance in rounds in pleasant launds and 5 greene medowes, with noises of musicke and minstrelsie. & vanish awaie when anie comes neere them: they will take vpon them anie similitude but of a woman, and terrifie men in the likenesse of dead mens ghostes in the night time : and of this qualitie and condition the Necro- 10 mancers hold Gaziel, Fegor, and Anarazel, Southern spirits. to be. Besides, there are yet remaining certeine lieng spirits, whoe (although all bee giuen to lie by nature) yet are they more prone to that vice than the rest, being named Pythonists, of whome Apollo comes to be called 15 Pytheus: they have a prince as well as other spirits, of whom mention is made in the 3. booke of kings, when he saith he will be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all Ahabs prophets: from which those spirits of iniquitie do little differ, which are called the vessels of wrath, that assist 20 Belial (whom they interpret a spirit without yoke or controuler) in all damnable deuises and inuentions. Plato reports them to be such as first deuised cards and dice, and I am in the mind, that the Monke was of the same order, that found out the vse of Gunpouder, and the 25 engins of war therto belonging. Those that write of these matters call this Belial Chodar of the East, that hath all witches & coniurors spirits vnder his iurisdiction, & giues them leave to helpe Iuglers in their tricks, & Simon Magus to doo miracles; alwaies prouided they bring a soule home 30 to their Maister for his hire.

Yet are not these all, for there are spirits called spies & tale carriers, obedient to *Ascaroth*, whom the Greeks call *Daimona*, and *S. Iohn*, *The accuser of the brethren*:

I pleasures 92^A. dig-mettals and wach-treasures 95. II Gazel 93: Gazell 95. 13 (] before whoe Q. 16 Pythzus 92^{AB}. 26 writ 92^A. 32 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q.

also tempters, whoe for their interrupting vs in al our good actions are cald our euil Angels. Aboue all thinges they hate the light, and reioyce in darkenesse, disquieting men maliciouslie in the night, and somtimes hurt them by 5 pinching them or blasting them as they sleep : | but they H 4 are not so much to be dreaded as other spirits, bicause if a man speak to them, they flee awaie and will not abide. Such a spirit Plinius Secundus telleth of, that used to haunt a goodlie house in Athens that Athenodorus hired ; 10 and such another Suetonius describeth to have long houered in Lamianus Garden, wher Caligula lay buried, who for bicause he was onlie couered with a few clods. and vnreuerentlie thrown amongst the weeds, he meruelouslie disturbed the owners of the garden. & woulde not 15 let them rest in their beds, till by his Sisters, returned from banishment, he was taken vp. and intoombed solemnlie. Pausanias auoucheth (amongst other experiments) that a certain spirit called Zazilus doth feed vpon dead mens corses, that are not deeplie interred in the earth as they 20 ought : which to confirme, there is a wonderfull accident set downe in the Danish history of Asuitus and Asmundus, who, being two famous friends (well knowne in those parts) vowd one to another, that which of them two out liued the other, should be buried aliue with his friende that first 25 died. In short space Asuitus fell sick and yeelded to nature: Asmundus, compelled by the oath of his friendship, tooke none but his horsse and his dog with him, and transported the dead bodie into a vast caue vnder the earth, & there determined (having victualed himselfe for a long so time) to finish his daies in darknesse, and neuer depart from him that he loued so deerelie.

Thus shut vp and inclosed in the bowels of the earth, it hapened *Eritus*, K. of *Sweueland*, to passe that waie with his armie, not full two months after; who comming

⁹ Athenadorus 92^C & C. 13 vnreuentlie 92^C, 93. 19 courses 95. 25 spabe 92^C. 32 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 33 King 92^{AB}. 34 moneths 92^{AB}, 95.

to the toomb of Asuitus, & suspecting it a place where tresure was hidden, caused his Pioners with their spades and mattockes to dig it vp: where vpon was discouered the lothsome bodie of Asmundus, all to besmeared with dead mens filth, & his visage most vglie and fearefull ; 5 which, imbrued with congeald blood and eaten & torn like a raw vlcer, made him so gastlie to behold, that all the beholders were afrighted. He, seeing himselfe restord to light, and so manie amazed men stand about him, resolued their vncertain perplexity in these terms. Why stand 10 you astonisht at my vnusual deformities? when no liuing man converseth with the dead but is thus disfigured. But other causes haue effected this change in mee: for I know H 4" not what audacious spirit, sent by Gorgon from the | deep, hath not onelie most rauenously deuoured my horse & my 15 dog, but also hath laid his hungrie pawes vpon me, and, tering downe my cheekes as you see, hath likewise rent awaie one of mine eares. Hense is it that my mangled shape seems so monstrous, and my humane image obscured with gore in this wise. Yet scaped not this fell Harpie 20 from me vnreuenged: for, as he assailde me, I raught his head from his shoulders, and sheathd my sword in his bodie. Haue spirits their visible bodies, saide I, that may be toucht, wounded, or pierst? Beleeue me, I neuer heard that in my life before this. Why, quoth he, although 25 in their proper essence they are creatures incorporall, yet can they take on them the induments of anie liuing bodie what soeuer, & transform themselues into all kind of shapes. wherby they maie more easilie deceiue our shallow wits and senses. So testifies Basilius, that they can put on 30 a material forme when they list. Socrates affirmeth that his Dæmon did oftentimes talke with him, and that he saw him and felt him manie times. But Marcus Cher-

4 to be smeared 95. 8 beholders] lookers on 92^{AB} . 11 yon] ye 92^A. 13 effecte, his 93. change] alteration 92^{AB} . 14 sent (with broken s) 93 : lent 95. 17 tearing 92^{AB} : taring 95. 21 raught] caught 93, 95. 27 on] vpon 92^{AB} . 30 Bastlius 93 : Bastlius 95. 32 Damon 92^{C} .

ronesius (a wonderfull discouerer of Diuels) writeth, that those bodies which they assume are distinguisht by no difference of sex, bicause they are simple, and the discernance of sex belongs to bodies compound: yet are 5 they flexible, motiue, and apt for any configuration; but not all of them alike; for the spirits of the Fire and Aire haue this power aboue the rest. The spirits of the water haue slow bodies resembling birdes & women, of which kind the Naiades & Nereieds are much celebrated amongst

- 10 Poets. Neuerthelesse, how euer they are restrained to their seuerall similitudes, it is certaine that all of them desire no forme or figure so muche, as the likenesse of a man, and doo thinke themselues in heauen when they are infeoft in that hue: wherefore I know no other reason
- ¹⁵ but this, that man is the neerest representation to God, insomuch as the scripture saith, *He made man after his own likenesse and image*; and they affecting, by reason of their pride, to be as like God as they may, contend most seriouslie to shroud themselues vnder that habit.
- But, I pray, tell me this, whether are there (as *Porphirius* holdeth) good Spirits as well as euill? Naie, certeinlie (quoth he) we are all euill, let *Porphirius*, *Proclus*, *Apuleius*, or the *Platonists* dispute to the contrarie as long as they will: which I | will confirm to thy capacitie by the names I I
- ²⁵ that are euerie wher giuen vs in the Scripture; for the diuell, which is the *Summum genus* to vs all, is called *Diabolus, quasi deorsum ruens*, that is to say, falling downe-ward, as he that aspiring too high, was thrown from the top of felicitie to the lowest pit of despaire; and sathan,
- 30 that is to saie, an Aduersarie, who, for the corruption of his malice, opposeth himselfe euer against God, whoe is the chiefest good. In *Iob, Behemoth* and *Leuiathan*; and in the 9. of the *Apocalips, Apolyon*, that is to saie, a Subuerter; bicause the foundation of those vertues, which our high
- 35 Maker hath planted in our soules, he vndermineth and subuerteth. A serpent for his poisoning, a Lyon for his 10 Poete 92^c. 20 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 36 pojsoning 92^c.

deuouring; a furnace, for that by his malice the Elect are tried, who are vessels of wrath and saluation. In Esay, a Syren, a Lamia, a Scrich-oule, an Estridge. In the Psalmes, an Adder, a Basiliske, a Dragon. And lastlie, in the Gospell, Mammon, Prince of this world, and the Gouernour 5 of darknes: so that, by the whole course of condemning names that are given vs, and no one instance of anie fauourable tytle bestowed vpon vs. I positiuelie set downe that all spirits are euill. Now, whereas the Diuines attribute vnto vs these good and euill spirits, the good to guide vs 10 from euil, and the euill to draw vs from goodnesse, they are not called spirits, but Angels, of which sort was Raphaell, the good Angell of Tobias, who exilde the euill spirit Asmodius into the desart of Aegypt, that he might be the more secure from his temptation. Since we have entred 15 thus far into the diuels commonwealth, I beseech you certifie me thus much, whether haue they power to hurt granted them from God, or from themselues ; can they hurt as much as they wil? Not so, quoth hee, for although that diuels be most mightie spirites, yet can they not hurt but per- 20 **n** issiuelie, or by some speciall dispensation : as when a man is faln into the state of an out-law, the Law dispenseth with them that kill him. & the Prince excludes him from the protection of a subject, so, when a man is a relaps from GOD and his Lawes. God withdrawes his prouidence 25 from watching ouer him, and authoriseth the deuil, as his instrument, to assault him and torment him, so that whatsoeuer he dooth, is Limitata potestate, as one saithe ; inso-I I' muche as a haire cannot fall from our | heades, without the 30

will of our heavenlie Father.

The Diuell could not deceiue Achabs prophets til he was licensed by God, nor exercise his tyranie ouer Iob, till he had giuen him commission, nor enter into the heard of swine, til Christ bad them goe. Therefore need you not

19 Not 10 these] there 93, 95. 15 Since ...] New par. Coll.2. so] No 95. that] the 95. 23 kils 92^A. 27 assault and 95. 29 31 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. heads, c.w.

feare the diuell any whit, as long as you are in the fauor of God, who raineth him so straight, that except he let him loose he can doo nothing. This manlike proportion which I now retaine, is but a thinge of suffrance, granted vnto me 5 to plague such men as hunt after strife, and are delighted with variance. It may be so very well, but whether haue you that skill to foretell thinges to come, that is ascribed vnto you? We have (quoth he) sometimes: not that we are privie to the eternall counsell of god, but for that by 10 the sense of our ayrie bodies, we have a more refined faculty of forseeing, than men possibly can haue, that are chained to such heavie earthlie moulder; or else for that by the incomparable pernicitie of those avrie bodies, we not onely out-strip the swiftnes of men, beasts & birds, 15 whereby we may be able to attain to the knowledge of thinges sooner than those that by the dulnes of their earthlie sense come a great waie behind vs. Hervnto may we adioine our long experience in the course of things from the begining of the world, which men want, and, 20 therfore, cannot have that deepe conjecture that we have. Nor is our knowledge any more than conjecture: for prescience only belongeth to God, & that gesse that we have, proceedeth from the compared disposition of heauenly and earthlie bodies, by whose long observed temperature we 25 doo diuine manie times as it happens; & therefore doo we take vpon vs to prophecy, that we may purchase estimation to our names, and bringe men in admiration with that we doo, and so be counted for Gods. The myracles wee work are partly contriued by illusion, and partly assisted by that 3º supernatural skil we have in the experience of nature above all other Creatures. But against these illusions of your subtletie & vain terrors you inflict, what is our cheefe refuge? I shall be accounted a foolishe Diuell anon, if I bewray the secretes of our kingdome, as I haue begun : yet speak I no 35 more than learned Clarkes have written, and asmuch as

they have set downe will I shew thee.

3 man like 92^C, 93. 13 incomporable 92^{BC}. 27 into 95. 32 is your 95.

Origin, in his treatise against Celsus, saith, there is I 2 nothing better for him | that is vexed with spirites, then the naming of *Iesu*, the true God, for he auoucheth, he hath seene diuers driuen out of mens bodies by that means. Athanasius in his booke De variis questionibus saith. The 5 presentest remedie againste the inuasion of euill spirits, is the beginning of the 67. Psalme, Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici eius. Cyprian counsels men to adjure spirites only by the name of the true God. Some hold that fire is a preservative for this purpose, because when 10 any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little go out. as it were of their own accord, and the tapers are by degrees extinguisht. Others by inuocating vpon God, by the name of Vehiculum ignis superioris, and often rehearsing the Articles of our faith. A third sort are perswaded that the 15 brandishing of swords is good for this purpose, because Homer faineth, that Vlisses, sacrificing to his mother, wafted his sworde in the aire to chase the spirits from the blood of the sacrifice. And Sybylla, conducting Aeneas to hell, begins hir charmes in this sort. 20

Procul O, procul este, prophani: Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum.

Philostratus reporteth, that he and his companions meeting that Diuell which Artistes entitle Apolonius, as they came one night from banquetting, with such terms as he 25 is curst in holy writ, they made him run awaie howling. Manie in this case extoll perfume of Calamentum pæonia, Menta palma Christi, and Appius. A number prefer the carying of red Corrall about them, or of Arthemisia hypericon, Ruta verbena: and to this effect manie doo vse the 30 iyngling of keyes, the sound of the harp, and the clashing of armor. Some of old time put great superstition in characters, curiously engraued in their Pentagonon, but they are all vaine, & will doo no good, if they be otherwise

I New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 2 was vexed 95. than 92^{A} . 3 they naming 93. 12 tapers] takers 95. 22 invande 92^{A} : in vande 92^{BC} , 93: in vande 95. 24 Diuells 93, 95.

vsed than as signes of couenant betweene the diuell and them. Nor doo I affirme al the rest to bee vnfallible prescriptions, though sometime they have their vse: but that the onelie assured way to resist their attempts is prayer and 5 faith, gainst which all the diuells in hell cannot preuaile. Inough, gentle spirit, I will importune thee no further, but commit this Supplication to thy care: which, if thou deliuer accordinglie, thou shalt at thy returne haue more of my custome: for by that time I wil have finished certain 10 letters to diuers Orators & Poets, disperced in your domi-

nions. That | as occation shal serue, but nowe I must take I 2* leaue of you, for it is Terme time, and I haue some busines. A Gentleman (a frend of mine, that I neuer saw before) staies for me, and is like to be vndoone if I come not in to 15 beare witnesse on his side: wherefore Bazilez manus, till our

next meeting.

G Entle Reader, tandem aliquando I am at leasure to talke to thee. I dare say thou hast cald me a hundred times dolt for this senseles discourse: it is no matter, 20 thou dost but as I have doone by a number in my dayes. For who can abide a scurule pedling Poet to plucke a man by the sleeue at euerie third step in Paules Churchvard, & when he comes in to servey his wares, theres nothing but purgations and vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper. Tt 25 were verie good the dog whipper in Paules would have a care of this in his vnsauery visitation euerie Saterday; for it is dangerous for suche of the Queenes liedge people, as shall take a viewe of them fasting.

Looke to it, you Booksellers and Stationers, and let not 30 your shops be infected with any such goose gyblets or stinking garbadge, as the Iygs of newsmongers, and especiallie such of you as frequent Westminster hall, let them be circumspect what dunghill papers they bring thither: for one bad pamphlet is enough to raise a damp as that may poison a whole Tearme, or at the least a number

3 haue] hade 93 : had 95. v] my 93, 95. II Thats 92^A. 2 infallible 95. 5 against 93, 95. 8 thy] my 93, 95. 6 farther 92A.

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L

of poore Clyents, that have no money to prevent ill aire by breaking their fasts ere they come thither. Not a base Inck-dropper, or scuruy plodder at Nouerint, but nailes his asses eares on euerie post, and comes off with long Circumquaque to the Gentlemen Readers, yea, the most 5 excrementorie dishlickers of learning are growne so valiant in impudencie, that now they set vp their faces (like Turks) of gray paper, to be spet at for siluer games in Finsburie fields. Whilst I am thus talking, me thinks I heare one say. What a fop is this, he entitles his booke A Supplication 10 to the Diuell, and doth nothing but raile on ideots, and tels a storie of the nature of Spirits. Haue patience, good sir, and weele come to you by and by. Is it my Title you find fault with? Why, have you not seen a Towne surnamed by the principall house in the towne, or a Nobleman 15 deriue his Baronrie from a little village where he hath least land? So fareth it by me in christning of my ^I 3 Booke. | But some will object, whereto tends this discourse of diuels, or how is it induced? Forsooth, if thou wilt needs know my reson, this it is. I bring Pierce Penilesse 20 to question with the diuel, as a yoong nouice would talke with a great trauailer; who, carrieng an Englishmans appetite to enquire of news, will be sure to make what vse of him he maie, and not leave anie thing vnaskt, that he can resolve him of . If then the divell be tedious in 25 discoursing, impute it to Pierce Penilesse that was importunate in demanding ; or if I have not made him so secret or subtill in his Art, as Diuels are woont, let that of Lactantius bee mine excuse, lib. 2. cap. 16. de Origenis errore, where he saith, the diuels have no power to lie 30 to a just manne, and if they adjure them by the majestie of the high God, they will not onlie confesse themselues to be Diuels, but also tell their names as they are. Deus bone, what a vaine am I fallen into? what, an Epistle to the

3 Iack-dropper 92^{A} . nailes] vailes 92^{A} . 5 Gentleman 92^{CB} . yea] ye 93, 95. 6 dishlickers] dislikers 92^{A} . 7 impudence 92^{AB} . 8 spit 93, 95. 13 It is 93, 95. 18 discourse] discourse 92^{AB} . 19 you will 93, 95. 29 cap.] chap. 92^{B} tree.

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Readers in the end of thy booke? Out vppon thee for an arrent blocke, where learndst thou that wit? O sir. holde your peace: a fellon neuer comes to his answere before the offence be committed. Wherfore, if I in the 5 beginning of my Book should have come off with a long Apologie to excuse my selfe, it were all one as if a theefe, going to steale a horse, should deuise by the waie as he went, what to speake when he came at the gallows. Here is a crosse waie, and I thinke it good heere to part. Far-10 well, farewell, good Parenthesis, and commende mee to Ladie Vanitie, thy mistres. Now, Pierce peniles, if for a parting blow thou hast ere a tricke in thy budget more then ordinarie, bee not daintie of it, for a good Patron will pay for all. I. where is he? Promissis guilibet diues esse 15 Potest. But cap and thankes is all our Courtiers payment : wherefore, I would counsell my frends to be more considerate in their Dedications, and not cast away so many months labour on a clown that knowes not how to vse a Scholer: for what reason haue I to bestow any of my 20 wit vponhim, that wil best own one of his wealth vpon me? Alas, it is easie for a goodlie tall fellow that shineth in his silkes, to come and out face a poore simple Pedant in a thred bare cloake, and tell him his booke is prety, but at this time he is not prouided for him : marrie, about 25 twoe or three daies hence if he come that waie, his Page shall say he is not within, or else he is so busie with my L. How-call-ye-him, and my L. What-call-ye-him, that | he I 3* may not be spoken withall. These are the common courses of the world, which euerie man priuatlie murmurs 30 at, but none dares openlie vpbraid, bicause all Artists for the most part are base minded and like the Indians, that have store of gold & pretious stones at command, yet are ignorant of their value, & therfore let the Spaniards.

8 spake g_2^{BC} at] to g_5 . II Now ...] New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 16 would] could g_5 . I8 on] vppon g_2^{AB} . 19 of my] g_2^{AB} : om. g_2^{C} & 20 on him g_2^{C} & 2.1 easie] an easie matter g_2^{AB} . shines g_2^{A} . 27 How-call-ye-him] what-call-ye-him g_5 . 30-I because the most Artists are base minded : like g_2^{A} .

I

the Englishmen and euerie one loade their ships with them without molestation. So they, enioying and possessing the puritie of knowledge (a treasure farre richer than the Indian Mines), let euerie proude *Thraso* be partaker of their perfections, repaieng them no profit; and gylde him-5 selfe with the titles they giue him, when he wil scarse returne them a good word for their labor: giue an Ape but a nut, & he will look your head for it; or a dog a bone, and hele wag his taile: but giue me one of my yoong Maisters a booke, and he will put of his hat & blush, ¹⁰ and so go his waie.

Yes, now I remember me, I lie; for I know him that had thanks for three yeares worke, and a gentleman that bestowed much cost in refining of musicke, and had scarse Fidlers wages for his labor. We want an Aretine here 15 among vs, that might strip these golden asses out of their gaie trappings, and after he had ridden them to death with railing, leave them on the dunghill for carion. But I will write to his ghost by my carrier, and I hope hele repaire his whip, and vse it against our English Peacockes, that 20 painting themselues with church spoils, like mightie mens sepulchers, haue nothing but Atheisme, schisme, hypocrisie, & vainglory, like rotten bones lie lurking within them. O how my soule abhors these buckram giants, that having an outwarde face of honor set vppon them by flatterers and 25 parasites, haue their inward thoughtes stuft with strawe and feathers, if they were narrowelie sifted.

Far be it, bright stars of Nobilitie, and glistring attendants on the true *Diana*, that this my speech shoulde be anie way iniurious to your glorious magnificence: for in 3° you liue those sparks of *Augustus* liberalitie, that neuer sent anie awaie emptie; & Science seauenfold throne, well nigh ruined by ryot and auarice, is mightilie supported by your plentifull larges, which makes Poets to sing such

I with them] g_2^A : om. g_2^B &c. II waie: yes, now Q.: New par. Coll., Gro. 17 with] om. g_3 , g_5 . 23 lie] om. g_2^A . 25 flaterts g_2^C . 28 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in g_2^A &c. 32 awaie] way g_2^A .

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goodlie himnes of your praise, as no enuious posteritie may forget. But from generall fame, let me digres to my private experience, and with a toong vnworthy to | name I 4 a name of such worthines, affectionatelie emblason to the 5 eies that woonder, the matchlesse image of Honor, and magnificent rewarder of vertue, Ioues Eagle-borne Ganimed, thrice noble Amyntas. In whose high spirit, such a Deitie of wisdom appeereth, that if Homer were to write his Odissea new (where, vnder the person of Vlysses, he 10 describeth a singular man of perfection, in whom all ornaments both of peace and warre are assembled in the height of their excelence), he need no other instance to augment his conceipt, than the rare carriage of his honorable minde. Manye writers and good wits are given to commend their 15 patrons and Benefactors, some for prowesse, some for policie, others for the glorie of their Ancestrie and exceeding bountie and liberalitie : but if my vnable pen should euer enterprise such a continuate taske of praise. I woulde embowell a number of those wind puft bladders, and dis-20 furnish their bald-pates of the periwigs Poets haue lent them, that so I might restore glorie to his right inheritance, and these stoln Titles to their true owners : which, if it would so fall out (as time maie worke all thinges), the aspiring nettles, with their shadie toppes, shal no longer ouer-25 dreep the best hearbs, or keep them from the smiling aspect of the Sunn, that live & thrive by his comfortable beames; none but Desert should sit in Fames grace, none but Hector be remembred in the chronicles of Prowesse, none but thou, most curteous Amyntas, be the second misticall so argument of the knight of the Red-crosse.

Oh decus atque æui gloria summa tui.

And heere (heauenlie Spencer) I am most highlie to acuse thee of forgetfulnes, that in that honourable catalogue of our English *Heroes*, which insuch the conclusion of thy

⁵ eyes of wonder g_2^A . 12 excellencie g_3 , g_5 . instanc g_2^C . 23 wonld g_2^{BC} . 26 his] om. g_2^A . beames] heatines g_5 . 29 misticall] musicall g_2^A .

famous Fairie Queene, thou wouldst let so speciall a piller of Nobilitie passe vnsaluted. The verie thought of his far deriued discent, & extraordinarie parts, wherewith he astonieth the world, and drawes all harts to his loue, would haue inspired thy forewearied Muse with new furie to pro- 5 ceede to the next triumphs of thy statelie Goddesse : but as I, in fauor of so rare a scholler, suppose, with this counsell he refraind his mention in this first part, that he might with full saile proceed to his due commendations in the second. Of this occasion long since I happened to frame 10 I 4^v a son-|net, which, being wholie intended to the reuerence of this renoumed Lord (to whom I owe all the vtmoste powers of my loue and dutie), I meante heere for variety of stile to insert.

> Perusing yesternight, with idle eyes. 15 The Fairy Singers stately tuned verse, And viewing after Chap-mens wonted guise, What strange contents the title did rehearse : I streight leapt over to the latter end. Where like the queint Comædians of our time, 20 That when their Play is doone do fal to ryme. I found short lines, to sundry Nobles pend; Whom he as speciall Mirrours singled fourth, To be the Patrons of his Poetry: I read them all, and reverenc't their worth, 25 Yet wondred he left out thy memory. But therefore gest I he supprest thy name. Because few words might not coprise thy fame.

Beare with me gentle Poet, though I conceiue not aright of thy purpose, or be too inquisitiue into the intent of thy 30 obliuion: for, how euer my conjecture may misse the cushion, yet shal my speech sauour of friendship, though it be not alied to judgement.

Tantum hoc molior, in this short digression, to acquaint our countreymen that liue out of the Eccho of the Court, 35

3 far] om. 93, 95. 9 commendation 95. 12 renowned 95.

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with a common knowledge of his inualuable vertues, and shew my selfe thankfull (in some part) for benefits received : which since words may not countervaile, that are the vsuall lip labour of everie idle discourser, I conclude with that of 5 Ouid :

Accipe per longos tibi qui deserviat annos, Accipe qui pura nouit amare fide.

And if my zeale and duty (though all to meane to please) may by any industrie be reformed to your gratious liking, 10 I submit the simplicitie of my indeuours to your seruice, which is, all my performance may profer, or my abilitie performe.

> Præbeat Alcinoi poma benignus ager, Officium pauper numeret studiumque fidemque.

¹⁵ And so I breake off this endlesse argument of speech abruptlie.

FINIS.

13 begningnus 92A.

17 For colophon in 95 see Introductory Note.



STRANGE NEWES OF THE INTER-CEPTING CERTAINE LETTERS

Entry in the Stationers' Register :

xij^o die Januarij [1592-3]

John Danter

For Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]ande of master Styrrop, a booke intituled The Apologie of Pierce Pennylesse or strange newes of the intercepting certen letters, and a convoy of verses as they were goinge to victuall the Lowe Cuntries. ... vj^d S./ (S. R., ed. Arber, II. 624.)

Editions: (1) Early:

1592 (A). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-ling certaine Letters, and a Con-luoy of Verfes, as they were going *Privilie* to | victuall the Low Countries. | *Vnda impellitur vnda*. | By *Tho. Na/he* Gentleman. | [ornament] | Printed 1592.

No colophon. Octavo. Not paged.

Collation; A-L⁴, M². (A I) Title, v. blank. A 2 'To the most copious Carminist...' Ital. and Rom. R-T. The Epistle | Dedicatorie. (A 4)[×] 'To the Gentlemen Readers.' Rom. and Ital. R-T. (on B I) To the Reader. (from B I[×]) The Epistle | to the Reader. B 3[×] blank. (B 4) The foure Letters Confuted. Rom. and Ital. with a few passages in Black Letter. R-T. Foure Letters | Confuted. C. 'Heere beginneth the first Epistle...' Some other cross headings which are printed in larger character than the text are not here noticed.

Signatures in Roman except A 2, A 3, G 3, which are in Italic. The figure 2 of D 2 is inverted. Fourth leaves not signed.

STRANGE NEWES OF THE

Catch-words: A 2. Yea, A 3. from B I. He C I. liverey DI. A E I. If F I. (cham-)ber G I. com-(mitted) H I. thou I I. (vn-)thrifts K I. Vtere L I. knows M I. than

Copy used: That in the British Museum (96. b. 16. (3).)

1592 (B). 'Strange Newes... Tho. Nashe Gentlemen. Printed at London by John Danter, dwelling in Hosier Lane neere Holburne Conduit. 1592. 4to, 46 leaves.' (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 413.)

I have not seen a copy of this edition. It is the one from which Collier printed and appears to be a reissue of the first with a new title-page and a substituted passage in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie.' With the exception of the imprint, Collier's title-page corresponds in wording to that of -92^{A} , but reads, 'the victuall' for 'to victuall.'

1593 (A). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-ling certaine Letters, and a Con-luoy of Verfes, as they were going *Privilie* to | victuall the Low Countries. | *Vnda impellitur vnda.* | By *Tho. Nafbe*, Gentleman. | [device] | Printed at London by *Iohn Danter*, dwelling in | Hosier-Lane neere Holburne | Conduit, 1593. (From Grosart's reprint of the copy in the Huth Library.)

I have not seen this. It appears to be a reissue of -92^{B} , with a new title-page, or perhaps merely new date. Huth Cat. has 'Nashe Gentleman.'

1593 (B). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-ling certaine Letters, and a Con-luoy of Verfes, as they were going *Pruilie* to | victuall the Low Countries. | *Vnda impellitur vnda.* | By *Tho. Nafbe* Gentleman. | [device: Danter's, with motto 'Aut nunc aut nunquam.'] | Printed at London by *Iohn Danter*, dwelling in | Hofier-Lane neere Holburne | Conduit, 1593. (From the facsimile in 'Catalogue of Original and Early Editions of some of the Poetical and Prose Works of English Writers....' Grolier Club, New York, 1893, page 165.)

The description given is as follows: 'Quarto. Second edition. Collation: One leaf without signature; B-M 2, in fours. Title...one leaf. On the verso of the title begins the epistle "To the Gentlemen.

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Readers.", which ends on B 3 (verso blank). The work, B 4-M 2; on the verso, a sonnet and "Observations for the Readers of this booke"."

If this is correct, and the book has a reputation for accuracy, the preliminary matter must differ from that of any other edition known to me in not having the dedication 'To the most copious Carminist...', and in having the first page of the Epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' on the verso of the title, instead of on $(A 4)^{v}$ as in earlier editions, or on (? 2)^v as in -93^c and -93^b.

1593 (C). THE | Apologie of Pierce | Pennileffe. | OR | Strange Newes, Of the intercepting | certaine Letters, and a Conuoy of Verfes, as they were | going *Priuilie* to victuall the Lowe | Countries. | *Vnda impellitur vnda*. | By *Tho. Nafbe* Gentleman. | [device as -93^{B}] | Printed at London by *Iohn Danter*, dwelling in Hofier | Lane neere Holburne Conduit, | 1593.]

No colophon. Octavo. Not paged.

Collation: Two leaves, unsigned or signatures cut off, B-L⁴, M². (?) Title. (?) 'To the most copious Carminist...' Rom., Black Letter and Ital. R-T. (on (?2)) THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE. Ends on (? 2) with the word 'frangas,' the signature of Nashe, if any, being cut off. (? 2)' 'To the Gentlemen. Readers.' From B onwards this edition is identical with -92^{A} .

Catch-words: Those of $(?)^{\vee}$ and (? 2) are cut off in the copies seen, if there ever were any. $(? 2)^{\vee}$ I Rest as in -92^{A} .

Copy used : That in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 721).

1593 (D). $THE \mid$ Apologie of Pierce \mid Pennileffe. $\mid OR \mid$ Strange Newes, ... Printed at London by *Iohn Danter*, and are to be folde \mid by William Barley, at his fhop in Gratious-ftreet \mid ouer againft Leaden-hall. \mid 1593.

Except for the imprint, this is identical with -93^c. Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 567).

(2) Modern Editions:

1870 (Coll.) Strange Newes . . . By Tho. Nashe . . . 1592. (Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. I.)

Edited by J. P. Collier from edition -92^B.

1883-4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe... edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. ii, pp. 171-290.

From a copy of edition -93^{A} in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

From the copy of edition -92^{A} in the British Museum (96. b. 16. (3).) A copy of edition -93^{C} in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 721) has been collated for the preliminary matter.

Note on the Editions¹:

As stated above, I have only seen the first, fifth, and sixth of these, but in the particular case this appears to be of little importance, especially as two of the others have been already printed from.

From sig. B, onwards, the sheets of -92^{A} , -93^{C} , and -93^{D} are identical, and we may, I think, fairly conclude the same to have been the case in the intermediate editions. Collier's and Grosart's reprints exhibit however a certain number of minor variations, including in the case of the latter the addition of a side-note on K 2. On the chance therefore that these do really represent a different setting-up of type, I have recorded all the variant readings in Grosart's text, noting whether they occur, as the great majority do, in Collier's also. Collier's other variants, which are numerous, I have passed over in silence.

With regard to the preliminary matter on sheet A. As will be seen from the text, in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of -92^{B} and later editions, a new paragraph replaces a somewhat libellous one which is found in -92^{A} . In -92^{B} pages A 2 and A 2^{\vee} appear, if we can trust the spelling of Collier's text, to have been re-set, the rest of the introductory matter perhaps not. Grosart's text appears to represent the same setting-up as Collier's, indicating that for -93^{A} no change was made except that of the date on the title-page.

¹ Certain of these 'editions' would, I doubt not, be more properly called 'issues,' but as I have not seen them all, I prefer to use a term the meaning of which is not quite so fixed.

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In -93^{B} the dedication was omitted and the first page of the epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' (originally A 4^{v}) was printed on the back of the title, reducing the preliminary matter to one leaf, or to one leaf preceded by a blank.

In -93^{c} and -93^{D} the dedication of -92^{B} 'To the most copious Carminist' is restored, being now printed in small characters on two pages instead of five, beginning on the back of the title and ending at the foot of (? 2). On $(? 2)^{v}$ is the first page of the epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' in a different setting-up to that of -92^{A} , but identical in wording.

As the change in the dedication which has been already referred to seems less to resemble a voluntary correction than an enforced one, I have followed -92^{A} , believing that to represent what the author intended to write.



Strange Newes, Of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Con-

toy of Verles, as they were going Prinilie to victual the Low Countries.

Sada impellitur vuda.

By The. Nafbe Gentleman,



Printed 1592.



To the most copious Carminist

of our time, and famous persecutor of *Priscian*, his verie friend Maister *Apis lapis*: *Tho. Nashe* wisheth new strings to his old tawnie Purse, and all honourable increase of acquaintance in the Cellar.

5

G Entle M. William, that learned writer Rhenish wine & Sugar, in the first booke of his Comment vpon Red-noses, hath this saying: veterem ferendo iniuriam inuitas nouam; which is as much in English as one Cuppe of nipitaty puls on another. In moyst consideration wherof, as also in zealous regard of that high countenance you shew vnto Schollers, I am bolde, in steade of new Wine, to carowse to you a cuppe of newes: Which if your Worship

15 (according to your wonted Chaucerisme) shall accept in good part, Ile bee your daily Orator to pray that that pure sanguine complexion of yours may neuer be famisht with pottelucke, that you may tast till your last gaspe, and live to see the confusion of both your speciall enemies, Small Beere and 20 Grammer rules.

It is not vnknowne to report, what a famous pottle-pot Patron you have beene to olde Poets in your daies, & how many pounds you have spent (and, as it were, throwne into the fire) vpon the durt of wisedome, called Alcumie: | Yea, A 2^v 25 you have beene such an infinite Mecenas to learned men, that

23 &cc. In editions 92^B &c., for the passage 'Yea, you have beene ... red letters,' the following is substituted: Yea, you are such an infinite Mecsenas to learned men, that there is not that morsell of meate they can carve you, but you will eate for their sakes, and accept very thankefully. Thinke not, though vnder correction of your boome companionship, I am disposd to be a little pleasant, I condemne you of any immoderation either in eating or drinking, for I knowe your gouernement and carriage to be every way Canonicall. Verily, verily, all poore Schollers acknowledge you as their patron, providitore, and supporter, for there cannot a threed-bare Cloake sooner peepe forth, but you strait presse it be e an outbrother of your bounty: three decayed Students you kept attending vpon you a long time. (Printed from 93^c, where, however, it is in Roman.)

A 2

not any that belong to them (as Sumners, and who not) but have tasted of the coole streames of your liberalitie.

I would speake in commendation of your hospitalitie likewise, but that it is chronicled in the Archdeacons Court, and the fruites it brought foorth (as I gesse) are of age to speake 5 for themselues. Why should vertue bee smothered by blinde circumstance? An honest man of Saffron Walden kept three sonnes at the Vniuersitie together a long time; and you kept three maides together in your house a long time. A charitable deed, & worthie to be registred in red letters. 10

Shall I presume to dilate of the grauitie of your round cap, and your dudgen dagger? It is thought they will make you be cald vpon shortlie to be Alderman of the Stilliard. And thats well remembred; I heard saie, when this last Terme was remooued to Hartford, you fell into a great studie 15 and care by your selfe, to what place the Stilliard should be remooued; I promise you trulie it was a deepe meditation, and such as might well have beseemed Eldertons parliament of noses to have sit vpon.

A Tauerne in London, onelie vpon the motion, mourned 20 all in blacke, and forbare to girt hir temples with iuie, because the grandame of good fellowship was like to depart from amongst them. And I wonder verie much, that you sampsownd not your selfe into a consumption with the profound cogitation of it. 25

Diù viuas in amore iocísque, whatsoeuer you do, beware of keeping diet. Sloth is a sinne, and one sinne (as one poison) must be expelled with another. What can he doe better that A 3 hath nothing to do, than fal a drinking to keep | him from idlenesse?

Fah, me thinks my ieasts begin alreadie to smell of the caske, with talking so much of this liquid prouinder.

In earnest thus; There is a Doctor and his Fart that have kept a foule stinking stirre in Paules Churchyard; I crie him mercie, I slaundered him, he is scarse a Doctor 35 till he hath done his Acts: this dodipoule, this didopper, this

23 among Coll., Gro.

DEDICATORIE

professed poetical braggart, hath raild vpon me, without wit or art, in certaine foure penniworth of Letters and three farthing-worth of Sonnets; now do I meane to present him and Shakerley to the Queens foole-taker for coatch-horses: 5 for two that draw more equallie in one Oratoriall yoke of vaine-glorie, there is not vnder heauen.

What saie you, Maister Apis lapis, will you with your eloquence and credit shield me from carpers? Haue you anie odde shreds of Latine to make this letter-munger 10 a cockscombe of?

It stands you in hande to arme your selfe against him; for he speaks against Connicatchers, and you are a Connicatcher, as Connicatching is divided into three parts; the Verser, the Setter, and the Barnacle.

- ¹⁵ A Setter I am sure you are not; for you are no Musitian: nor a Barnacle; for you neuer were of the order of the Barnardines: but the Verser I cannot acquite you of, for M. Vaux of Lambeth brings in sore euidence of a breakefast you wonne of him one morning at an vnlawful game cald ²⁰ riming. What lies not in you to amend, blaie the Doctor
- and defend.

A fellow that I am to talke with by and by, being told that his Father was a Rope-maker, excused the matter after this sort; And hath neuer saint had reprobate to his Father?

25 They are his owne wordes, hee cannot goe | from them. You A 3° see heere hee makes a Reprobate and a Ropemaker, voces conuertibiles. Go too, take example by him to wash out durt with inke, and run vp to the knees in the channell, if you bee once wetshod. You are amongst graue Doctors, and men of

- 3° iudgement in both Lawes everie daie: I pray aske them the question in my absence, whether such a man as I have describ'd this Epistler to be, one that hath a good handsome pickerdevant, and a prettie leg to studie the Civill Law with, that hath made many proper rimes of the olde cut in his daies,
- 35 and deserved infinitely of the state by extolling himselfe and his two brothers in everie booke he writes : whether (I saie) such a famous piller of the Presse, now in the fourteenth or

I

fifteenth yeare of the raigne of his Rhetorike, giving mony to have this his illiterat Pamphlet of Letters printed (wheras others have monie given them to suffer them selves to come in Print) it is not to bee counted as flat simonie, and be liable to one and the same penaltie?

I tell you, I meane to trounce him after twentie in the hundred, and have a bout with him with two staves and a pike for this geare.

If he get any thing by the bargaine, lette what soeuer I write hence-forward bee condemned to wrappe bumbast in. 10

Carouse to me good lucke, for I am resolutely bent; the best bloud of the brothers shall pledge me in vineger. O would thou hadst a quaffing boule, which, like Gawens scull, should containe a pecke, that thou mightst swappe off a hartie draught to the successe of this voiage. 15

By what soeuer thy visage holdeth most pretious I beseech thee, by Iohn Dauies soule and the blew Bore in the Spittle A 4 I coniure thee, to draw out thy purse, and give me | nothing for the dedication of my Pamphlet.

Thou art a good fellow I know, and hadst rather spend 20 ieasts than monie. Let it be the taske of thy best tearmes, to safeconduct this booke through the enemies countrey.

Proceede to cherish thy surpassing carminicall arte of memorie with full cuppes (as thou dost): let Chaucer bee new scourd against the day of battaile, and Terence come but in 25 nowe and then with the snuffe of a sentence, and Dictum puta, Weele strike it as dead as a doore naile; Haud teruntij estimo, We have cattes meate and dogges meate inough for these mungrels. However I write merrilie, I love and admire thy pleasant wittie humor, which no care 30 or crosse can make vnconversable. Stil be constant to thy content, love poetry, hate pedantisme. Vade, vale, caue ne titubes, mandatáq; frangas.

Thine intirely,

Tho. Nashe. 35

7 about 92^A, 93^C. 34 Thine ... Nashe.] Cut off in copies seen of 93^C and 93^D, if it was ever there.

To the Gentlemen Readers.

5 Entlemen, the strong fayth you have conceiu'd, that I would do workes of supererrogation in answering the Doctor, hath made mee breake my daye with other important busines I had, and stand darting of quils a while like the Porpentine.

I know there want not welwillers to my disgrace, who say my onely Muse is contention; and other, that with 10 *Tiberius Cæsar* pretending to see in the darke, talke of strange objectes by them discouered in the night, when in truth they are nothing else but the glimmering of their eies.

I will not holde the candle to the Deuill, vnmaske my holiday Muse to enuie; but if any such deepe insighted 15 detracter will challenge mee to whatsoeuer quiet aduenture of Art, wherein he thinkes mee least conuersant, hee shall finde that I am *Tam Mercurio quàm Marti*, a Scholler in some thing else but contention.

If idle wittes will needes tye knottes on smooth bul-20 rushes with their tongues, faith, the worlde might thinke I had little to attend, if I should goe about to vnloose them with my penne.

I cannot tell how it comes to passe, but in these ill eide B a daies of ours, euery man delights with *Ixion* to beget 25 children of clouds, digge for Pearles in dunghils, and wrest oyle out of iron.

Poore *Pierce Pennilesse* haue they turnd to a coniuring booke, for there is not that line in it, with which they doo not seeke to raise vp a Ghost, and, like the hog that con-30 uerts the sixth part of his meate into bristels, so haue they conuerted sixe parts of my booke into bitternes.

Aretine, in a Commedie of his, wittily complaineth that

5 mee to breake 93°, Coll., Gro.

S 2

A 4

vpstart Commenters, with their Annotations and gloses, had extorted that sense and Morall out of *Petrarch*, which if *Petrarch* were aliue, a hundred Strappadoes might not make him confesse or subscribe too; So may I complaine that rash heads, vpstart Interpreters, haue extorted & rakte 5 that vnreuerent meaning out of my lines, which a thousand deaths cannot make mee ere grant that I dreamd off.

To them that are abused by their owne iealous collections and no determined trespasse of mine, this aduice, by the way of example, will I giue.

10

One comming to Doctour *Perne* on a time, and telling him hee was miserably raild on such a day in a Sermon at Saint Maries in *Cambridge*, I, but, quoth he (in his puling manner of speaking) did he name me, did he name me? I warrant you, goe and aske him, and hee will say hee ¹⁵ meant not mee; So they that are vngroundedly offended at any thing in *Pierce Pennilesse*, first let them looke if I did name them; if not, but the matter hangeth in suspence, let them send to mee for my exposition, and not buy it at the seconde hand, and I doe not doubt but they will be ²⁰ throughly satisfied.

B I' Hee that wraps himselfe in earth, like the Foxe, to catch birds, may haps haue a heauy cart go ouer him before he be aware, and breake his backe.

A number of Apes may get the glowworme in the night $_{25}$ and thinke to kindle fire with it, because it glisters so, but, God wote, they are beguiled, it proues in the end to be but fools fire; the poore worme alone with their blowing is warmed, they starud for colde whiles their wood is vntoucht. Who but a Foppe wil labour to anatomize a Flye? 30 Fables were free for any bondman to speake in old time, as *Æsope* for an instance; their allusion was not restrained to any particular humor of spite, but generally applyed to a generall vice. Now a man may not talke of a dog, but it is surmised he aimes at him that giueth the dog 35

11-2 telling him that hee Coll., Gro. 13 at] in Coll., Gro. 28-9 blowing warmed Coll., Gro.

in his Crest; hee cannot name straw, but hee must plucke a wheate sheaffe in pieces, *Intelligendo faciunt vt nihil intelligant*.

What ever they be that thus persecute Art (as the 5 Alcumists are said to persecute Nature) I would wish them to rebate the edge of their wit, and not grinde their colours so harde; having founde that which is blacke, let them not, with our forenamed Gold-falsifiers, seeke for a substance that is blacker than black, or angle for frogs to in a cleare fountaine.

From the admonition of these vncurteous misconsterers, I come to *The kilcow champion of the three brethren*; he forsooth wil be the first that shal giue *Pierce Penilesse* a *non placet*.

15 It is not inough that hee bepist his credite, about twelue yeeres ago, with *Three proper and wittie familiar letters*, but still he must be running on the *letter*, and abusing the Queenes English without pittie or mercie.

Bee it knowne vnto you (Christian Readers) this man B 2 20 is a forestaller of the market of fame, an ingrosser of glorie, a mountebancke of strange wordes, a meere marchant of babies and conny-skins.

Hold vp thy hand, G. H., thou art heere indited for an incrocher vpon the fee-simple of the Latin, an enemie to ²⁵ Carriers, as one that takes their occupation out of their hands, and dost nothing but transport letters vp and downe in thy owne commendation, a conspiratour and practiser to make Printers rich, by making thy selfe ridiculous, a manifest briber of Bookesellers and Stationers, 30 to helpe thee to sell away thy bookes (whose impression thou paidst for) that thou mayst haue money to goe home

to Trinitie Hall to discharge thy commons.

I say no more but Lord haue mercie vpon thee, for thou art falne into his hands that will plague thee.

35 Gentlemen, will you be instructed in the quarrell that

6 rebate] abate Coll., Gro. 11 misconsterers. I come Q. 18 without Q. 21 mounte bancke Q. 25 occupation Q.

hath causd him lay about him with his penne and inckehorne so couragiously? About two veeres since (a fatall time to familiar Epistles) a certavne Theologicall gimpanado, a demie diuine, no higher than a Tailors pressing iron, brother to this huge booke-beare, that writes himselfe 5 One of the Emperour Instinians Courtiers, tooke vppon him to set his foote to mine, and ouer-crow mee with comparatiue tearmes. I protest I neuer turnd vp any cowsheard to looke for this scarabe flye. I had no conceit as then of discouering a breed of fooles in the three 10 brothers bookes: marry, when I beheld ordinance planted on edge of the pulpit against me, & that there was no remedy but the blind Vicar would needs let flie at me with his Churchdore keies, & curse me with bel, book, and B 2^v candle, because in my Alphabet of Idiots I had | ouer- 15 skipt the Hs, what could I doe but draw yppon him with my penne, and defende my selfe with it and a paper buckler as well as I might?

Say I am as verie a Turke as hee that three yeeres ago ranne vpon ropes, if euer I speld eyther his or anie 20 of his kindreds name in reproch, before hee barkt against mee as one of the enemies of the Lambe of God, and fetcht allusions out of the Buttery to debase mee.

Heere beginneth the fray. I vpbraid godly predication with his wicked conuersation, I squirt inke into his decayed ²⁵ eyes with iniquitie to mend their diseased sight, that they may a little better descend into my schollership and learning. The Ecclesiastical duns, in stead of recouery, waxeth starke blind thereby (as a preseruatiue to some, is poyson to others): hee gets an olde Fencer, his brother, to be 3° reuengd on me for my Phisicke; who, flourishing about my eares with his two hand sworde of Oratory and Poetry, peraduenture shakes some of the rust of it on my shoulders, but otherwise strikes mee not but with the shadowe of it, which is no more than a flappe with the false scabberd 35 of contumelie: whether am I in this case to arme my selfe against his intent of iniurie, or sitte still with my finger in my mouth, in hope to bee one of simplicities martyrs?

A quest of honorable minded Caualiers go vppon it, and if they shall find by the Law of armes or of ale, that I, 5 beeing first prouokt, am to bee inioynde to the peace, or be sworne true seruant to cowardize & patience, when wrong presseth mee to the warres; then wil I bind my selfe prentise to a Cobler, and fresh vnderlay all those writings of mine that haue trodde awrie.

¹⁰ Be aduertised (gentle audience) that the *Doctors* pro-B₃ ceedings haue thrust vpon mee this sowterly Metaphor, who, first contriuing his confutation in a short Pamphlet of six leaues, like a paire of summer pumps, afterward (winter growing on) clapt a paire of double soales on it

¹⁵ like a good husband, added eight sheets more, and prickt those sheets or soales, as full of the hob-nayles of reprehension as they could sticke.

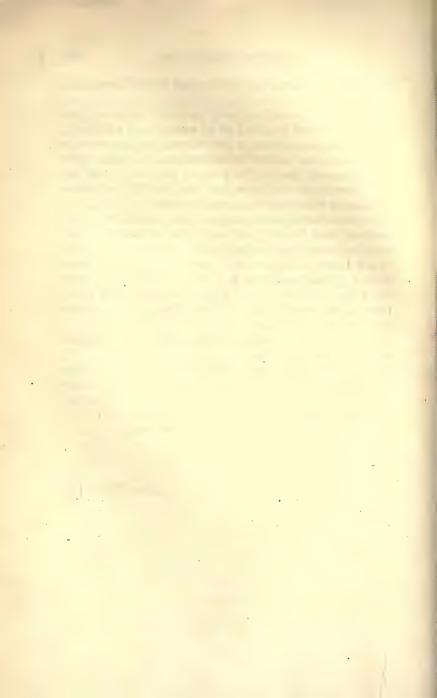
It is not those his new clowted startops iwis, that shall carry him out of the durt.

Sweet Gentlemen, be but indifferent, and you shal see mee desperate. Heere lies my hatte, and there my cloake, to which I resemble my two Epistles, being the vpper garments of my booke, as the other of my body : Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne

25

vpon him.

Tho. Nashe.



The foure Letters dome filler B4 Confuted.

Gabriel, and not onely Gabriel, but Gabrielissime Gabriel, no Angell but ANGELOS, id est, Nuntius, a Fawneguest Messenger twixt Maister Bird and Maister Demetrius: Behold, here stands he that will make it good, on thy foure Letters bodie, that thou art a filthy vaine foole. Thy booke I commend; as very well printed: and like wondrous well, because all men dislike it.

- I agree with thee that there are in it some matters of Note, for there are a great many barefoote rimes in it, that goe as iumpe as a Fiddle with euery ballet-makers note: and if according to their manner, you had tun'd them ouer the head, it had beene nere the worse, for by that meanes Is you might haue had your name chaunted in euery corner
- of the streete, then the which there can be nothing more melodiouslie addoulce to your deuine Entelechy. O they would have trowld off brauely to the tune of O man in Desperation, and, like Marenzos Madrigals, the mournefull 20 note naturally have affected the miserable Dittie.

Doe you knowe your owne misbegotten bodgery | *Ente*- $B_{4^{\vee}}$ *lechy* and *addoulce*? With these two Hermophrodite phrases, being halfe Latin and halfe English, hast thou puld out the very guts of the inkehorne.

Letters.

25

To all curteous mindes that will vouchsafe the reading.

Comment.

In their absence, this be deliuered to Megge Curtis in Shorditch, to stop mustard pots with.

4 Nnntius Q.

FOVRE LETTERS

The particular Contents.

L. A Præface to courteous mindes.

C. As much to say as Proface, much good do it you, would it were better for you.

L. A Letter to M. Emanuel Demetrius, with a sonnet 5 thereto annexed.

C. That is, as it were a purgation vpon a vomit, buskins vpon pantophles.

L. A Letter to M. Bird.

C. Or little matter wrapt vp in many words.

10

L. A Letter to everie favorable and indifferent Reader.

C. Id est, An exhortation to all Readers, that they shall reade nothing but his works.

L. Another letter to the same, extorted after the rest.

C. By interpretation, a Letter whereof his inuention had 15 a hard stoole, and yet it was for his ease, though not for his honestie: and so forth, as the Text shall direct you at large.

CONFVTED

Heere beginneth the first Epistle and first Booke of Orator Gabriell to the Catilinaries or Philippicks.

Wherein is divulged, that venum is venum and will infect, that that which is done cannot (de facto) be undone, that fauour is a curteous Reader, and G. H. vour thankfull debter.

5

A Comment vpon the Text.

He learned Orator in this Epistle taketh precise order he will not be too eloquent, and yet it shall be (L,) as well for enditing unworthie to be published, as for publishing unworthie to be endited.

C. He had many aduersaries in those times that he wrote, amongst the which Cloth-breeches and Veluetis breeches (his fathers pouerty, and his owne pride, were none of the meanest).

After them start vp one Pierce Pennilesse, and hee likewise was a stumbling blocke in his way. (Penurie not long tarries after pride; pray all the ropes in Saffron 20 Walden that I do not prophesie. Amen, Amen, quoth M. Bird and M. Demetrius.)

Hee forbeares to speake much in this place of the one or the other, because his letters are more forward to accuse them than their owne books to condemne them; yet for

25 a touch by the way, hee talks that Greene is no | liverey for this winter, it is pitifully blasted and faded in euerie C 1Y meade, by the strong breath of his barbarisme.

Hee hath a twitch at Pierce Pennilesse too, at the parting stile, and tearms him the Deuils Orator by profes-30 sion, and his Dames Poet by practise: wherein mee thinks (the surreuerence of his works not impaired) he hath verie highly ouershotte himselfe: for no more is Pierce Penni-

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Ст

lesse to be cald the Deuils Orator for making a Supplication to the Deuill, than hee is to bee helde for a Rhethoritian, for setting foorth *Gabrielis Scuruei Rhetor*, wherein hee thought to have knockt out the braines of poore *Tullies Orator*, but in veritie did nothing else, but gather a flaunt-5 ing vnsauory fore-horse nosegay out of his well furnished garland.

The aduancement of the Deuils Oratorship, which he ascribeth to *Pierce Pennilesse*, me thinks had beene a fit place for his Doctorship, when hee mist the Oratorship 10 of the Vniuersitie, of which, in the sequele of his booke, he most slanderously complaineth. Doctor *Perne*, *Greene*, no dead man he spareth.

What he should subaudi by his Dames Poet, I scarce apprehend, except this, that Pierce his Father was Dame 15 Laws. Poet, and writte many goodly stories of her in An Almond for a Parrat.

Those that will take a Lecture in our Orators letters must not *read*, *excuse*, *commend*, *credite* or *beleeue* anie approoued truth in Pierce Pennilesse, especially if it be 20 any thing that vpbraideth the great Baboune his brother.

Hee will stoppe the beginning, id est, when hee hath come behind a man and broke his head, seeke to bind him to the good abearing, or els the ende were like to proue pernitious and perillous to his confusion.

C₂ Somewhat hee mutters of *defamation and iust commendation*, & what a hell it is for him, that hath built his heauen in vaine-glory, to bee puld by the sleeue and bidde *Respice funem*, looke backe to his Fathers house; but I ouerslippe it as friuolous, because all the world knowes 30 him better than he knowes himselfe, & though he play the Pharisie neuer so, in iustifyng his owne innocence, theres none will beleeue him.

Let this bee spoken once for all, as I have a soule to save, till this day in all my life, with tongue nor penne, 35

16 Laws[on's] Gro. 17 a] om. Q: [a] Gro. 21 his] om. Q. Corr. in Errata.

CONFVTED

did I euer in the least worde or tittle derogate from the Doctor. If his brother (without any former prouocation on my part, God is my witnesse) rayld on me grossely, expresly namde mee, compard me to Martin, indeuord 5 to take from mee all estimation of Arte or witte, haue I not cause to bestirre mee?

Gabriell, I will bestirre mee, for all like an Alehouse Knight, thou crau'st of Instice to do thee reason ; as for impudencie and calumny, I returne them in thy face, that, 10 in one booke of tenne sheets of paper, hast publisht aboue two hundred lies.

Had they been wittie lies, or merry lies, they would neuer haue greeu'd mee : but palpable lies, damned lies, lies as big as one of the Guardes chynes of beefe, who can abide?

- Ile make thee of my counsaile, because I loue thee (not): 15 when I was in Cambridge, and but a childe, I was indifferently perswaded of thee : mee thought by thy apparell and thy gate, thou shouldst have beene a fine fellow: Little did I suspect that thou wert brother to Io. Pæan
- 20 (whom inwardly I alwaies grudgd at for writing against Aristotle) or any of the Hs of Hempe hall, but a Caualier of a clean contrary house: now thou hast guite spoild thy selfe; from the foote to | the head I can tell how thou C 2* art fashioned.

Teterrime frater, and not fraterrime frater, maist thou 25 verie wofully exclaime, for in helping him, thou hast crackt thy credit through the ring, made thy infamie currant as farre as the Queenes covne goes.

But it may be thou hast a sider cloke for this quarrell; 30 thou wilt object, thy Father was abusd, & that made thee write. What. by mee, or Greene, or both?

If by Greene and not mee, thou shouldst have written against Greene and not mee. If by both, I will answere for both; but not by both, therefore I will aunswere but 35 for one.

Giue an instance, if thou canst for thy life, wherin in any

31 Greeue Q.

leafe of *Pierce Penilesse* I had so much as halfe a sillables relation to thee, or offred one iot of indignitie to thy Father, more than naming the greatest dignitie he hath, when for varietie of Epithites, I calde thy brother *the sonne* of a Ropemaker. 5

We shall have a good sonne of you anone, if you be ashamd of your fathers occupation: ah, thou wilt nere thriue, that art beholding to a trade, and canst not abide to heare of it.

Thou dost live by the gallows, & wouldst not have 10 a shooe to put on thy foot, if thy father had no traffike with the hangman. Had I a Ropemaker to my father, & somebody had cast it in my teeth, I would foorthwith have writ in praise of Ropemakers, & prou'd it by soud sillogistry to be one of the 7. liberal sciences. 15

Somewhat I am priule to the cause of *Greenes* inueighing against the three brothers. Thy hot-spirited brother *Richard* (a notable ruffian with his pen) having first tooke vpon him in his blundring Persiual, to play the Iacke of both sides twixt *Martin* and vs, and snarld priuly at 20 C 3 *Pap-hatchet*, *Pasquill*, & others, that | opposed themselves

against the open slaunder of that mightie platformer of Atheisme, presently after dribbed forth another fooles bolt, a booke I shoulde say, which he christened *The Lambe* of God.

That booke was a learned booke, a labourd booke; for three yere before he put it in print, he had preacht it all without booke.

I my selfe haue some of it in a booke of Sermons that my Tutor at Cambridge made mee gather euery Sunday. 30 Then being very yoong, I counted it the abiectest and frothiest forme of Diuinitie that came in that place. Now more confirmed in age and Art, I confirme my ill opinion of it.

Neither do I vrge this, as if it were a hainous thing for 35 a man to put sermons in print after hee preacht them, but

21 opposd c.w. 24 Lamhe Q. 29 Setmons Q.

CONFVTED

observe the proud humor of the pert Didimus, that thinks nothing hee speakes but deserves to be put in print, and speakes not that sentence in the Pulpit, which before he rough-hewes not ouer with his penne. Besides, I taxe him 5 for turning an olde coate (like a Broker) and selling it for a new.

These and a thousand more imperfections might have beene buried with his bookes in the bottome of a drie-fatte, and there slept quietly amongst the shauings of the Presse, to if in his Epistle he had not beene so arrogantly censoriall.

Not mee alone did hee reuile and dare to the combat, but glickt at *Pap-hatchet* once more, and mistermed all our other Poets and writers about London, piperly makeplaies and make-bates.

- ¹⁵ Hence *Greene*, beeing chiefe agent for the companie (for hee writ more than foure other, how well I will not say: but *Sat citò*, si sat ben*è*) tooke occasion to canuaze him a little in his Cloth-breeches | and Veluet-breeches, C₃, and because by some probable collections hee gest the
- 20 elder brothers hand was in it, he coupled them both in one yoake, and, to fulfill the prouerbe *Tria sunt omnia*, thrust in the third brother, who made a perfect parriall of Pamphleters.

About some seauen or eight lines it was which hath ²⁵ pluckt on an inuectiue of so many leaues. Had hee liu'd, *Gabriel*, and thou shouldst so vnarteficially and odiously libeld against him as thou hast done, he would haue made thee an example of ignominy to all ages that are to come, and driuen thee to eate thy owne booke butterd, as I sawe 30 him make an Apparriter once in a Tauern eate his Citation,

waxe and all, very handsomly seru'd twixt two dishes.

Out vppon thee for an arrant dog-killer, strike a man when he is dead?

So Hares may pull dead Lions by the beards.

35 Memorandum: I borrowed this sentence out of a Play. The Theater, Poets hall, hath many more such prouerbes to persecute thee with, because thou hast so scornefully derided their profession, and despitefully maligned honest sports.

Before I vnbowell the leane Carcase of thy book any further, Ile drinke one cup of lambswooll to the Lambe of God and his enemies. 5

In the first foure leaves of it, I have singled out these Godly and fruitfull observations.

Noble Lord, I doe it even vpon former premisses, not for any future consequents.

My booke is not worthy of so honorable specialitie as your 10 Patronage.

I will not prosecute it with Theologicall peculiars, but from the mouth of the sword I speake, &c.

The hearts of the wicked pant, their spirits faile them, | C 4 they may well call for butter out of a Lordlie dish. 15

You that bee gentle Readers, doe you not laugh at this Lawiers english of former premisses and future consequents?

O finicallitie, your Patronages speciallitie, but if he prosecute it with Theologicall peculiars, we must needs 20 thrust him inter oues & boues, & reliqua pecora campi.

From the mouth of the sword I speake it, that butter out of a Lordly dish is but lewd diet for the Pulpit.

But this is not halfe the littour of inckehornisme, that those foure pages have pigd. I must tell you of the Octo- 25 narium of Ramus, the Sesquiamus of Phrigius, the Carthusianisme of Gulielmus Rikel, of Annals, Diaries, Chronologies, & Tropologicall schoolemen, The Abetilis of the Æthiopians or Pretoioannans, of Gulielmus minatensis, & S. Ierome allegorized Abdias, Lyra, Gryson, Porta, Pantaleon. 30

All which hee reckons vp to make the world beleeue he hath read much, but alleadgeth nothing out of them : Nor, I thinke, on my conscience, euer read or knew what they meane, but as he hath stole them by the wholesale out of some Booksellers Catalogue, or a table of Tractats. 35

29-30 allegorized & Abdias Q. Corr. in Errata : allegorized, Abdias Gro. 34 as] om. Coll., Gro.

Here are some of his profounde Annotations; Iacob tooke Leah for his bedfellowe in the darke by night, in steede of Rachell, whereby I learne to buy my wife candle to goe to bed withall, and admit her not by darke, but by light.

5 Iacob was deceived by Labans words: ergo, Obligations are better than bils, and we must believe no man, except he will waxe and multiplie in words, and call inke & parchment to witnes.

Iacob laide pilled rods with white strakes in the watring 10 places of the sheepe, whereby I note that in carnal | mixture C 4^v the senses are opened.

Iudge you that be the Fathers of the Church, whether this be fit matter to edifie or no.

It was not for nothing, brother Richard, that Greene told 15 you you kist your Parishioners wiues with holy kisses, for you that wil talk of opening the senses by carnal mixture (the very act of lecherie) in a Theological Treatise, and in the Pulpit, I am afraide, in a privater place you will practise as much as you speake. Homines rard nisi malk 20 locuti malk faciunt. Olet hircum, olet hircum, anie modest

eare would abhorre to heare it.

Farewell vncleane Vicar, and God make thee an honest man, for thou art too baudy for mee to deale withall.

It followes in the Text,

25 To my verie good friend Maister Emanuell Demetrius.

This Letter of M. Bird to M. Demetrius, should eseme, by all reference or collation of stiles, to bee a Letter which M. Birds secretarie, Doctour Gabriell, indited for him in his owne praise, and got him to sette his hand to when he had

3° done. Or rather, it is no letter, but a certificate (such as Rogues haue) from the headman of the Parish where hee was borne, that Gabriel is an excellent generall Scholler, and his Father of good behaviour.

We will not beleeue it except wee see the Towne seale 35 sette to it: but, say wee should beleeue it, what doth it

I

¹⁹ much Q. 29 his] om Q. Corr. in Errata. 31 head men Q. Corr. in Errata.

make for thee? Haue the Townesmen of Saffron Waldon euer heard thee preach, that they should commend thee for an excellent generall scholler? or (because thou professest thy self a Ciuilian) hast thou sollicited any of their causes in the bawdy Courtes therabouts? If not, go your 5 D I wayes a dolt as you came ; Maister Birdes Letter shall not repriue you from the ladder.

But Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches (by the judgement of the best man of none of the least towns in Essex) is a fantasticall and fond Dialogue, and one of the most 10 licentious intollerable inuectives that ever hee read.

Why?

In it is abused an auncient neighbour of his. How is he abused ?

In stead of his name, hee is called by the craft hee gets 15 his liuing with.

He hath borne office in Walden aboue twenty yere since (hoc est, had the keeping of the Towne stocke, alias the stocks): Ergo, he is no Rope-maker.

He hath maintaind foure sonnes at Cambridge: Ergo, 20 Greene is a lewd fellow to say he gets his liuing backward.

Three of his sonnes vniuersally ridiculouslie reputed of (for inamoratos on their owne works) in both Universities and the whole Realme. The fourth is shrunke in the wetting. or else the Print shoulde haue heard of him. 25

One of the three (whom the Quip entitles the Physition) returning sicke from Norwitch to Linne in Iulie last, was past writing any more Almanackes, before Greene ere imagined God had thought so well of him to take him to him. 30

Liuor post fata quiescat. Mother Liuers of Newington is a better fortune-teller than he was a Phisition.

31 fata] om. Q. Corr. in Errata.

A Dash through the dudgen Sonnet against *Greene*.

Put vp thy smiter, O gentle Peter, Author and halter make but ill meeter. I scorne to answer thy mishapen rime, Blocks haue cald schollers bayards ere this time.

5

I would trot a false gallop through the rest of his ragged Verses, but that if I should retort his rime dogrell aright, I must make my verses (as he doth his) run hobling like 10 a Brewers Cart vpon the stones, and observe no length in their feete; which were *absurdum per absurdius*, to infect my vaine with his imitation.

The Analasis of the whole is this: an olde mechanical meeter-munger would faine raile, if he had anie witte. If 15 Greene were dogge-sicke and brain-sicke, sure he (poore secular Satirist) is dolt-sicke and brainlesse, that with the toothlesse gums of his Poetry so betuggeth a dead man.

But I cannot be induced to beleue a graue man of his sort should be ere so rauingly bent: when all coms to all, 20 shortest vowels and longest mutes will bewray it to bee a webbe of your owne loomes, M. Gabriel: you mute foorth many such phrases in the course of your booke, which I will point at as I passe by.

I will not robbe you of your due commendation in any 25 thing: in this Sonnet you have counterfeited the stile of the olde Vice in the Morrals, as right vp and downe as may be.

Let. Greene, the Connycatcher, of this dreame the author, For his daintie deuise deserveth the hauter.

30 Vice. Hey nan anon sir, soft let mee make water, Whip it to go, Ile kisse my maisters daughter. Tum diddy, tum da, falangtedo diddle; Sol la me fa sol, conatus in fiddle.

> 30 a non Q. T 2

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DIV

D 2

FOVRE LETTERS

I am afraide your *Doctors fart* will fall out to be a fatall foyst to your breeches, if we followe you at the hard heeles as we haue begun.

Thou shalt not breath a whit, trip and goe, turne ouer a new leafe. 5

Maister Bird, in the absence of M. Demetrius. Perge porrò. I found his wife curteous; barlady sir, but that is suspitious.

A woman is well holpen vp that does you any curtesie in the absence of her husband, when you cannot keepe 10 it to your selfe, but you must blab it in print.

If it were any other but Mistris *Demetrius* (whome I haue heard to be a modest sober woman, and indued with many vertues) I would play vpon it a litle more. In regard that shee is so, I forbeare; and craue pardon in 15 that I haue spoken so much.

Yet would I have her vnderstand how well *the generall* scholler her guest, hath rewarded hir for his kind entertainment, by bringing her name in question in print.

M. Bird and Demetrius, I knowe neither of you by sight, 20 but this Ile say, being of that welth you are, you had better haue spent a great deale of money, than come in the mouth of this base companion.

What reason haue I (seeing your names subscribed as his bolsterer, in a matter of defame that concernes mee) 25 but to go through stitch with you, as well as him?

Da* He thinks to ouer-beare vs as poore beggers with | the great ostentation of your rich acquaintance.

Lette all Noblemen take heede how they give this *Thraso* the least becke or countenance, for if they bestowe 30 but halfe a glaunce on him, hele straight put it verie solemnly in print, and make it ten times more than it is.

Ile tell you a merry ieast.

The time was when this *Timothie Tiptoes* made a Latine Oration to her Maiestie. Her Highnes as shee is vnto 35 all her subjects most gratious; so to schollers she is more

7 that] this Coll., Gro.

louing and affable than any Prince vnder heauen. In which respect, of her owne vertue and not his desert, it pleased hir so to humble the height of hir iudgement, as to grace him a little whiles he was pronouncing, by 5 these or such like tearmes. Tis a good pretie fellow, a lookes like an Italian; and after hee had concluded, to call him to kisse her royall hand. Herevppon hee goes home to his studie, all intraunced, and writes a whole volume of Verses; first, De vultu Itali, of the countenance of the Queenes hande. Which two Latin Poems he publisht in which we have been a studie.

- a booke of his cald *Ædes Valdinenses*, proclaiming thereby (as it were to England, Fraunce, Italie, and Spaine) what fauour hee was in with her Maiestie.
- ¹⁵ I dismisse this *Parenthesis*, and *come to his next businesse*: which indeede is his first businesse: for tyll *Greene* awakte him out of his selfe admiring contemplation, hee had nothing to doe but walke vnder the Ewe tree at Trinitie hall, and say:
- 20 What may I call this tree? an Ewe tree? O bonny Ewe tree, Needes to thy boughs will I bow this knee, and vaile my bonneto.

Or make verses of weathercocks on the top of steeples, as D $_3$ he did once of the weathercocke of Alhallows in Cambridge:

25 O thou weathercocke that stands on the top of the Church of Alhallows,

Come thy waies down if thou darst for thy crowne, and take the wall on vs.

O Heathenish and Pagan Hexamiters, come thy waies 30 down fro thy *Doctourship*, & learne thy Primer of Poetry ouer again, for certainly thy pen is in state of a Reprobate with all men of iudgement and reckoning.

Come thy waies downe from thy Doctourship, said I? Erraui demens, thou neuer wentst vp to it yet.

13 Spaine, what Q. 21 I] om. Q: will [I] bow Gro.

Fie on hypocrisie and Dissimulation, that men should make themselues better than they are!

Alas a Gods will, thou art but a plaine motheaten Maister of Art, and neuer pollutedst thy selfe with any plaistrie or dawbing of Doctourship.

List, Pauls Churchyard (the peruser of euerie mans works, & Exchange of all Authors), you are a many of you honest fellows, and fauour men of wit.

So it is that a good Gowne and a well pruned paire of moustachios, having studied sixteene yeare to make thir- 10 teene ill english Hexameters, came to the Vniuersity Court *regentium & non*, to sue for a commission to carry two faces in a hoode: they not vsing to deny honour to any man that deserved it, bad him performe all the Schollerlike ceremonies and disputative right appertaining thereto, and 15 he should bee installed.

Noli me tangere ; he likt none of that.

A stripling that hath an indifferent prety stocke of reputation abroade in the worlde already, and some credit D 3^v amongst his neighbours, as he thinketh, would | be loth to 20 ieoperd all at one throwe at the dice.

If hee should have disputed for his degree, discended in arenam & puluerem Philosophicum, and have beene foild, Aih me, quoth Wit in lamentable sort, what should have become of him? hee might have beene shot through ere 25 hee were aware, with a Sillogisme.

No point, *Ergo*, it were wisely done of goodman *Boores* sonne, if he should goe to the warres for honor, and returne with a wodden legge, when he may buy a Captaineship at home better cheape.

Pumps and Pantofles, because they were well blackt and glistered iolly freshly on it, being rubd ouer with inke, had their grace at length to be Doctour, Ea lege, that they should do their acts (that is, performe more than they were able).

Curst be the time that euer there were any obligations

5 plaistrie or dawbing] plaister Q. Corr. in Errata.

made with conditions, Vnde habeas quærit nemo, sed oportet habere, Howe Dorbell comes to bee Doctour none asks, but Doctour hee must bee to make him right worshipfull.

Acts are but idle wordes, and the Scripture saith, wee 5 must give account for every idle word.

Pumps and Pantofles sweare they will iet away with a cleare conscience at the daie of iudgement, and therfore do no Acts, giue no offence with idle words, onelie like a Hauke let flie at a Partridge, that turnes the taile and ¹⁰ betakes her to a walnut-tree, so to Oxford they trudge, hauing their grace *ad disputandum*, and there are confirmed in the same degree they took at Cambridge: which is as if a Prentise heere in London, as soone as hee is enrould, should runne to some such Towne as Ipswich, and there ¹⁵ craue to haue his Freedome confirmd as of London; which,

in truth, | is no Freedome, because hee hath not seru'd out D ₄ his prentiship.

Trust mee not for a dodkin, if there bee not all the Doctourship hee hath, yet will the insolent incke worme ²⁰ write himselfe Right worshipfull of the Lawes, and personate this man and that man, calling him my good friend Maister Doctour at euery word.

Doctour or no Doctour, Greene surfeted not of Pickled hearing, but of an exceeding feare of his Familiar Epistles.

²⁵ Hee offred in his extreamest want twentie shillings to the Printer to leaue out the matter of the three brothers.

Haud facile credo, I am sure the Printer beeing of that honestie that I take him for, will not affirme it.

Marry this I must say, there was a learned Doctour of 30 Phisicke (to whom Greene in his sickenesse sent for counsaile) that having read ouer the booke of Veluet breeches and Clothbreeches, and laughing merrilie at the three brothers legend, wild Green in any case either to mittigate it, or leaue it out: Not for any extraordinarie account hee 35 made of the fraternitie of fooles, but for one of them was

19 inke-home worme Q. Corr. in Errata. 32 laughed Coll., Gro. 24 an] om. Coll., Gro.

proceeded in the same facultie of Phisicke hee profest, and willinglie hee would have none of that excellent calling ill spoken off.

This was the cause of the altring of it, the feare of his Phisitions displeasure; not any feare else. 5

I keepe your conscious minde, with all other odde ends of your halfe fac'd english, till the full conclusion of my booke, where in an honorable *Index* they shall be placed according to their degree and segnioritie.

D₄^V We are to vexe you mightely for plucking *Elderton* out 10 of the ashes of his Ale, and not letting him inioy his nappie muse of ballad making to himselfe, but now, when he is as dead as dead beere, you must bee finding fault with the brewing of his meeters.

Hough Thomas Delone, Phillip Stubs, Robert Armin, 15 &c. Your father Elderton is abus'd. Reuenge, reuenge on course paper and want of matter, that hath most sacriligiously contaminated the diuine spirit & quintessence of a penny a quart.

Helter skelter, feare no colours, course him, trounce him, 20 one cup of perfect bonauenture licour will inspire you with more wit and Schollership than hee hath thrust into his whole packet of Letters.

You that bee lookers on, perhaps imagine I talke like a merry man, and not in good earnest, when I say that 25 *Eldertons* ghost and *Gabriel* are at such ods: but then you knowe nothing, for there hath beene monstrous emulation twixt *Elderton* and him time out of mind. Yea, they were riuals in riming foure yeare before the great frost. Hee expressely writ against him, 1580. in his short but sharpe 30 and learned indgement of Earthquakes.

Broome boyes, and cornecutters (or whatsoeuer trade is more contemptible), come not in his way, stand fortie foote from the execution place of his furie, for else in the full tide of his standish, he will carrie your occupations handsmooth 35

5 displeasure, and not Coll., Gro. 10 Wee c.w. 27 beene a monstrous Coll., Gro. 30 In Q. out of towne before him, besmeare them, drowne them : downe the river they goe *Privily* to the Ile of Dogges with his Pamphlets.

O it is a pestilent libeller against beggers ; hee meanes 5 shortly to set foorth a booke cald his Paraphrase vpon Paris Garden, wherein hee will so tam-per with the inter-Er preter of the Puppits, and betouse Harry of Tame and great Ned, that Titius shall not vpbraid Caius with euerie thing and nothing, nor Zoylus anie more flurt Homer, nor Ther-10 sites fling at Agamemnon.

Holla, holla, holla, *flurt*, *fling*, what reasty Rhetoricke haue we here? certes, certes, brother *hoddy doddy*, your penne is a coult by cockes body.

As touching the libertie of Orators and Poets, I will 15 conferre with thee somewhat grauely, although thou beest

a goose-cappe and hast no iudgement.

A libertie they have, thou sayst, but no liberty without bounds, no licence without limitation.

Iesu what mister wonders dost thou tell us? every thing 20 hath an end, and a pudding hath two.

That libertie Poets of late in their inuectiues have exceeded, they have borne their sword vp, where it is not lawfull for a poynado, that is but the page of prowesse, to intermeddle.

Thou bringst in *Mother Hubbard* for an instance. Go 25 no further, but here confesse thy selfe a flat nodgscombe before all this congregation; for thou hast dealt by thy friend as homely as thou didst by thy father.

Who publikely accusde or of late brought *Mother Hubbard* into question, that thou shouldst by rehearsall rekindle 30 against him the sparkes of displeasure that were quenched?

Forgot hee the *pure sanguine of his Fairy Queene*, sayst thou?

A pure sanguine sot art thou, that in vaine-glory to have Spencer known for thy friend, and that thou hast some 35 interest in him, censerest him worse than his deadliest enemie would do. E IN If any man were vndeseruedly toucht in it, thou hast reuiued his disgrace that was so toucht in it, by renaming it, when it was worn out of al mens mouths and minds.

Besides, whereas before I thought it a made matter of some malitious moralizers against him, and no substance 5 of slaunder in truth; now, when thou (that proclaimest thy selfe the only familiar of his bosome, and therefore shouldst know his secretes) gives it out in print that he ouershotte himselfe therein, it cannot chuse but be suspected to be so indeed.

Immortall Spencer, no frailtie hath thy fame, but the imputation of this Idiots friendship: vpon an vnspotted *Pegasus* should thy gorgeous attired *Fayrie Queene* ride triumphant through all reports dominions, but that this mud-born bubble, this bile on the browe of the Vniuersitie, 15 this bladder of pride newe blowne, challengeth some interest in her prosperitie.

Of pitch who hath any vse at all, shall be abusd by it in the end.

High grasse that florisheth for a season on the house 20 toppe, fadeth before the haruest cals for it, and maye well make a fayre shewe, but hath no sweetnesse in it. Such is this Asse *in presenti*, this grosse painted image of pride, who would faine counterfeite a good witte, but scornfull pittie, his best patron, knows it becomes him as ill, as an 25 vnweldy Elephant to imitate a whelpe in his wantonnes.

I wote not how it fals out, but his inuention is ouerweapond; he hath some good words, but he cannot writhe them and tosse them to and fro nimbly, or so bring them about, that hee maye make one streight thrust at his 30 enemies face.

Coldly and dully *idem per idem*, who cannot indite? | E 2 but with life and spirit to limne deadnes it selfe, *Hoc est* Oratoris proprium.

L. Inuectives by favour have beene too bolde, and Satires 35 by vsurpation too presumptuous. What pleasure brings this

23 in present Q. Corr. in Errata to in presenti.

to the reader? Iacke of the Falcon in Cambridge can say as much, and giue no reason for it.

But I can prompt you with a demonstration wherin Inuectives have been too bold. Do you remember what 5 you writ in your Item for Earthquakes, of double fac'd Iani, changeable Cameleons, Aspen leaves, painted sheathes, and sepulchers, Asses in Lions skinnes, dunghill cockes, slipperie eeles, dormise, &c? Besides your testimoniall of Doctour Perne, wherein it pleased you, of your singular liberalitie to and bountie, to bestowe vpon him this beautifull Encomium: A busie and dizzie head, a brazen fore head, a leaden braine, a wodden witte, a copper face, a stonie brest, a factious and eluish heart, a founder of nouelties, a confounder of his owne and his friendes good giftes, a morning booke-worme, an

15 afternoone malt-worme, a right Iugler, as full of his sleightes, wiles, fetches, casts of legerdemaine, toyes to mocke Apes withall, odde shifts and knauish practises, as his skinne can holde.

Notwithstanding all this, you defie cut and longtaile, that 20 can accuse you of any scandalous part either in word or deede.

Tully, Horace, Archilochus, Aristophanes, Lucian, Iulian, Aretine, goe for no paiment with you; their declamatory stiles, brought to the grand test of your iudgement, are 25 found counterfeit, they are a venemous and viperous brood of railers, because they haue broght in a new kind of a quicke fight, which your decrepite slow-mouing capacitie cannot fadge with.

Tush, tush, you take the graue peake vppon you | too E 2^v 3° much: who would think you could so easily shake off your olde friendes? Did not you in the fortie one Page, line 2. of your Epistles to *Collin Clout* vse this speech?

Extra iocum, I like your Dreames passing well: and the rather because they sauor of that singular extraordinary 35 vaine and invention which I ever fancied most, and in

5 douhle Q. 10 him] om. Q. Corr. in Errata. 17 wiehall Q. 32 of] om. Coll., Gro.

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a manner admired onely in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretine, Pasquil.

Dic sodes (godamercie on Dicke Sothis soule, for he was a better dauncer than thou art an enditer, & with his legges he made some Musicke: there is none in thy letters) 5 answere mee briefly, I say, to the point, haue I varied one vowell from thy originall text in this allegation? If not, I cannot see how the Doctours may well bee reconcild, one while to commend a man because his writings sauour of that singular extraordinarie vaine, which he onely admired 10 in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretine, Pasquil: and then in another booke afterward, to come and call those singular extraordinarie admired men, a venemous and viperous brood of railers.

The auncienter sort of Poets and Oratours shall plead 15 their owne worthinesse.

Tullie neuer ouerreached himself in railing so much as in flatterie. His *Phillippicks* (sound Physick applide to a body that could not disgest it) are the things that especially commended him to this art-thriuing age of ours, 20 and had not these beene, hee would certainely haue beene sentenced by a generall verdit of histories for a timerous time-pleaser.

Who cannot draw a curtaine before a deformed picture? *Plautus* personated no Parasite, but he made him a slaue 25 or a bondman.

E₃ Fawning and croutching are the naturall gestures | of feare, and if it bee a vertue for a vassaile to licke a mans shooes with his tongue, sure it is but borrowed from the dogges; and so is biting too, if it bee accompanied with 30 ouer lowd barking, or in such wise as it cannot pinch but it must breake the flesh and drawe bloud.

Horace, Perseus, Iuuenall, my poore iudgment lendeth you plentifull allowance of applause: yet had you, with the *Phrigian* melodie, that stirreth men vp to battaile and 35 furie, mixt the *Dorian* tune, that fauoreth mirth and

3 Qy. read Sot his?

pleasure, your vnsugred pilles (howeuer excellently medicinable) would not haue beene so harsh in the swallowing. So likewise Archilochus, thou like the preachers to the Curtizans in Roome, that expound to them all Lawe and 5 no Gospell, art all gall and no spleene. Hence came it to passe, that with the meere efficacy of thy incensed Iambicks, thou mad'st a man runne and hang himselfe that had angerd thee.

Thee I imbrace, Aristophanes, not so much for thy To Comœdie of the clowd, which thou wrotst against philosophers, as for in al other thy inuentions thou interfusest delight with reprehension.

Lucian, Iulian, Aretine, all three admirably blest in the abundant giftes of art and nature: yet Religion, which you ¹⁵ sought to ruinate, hath ruinated your good names, and the opposing of your eyes against the bright sunne, hath causd the worlde condemne your sight in all other thinges. I protest, were you ought else but abhominable Atheistes, I would obstinately defende you, onely because Laureate ²⁰ Gabriell articles against you.

This I will iustifie against any *Dromidote* Ergonist whatsoeuer: there is no other vnlasciuious vse or end | of poetry, $E_{3^{\times}}$ but to infamize vice, and magnifie vertue, and that if they assemble all the examples of verse-founders from *Homer* 25 to *Hugh Copland*, they shall not find anie of them but hath

encountred with the generall abuses of his times.

Whatsoeuer harpeth not of one of these two strings of praise and reproofe, is as it were a *Dirige* in pricksong without any dittie set to it, that haply may tickle the eare, 30 but neuer edifies.

In the Romaine common-wealths it was lawful for Poets to reproue that enormitie in the highest chairs of authoritie, which none else durst touch, alwaies the sacred Maiestie of their *Augustus* kept inuiolate : for that was a Plannet 35 exalted aboue their Hexameter horizon, & it was capitall

6 'for effect read efficacie.' Errata, but Q has efficacy. 26 his] the Coll., Gro. 27 one these Q.

to them in the highest degree, to dispute of his setting and rising, or search inquisitiuely into his predominance and influence.

The secrets of God must not be searcht into. Kings are Gods on earth, their actions must not be sounded by their 5 subjects.

Seneca, Neroes Tutor, founde his death in no verse but Octauia. Imperious Lucan sprinkled but one drop of bloud on his imperiall chayre, and perisht by him also.

Ouid once saw Augustus in a place where he would not 10 haue beene seene; he was exilde presently to those countries no happy man hears of.

Long might hee, in a blinde Metamorphosis, haue playd vppon all the wenches in Roome, and registred their priue scapes, vpbrayded inhospitalitie with the fable of *Licaon*: 15 alluded to some Ambodexter Lawyer vnder the storie of *Battus*: haue described a noted vnthrift, whose substaunce hawkes and houndes haue deuoured, in the tale of *Acteon*,

E4 that was eaten | vp by his owne dogges : mockt Alcumistes with *Midas* : picturde inamaratos vnder *Narcissus* : and 20 shrouded a picked effeminate Carpet Knight vnder the fictionate person of *Hermophroditus*; with a thousand more such vnexileable ouer-thwart merrimentes, if lust had not led him beyond the prospect of his birth, or hee seene a meaner man sinning than an Emperour. 25

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, how hath my pen lost it selfe in a croude of Poets.

Gaffer *Iobbernoule*, once more well ouer-taken, how dost thou? how dost thou? holde vp thy heade, man, take no care; though *Greene* be dead, yet I may live to doe thee good. 30

But by the meanes of his death thou art deprived of the remedie in lawe, which thou intendedst to have had against him for calling thy Father Ropemaker. Mas, thats true: what Action will it beare? Nihil pro nihilo, none in law: what it will doe vpon the stage I cannot tell; for there 35 a man maye make action besides his part, when he hath

20 Narcissas Q. 32 had] om. Coll., Gro.

nothing at all to say: and if there, it is but a clownish action that it will beare : for what can bee made of a Ropemaker more than a Clowne? *Will Kempe*, I mistrust it will fall to thy lot for a merriment, one of these dayes.

5 In short tearmes, thus I demur vpon thy long Kentishtayld declaration against *Greene*.

Hee inherited more vertues than vices: a iolly long red peake, like the spire of a steeple, hee cherisht continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a Iewell, it to was so sharpe and pendant.

Why should art answer for the infirmities of maners? Hee had his faultes, and thou thy follyes.

Debt and deadly sinne, who is not subject to? | with any E 4^v notorious crime I neuer knew him tainted; (& yet tainting 15 is no infamous surgerie for him that hath beene in so many hote skirmishes).

A good fellowe hee was, and would have drunke with thee for more *angels* then the Lord thou libeldst on *gaue thee in Christs Colledge*; and in one yeare hee pist as 20 much against the walls, as thou and thy two brothers spent in three.

In a night & a day would he haue yarkt vp a Pamphlet as well as in seauen yeare, and glad was that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs 25 of his wit.

Hee made no account of winning credite by his workes, as thou dost, that dost no good workes, but thinkes to bee famosed by a strong faith of thy owne worthines: his only care was to have a spel in his purse to coniure vp 30 a good cuppe of wine with at all times.

For the lowsie circumstance of his pouerty before his death, and sending that miserable writte to his wife, it cannot be but thou lyest, learned *Gabriell*.

I and one of my fellowes, *Will. Monox* (Hast thou neuer 35 heard of him and his great dagger?) were in company with him a month before he died, at that fatall banquet

13 With c.w. 28 thy] thine Coll., Gro.

of Rhenish wine and pickled hearing (if thou wilt needs haue it so), and then the inuentorie of his apparrell came to more than three shillings (though thou saist the contrarie). I know a Broker in a spruce leather ierkin with a great number of golde Rings on his fingers, and a bunch $_5$ of keies at his girdle, shall giue you thirty shillings for the doublet alone, if you can helpe him to it. Harke in your eare, hee had a very faire Cloake with sleeues, of a graue goose turd greene; it would serue you as fine as may bee:

F 1 No more words, if you bee wise, play the good | husband 10 and listen after it, you may buy it ten shillings better cheape than it cost him. By S. Siluer, it is good to bee circumspect in casting for the worlde, theres a great many ropes go to ten shillings. If you want a greasy paire of silk stockings also, to shew your selfe in at the Court, they 15 are there to be had too amongst his moueables. Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora: It is policie to take a rich penniworth whiles it is offred.

Alas even his fellow writer, that proper yoong man, almost scorns to cope with thee, thou art such a crow 20 troden Asse: dost thou in some respectes wish him well and spare his name? in some respects so doth hee wish thee as well, (hoc est, to be as well knowne for a foole as my Lord Welles,) and promiseth by me to talke very sparingly of thy praise. For thy name, hee will not stoupe 25 to plucke it out of the mire, and put it in his mouth.

By this blessed cuppe of sacke which I now holde in my hand and drinke to the health of all Christen soules in, thou art a puissant Epitapher.

Yea? thy Muses foot of the twelues; old long Meg 30 of Westminster? Then I trowe thou wilt stride ouer *Greenes* graue and not stumble: If you doe, wee shall come to your taking vp.

Letter.

Here lies the man whom Mistris Isam cround with bays, She, she that ioyd to heare her Nightingales sweete lays.

14 tenshillings Q. 16 there] om. Coll.; Gro. 23 well? Q.

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Comment.

Here Mistris *Isam*, *Gabriel* floutes thy bays; Scratch out his eyes that printeth thy dispraise.

She, she will scratch, and like a scritching night-owle 5 come and make a dismal noise vnder thy cham-|ber F 1^v windowe, for deriding her so dunstically. A bigge fat lusty wench it is, that hath an arme like an Amazon, and will bang thee abhominationly, if euer shee catch thee in her quarters. It is not your *Poet Garish and your fore*-10 horse of the parish that shall redeeme you from her fingers, but shee will make actuall proofe of you, according as you desire of God in the vnder following lines.

The next weeke, Maister *Bird* (if his inke-pot haue a cleare current) hee will haue at you with a cap-case full 15 of French occurrences, that is, shape you a messe of newes out of the second course of his conceit, as his brother is said out of the fabulous abundance of his braine to haue inuented the newes out of *Calabria* (*Iohm Doletas* prophesie of flying dragons, commets, Earthquakes, and inundations).

I am sure it is not yet worne out of mens scorn, for euery Miller made a comment of it, and not an oyster wife but mockt it.

When that fly-boat of Frenchery is once launcht, your trenchor attendant, *Gamaliel Hobgoblin*, intends to tickle 25 vp a Treatise of the barly kurnell, which you set in your garden, out of which there sprung (as you auouched) twelue seuerall eares of corne at one time.

Redoubted Parma was neuer so matcht if hee kindle the match of his meeterdome, and let driue at him with 30 a volley of verses. Let not his principalitie trust too much to it, because his name is Latin for a shield; for Poet Hobbinoll, hauing a gallant wit and a brazen penne, will honourably bethinke him, and euen ambitiously frame his stile to a noble emulation of Liuie, Homer, and the divinest 35 spirites of all ages, as hee hath done to the emulation of

4 She she she Gro.

I

F 2 *Tullie* heeretofore, when hee | compiled a Pamphlet called *Ciceronis Consolatio ad Dolabellam*, and publisht it as a newe part of *Tullie*, which had bin hidde in a Wall a thousand and odde yeares, and was found out by him before it euer found beeing. 5

The circumstance was this; going downe the water at Cambridge one summer evening, and asking certaine questions of the Eccho at Barnewell wall (as the manner is, passing by) holding her verie narrowly to the poynt, she reuealed vnto him what a treasure shee had hidden amongst 10 her stones; namely, this new part of Gabrielis Ciceronis consolatio ad Dolabellam : and though she was verie loath to disclose it, yet because shee knewe not how soone God might call her; videlicet, how sodainely shee might fall; to discharge her conscience before her death, shee would 15 deliuer it vp as freely vnto him as euer it was hers : come and digge for it, hee shoulde haue it. Neuer more glad was shee in her life, that since shee must needes surrender it to the light, she had chaunst vppon such a Cardinall Corrigidore of incongruitie, and Tullies nexte and imme- 20 diate successour, vnder Carre, to whose carefull repolishing she might commit it.

Keepe it? quoth she.

No, if it were a booke of golde it is THINE: reade it, new print it, dedicate it *from thy gallery at Trinitie Hall* to 25 whom thou wilt.

Whether hee vsde a spade or a mattocke for the vnburying of it I know not, but extant it is, and of a hundred I haue heard that it is his.

O Gabriell, if thou hast any manhood in thy starcht 30 peake, looke vpon me and weepe not.

Fa^v From this day forward shall a whole army of boies | come wondring about thee, as thou goest in the street, and cry kulleloo, kulleloo, with whup hoo, there goes the Ape of Tully: tih he he, steale Tully, steale Tully, away with the 35 Asse in the Lions skinne.

2 Ciceranis Q. Dolobellam Q. 12 Dolobellam Q.

Nay, but in sadnesse, is it not a sinful thing for a Scholler & a Christian to turne *Tully*? a Turke would neuer doe it.

Be counsaild in thy calamitie, write no more *Consolatios* ad *Dolabellam*, but *Consolatio ad Doctore Gabrielem*; thy 5 selfe comfort thy selfe, and learn to make a vertue of contempt.

Ad ruentem parietem ne inclina, is a Prouerbe which would have prevented all this, if thou couldst have sufferd thy selfe to have beene directed by it: for first and forno most, hadst not thou stept forth to vnder-prop the ruinous wall of thy brothers reputation, I had never medled with thee; if thou hadst not leand too much to an olde wall, when thou pluckst *Tullie* out of a wall, the damnation of this Iest had bin yet vnbegotten.

15 He that hath born saile in two tempests of shame, makes a sport of shippe-wracke of good name euer after.

The wall of the welfare of Fraunce that is started from her King, her true foundation, thy writinges (more wretched than France) would faine cleaue vnto, if they could tell 20 how, and count it a felicity to have the oportunitie of so heroicall an argument.

God helpe *Alexander*, if hee haue no other Poet to emblazon his atchieuements but *Cherillus*.

High resolued Earle of *Essex* and victorious Sir *Iohn* 25 *Norris*, Englands champions, enuied tranquilities confidence, vnworthy are your aduentures Iliades to bee reported by such a ragged reede as the | iarring Pipe of F 3 this *Batillus*. The Portugals & Frenchmens feare will lend your Honors richer ornaments, than his low-flighted 30 affection (fortunes summer folower) can frame them.

The seale that I set to your vertues be silence; the argument of prayse is vnauthorized in any mans mouth but olde age.

When the better parte of youthes feruence is boyld away, 35 and that the showres of many sorrowes have seasond our

¹⁰ forth Q. 24 victorious] vertuous Q. Corr. in Errata. 31 I have set Coll., Gro.

FOVRE LETTERS

greene heads with experience, with the wither-fac'd weatherbeaten Mariner, that talks quaking and shudderingly of a storme that hee hath newly toyld through, our wordes will bee written in our visage.

Euen as the sunne, so no science shines in his compleate 5 glory till it be ready to decline.

These be the conclusions that gray hairs prune & cut downe the prosperitie of yong yeares with, as fast as it aspires, but let the seare Oake looke himselfe in the glasse of truth, and he shal find that *Methusalems* blessing is 10 imbecillitie, bestowed on any creature but the Foxe, who neuer is a right Foxe till he be ripe for the dunghill.

If my stile holde on this sober Mules pace but a sheete or two further, I shall haue a long beard lyke an Irish mantle droppe out of my mouth before I be aware.

Marry God forfend, for at no hand can I endure to haue my cheeks muffled vp in furre like a Muscouian, or weare any of this Welch freeze on my face.

O it is a miserable thing to dresse haire like towe twixt a mans teeth, when one cannot drinke but hee must thrust 20 a great spunge into the cup, & so cleanse his coole F 3° porridge, as it were through a strayner, ere | it comes to his lippes.

This second Epistle I haue said prettily well too; I thinke we were best begin THIRDLY WHEREAS, for feare a volume 25 steale vpon vs vnlookt for.

The Arrainment and Execution of the third Letter. To everie Reader favourably or indifferently affected.

⁵ TEXT, stand to the Barre. Peace there belowe. Albeit for these twelue or thirteene yeares no man hath beene more loath, or more scrupulous than my selfe, &c.

The body of mee, hee begins like a proclamation: sufficient it wee knowe you your minde though you say to no more.

Is not this your drift? you would have the worlde suppose you were vrgde to that which proceeded of your owne good nature: like some that will seeme to bee intreated to take a high place of preferment vppon them, 15 which privilie before they have prayde and payde for, and put all their strength to clymbe vp to.

You would foist in *non causam pro causa*, haue it thought your flight from your olde companions obscuritie and silence was onely, with *Æneas*, to carry your Father on 20 your backe, through the fire of slaunder, and by that shift, with a false plea of patience vniustly driuen from his kingdome, filch away the harts of the Queenes liege people.

The backe of those creple excuses I have broke | in the beginning of my booke: if you have anie new infringement 25 to destitute the inditement of forgerie that I bring against you, so it is.

Heere enters Argumentum a testimonio humano, like Tamberlaine drawne in a Chariot by foure Kings.

30 THAT IN MY YOVTH FLATTERD NOT MY SELFE WITH THE EXCEEDING COMMENDATION OF THE GREATEST SCHOLLER IN THE WORLD, &-c.

Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus auena. Ah neighbourhood, neighbourhood, dead and buried art

F4

FOVRE LETTERS

thou with Robinhood: a poore creature here is faine to commend himselfe, for want of friendes to speake for him.

Not the least, but the greatest Schollers in the WORLD have not only but exceedingly fedde him fat in his humor of Braggadochio Glorioso. 5

Yea Spencer him hath often Homer tearmd. And Mounsier Bodkin vowd as much as he: Yet cares not Nashe for him a halfepeny.

Lamentable, lamentable, that an indifferent vntoward ciuill Lawyer, who hath read Plutarch De vtilitate capienda 10 ab inimicis. & can talke of Titius and Sempronius, should be no more set by, but SET BY, thrust aside, while his betters carry the bredth of the street before them.

Misery will humble the haughtiest heart in the world : Habemus reum confitente : he confesseth himself a sinner in 15 F 4 vnsufficiency ; yet for all that the aduersitie | of vniuersall obloguy hath laide a heauie hande on him. still he retaineth (like conceald land) some part of his proud mind in a beggers purse, scorneth to say Fortune my foe, or aske a good word for Gods sake of anie man. 20

In the plainnesse of his puft vp nature, he will defie anie man that dare accuse him of that he is.

Why, why, infractissime PISTLEPRAGMOS, though you were yong in yeares, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and ouer-weaning in conceipt (we will refuse nothing that 25 you give vs) when you privately wrote the letters that afterward (by no other but your selfe) were publiquely diuulged ; yet when the bladder is burst that held you vp swimming in selfe loue, you must not be discontented though you sink. 30

I have toucht the vlcer of your Oratourship, in requiting the nick-name of The Deuils Oratour. An Vlcer you may well christen it, as an vlcer is a swelling, for it was a swelling of ambition, no modest petition of anie merit of yours that did craue it. 35

The olde Foxe Doctour Perne throughly discouered you for a yoong Foppe, or else halfe a word of our high Chauncelors commendation had stood with him inuiolable as an Act of Parlament.

- 5 Great men, in writing to those they are acquainted with, haue priuie watch-words of denyal, euen in the highest degree of praising; they haue many followers, whose dutifull seruice must not bee disgrac'd with a bitter repulse in anie suite, though vnlawfull.
- It may bee, some of these long descruers of his followers labourd him for thee: hee, like *Argus*, having eyes that pierce into all estates, saw thee when thou wert vnseene of thy selfe, and knowing thee to bee | vnworthy of any G I place of worth, would not discountenance his men in so
- ¹⁵ smal a matter, but writ for thee very vehemently outwardly, when the soule of his letter (into which thy shallowe braine could not descend) included thy vtter mislike.

Yong bloud is hot, youth hastie, ingenuitie open, abuse impatient, choller stomachous, temptations busie. In a 20 word, the Gentleman was vext, and cutte his bridle for verie anger.

The tickling and stirring inuectiue vaine, the puffing and swelling Satiricall spirit came vpon him, as it came on Coppinger and Arthington, when they mounted into the 25 pease-cart in Cheape-side and preacht: needes hee must

- cast vp certayne crude humours of English Hexameter Verses that lay vppon his stomacke; a Noble-man stoode in his way, as he was vomiting, and from top to toe he all to berayd him with *Tuscanisme*.
- ³⁰ The Mappe of Cambridge lay not farre off when he was in the depth of his drudgery; some part of the excrements of his anger fell vpon it : poore Doctour *Pernes* picture stoode in a corner of that Mappe, and by the misdemeanour of his mouth it was cleane defac'd.
- 35 Signior Immeritò (so called because he was and is his friend vndeseruedly) was counterfeitly brought in to play

23 on] vpon Gro. 24 A[r]thington Gro.

a part in that his Enterlude of Epistles that was hist at, thinking his very name (as the name of *Ned Allen* on the common stage) was able to make an ill matter good.

I durst on my credit vndertake, Spencer was no way priuie to the committing of them to the print. Committing 5 I may well call it, for in my opinion G. H. should not G 1^{*} haue reapt so much discredite by beeing | committed to Newgate, as by committing that misbeleeuing prose to the Presse.

I have vsually seene vncircumcised doltage have the ¹⁰ porch of his Panim pilfries very hugely pestred with praises. *Hay gee* (Gentlemen) comes in with his Plowmans whistle in prayse of *Peter Scurfe* the penneman, and *Turlery ginkes*, in a light foote Iigge, libels in commendation of little witte verie loftily; but for an Author ¹⁵ to renounce his Christendome to write in his owne commendation, to refuse the name which his Godfathers and Godmothers gaue him in his baptisme, and call himselfe *a welwiller to both the writers*, when hee is the onely writer himselfe; with what face doe you thinke hee can ²⁰ aunswere it at the day of iudgement? *Est in te facies*, *sunt apti lusibus anni*: *Gabriell*, thou canst play at fast and loose as well as anie man in England.

I will not lye or backbite thee as thou hast done mee, but are not these thy wordes to the curteous Buyer? 25

Shew mee or Immerito two English letters in print, in all pointes equall to these, both for the matter it selfe, and also for the manner of handling, and say wee neuer saw good English in our lives.

Againe, I esteeme them for two of the rarest and finest 30 treaties, as well for ingenuous deuising, as significant vttering, & cleanly conueying of his matter, that ever I read in this tongue, & I hartily thank God for bestowing vpon vs such proper and able men with their penne.

You must conceit, hee was in his chamber-fellowe *wel-* 35 *willers* cloke when he spake this: the white-lived slave

24 or] and Gro. 35 in] om. Gro.

was modest, and had not the hart to say so much in his owne person, but he must put on the vizard of an vndiscreete friend.

It is not worth the rehearsal; he scribled it in ieast for G 2 5 exercise of his speech and stile, &c., and it was the sinister hap of those unfortunate letters to be derided & scoft at throughout the whole realme.

The sharpest part of them were read ouer at Counsell Table, and he referd ouer to the Fleet, to beare his old to verse-fellow noble M. Valanger company.

There was no remedie for it but melancholy patience.

A recantation he was glad to make by way of articles or positions, which hee moderates with a milder name of an apologie, & that recantation purchast his libertie. Where-

- 15 fore in gratefull lieu of the benefit he receiu'd by it (although he hath hitherto vnworthily supprest it) yet he means to take occasion by this extraordinary prouocation to publish it, with not so few as fortie such Academicall exercises, and sundrie other politike discourses.
- And I deeme he will be as good as his word, for euer yet it hath beene his wont, if he writ but a letter to any friend of his, in the way of thanks for the potte of butter, gamon of bacon, or cheese that he sent him, straight to giue coppies of it abroad in the world, and propound it
- 25 to yong gentlemen he came in company with, as a more necessary & refined methode of familiar Epistles than the English tongue hath hitherto been priuy to.

Lord that men shoulde bee so malitiously bent to frame a matter of some thing; he takes a pleasurable delight to 30 behaue himself so that he may be laught at; how would you prate and insult, if you knewe as much by him, as he knows by himselfe.

Nashe, do thy worst, the three brothers bid a Fico for thee: discommend thou them neuer so much, they will 35 palpably praise, and so consequently dis-|praise, them-G 2^v selues more in one booke they set foorth, than thou canst

23 sent to him Coll., Gro. 27 hath] had Gro.

disparage them in tenne: yea, rather than faile, Maister *Bird* shall leaue coppying out letters of newes, and meeter it mischieuously in maintenance of their scurrilitiship and ruditie.

Three to one, *par ma foy*, is oddes; not one of them 5 writes an Almanacke, but hee reckons vp all his brothers.

Bee it spoken heere in private; Musa Richardetti fratrizat sat bene pretty: the Muse of dappert Dickie doth sing as sweet as a cricket.

Nosti manum & stilum, Gabriel? it is thine own verse 10 in *Ædes Valdinenses*, all saue the inserting of *pretty* in stead of *certè*, for rimes sake.

Had Phisition *Iohn* liu'd, or not dyde a little afore Dogdayes, a sinode of Pispots would have concluded, that *Pierce Pennilesse* should be confouded without reprive. 15

The Spanyards cald their inuasiue fleete agaynst England the Nauie inuincible, yet it was ouercome. Lowe shrubbes haue outliu'd high Cedars: one true man is stronger than two theeues: *Gabriell & Richard*, I proclaime open warres with you: March on, *Iocus, Ludus*, 20 *Lepos*, my valiaunt men at armes, and forrage the frontiers of his *Fantasticallitie* as you haue begun.

Tubalcan, aliâs Tuball, first founder of Farriers Hall, heere is a great complaint made, that vtriúsque Academiæ Robertus Greene hath mockt thee, because hee saide, that 25 as thou wert the first inuenter of Musicke, so Gabriell Howliglasse was the first inuenter of English Hexameter verses. Quid respondes? canst thou brooke it, yea or no? Is it any treason to thy well tuned hammers to say they G 3 begat so renowmed a childe as | Musicke? Neither thy 30 hammers nor thou, I know, if they were put to their booke oaths, will euer say it.

The Hexamiter verse I graunt to be a Gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an english begger), yet this Clyme of ours hee cannot thriue in; our speech is too 35 craggy for him to set his plough in: hee goes twitching

7 fratrizat] Coll., Gro.: fatrizat Q. 26 as] om. Gro.

and hopping in our language like a man running vpon quagmiers, vp the hill in one Syllable, and down the dale in another, retaining no part of that stately smooth gate, which he vaunts himselfe with amongst the Greeks and Latins.

- 5 Homer and Virgil, two valorous Authors, yet were they neuer knighted; they wrote in Hexameter verses: Ergo, Chaucer, and Spencer, the Homer and Virgil of England, were farre ouerseene that they wrote not all their Poems in Hexamiter verses also.
- ¹⁰ In many Countries veluet and Satten is a commoner weare than cloth amongst vs : *Ergo*, wee must leaue wearing of cloth, and goe euerie one in veluet and satten, because other Countries vse so.

The Text will not beare it, good Gilgilis Hobberdehoy.

15 Our english tongue is nothing too good, but too bad to imitate the Greeke and Latine.

Master Stannyhurst (though otherwise learned) trod a foule lumbring boystrous wallowing measure, in his translation of Virgil. He had neuer been praisd by Gabriel for 20 his labour, if therein hee had not bin so famously absurd.

Greene for dispraising his practise in that kinde, is the Greene Maister of the blacke Art, the Founder of vglie oathes, the father of misbegotten Infortunatus, the Scriuener of Crossebiters, the Patriark of Shifters, &c.

25 The Monarch of Crossebiters, the wretched fellowe | Prince of Beggars, Emperour of Shifters, hee had cald him before, G 3^v but like a drunkẽ man, that remembers not in the morning what he speakes ouernight, still he fetcheth Metaphors from Conny-catchers, & doth nothing but torment vs with 30 tautologies.

Why, thou arrant butter whore, thou cotqueane & scrattop of scoldes, wilt thou neuer leaue afflicting a dead Carcasse, continually read the rethorick lecture of Ramme-Allie? a wispe, a wispe, a wispe, rippe, rippe, you kitchinstuffe 35 wrangler.

Wert thou put in the Fleete for pamphleting? Bedlem 18 measures Q. 21 Is Q. 25 Run on in Coll., Gro. were a meeter place for thee. Be not ashamd of your promotion; they did you honor that said you were Fleetebound, for men of honor haue sailde in that Fleete.

Wast paper made thee betake thy selfe to Limbo Patrum; had it beene a booke that had beene vendible, yet, the 5 opproby had beene the lesse, but for Chandlers merchandize to be so massacred, for sheets that serue for nothing but to wrappe the excrements of huswiuerie in, Proh Deum, what a spite is it. I haue seene your name cutte with a knife in a wall of the Fleete, I; when I went to visit a friend of 10 mine there.

Let Maister *Butler* of Cambridge his testimoniall end this controuersie, who at that time that thy ioyes were in the Fleeting, and thou crying for the Lords sake out at an iron windowe, in a lane not farre from Ludgate hill, ques- ¹⁵ tiond some of his companions verie inquisitiuelie that were newlie come from London, what nouelties they brought home with them; amongst the rest, he broke into this Hexamiter interrogatory very abruptlie,

But ah what newes doe you heare of that good Gabriel huffe 20 snuffe,

Knowne to the world for a foole, and clapt in the Fleete for a Rimer? |

G 4 Ist true Gibraltar? haue I found you? It was not without foundatio that you burst into that magnifical insul-²⁵ tation, I THAT IN MY YOVTH FLATTERD NOT MY SELFE, &c., for M. Butler, for a Phisition being none of the least Schollers, hath commended you exceedingly for a foole & a Rimer. He that threatned to coniure vp Martins wit, hath written some thing too in your praise, in Pap-hatchet, for 3° all you accuse him to haue courtlie incenst the Earle of Oxford against you. Marke him well; hee is but a little fellow, but hee hath one of the best wits in England. Should he take thee in hand againe (as he flieth from such inferiour concertation), I prophecie that there woulde more 35

Io Fleete I: Q: Qy. read Fleete. I, ? 12 Doubtful whether new par. in Q. New par. Gro. 31 courtlie] Qy. read courtlie ?: covertlie Coll. 34 a gaine Q.

gentle Readers die of a merrie mortality, ingendred by the eternal iests he would maule thee with, than there haue done of this last infection. I my self, that inioy but a mite of wit in comparison of his talët, in pure affection to my 5 natiue country, make my stile carry a presse saile, am fain to cut off half the streame of thy sport-breeding confusion, for feare it shoulde cause a generall hicket throughout England.

Greene, I can spare thy reuenge no more roome in this 10 booke : thou hast Phisitiõ *Iohn* with thee ; cope thou with him, & let me alone with the Ciuilian & Deuine, whom, if I liue, I will so vncessantly haunt, that to auoid the hot chase of my fierie quill, they shalbe constraind to ensconse themselues in an olde Vrinall case that their brother left 15 behind him. Yet ere I bid thee good night, receiue some

notes as touching his phisicallity deceased. He had his grace to be Doctor ere he died. As time may worke all things. In Norfolke where hee practised, he was reputed a proper toward man at a medecine for the toothake, & one 20 of the skilfullest Phisitions, in casting the heauens water, that ever came there.

How well beloued of the chiefest Gentlemen (& Gentle-G 4^{*} women especially) in that shire, it is incredible to bee spoken. Astra petit disertus; hee is gone to heauen to write more

²⁵ Astrologicall discourses; his brothers liue to inherite his olde gownes and remember his notable sayings, amongst the which this was one: *Vale Galene*, farewell, mine owne deare *Gabriell*: *Valete humanæ artes*, heart and good will, but neuer a ragge of money.

30 Tunc tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.

Cloth-breeches house is burnt, and the flame goes a feasting to *Pierce Pennilesse* house next.

Neuer til now, *Gregory Habberdine*, went thy foure letters vp Newgate, vp Holburne, vp Tiburne, to hanging.

35 Gentlemen, by that which hath been already laid open,

a thee] theee Q. 9 Run on in Q. New par. Coll., Gro. 27 this] om. Coll., Gro.

I' doe not doubt but you are vnwaueringly resolued, this /indigested Chaos of Doctourship, and greedy pothunter after applause, is an apparant Publican and sinner, a selfeloue surfetted sot, a broken-winded galdbacke lade, that hath borne vp his head in his time, but now is guite 5 foundred & tired, a scholer in nothing but the scum of schollership, a stale soker at Tullies Offices, the droane of droanes, and maister drumble-bee of non proficients. What hath he wrote but hath had a wofull end? When did he dispute but hee duld all his auditorie? his Poetry more 10 spiritlesse than smal beere, his Oratory Arts bastard, not able to make a man rauishingly weepe, that hath an Onion at his eve. In Latin, like a louse, he hath manie legges, many lockes fleec'd from Tullie, to carry away and cloath a little body of matter, but yet hee moues but slowly, is 15 apparaild verie poorely.

H I In English, ice is not so cold, yet on the ice of igno-|rance will he slide. No wise man pittie him that perisheth so wilfully.

Iudge the world, iudge the highest Courts of appeale 20 from the miscarried worlds iudgement (Cambridge and Oxford) wherein I haue trespassed in *Pierce Pennilesse*, that hee shoulde talke of gnashing of teeth, yong Phaetons, yong Icari, yong Chorebi, young Babingtons.

Neuer was I in earnest, til thus he twitted me with the 25 comparison of a traitour.

Babington, high was thy birth, I a bondslaue of fortune in comparison of thee; thy fall greater than *Phaetons*, thy offence as heynous as *Iudasses*. May neuer more such foule seeds of offence be sowne in so faire a shape, may they 30 be markt alwayes to mischiefe that meane as thou didst. The braunches of thy stocke remaines yet vnblasted with anie disobedience. God forbid that our forheades should for euer bee blotted with our forefathers misdemeanors. Die, ill deeds, with your vngratious ill dooers; the liuing 35 haue no portion with the dead; hell once paid his due, heauen gates are open to succeeding posteritie.

Prate of *Pierce Pennilesse and his paltrie* as long as thou wilt, I will play at put-pinne with thee for all that thou art woorth, but of thy betters gette thee a better discoursing penne before thou descantes of.

5 L. Greenes inwardest companion pinched with want, vexed with discredit, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouer-whelmed with his owne miserie, in a rauing and frantike moode, most desperately exhibiteth a Supplication to the Deuill.

10 C. Heerein thou thinkst thou hast won the spurs from all writers, but God and Dame Fiction knows | thou art H 1^v farre wide of thy ayme; for neither was I Greenes companion any more than for a carowse or two, nor pincht with any vngentleman-like want when I inuented Pierce 15 Pennilesse.

Pauper non est cui rerum suppetit vsus: only the discontented meditation of learning, generally now a dayes little valued, and her professors set at naught & dishartened, caused mee to handle that plaintife subject more seriously.

20 Vext with discredit (Gabriel) I neuer was, as thou hast beene euer since Familiaritas peperit contemptü, thy familiar epistles brought thee in contempt.

Though I haue beene pinched with want (as who is not at one time or another *Pierce Penilesse*) yet my muse neuer 25 wept for want of maintenance as thine did in *Musarum lachrimæ*, that was miserably flouted at in M. *Winkfields* Comœdie of *Pedantius* in Trinitie Colledge.

How am I tormented with other mens felicitie, otherwise thã saying, I know a Cobler that was worth fiue hundred 30 pound, an hostler that had built a goodly Inne, & might dispend forty pound yearely by his land, a Carman that had whipt a thousand pound out of his horse taile; if I had likewise reckond vp a ropemaker, that by tormenting of hempe, & going backward (which the Deuill would nere 35 doe) had turnd as many Mill sixpences ouer the thumbe, as kept three of his sonnes at Cambridge a long time, & that

22 in] into Coll., Gro. 23 at] om. Coll., Gro.

which is more, three proud sonnes, that when they met the hangman (their Fathers best chapman) would scarse put of their hats to him, why then thou shouldst haue had some colour of quarell, thy accusation might iustly haue enterd his title *pro aris & focis*, whereas now it is friuolous and 5 forcelesse.

H 2 The sharpest wits, I perceiue, haue none of the best memories; if they had, thou wouldst nere haue toucht mee with tormenting my selfe with other mens felicitie; for how didst thou torment thy selfe with other mens felicitie, when 10 in the 28. Page of thy first tome of Epistles, thou exclaimst *that in no age so little was so much made of, nothing aduanst to be something, Numbers made of Ciphars,* that is, by interpretatiõ, all those that were aduaunst either in the Court or commonwealth at that time, had little to com-15 mend them, nothing in account worthy preferment, but were meere meacocks & Ciphars in comparison of thy excellent out-cast selfe that liu'dst at Cambridge vnmounted.

Hang thee, hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous 20 readers, thou grosse shifter for shitten tapsterly iests, haue I *imitated* Tarltons *play of the seauen deadly sinnes in my plot* of *Pierce Penilesse*? whom hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke? thou hast borrowed aboue twenty phrases and epithites from mee, which in sober 25 sadnesse thou makst vse of as thy owne, when thou wouldst exhort more effectuall.

Is it lawfull but for one preacher to preach of the ten commandements? hath none writ of the fiue senses but *Aristotle*? was sinne so vtterly abolished with *Tarltons* 30 play of the seuen deadly sins, that ther could be nothing said *supra* of that argument?

Canst thou exemplifie vnto mee (thou impotent moatecatching carper) one minnum of the particular deuice of his play that I purloind? There be manie men of one name 35 that are nothing a kindred. Is there any further distribu-

18 at] in Coll., Gro.

tion of sins, not shadowed vnder these 7. large spreading branches of iniquity, on which a man may worke, and not tread on *Tarletons* | heeles? If not, what blemish is it to H 2^v *Pierce Pennilesse* to begin where the Stage doth ende, to 5 build vertue a Church on that foundation that the Deuill built his Chappell?

Gabriell, if there bee anie witte or industrie in thee, now I will dare it to the vttermost: write of what thou wilt, in what language thou wilt, and I will confute it and answere to it. Take truths part, and I will proue truth to be no truth, marching out of thy dug-voiding mouth.

Diuinitie I except, which admits no dalliance: but in any other art or profession, of which I am not yet free, and thou shalt challenge me to trie maistries in, Ile bind my is selfe Prentise too, and studie throughly, though it neuer stande mee in any other stead while I liue, but to make one reply, only because I wil haue the last word of thee.

I would count it the greatest punishment that *In speech* could lay vpon mee, to be bound to studie the Danish 20 tongue, which is able to make any Englishman haue the mumpes in his mouth, that shall but plunge through one full point of it, yet the Danish tongue, or any Turks, or hogs, or dogs tongue whatsoeuer, would I learne rather than bee put downe by such a ribauldry *Don Diego* as thou art.

²⁵ Heigh, drawer, fil vs a fresh quart of new-found phrases, since Gabriell saies we borrow all our eloquence from Tauerns: but let it be of the mighty Burdeaux grape, pure vino de monte, I coniure thee, by the same token that the Deuils dauncing schoole in the bottome of a mans purse that

- 30 is emptie, hath beene a gray-beard Prouerbe two hundred yeares before Tarlton was borne: Ergo, no gramercy, Dicke Tarlton. But the summe of summes is this, I drinke to you, M. Gabriell, on that condition, that you shall not excruciate H₃ your braine to be conceited and haue no wit.
- 35 Since we are here on our prating bench in a close roome, and that there is none in company but you, my approved good friends, *foure Letters*, and certain Sonnets, your Pages,

I will rehearse vnto you some part of the Methode of my demeanour in *Pierce Pennilesse*.

First, insomuch as the principall scope of it is a most liuelie anatomie of sinne, the diuell is made speciall superuisor of it, to him it is dedicated; as if a man shoulde 5 compile a curious examined discouerie of whoredome, and dedicate it to the quarter Maisters of Bridewell, because they are best able to punish it.

Wherfore as there is no fire without some smoke, no complaint without some precedent cause of aggreeuance, 10 I introduce a discontented Scholler vnder the person of Pierce Pennilesse, tragicallie exclaiming vpon his partial-eid fortune, that kept an Almes boxe of compassion in store for every one but him-selfe. He tels how he tost his imagination like a dogge in a blanket, searcht euerie corner 15 of the house of Charitie, to see if he could light on any that would set a new nappe of an old threedbare Cloake: but, like him that having a letter to deliver to a Scottish Lorde, when hee came to his house to enquire for him. found no bodie at home but an ape that sate in the Porch 20 and made mops and mows at him; so he, deliuering his vnperusde papers to Powles Churchyard, the first that took them vp was the Ape Gabriel, who made mops and mows at them, beslauering the outside of them a little, but coulde not enter into the contents, which was an ase beyonde his 25 vnderstanding.

H 3^v With the first and second leafe hee plaies verie pretilie, and in ordinarie termes of extenuating verdits *Pierce Pennilesse for a Grammer Schoole wit*; saies his Margine is as deepelie learnd as Fauste præcor gelida, that his Muse 30 sobbeth and groneth verie piteouslie, bids him not cast himself headlong into the horrible gulph of desperation, comes ouer him that hee is a creature of wonderfull hope, as his own inspired courage diuinely suggesteth, wils him to inchaunt some magnificent Mecenas, to honour himselfe in honouring 35

11 introduce in a Q. Corr. in Errata. 22 to] in Coll., Gro. 27 veric Q.

him, with a hundred such gracewanting Ironies cutte out against the woll, that woulde ieopard the best ioint of *Poetica licentia* to procure laughter, when there crinckled crabbed countenance (the verie resemblance of a sodden dogges face) 5 hath sworne it woulde neuer consent therevnto.

Not the most exquisite thing that is, but the Cousel Table Asse, Richard Clarke, may so Carterly deride.

Euerie Milke-maide can gird with, Ist true? How saie you, lo? who would haue thought it? Good Beare, bite not. 10 A man is a man though hee hath but a hose on his head.

No such light paiment, Gabriel, hast thou at my hands :

I tell thee where, when, and how thou shewdst thy selfe a Dunsiuall.

Onely externall defects thou casts in my dish; nothing 15 internall in thee, but I prooue that it is altogether excrementall.

A fewe Elegeicall verses of mine thou pluckest in pieces most ruthfullie, and quotes them against mee as aduantageable, together with some dismembred Margine notes, but 20 all is inke cast away, you recour no costs and charges. With one minutes studie Ile destroie more, than thou art able to build in ten daies.

Squeise thy heart into thy inkehorne, and it shall but H₄ congeal into clodderd garbage of confutatio, thy soule hath

25 no effects of a soule, thou canst not sprinkle it into a sentence, & make euerie line leape like a cup of neat wine new powred out, as an Orator must doe that lies aright in wait for mens affections.

Whome hast thou wonne to hate mee by light crawling 30 ouer my Text like a Cankerworme?

Some superficial slime of poison hast thou driueld from thy pen in thy shallow footed sliding through my *Supplication*, which one pen ful of repurified inke will excessivelie wash out. Shall I informe thee (that vnfruitfullie endeuorst as to informe authoritie against me) why I infixed those

Poeticall latine marget notes to some fewe pages in the beginning of *Pierce Pennilesse*? I did it to explaine to

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such expected spiefaults as thou art, that it was no vncouth abhorrencie from the custome of former writers, for a man openly to bewaile his vndeserued ill destenie.

In the vncasing of thy brother *Richard*, I calculated the Natiuitie of the *Astrologicall Discourse*; I apparentlie 5 suggested what a lewd piece of Prophecie it was; I registred the infinite scorne that the whole Realme intertaind it with, the Adages that ran vpon it, *Tarltons* and *Eldertons nigrum* THETA set to it, yet wilt thou, that art the sonne and heire to shamelesse impudence, the vnlineall vsurper of 10 iudgement from all his true owners, the HOYDEN and pointing stock recreation of Trinitie hall, *Vanitas vanitatis* & omnia vanitas, inuest that in the highest throne of Art and Schollership, which a scrutinie of so manie millions of wel discerning condemnations hath concluded to be viler 15 than newesmungrie, & that which is vilest of all, no lesse vile than thy Epistles.

H 4^{*} Most voices, most voices, most voices; who is on my side, who? Whether is the *Astrologicall Discourse* a better booke than *Pierce Pennilesse*? Gabriel hangtelow saies it 20 is; I am the Defendant, and denie it, and yet I doe not ouercull my owne workes: His assertion he countermures thus:

Pierce Pennilesse is a man better acquainted with the Diuels of hell than the Starres of Heauen: Ergo, the Astro- 25 logicall Discourse is better than the notorious diabolicall discourse of Pierce Pennilesse.

Once againe I denie his Argument to bee of lawfull age. *Pierce Pennilesse* is a better Starmunger than a Diuelmunger, which needeth no other FOR to corroberate it but 30 this, that my yea, at all times, is as good as his nay.

How is the Supplication a diabolicall Discourse, otherwise than as it intreats of the diuerse natures and properties of Diuels and spirits? in that far fetcht sense may the famous defensative against supposed Prophecies and the 35

3 ill] om. Coll., Gro. 22 assettion Q. Corr. in Errata. 22-3 countermures him thus Coll., Gro.

Discouerie of Witchcraft be called notorious Diabolicall discourses, as well as the Supplication, for they also intreate of the illusions and sundrie operations of spirits: Likewise may I say that those his foure Letters nowe on their triall, 5 are foure notorious lowsie Discourses, because they lyingly discourse little else saue Greenes lowsie estate before his death.

M. Churchyard, our old quarrel is renued, when nothing else can bee fastned on mee; this Letter leapper vpbraideth 10 mee with crying you mercie; I cannot tell, but I think you will haue a saying to him for it. Ther's no reason that such a one as he should presume to intermeddle in your matters, it cannot be done with any intent but to stirre mee vp to write against you a-|fresh, which nothing vnder I I 15 heau'n shall draw mee to doe. I loue you vnfainedly, and admire your aged Muse, that may well be grand-mother to our grandeloquentest Poets at this present:

Sanctum & venerabile vetus omne Poema.

Shores wife is yong, though you be stept in yeares; in 20 her shall you liue when you are dead.

For that vnaduised indammagement I haue done you heretofore, Ile be your champion hence forward against any that dare write against you. Onely as euer you would light vpon a good cuppe of old sacke when you are most ²⁵ drie, pocket not vp this slie abuse at a rakehell rampalions hands, one that, when an iniurie is deepe buried in the graue of obliuion, shall seeke to digge it vp againe, recall that into mens memories which was consumed and forgotten.

Whoreson Ninihammer, that wilt assault a man & haue 30 no stronger weapons.

The Italian saith, a man must not take knowledge of iniurie till he be able to reuenge it.

Nay but, in plaine good fellowship, art thou so innocent & vnconceiuing that thou shouldst ere hope to dash mee 35 quite out of request by telling mee of the Counter, and my hostesse Penia? I yeeld that I have dealt vpon spare commodities of wine and capons in my daies, I have sung *George Gascoignes* Counter-tenor; what then? Wilt thou peremptorily define that it is a place where no honest man or Gentleman of credit ever came?

Heare what I say; a Gentleman is neuer throughly entred into credit till he hath beene there; & that Poet or nouice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in a doubt that it is not authenticall, till it I I' hath beene seene and allowd in vn-lthrifts consistory.

Grande doloris ingenium. Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their Fathers built them, but I protest I should neuer haue writ passion well, or beene a peece of a Poet, if I had not arriu'd in those quarters.

Trace the gallantest youthes and brauest reuellers about 15 Towne in all the by-paths of their expence, & you shall vnfallibly finde, that once in their life time they have visited that melancholy habitation.

Come, come; if you will goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. 20

Cambridge and Oxford may stande vnder the elbowe of it.

I vow if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chauncery.

My hostesse Penia, thats a bugges word; I pry thee what Morrall hast thou vnder it? I will depose, if thou wilt, that till now I neuer heard of anie such English name.

There is a certaine thing cald *christian veritie*, & another hight *common sense*, and a third cleapt *humilitie*: 30 they are more requisite and necessary for thee than *modestie* or discretion for mee and my companions, of which would thou shouldst vnderstand, we are so well prouided that we can lend thee and thy brother *Richard* a great deale, and yet keepe more than wee shall have need of for ourselves. 35

Wilt thou be so hardy and iron-visaged to gainsay that

9 a] om. Coll., Gro. 32 would] om. Coll., Gro.

thy brother Vicars Batchlours hood was not turnd ouer his eares for abusing of *Aristotle*? I know thou hast more grace than so, thou dost not contra-|dict it flatly, but I 2 slubbers it ouer faintly, and comes to recapitulate, not con-5 fute, some of the phrases I vsde in the vnhandsoming of his diuinitiship.

I my selfe, in the same order of disgracing thou singles them foorth, will haue them vp againe, and see if thou, or anie man, can absurdifie the worst of them.

I say, and will make it good, that in the Astrologicall discourse thy brother (as if hee had lately cast the heau'ns water, or beene at the anatomizing of the skies intrailes in Surgeons hall) prophesieth of such strange wonders to ensue from the starres distemperature, is and the bnusuall adulterie of plannets, as none but hee that is bawd to those celestiall bodies could euer descry.

This too I will ratifie for truthable & legible English, that his Astronomy broke his day with his creditors, 20 and Saturne & Iupiter prou'd honester men than all the world tooke them for.

That the whole Universitie hist at him, Tarlton at the Theater made ieastes of him, and Elderton consumed his ale crammed nose to nothing, in beare-baiting him 25 with whole bundels of Ballads.

All this he barely repeates without any disprovement or denudation at all, as if it were so lame in it selfe that it would adnihilate it selfe with the onelie rehearsall of it.

- 30 For the gentilitie of the *Nashes* (though it might seeme a humor borrowed from thee to bragge of it) yet some of vs who neuer sought into it til of late, can proue the extancy of our auncestors before there was euer a ropemaker in England. Wee can vaunt larger petigrees than patrimonies,
- 35 yet of such extrinsecall things, common to tenne thousand calues and oxen, would not I willingly vaunt, only it hath

pleased M. Printer, both in this booke and *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1 2^v to | intaile a vaine title to my name, which I care not for,

without my consent or priuitie I here auouch.

But on the gentilitie of T. N. his beard, the maister Butler of Pembroke hall, stil I will stand to the death; for 5 it is the very prince Elector of peaks, a beard that I cannot bee perswaded but was the Emperour *Dionisius* his, surnamed the Tyrant, when hee playde the schoolemaister in Corinth.

Gabriell, thou hast a prety polwigge sparrows tayle peake, 10 yet maist thou not compare with his: thy Father, for all by thy owne confession *hee makes haires*, had neuer the art to twilt vp such a grim triangle of haire as that.

Be not offended, honest T. N., that I am thus bold with thee, for I affect thee for the names sake, as much as any 15 one man can do another, and know thee to be a fine fellow, and fit to discharge a farre higher calling than that wherein thou liu'st.

What more stuffe lurketh behind in this letter to be distributed into shop-dust?

Pierce Pennilesse is as childish and garish a booke as ever came in print; when he talks of the sheepish discourse of the Lambe of God and his enemies, he saies, it is monstrous and absurd, and not to bee sufferd in a Christian congregatio; that Richard hath scumd over the schoolmen, 25 and of the froth of their folly made a dish of Divinitie brewesse, which the Dogs would not eate.

If he saide so (as hee did) and can proue it (as hee hath done), by Sainte *Lubecke*, then *The Lambe of God* is as childish and garish stuffe as euer came in print, indeede. 30

I, but how doth *Pierce Pennilesse* expiate the coinquination of these objections?

13 Richard, whom (because he is his brother, he there-| fore censures more curious and rigorous, in calling him M. H. than hee would have done otherwise) red the Philosophie 35 Lecture in Cambridge with good liking and singular commendation, when A per se a was not so much as Idoneus

auditor ciuilis scientiæ, Ergo, the Lambe of God beares a better Fleece than hee gives out it doth.

A perse a is improved nothing since, excepting his old Flores Poetarum and Tarletons surmounting rethorique, 5 with a little euphuisme and Greenesse inough.

Gabriel reports him to the fauourablest opinion of those that know A perse a his Prefaces, rimes, and the very timpanie of his Tarltonizing wit, his Supplication to the Diuel.

Quiet your selues a litle, my Maisters, and you shal see no mee dispearse all those cloudes well inough. That *Richard* red the Philosophie Lecture at *Cambridge*, I doe not withstand, but how?

Verie Lentenlie and scantlie, (farre bee it wee shuld slander him so much as his brother *Gabriell* hath done, to

- 15 saie he read it with good liking and singularitie). Credite mee, any that hath but a little refuse *Colloquium* Latine, to interseame a Lecture with, and can saie but *Quapropter vos mei auditores*, may reade with equivalent commendation and liking.
- I remember him woondrous well. In the chiefe pompe of that his false praise, I both heard him, and heard what was the vniuersall slender valuation of him.

There was eloquent *Maister Knox*, (a man whose losse all good learning can neuer sufficiently deplore); twas he 25 and one *Maister Iones* of Trinitie Colledge, that, in my

time, with more speciall approbation conuerst in those Readings. |

Since, I have heard of two rare yong men, *M. Meriton* I₃^v and another, that in supplying that place of succession 30 have surmounted all former mediocritie, and wonne themselues an euerlasting good name in the Vniuersitie.

These thou shouldst haue memoriz'd, if any, but thou art giuen to speake well of none but thy selfe and thy two brothers.

3 improvued in nothing Coll., Gro. 7 (and throughout) per se Coll., Gro. 'For verie companie, read verie timpanie' Errata, but the text is correct. 14 Gabriell] Richard Q. The error was noticed by Grosart in his Errata. Thrice fruitfull S. Iohns, how many hundred perfecter Schollers than the three brothers hast thou nurst at thy paps, that yet haue not shakte off obscuritie?

Mellifluous PLAYFERE, one of the chief props of our aged, & auntientest, & absolutest Vniuersities present 5 flourishing, Where doe thy supereminent gifts shine to themselues, that the Court cannot bee acquainted with them?

Few such men speake out of Fames highest Pulpits, though out of her highest Pulpits speake the purest of all speakers.

Let me adde one word, and let it not bee thought derogatorie to anie. I cannot bethinke mee of two in England in all things comparable to him for his time. Seldome haue I beheld so pregnant a pleasaunt wit coupled with a memorie of such huge incomprehensible receipt, 15 deepe reading and delight better mixt than in his Sermons.

Sed quorsum hæc, how doe these digressions linke in with our Subjectum circa quod?

Flaunting *Richard* and his Philosophie Lecture, was vnder our fingers euen now, howsoeuer wee haue lost him. 20 Hold the candle, and you shall see me cast a figure for him extempore: Oh hoh, I haue founde him without any I 4 further seeking. Giue me your eares, | *Io Pæan*; God saue them, they are long ones.

Now, betweene you and me declare, as if you were at 25 shrift, whether you be not a superlatiue blocke, for al you readd the Philosophie Lecture at Cambridge: Brieflie, brieflie; let mee not stand all daie about you.

His conscience accuseth him, hee is stroke starke dumbe; onely by signes he craues to bee admitted *in forma pauperis*, 30 that we should let him passe for a pore fellow, and he will sell his birthright in learning, with *Esau*, for a messe of porrige.

Curæ leues loquuntur; he hath but a little cure to look too. Maiores stupent, more liuing would make him studie 35 more.

18 with our] without Coll., Gro. 23 Io c.w. 34 Cura Q.

For this once wee dispence with you, because you look so penitentlie on it, but let not me catch you selling any more such twise sodden sawdust diuinitie as *the Lambe* of God and his enemies, for if I do, Ile make a dearth of 5 paper in Pater-noster-rowe (such as was not this seauen yeare) onelie with writing against thee.

A perse a can doe it; tempt not his clemencie too much. A perse a?

Passion of God, howe came I by that name? my godto father *Gabriel* gaue it mee, and I must not refuse it. Nor if you were priuie whence it came would you hold it worthie to be refused; for before I had the reuersion of it hee bestow'd it on a Noble man, whose new fashiond apparrell and *Tuscanish gestures, cringing side necke, eies glancing,* 15 *fisnomie smerking*, hauing described to the full, he concludes with this verse:

Euerie inch A perse a his termes and braueries in print.

Hold you your peace Nashe: that was before you were Idoneus auditor ciuilis scientiæ. It may bee so, for thou wert 20 a Libeller before I was borne. Yet vn-|der correction bee it I $_{4^{v}}$ spoken, I haue come to the schooles and purg'd rheume many a time, when your brother was Philosophie Lecturer; he wanted no supplosus pedũ, to spend away his houre, that I could help him with.

25 What since I am improved you partly have provued to your cost; and may doe more at large, if God send vs more leysure.

As for *Flores Poetarum*, they are flowers that yet I neuer smelt too. Ile pawne my hand to a halfepenny, I haue 30 readd more good Poets thorough than thou euer hardst off.

The floures of your *Foure Letters* it may be I have ouerlookt more narrowlie, and done my best deuoire to assemble them together into patheticall posie, which I will here present to Maister Orator *Edge* for a Newyeares

² not me] me not Coll., Gro. 22 many a] in my Coll., Gro.

gift, leaving them to his *wordie* discretion to be censured, whether they be currant in inkehornisme or no.

Conscious mind : canicular tales : egregious an argument; when as egregious is neuer vsed in english but in the extreame ill part. Ingenuitie: Iouiall mind: valarous 5 Authors: inckehorne aduentures: inckehorne pads: putatiue opinions: putatiue artists: energeticall persuasions: Rascallitie : materiallitie : artificiallitie : Fantasticallitie : diuine Entelechy: loud Mentery: deceitfull perfidy: addicted to Theory: the worlds great Incendiarie: sirenized furies: 10 soueraigntie immense: abundant Cauteles: cautelous and aduentrous: cordiall liquor: Catilinaries and Phillipicks: perfunctorie discourses : Dauids sweetnes olimpique : the Idee high and deepe Abisse of excellence: The only Vnicorne of the Muses: the Arctinish mountaine of huge exaggerations: 15 The gratious law of Amnesty: amicable termes: amicable | KI end: Effectuate: addoulce his melodie: Magy: polimechany: extensively emploid: precious Traynment: Nouellets: Notorietie : negotiation : mechanician.

Nor are these all, for euerie third line hath some of this ²⁰ ouer-rackt absonisme. Nor do I altogether scum off all these as the newe ingendred fome of the English, but allowe some of them for a neede to fill vp a verse; as *Traynment*, and one or two wordes more, which the libertie of prose might well haue spar'd. In a verse, when a worde ²⁵ of three sillables cannot thrust in but sidelings, to ioynt him euen we are oftentimes faine to borrowe some lesser quarry of elocution from the Latine, alwaies retaining this for a principle, that a leake of indesinence, as a leake in a shippe, must needly bee stopt with what matter soeuer. ³⁰

Chaucers authoritie, I am certaine, shalbe alleadgd against mee for a many of these balductums. Had *Chaucer* liu'd to this age, I am verily perswaded hee would haue discarded the tone halfe of the harsher sort of them.

They were the Oouse which ouerflowing barbarisme, 35 withdrawne to her Scottish Northren chanell, had left 17 Magy polimechany Q. 19 Notorietie negotiation Q. 32 Chaucer Q.

behind her. Art, like yong grasse in the spring of *Chaucers* florishing, was glad to peepe vp through any slime of corruption, to be beholding to she car'd not whome for apparaile, trauailing in those colde countries. There is no 5 reason that shee, a banisht Queene into this barraine soile, hauing monarchizd it so long amongst the Greeks and Romanes, should (although warres furie had humbled her to some extremitie) still be constrained, when she hath recourd her state, to weare the robes of aduersitie, iet to it in her old rags, when she is wedded to new prosperitie.

Vtere moribus præteritis, saith Caius Cæsar in Aulus K 1^v Gellius, loquere verbis præsentibus.

Thou art mine enemie, *Gabriell*, and, that which is more, a contemptible vnder-foote enemie, or else I would teach 15 thy olde *Trewantship* the true vse of words, as also how more inclinable verse is than prose, to dance after the horrizonant pipe of inueterate antiquitie.

It is no matter, since thou hast brought godly instruction out of loue with thee, vse thy own destruction, raigne sole 20 Emperour of inkehornisme : I wish vnto thee all superabundant increase of the singular gifts of absurditie, and vaineglory : from this time forth for euer, euer, euer, euermore maist thou be canonized as the Nunparreille of impious epistlers, the short shredder out of sandy sentences 25 without lime, as *Quintillian* tearmed Seneca all lime and no sande; all matter and no circumstance; the factor for the Fairies and night Vrchins, in supplanting and setting aside the true children of the English, and suborning inkehorne changlings in their steade, the galimafrier of all 30 stiles in one standish, as imitating euerie one, & having no seperate forme of writing of thy owne; and to conclude, the onely feather-driver of phrases, and putter of a good word to it when thou hast once got it, that is betwixt this and the Alpes. So bee it worlde without ende. Chroniclers, 35 heare my praiers. Good Maister Stowe, be not vnmindfull of him.

Thats well remembred, now I talke of Chroniclers,

I founde the Astrologicall discourse the other night in the Chronicle. *Gabriell* will outface vs, it is a worke of such deepe arte & iudgement, when it is expressely past vnder record for a coosening prognostication. The wordes are K 2 these, though somewhat a-|breuiated; for he makes a long 5 circumlocution of it.

In the yeare 1583, by meanes of an Astrologicall discourse oppon the great and notable conjunction of Saturne and Iupiter, the common sort of people were almost driu'n out of their wits, and knew not what to doe: but 10 when no such thing hapned, they fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie.

Ipsissima sunt Aristotelis verba, they are the verie words of Iohn Tell-troth, in the 1357. folio of the last edition of 15 the great Chronicle of England.

Mehercule quidem, if it be so taken vp, Pierce Pennilesse may well cast his cappe after it for euer ouertaking it. But some thing euen now, Gabriell, thou wert girding against my præfaces and rimes, and the timpanie of my 20 Tarltonizing wit.

Well, these be your words, præfaces and rimes; let mee studie a little, præfaces and rimes. Minimè verd; si ais nego. I neuer printed rime in my life but those verses in the beginning of Pierce Pennilesse, though you haue set 25 foorth

> The stories quaint of manie a doutie flie, That read a lecture to the ventrous elfe.

And so forth as followeth in chambling rowe.

Præfaces two, or a paire of Epistles, I will receyue into 30 the protection of my parentage: out of both which, sucke out one *solæcisme*, or mishapen English word, if thou canst for thy guts.

Wherein haue I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that

18 well] om. Gro. 22 Grosart has here the side-note Apply to Mas. Martin. Not in Coll.

I should thanke them for all I have? Is my stile like Greenes, or my ieasts like Tarltons? Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones, or rake vp any newfound poetry from vnder the wals of Troy? If I do, trip 5 mee with it; but I doe not, therefore Ile | be so saucy as $K_{2^{\vee}}$ trip you with the grand lie. Ware stumbling of whetstones in the darke there, my maisters.

This I will proudly boast (yet am I nothing a kindred to the three brothers) that the vaine which I haue (be it a *median* vaine, or a madde man) is of my owne begetting, and cals no man father in England but my selfe, neyther *Euphues*, nor *Tarlton*, nor *Greene*.

Not *Tarlton* nor *Greene* but have beene contented to let my simple iudgement ouerrule them in some matters of wit.

- 15 Euphues I readd when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and then I thought it was *Ipse ille*: it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten yeare: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates *Plutarch*, *Ouid*, and the choisest Latine Authors.
- 20 If you be aduisde, I tooke *shortest vowels and longest mutes* in the beginning of my booke, as suspitious of being accessarie to the making of a Sonnet wherto Maister *Christopher Birds* name is set; there I saide that you mute forth many such phrases in the course of your booke, which
- ²⁵ I would point at as I past by: Heere I am as good as my word, for I note that thou beeing afraide of beraying thy selfe with writing, *wouldest faine bee a mute*, when it is too late to repent. Againe, thou reuiest on vs and saist *that mutes are coursed and vowels haunted*. Thou art no mute, 30 yet shalt thou be haunted and coursed to the full. I will

neuer leave thee as long as I am able to lift a pen.

Whether I seeke to bee counted a terrible bulbegger or no, Ile baite thee worse than a bull, so that thou shalt desire some body on thy knees to helpe thee with letters of 35 commendation to *Bull*, the hangman, that he may dispatch

2	New par in Gro.	5 bee c.w.	13 bnt Q.	16 I then Coll.,
Gro.	17 kuow Q.	33 that the	thou Q.	

K₃ thee out of the way before | more affliction come vpon thee.

All the inuective and satiricall spirits shall then bee thy familiars, as the furies in hell are the familiars of sinfull ghosts, to follow them and torment them without inter- $_5$ mission: thou shalt bee double girt with girds, and scoft at till those that stand by do nothing but cough with laughing.

Thou saiest I professe the art of railing: thou shalt not say so in vaine, for, if there bee any art or depth in it, more than *Aretine* or *Agrippa* haue discouered or diu'd into, 10 looke that I will sound it and search it to the vttermost, but ere I haue done with thee ile leaue thee the miserablest creature that the sunne euer sawe.

There is no kind of peaceable pleasure in poetrie, but I can drawe equally in the same yoke with the haughtiest 15 of those foule-mouthd backbiters that say I can do nothing but raile.

I have written in all sorts of humors privately, I am perswaded, more than any yoong man of my age in England. 20

The weather is cold, and I am wearie with confuting: the remainder of the colde contents of this Epistle be these.

He enuiously indeuors, since he cannot reuenge himselfe, to incense men of high calling against me, and wold inforce it into their opinions, that whatsoeuer is spokẽ in *Pierce* 25 *Pennilesse* concerning *Pesants, Clownes, & hipocriticall hotspurs, Midasses, Buckram Giants, & the mightie Prince of darkenesse*, is meant of them; let him proue it, or bring the man to my face to whome I euer made any vnduetifull exposition of it. I am to be my own interpreter first in 30 this case. I say, in *Pierce Pennilesse* I haue set downe K 3° nothing but that which | I haue had my president for in forraine writers, nor had I the least allusion to any man set

aboue mee in degree, but onely glanc'st at vice generallie. The tale of the Beare and the Foxe, how euer it may set 35

3 satericall Q. 30 it, I Q. 30-1 in this first case Q. Corr. in Errata. 34 bnt Q.

fooles heads a worke a farre off, yet I had no concealed ende in it but, in the one, to describe the right nature of a bloudthirsty tyrant, whose indefinite appetite all the pleasures in the earth haue no powre to bound in goodnes,

- 5 but he must seeke a new felicitie in varietie of cruelty, and destroying all other mens prosperitie; for the other, to figure an hypocrite : Let it be Martin, if you will, or some · old dog that bites sorer than hee, who secretlie goes and seduceth country Swaines.
- Wakes them beleeue that that honny which their bees IO brought forth was poysonous and corrupt.

That they may buy bonny cheaper than by being at such charges in keening of bees.

That it is not necessary they should have such stately 15 hiues, or lie sucking at such precious honnicombs.

If this (which is nothing else but to swim with the streame) be to tell tales as shrewdly as mother Hubbard. it should eseme mother Hubbard is no great shrewe, however thou treading on her heeles so oft, shee may bee 20 tempted beyonde her ten commandements.

A litle before this, the foresaid fanaticall Phobetor, geremumble, tirleriwhisco, or what you will, cald forth the biggest gunshot of my thundring tearmes, steept in Aqua fortis and gunpowder, to come and trie them selues on his 25 paper Target.

But that it is no credite, Galpogas, to discharge a Cannon gainst a lowse, thou shouldst not call in vaine: thou shouldst heare Tom a Lincolne roare | with a witnes; woe K4 worth the daie & the yeare when thou hearest him. I feare-30 blast thee nowe but with the winde of my weapon. With the wast of my words I lay wast all the feeble fortifications of thy wit. Shewe mee the Vniuersities hand and seale that thou art a Doctour sealed and deliuered in the presence of a whole Commensement, and Ile present thee with my 35 whole artillerie store of eloquence.

¹⁰ beleeue that honny Coll., Gro. om. Coll., Gro. 27 against Coll., Gro. 13 of] om. Coll., Gro. 14 it] Y

A bots on thee for mee for a lumpish, leaden heeld letter dawber, my stile, with treading in thy clammie steps, is growne as heauie gated, as if it were bound to an Aldermans pace, with the irons at Newgate cald the widows Almes.

Ere I was chained to thee thus by the necke, I was as 5 light as the Poet *Accius*, who was so lowe and so slender that hee was faine to put lead into his shooes for feare the winde shoulde blowe him into another Countrie.

Those that catch Leopards set cups of wine before them; those that will winne liking and grace of the readers must 10 set before them continually that which shall cheare them and reuiue them.

Gabriell, thou hast not done so, thou canst not doe so, therfore thy works neither haue, nor can any way hinder mee, nor benefit the Printer.

Euen in the packing vp of my booke, a hot ague hath mee by the backe. Maugre sicknesse worst, a leane arme put out of the bed shall grind and pash euery crum of thy booke into pin-dust.

The next peece of seruice thou dost against Pierce 20 Pennilesse, is the naming of him wofull poueretto, and pleasant supposing thou puldst him by the ragged sleeue: Then matchest thou thy selfe to Vlisses, and him to Irus;

K 4[°] Irrita sunt hæc omnia: it is a sleeuelesse ieast. I | haue besliu'd thee already for it; it toucheth the body and not 25 the minde. Besides, I was neuer altogether Peter Poueretto, vtterly throwne downe, desperately seperated from all means of releeuing my selfe, since I knew how to seperate a knaue from an honest man, or throw my cloake ouer my nose when I salied by the Counters. 30

The ragged cognizance on the sleeue, I may say to thee, carried meate in the mouth when time was: doe not dispraise it yet, for it hath many high partakers. Quæ sequentur huiusmodi sunt.

Thou turmoilst thy pia mater to proue base births 35

2 in] on Coll., Gro. 3 it] I Coll., Gro. 7 into] in Coll., Gro. 14 thy] rhy Q. 20 Pierce Q. 21 of him Q. 30 sailed Coll., Gro.

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better than the ofspring of many discents, because thou art a mushrumpe sprung vp in one night, a seely mouse begotten on a moulehill, that wouldst fayne pearch thy selfe on the mountaines, when thy legges are too short to 5 ouercome such a long journey of glorie.

My margent note, *Meritis expendite causam*, thou wouldst rather than any thing wrest to an enditment of arrogance, & so branch mee into thy tiptoe stocke. I cannot see how thou canst compasse it: For though I bad them weigh the 10 cause by deserts, yet I did not assume too much to my owne deserts, when I expostulated, why Coblers, Hostlers, and Carmen should be worth so much, and so much, and I, a scholler and a good-fellow, a begger. How thou hast

arrogated to thy selfe more than *Lucifer*, or any *Miles* 15 gloriosus in the worlde would doe, I have already noted at large in his due place and order. If thou bestowst any

- curtesie on mee, and I do not requite it, then call mee cut, and say I was brought vp at Hoggenorton, where pigges play on the Organs.
- 20 Wert thou well acquainted with me, thou shouldst | per-LI ceiue that I am very franke where I take, & send away none empty-handed that giue mee but halfe an ill worde.

It is a good signe of grace in thee, that thou confessest thou hast offences enough of thy owne to aunswere, though 25 thou beest not charged with thy Fathers. Once in thy life thou speakst true yet; I beleeue thee and pittie thee. God make thee a good man, for thou hast beene a wilde youth hitherto.

Thy Hexameter verses, or thy hue and crie after a person 3° as cleare as Christall, I do not so deeply commend, for al Maister Spencer long since imbrast it with an ouer-louing sonnet.

Why should friends dissemble one with another? they are very vgly and artlesse. You will neuer leaue your olde 35 trickes of drawing M. *Spencer* into euerie pybald thing you do. If euer he praisd thee, it was because he had pickt

¹² and so much] om. Coll., Gro.

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a fine vaine foole out of thee, and he would keepe thee still a foole, by flattring thee, til such time as he had brought thee into that extreame loue with thy selfe, that thou shouldst run mad with the conceit, and so be scorned of all men.

Yet yet, Gabriell, are not we set non plus; thy roister doisterdome hath not dasht vs out of countenance. If anie man vse boistrous horse-play, or bee beholding to Carters Logique, it is thy selfe; for with none but clownish and roynish ieasts dost thou rush vppon vs, and keepst such 10 a flurting and a flinging in euerie leafe, as if thou wert the onely reasty iade in a country.

Skolding, thou saiest, is the language of shrewes, railing the stile of rakehels; what concludst thou from thence? Do I scold? do I raile?

Scolding & railing is loud miscalling and reuiling one L I^v another without wit, speaking euery thing a man | knows by his neighbour, though it bee neuer so contrary to all humanitie and good manners, and would make the standers by almost perbrake to heare it. Such is thy inuectiue 20 against *Greene*, where thou talkst of his lowsines, his surfeting, his beggerie, and the mother of *Infortunatus* infirmities. If I scold, if I raile, I do but *cum ratione insanire*; *Tully, Ouid*, all the olde Poets, *Agrippa, Aretine*, and the rest are all scolds and railers, and by thy conclusion flat 25 shrewes and rakehels: for I doe no more than their examples do warrant mee.

The intoxicate spirit of grisly Euridice, I can tosse ouer as lightly to thee, as thou hast puft it to mee. My hart is præoccupated with better spirits, which haue left her 30 no house-roome : thou hast no spirite, as it should appeare by thy writing : intertaine her and the spirit of the buttery out of hand, or thou wilt be beaten hand-smooth out of Bucklarsbury.

When I parted with thy brother in Pierce Penilesse, 35 I left him to be tormented world without ende of our

2 foole] Gro.: foote Q, Coll. 34 Bucklars bury Q.

Poets and writers about London, for calling them piperly make-playes and makebates, not doubting but they would drive him to this issue, that he should be constrained to goe to the chiefe beame of his benefice, and 5 there beginning a lametable speech with cur scripsi, cur perij, ende with Prauum prava decent, inwat inconcessa voluptas, & so with a trice, trusse bp his life in the string of his sance-bell. Now heere thou thankst God thou art not so vncharitably bent to put so much wit in to a speech; like a Parson in Lancashire, that kneeld down on his knees in a zealous passion, and very hartily thankt God he neuer knew what that vile Antichristian Romish Popish Latine meant. Did I exhort inke and paper to pray that they might not bee troubled | with him any tage.

¹⁵ more? Inke and paper, if they bee true Protestants, will pray that they may not be contaminated any more with such abhomination of desolation, as the three brothers Apocripha pamphleting.

After all this foule weather ensueth a calme dilatement 20 of others too forward harmefulnes, and thy owne backward irefulnesse; thats dispatcht, the court hath found it otherwise.

Then thou goest about to bribe mee to giue ouer this quarrell, and saist, if I will holde my peace, thou wilt 25 bestowe more complements of rare amplifications vpon mee, than euer thou bestowdst on Sir *Philip Sidney*, and gentle Maister *Spencer*.

Thou flatterst mee, and praisest mee.

To make mee a small seeming amendes for the iniuries 30 thou hast done mee, thou reckonst mee vp amongst the deare louers and professed sonnes of the Muses, Edmund Spencer, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell.

With a hundred blessings, and many praiers, thou in-35 treatst mee to love thee.

Content thy selfe, I will not.

25 amplification Coll., Gro.

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Thou protests it was not my person thou mislikt (I am afraide thou wilt make mee thy Ingle) but my fierce running at Parson Richard, excusest mee by my youth, & promisest to cancell thy impertinent Pamphlet.

It were good hanging thee now thou art in such a good 5 mind; yet for all this, a dogge will be a dogge, & returne to his vomit, doe what a man can; thou must haue one squibbe more at the Deuils Orator, & his Dames Poet, or thy penne is not in cleane life. I will permit thee to say what thou wilt, to vnderlie (as thou desir'st) the verdit 10 of Fame hir selfe, so I may lie aboue thee. LIE aboue L av thee, tell greater lies than thou dost, | no man is able.

Thus, O heauenly Muse, I thanke thee, for thou hast giu'n mee the patience to trauel through the tedious wildernesse of this Gomorian Epistle. Not *Hercules*, when 15 he cleansed the stables of *Ægeas*, vnder-tooke such a stinking vnsauorie exploit. By thy assistaunce through a whole region of golden lanes haue I iourneied, & now am safely arriu'd at not speedily dispatcht, but hastily bungled vp as you see. Graunt that all such slow dis- 20 patchers & hastie bunglers may haue a long time of reproach to repent them in, and not come abroad to corrupt the aire & impostumate mens ears with their pan-pudding prose any more. So bee it, say all English people after mee, that haue eares to heare or eies to reade. 25

Feci, feci, feci, had I my health, now I had leysure to be merry, for I haue almost washt my hands of the Doctour.

His own regenerate verses of the iolly Fly, & Gibeline and Gwelph, some peraduenture may expect that I should answere. So I would if there were anie thing in them 30 which I had not answerd before, but there is nothing; if there were, having driven his sword to his head, I respect not what he can do with his dagger. Onely I will looke vpon the last Sonnet of M. Spencers to the right worshipfull Maister G. H., Doctour of the lawes: or it may so 35 fall out that I will not looke vpon it too, because (Gabriell)

12 tell a greater lie Coll., Gro.

though I vehemently suspect it to bee of thy owne doing, it is popt foorth vnder M. *Spencers* name, and his name is able to sanctifie any thing, though falsely ascribed to it.

The fourth letter of our Orators, to the same fauorable 5 or indifferent reader, was a letter which this many a long summers day, I dare ieopard my may-denhead had line L₃ hidden in his deske; for it is a shipmans hose, that will serue any man as well as *Green* or mee.

To make short, in it, as fortie times before, he brides it to and simpers it out a crie, No, forsooth, God dild you, hee would not that hee would: None so desirous of quiet as hee, good olde man, who with a pure intent of peace, first put fire to the flame that hath hedgde him in.

He hath preuented Maister *Bunnie* of the second part 15 of his treatise of Pacification; for like some craftie ringleader of rebellion, when hee hath stirred vp a dangerous commotion, and findes, by the too late examination of his forevnexamined defects in himselfe, that so sweet a roote will hardlie effect correspondent fruits, strait, in pollicie to

20 get his pardon, hee strikes saile to that tempest of sedition, and is thrice as earnest in preaching pacification, obedience, and submission: so *Gabriel*, when he hath stird vp against me what tumults he can in Stationers Shops, and left the quiuer of his enuie not an arrow vndrawne out, hee finds, 25 by the audit of his ill consumed defectes, that he is not

of force inough to hold out; wherefore in pollicie to auoid further arrearages of infamie, hee tires the text of reconciliation out of breath, and hopeth by the intercession of a cuppe of white wine and sugar, to be made friends with 30 his fellow writers.

It cannot choose but he must of necessitie be a very sore fellow, that is so familiar with white wine & sugar, for white wine, in a maner, is good for nothing but to wash sores in, and smudge vp withered beauty with. Well, for all hee 35 would have *Pierce* make no warres on him, he makes warres on *Pierce Pennilesse*, he bebeggereth him again in this to it] om. Coll., Gro. 20 that] the Coll., Gro. L 3^v epistle verie boun-tifullie: hee saies that Lordes must take heede how they Lord it in his presence.

That the Asse is the onelie Author he alleadgeth.

That Greene is an Asse in print, and he a calfe in print.

That they are both chiefetaines in licentiousnesse, and, truth 5 can saie, the abhominable villanies of such base shifting companions, good for nothing but to cast away themselues, spoile their adherents, &c.

For my beggerie, let that trauell the countries; I haue saide more for it than a richer man would haue done, but 10 that I take vppon me to Lord it ouer great Lords, thou art a most lewd tungd lurden to saie it.

Must they take heede how they Lord it in my presence, what must they doe then in thy presence?

15

20

That sitting like a looker on Of this worlds stage, dost note with critique pen The sharpe dislikes of each condition; Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great, Ne fearest foolish reprehension, But freelie dost, of what thee list, intreate, Like a great Lord of peerelesse libertie, Lifting the good vp to high honors seate, And th' euill damning euermore to die; For life and death is in thy doomefull writing.

Whereas thou saist the Asse, in a manner, is the only ²⁵ Author I alleadge, I must know how you define an Asse before I can tell how to answere you; for *Cornelius Agrippa* maketh all the Philosophers, Oratours, and Poets that euer were, Asses: and if so you vnderstand that I alleadge no Author but the Asse, for all Authors are Asses, why I am ³⁰ for you; if otherwise, thou art worse than a *Cumane* Asse, to leape before thou lookst, and condemne a man without cause.

L 4 What Authors dost thou alleadge in thy booke? | not two but any Grammer Scholler might haue alleadgd. 35

5 and that truth Coll., Gro. 13 presence Q. 14 then] om. Coll., Gro. 17 Thy Q. 19 No! Nor Coll., Gro. 30 Asse; for Q. for [if] all Gro. There is not three kernels of more than common learning in all thy *Foure Letters*. Common learning? not common sense in some places.

Of force I must graunt that *Greene* came oftner in print 5 than men of iudgement allowed off, but neuerthelesse he was a daintie slaue to content the taile of a Tearme, and stuffe Seruing mens pockets.

An Asse, *Gabriel*, it is harde thou shouldst name him: for calling mee Calfe, it breakes no square, but if I bee to a calfe, it is in comparison of such an Oxe as thy selfe.

The chiefetaines of licentiousnes, and, truth can say, the abhominable villanies of such base shifting companions, good for nothing, &c. I am of the mind wee shall not disgest this neither.

15 Answere me succincté & expedité, what one period any way leaning to licentiousnes, canst thou produce in Pierce Pennilesse?

I talke of a great matter when I tell thee of a period, for I know two seuerall periods or full pointes, in this last 20 epistle, at least fortie lines long a piece.

For the order of my life, it is as ciuil as a ciuil orenge; I lurke in no corners, but conuerse in a house of credit, as well gouerned as any Colledge, where there bee more rare quallified men and selected good Schollers than in any. 25 Noblemans house that I knowe in England.

If I had committed such abhominable villanies, or were a base shifting companion, it stoode not with my Lords honour to keepe me, but if thou hast saide it, & canst not proue it, what slandrous dishonor hast thou done him, to 30 giue it out that he keepes the committers | of abhominable L 4v

villanies and base shifting companions, when they are farre honester than thy selfe.

If I were by thee, I would plucke thee by the beard, and spit in thy face, but I would dare thee, and vrge thee 35 beyonde all excuse, to disclose and prooue for thy heart

12 shifting] foisting Coll., Gro. 24 than] han (with space for t) Q. 25 Engltand (with the t of than) Q. bloud, what villanie or base shifting by mee thou canst; I defie all the worlde in that respect.

Because thou vsedst at Cambridge to shift for thy Friday at night suppers, and cosen poore victuallers and pie-wives of Doctours cheese and puddinges, thou thinkst me one of 5 the same religion too.

What Greene was, let some other answere for him as much as I have done; I had no tuition over him; he might have writ another Galatzo of manners, for his manners euerie time I came in his companie : I saw no such base shifting 10 or abhominable villanie by him. Something there was which I have heard, not seene, that hee had not that regarde to his credite in, which had beene requisite he should.

What a Calimunco am I to plead for him, as though 15 I were as neere him as his owne skinne. A thousande there bee that have more reason to speake in his behalfe than I, who, since I first knew him about town, haue beene two yeares together and not seene him.

But Ile doe as much for any man, especially for a deade 20 man, that cannot speake for himselfe. Let vs heare how we are good for nothing but to cast awaie our selues, spoile our adherents, praie on our fauourers, dishonour our Patrons. Haue I euer tooke any likelie course of casting away my selfe? 25

Whom canst thou name that kept me company, and reapt any discommoditie by mee? I can name diuers M 1 good Gentlemen that have beene my adherents | and fauourers a long time. Let them report howe I have spoilde them, or praid on them, or put them to one pennie 30 detriment since I first consorted with the

Haue an eie to the maine-chaunce, for no sooner shall they vnderstand what thou hast said by mee of them. but theyle goe neere to have thee about the eares for this geare, one after another. 35

My Patrons, or anie that bind me to them by the least

3-4 Friday nights Coll., Gro.

good turne, there is no man in England that is, or shall (for my small power) bee, more thankefull vnto, than I. Neuer was I vnthankefull vnto any, no, not to those of whome for deedes I received nothing but vnperformed 5 deede-promising words. It is an honor to be accusde, and not convinst.

One of these months I shall challenge martirdome to my selfe, and write large stories of the persecution of tongues. Troth, I am as like to persecute as be persecuted.

10 Let him take vp his Crosse and blesse himselfe that crosseth mee, for I will crosse shinnes with him though euerie sentence of his were a thousande tunnes of discourses, as *Gabriel* saith euerie sentence of his is a discourse. Quods, quods, giue mee my Text pen againe, for I haue 15 a little more Text to launce.

The secretaries of art and nature, if it were not for friuolous contentions, might bestead the commõ-welth with manie puissant engins. As, for example, Bacons brazen nose, Architas wodden doue, dancing bals, fire breathing 20 gourdes, artificiall flies to hang in the aire by themselues, an egshell that shall run vp to the toppe of a speare.

Archimides made a heau'n of brasse, but we have nothing to do with olde brasse and iron.

Appollonius Regimontanus did manie pretie iugling 25 tricks, but wee had rather drinke out of a glasse | than M IV a Iugge; vse a little brittle wit of our owne, than borrow any miracle mettall of Deuils.

Amongst all other stratagems and puissant engins, what say you to *Mates* Pumpe in Cheapeside, to pumpe ouer 3° mutton and porridge into Fraunce? this colde weather our souldiors, I can tell you, haue need of it, and, poore field mise, they haue almost got the colicke and stone with eating of prouant.

Consider of it well, for it is better than all Bacons, 35 Architas, Archimedes, Appollonius, or Regiomontanus deuices; for Gabriell, that professeth all these, with all their

5 deede promising Q. 8 writ Q. 27 of the Deuils Coll., Gro.

helpe cannot make the bias bowle at *Saffron Walden* run downe the hill, when it is throwne down with the hardest hand that may bee, but it will turne vp the hill againe in spite of a mans teeth, and, that which is worst, giue no reason for it.

The Parrat and the Peacock haue leisure to reuiue & repolish their expired workes; you speake like a friend; wele listen to you when you haue repolished and expired your perfected degree. A Demy Doctor, what a shame is it?

Because your books do call for a litle more drinke and a fewe more clothes when they are gone to bed, that is, when they lie dead, you thinke ours should do so too. No, no, we doe not vse to clappe a coat ouer a ierkin, or thrust any of the children of our braine into their mothers 15 wombe againe, & beget them a new after they are once borne. If it bee a horne booke at his first conception, let it be a horne booke still, and turne not cat in the panne, conuert the Pater noster to a Primer, when it hath begd it selfe out at the elbowes vp and downe the 20 cuntrey.

Thou didst thou knewst not what, in eeking this thy M 2 short-wasted Pamphlet, iwis, as thou saist of thy | selfe Thou art an old trewant, fitter to plaie the dumbe dogge with some antients, than the hissing snake. 25

Who be those antient dumbe dogs? we shal haue you a Martinist when all comes to all, because you cannot thriue with the Ciuill Law, and that you may marry her for any thing you are a kindred to her; therfore you wil compare *Whitegift and Cartwright*, white and blacke 30 together, name the highest gouernours of the Church without giuing them anie reuerence or titles of honour, imbrace anie religion which will be euen with the profession that fauors not you.

There is no baile or maineprise for it, but wee must have 35 you in the first peeping forth of the spring, preaching

13 should] om. Coll., Gro.

out of a Pulpit in the woods: you have put on wolves raiment already, seduced manie simple people vnder the habit of a sheepe in *Wolfes* print. If you protest & lie any more, it is not your ending here like a sermon, that 5 will make you bee reputed for a saint.

Readers, a decaied student, lately shipwrackt with Si vales bene est, having foure Lightors of Letters, cleane cast away on the rocks called the Bishop & his Clarks, desires you all to pray for him, and he will recommend you all to God in the next sermon he penneth for his brother Richard.

He hath a mind to pay every man his owne, though hee hath sustained great losse in fight, that which he cannot effect he beseecheth the Lord to accomplish, and even to worke 15 a miracle vpon the deafe.

Lord, if it be thy will, let him be an Asse still. Gentlemen, I haue no more to say to the Doctor, dispose of the victorie as you please; shortly I will present you with some thing that shalbe better than nothing, onely giue mee 20 a gentle hire for my durtie day labor, and I am your bounden Orator for euer.

Sonnetto.

Were there no warres, poore men should haue no peace;

25 Vncessant warres with waspes and droanes I crie: Hee that begins, oft knows not how to cease, They haue begun, Ile follow till I die.

Ile heare no truce, wrong gets no graue in mee, Abuse pell mell encounter with abuse:

Write hee againe, Ile write eternally.

Who feedes reuenge hath found an endlesse Muse.

If death ere made his blacke dart of a pen,

My penne his speciall Baily shall becum:

3 in] and Coll., Gro. 10 in] om. Coll., Gro. penneth, or Coll., Gro.

M 2[∨]

FOVRE LETTERS

Somewhat Ile be reputed of mongst men, By striking of this duns, or dead or dum. Awaite the world the Tragedy of wrath; What next I paint shall tread no common path. 5

Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice.

Tho. Nashe.

4 paint] Grosart conjectures print.

Observations for the Readers of this booke.

Item, whatsoeuer for the most part is here in this booke in change of letter, is our aduersaries owne Tert and bubaried words, either in this his conuicted Foure 5 Letters, or some other fustie treatise, set forth by him heretofore.

Then, that J am wrested and btterly divorted from my owne inuention, & constrained still still, before J am warme in any one baine, to start away sodainely, and 10 follow him in his vanitie.

Finally, Printers have many false stiches, which are thus to bee drawen bp.

In the second page of C. for Baboune brother, reade Baboune his brother. in the 7. for allegorized & Abdias, r5 reade allegorized Abdias. in the 8. for set hand, reade set his hand. idem for headmen, read headman. in the first of D. for Liuor post quiescat, reade Liuor post fata quiescat. in the 5. for plaister of Doctourship, reade plaistrie or dawbing of Doctourship. in the 7. for insolent inckehorne 20 worme, reade insolent incke worme. in the 2. of E. for Asse in present, read Asse in presenti. in the 3. for bestow vpon, reade bestow vpon him. in the 5. for effect, reade efficacie. in the 4. of F. for vertuous Syr Iohn Norris, read victorious Syr Iohn Norris. in the 5. page of H. for I in-

²⁵ troduce in a discontented Scholler, read I introduce a discontented Scholler. in the 8. for His assentrion, reade His assertion. in the 5. of I. for verie companie, reade verie timpanie. in the 5. page of K. for in this first case, reade first in this case.

FINIS.



THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

Entries in the Stationers' Register:

30 Junij [1593]

xxvto Octobris [1594]

John danter Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of the wardens. a booke intituled The Tirrour of the night, or an apparision of Dreames.....vj^d/ (S. R., ed. Arber, II. 663.)

Editions: (1) Early:

1594. [Head ornament] THE | Terrors of the night | Or, | A Difcourfe of Apparitions. | *Post Tenebras Dies.* | THO: NASHE. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by *Iohn Danter* for *William Iones*, and are to be fold | at the figne of the Gunne nere Holburne Conduit. | 1594. |

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-H⁴. (A I) Title, v. blank. A ij. 'TO THE NEW KIND-led cleare Lampe of Virginitie, ...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. THE EPISTLE | DEDICATORIE. (A 3)^v blank. (A 4) 'To Master or Goodman Reader, ...' Ital. and Rom. (A 4)^v blank. B 'The Terrors of the Night ...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. THE TERRORS | OF THE NIGHT. (H 3)^v blank. (H 4) wanting, probably blank.

Signatures in Roman, except B 2, which is Italic. A 3 and H 3 are not signed. No fourth leaves are signed.

Ι

THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

Catch-words: A 2. (be-)holding) A 2^v. bee B I. (for-)mer C I. To D I. (tor-)ment E I. the F I. So G I. to H I. faster

Copy used: That in the British Museum (C. 40. d. 21), compared for the defective portions on A 2 and A 3 with the Britwell copy.

The British Museum copy wants portions of the upper, outer corners of the two leaves mentioned, as well as of the title-page: they have been supplied in (correct) facsimile.

(2) Modern edition:

338

1883-4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe ... edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. iii, pp. 209-282.

Grosart says, 'For the exemplar of "The Terrors of the Night" I am indebted to the Bodleian,' but there is no copy in the Bodleian, nor has there ever been one. He probably used the copy in the British Museum, and was misled by the fact that it had belonged at one time to Malone.



THE Terrors of the night or,

A Discourse of Apparitions.

Post Tenebras Dies.

THO: NASHE.



LONDOW, Printed by lobn Danter for William Iones, and are to be fold at the figne of the Gunne nere Holburne Conduit.

1594.



TO THE NEW KIND-

led cleare Lampe of Virginitie, and the excellent adored high Wonder of sharpe Wit and sweete Beautie, Mistres ELIZABETH CAREY;

sole Daughter and Heire to the thrice noble and renowmed Sir GEORGE CAREY, Knight Marshall, &c.

5

Are adorned Mistris, whom al that know admire, and not malice it selfe but doth honor. True Stemme of Nobilitie, out-flourishing your sexe or τo your age; pure saint-like picture of Sobrietie and Modestie, sacred and immaculate virgin Starre, cleare (if anie liuing) from the originall sin of thought : giue me leaue (though contemptible & abiect) once more to sacrifice my worthles 15 wit to your glorie. Manie feruent vowes and protestations of observance, your bountifull gracious deserts towards mee have entrancedly extracted, which yet remaine in the ore vnwrought and vntride. As touching this short glose or annotation on the foolish Terrors of the Night, you 20 partly are acquainted from whose motive imposition it first proceeded, as also what strange sodaine cause necessarily produced that motion. A long time since hath it line suppressed by mee; vntill the vrgent importunitie of a kinde frend of mine (to whom I was sundrie waies 25 be-holding) wrested a Coppie from me. That Coppie A 2" progressed from one scriueners shop to another, & at length grew so common, that it was readie to bee hung out for one of their signes, like a paire of indentures. Wherevppon I thought it as good for mee to reape the 30 frute of my owne labours, as to let some vnskilfull pen-man or Nouerint-maker startch his ruffe & new spade his beard with the benefite he made of them. Accept of them, exquisite Mistris, as the best testimonie I have yet

3 Qy. read adorned? 18 o're Q.

A 2

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

to expres the dutie that I owe. A little more leasure and prosperitie will beget better labors ; wherein I will enjoyne my spirit to be a peremptorie combattant for your praises, against all vulgar deepe flattred mediocritie and pale penurious beautie, which giues dull Painters store of gold 5 to solder vp their leane dints of deformity. Against your perfections no tung can except. Miraculous is your wit : and so is acknowledged by the wittiest Poets of our age, who haue vowed to enshrine you as their second DELIA. Temperance her selfe hath not temperater behauiour than 10 you ; religious Pietie hath no humble hand-maide that she more delights in. A worthie Daughter are you of so worthie a Mother; borrowing (as another Phabe) from her bright Sunne-like resplendaunce, the orient beames of vour radiaunce. Into the Muses societie her selfe she 15 hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine Petrarch another monument in England. Euer honored may she be of the royallest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore beadsmens distresses. Well may I say it, because I haue tride it, neuer liu'd a more magnificent Ladie of her 20 A 3 degree on this earth. A number of men there | bee, who pursuing the high way to the Indies, have perisht in lingring expectation before they could get thether; but a neerer Cut haue I found in her extraordinarie liberalitie and bountie: and to a companie of my malcontent com- 25 panions will discouer if it please them, how to be gainfull and gain-coping nauigators if they will insist in my direc-Now I must tie my selfe to the Printers paper tions. limits, and knit vp much thankfulnesse in few words. Deare Mistris, perswade your selfe, that no frowning mis- 30 fortune or anye accident whatsoeuer, shall diuorce me from your reuerence. No more I craue in requitall, but that you would put me in the checke-roule of your remembrance, and not salute me as a stranger.

> Your vertues immoueable Votarie: THO: NASHE.

35

5 beautie, which] Gro.: beautie; which Q. 13)] after resplendaunce Q.

To Master or Goodman Reader, ge- A4

nerally dispersed East or West.

Entlemen (according to the laudable custome) I am to court you with a few premisses considered : but a number of you there bee, who consider neither premisses nor conclusion, but piteouslie torment Title Pages on everie poast, never reading farther of anie Booke, than Imprinted by Simeon such a signe; and yet with your dudgen iudgements will desperatelie presume to run vp to 10 the hard hilts through the whole bulke of it. Martin Momus and splaiefooted Zoylus, that in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie and first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies, kept a foule stir in Poules Church-yard, are now reuiued againe: and like wanton Whelpes that have wormes in 15 their tungs, slauer and betouse euerie paper they meete Yea, if they chance but on a moate or a wind withall. bladder, they neuer have done with it till they have cleane bandied and tost it out of sight. For my part, I wish that I may be both out of their sight and out of their minde too: 20 and if their winy wits must needs be working, that they would rather be Tailors to make, than botchers or coblers to amend or to marre. Come, come, I know their dull tricks wel inough, you shal have them lie in child bed one and thirtie weeks and eight daies of three bad lines and 25 a halfe. & afterward spend a whole twelve month in spunging & sprucing them, honest thriftie Peter Littleton discharging their commons all the while: but such poore fellowes as I, that cannot put out money to be paid againe when wee come from Constantinople, either must have our

13 reuined Q.

TO THE READER

work dispatcht by the weeks end, or els we may go beg: and yet I will not beg of them neither, go the world neuer so hard, no not so much as a good word: but if in word or deed I hear that they wrong me, Ile meet them right if I can. And so I leaue them to stop mustard pots with 5 my leaues if they will, or to their owne will whatsoeuer.

THOMAS NASHE.

2 them neither go the Q: them, neither go to the Gro.

>> The Terrors of the Night.

OR

A Discourse of Apparitions.

⁵ A Litle to beguile time idlely discontented, and satisfie some of my solitary friends heere in the Countrey, I haue hastily vndertooke to write of the wearie fancies of the Night, wherein if I weary none with my weak fancies, I will herafter leane harder on my penne and fetch the petegree of my praise from the vtmost of ro paines.

As touching the terrors of the night, they are as many as our sinnes. The Night is the Diuells Blacke booke, wherein hee recordeth all our transgressions. Euen as when a condemned man is put into a darke dungeon, 15 secluded from all comfort of light or companie, he doth nothing but despairfully call to minde his gracelesse for-|mer B 1× life, and the brutish outrages and misdemeanours that haue throwne him into that desolate horrour; so when Night in her rustie dungeon hath imprisoned our ey-sight, and 20 that we are shut seperatly in our chambers from resort, the diuell keepeth his audit in our sin-guilty consciences, no sense but surrenders to our memorie a true bill of parcels of his detestable impieties. The table of our hart is turned to an index of iniquities, and all our thoughts are 25 nothing but texts to condemne vs.

The rest we take in our beds is such another kinde of rest as the wearie traueller taketh in the coole soft grasse in summer, who thinking there to lye at ease, and refresh his tyred limmes, layeth his fainting head vnawares on 30 a loathsome neast of snakes.

BI

Well have the Poets tearnd night the nurse of cares, the mother of despaire, the daughter of hell.

Some Diuines haue had this conceipt, that God would haue made all day and no night, if it had not been to put vs in minde, there is a Hell as well as a Heauen. 5

Such is the peace of the subjects as is the peace of the Prince vnder whom they are gouerned. As God is intitled the Father of light, so is the diuell surnamed the Prince of darknesse, which is the night. The only peace of minde that the diuell hath is dispaire, wherefore we that liue 10 in his nightly kingdome of darknes, must needs taste some disquiet.

The Rauen and the Doue that were sent out of Noes Arke, to discouer the worlde after the generall Deluge, may well be an allegorie of the day and the night. The 15 B 2 day is our good Angell the Doue, that returneth to our eyes with an Oliue branch of peace in his mouth (presenting quiet and securitie to our distracted soules and consciences); the night is that ill angel the Rauen, which neuer commeth back to bring anie good tidings of tranquilitie: a continuall 20 messenger hee is of dole and misfortune. The greatest curse almost that in the scripture is threatened, is, that the rauens shal picke out their eies in the valley of death. This cursed rauen, the night, pecks out mens eyes in the valley of death. It hindreth them from looking to heauen 25 for succor, where their Redeemer dwelleth: wherefore no doubt it is a time most fatall and vnhallowed. This being proued, that the diuell is a speciall predominant Planet of the night, and that our creator for our punishment hath allotted it him as his peculiar segniorie and kingdome, 30 from his inucterate enuie I will amplifie the vgly terrours of the night. The names importing his mallice, which the scripture is plentiful of, I wil here omit ; least some men shuld think I went about to conjure. Sufficient vs to have this heedfull knowledge of him, that hee is an auncient 35 malecontent, and seeketh to make anie one desperat like himselfe. Like a cunning fowler, to this end he spreadeth

OF THE NIGHT

his nets of temptation in the darke, that men might not see to auoyd them. As the Poet saith :

Quæ nimis apparent retia vitat auis. Too open nets euen simple birds doo shun.

5 Therfore in another place (which it cannot be but the diuell hath read) he counsaileth thus: |

Noctem peccatis & fraudibus obiice nubem. B 2^v By night time sinne, and cloake thy fraud with clouds.

When hath the diuell commonly first appeared vnto anie 10 man but in the night?

In the time of infidelitie, when spirits were so familiar with men that they cald them *Dii Penates*, their houshold Gods or their Lares, they neuer sacrificed vnto them till Sunne-setting. The Robbin-good-fellowes, Elfes, Fairies, ¹⁵ Hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former daies and the fantasticall world of Greece ycleaped *Fawnes*, *Satyres, Dryades*, & *Hamadryades*, did most of their merry prankes in the Night. Then ground they malt, and had hempen shirts for their labours, daunst in rounds ²⁰ in greene meadowes, pincht maids in their sleep that swept not their houses cleane, and led poore Trauellers out of their way notoriously.

It is not to be gain-said, but the diuell can transforme himselfe into an angell of light, appeare in the day aswell 25 as in the night, but not in this subtil world of Christianity so vsuall as before. If he doo, it is when mens mindes are extraordinarily throwne downe with discontent, or inly

terrified with some horrible concealed murder, or other hainous crime close smothered in secret. In the day he 30 may smoothly in some mild shape insinuat, but in the night he takes vpon him like a tyrant. There is no theefe that is halfe so hardie in the day as in the night, no more is the diuell. A generall principle it is, hee that doth ill hateth the light.

35 This Macheuillian tricke hath hee in him worth the noting, that those whom he dare not vnited or together |

B 3 encounter, disioined and diuided hee will one by one assaile in their sleepe. And euen as Ruptures and crampes doo then most torment a man when the bodie with any other disease is distemperd, so the Diuell when with any other sickenes or malladie the faculties of our reason are 5 enfeebled and distemperd, will be most busie to disturbe vs and torment vs.

In the quiet silence of the night he will be sure to surprize vs, when he vnfallibly knowes we shall be vnarmed to resist, and that there will be full audience granted him to to vndermine or perswade what he lists. All that euer he can scare vs with, are but *Seleucus* ayrie Castles, terrible bug-beare brags, and nought els, which with the least thought of faith are quite vanished and put to flight. Neither in his owne nature dare he come nere vs, but in 15 the name of sin, and as Gods executioner. Those that catch birdes imitate their voyces, so will hee imitate the voyces of Gods vengeance, to bring vs like birds into the net of eternall damnation.

Children, fooles, sicke-men, or mad-men hee is most 20 familiar with (for he still delights to worke vpon the aduantage) and to them he boldly reuealeth the whole astonishing treasurie of his wonders.

It will bee demaunded why in the likenes of ones father or mother, or kinsfolks, he oftentimes presents him- 25 selfe vnto vs?

No other reason can bee giuen of it but this, that in those shapes which hee supposeth most familliar vnto vs, and that wee are inclined to with a naturall kind of loue, we will sooner harken to him than otherwise.

B 3" Should he not disguise himselfe in such subtil formes of affection, we would flie from him as a serpent, and eschew him with that hatred he ought to be eschewd. If anie aske why he is more conuersant & busie in churchyards and places where men are buried, than in anie other 35 places, It is to make vs beleeue that the bodies & soules of the departed rest entirely in his possession, and the

peculiar power of death is resigned to his disposition. A rich man delights in nothing so much as to be vncessantly raking in his treasurie, to bee turning ouer hys rustie gold euerie houre: the boanes of the dead, the diuell 5 counts his chiefe treasurie, and therfore is he continually raking amongst them; and the rather he doth it, that the

liuing which heare it should bee more vnwilling to die, insomuch as after death their boanes should take no rest.

It was said of *Catiline*, *Vultum gestauit in manibus*, with to the turning of a hand he could turne and alter his countenance. Farre more nimble and sodaine is the Diuell in shifting his habit, his forme he can change and cogge as quicke as thought.

What do we talke of one diuel? there is not a roome in ¹⁵ anie mans house, but is pestred and close packed with a campe royall of diuels. *Chrisostome* saith, the aire and earth are three parts inhabited with spirits. Hereunto the Philosopher alluded, when hee said, Nature made no voydnes in the whole vniuersall: for no place (bee it no ²⁰ bigger than a pockhole in a mans face) but is close thronged with them. Infinite millions of them wil hang swarming about a worm-eaten nose.

Don Lucifer himselfe, their grand Capitano, asketh no B 4 better throne than a bleare eye to set vp his state in. ²⁵ Vpon a haire they will sit like a nit, and ouer-dredge a bald pate like a white scurffe. The wrinkles in old witches visages, they eate out to entrench themselues in.

If in one man a whole legion of diuells haue bin billetted, how manie hundred thousand legions retaine to a Tearme 30 at London? If I said but to a Tauerne, it were an infinite

thing. In *Westminster* Hall a man can scarce breath for them; for in euery corner they houer as thick as moates in the sunne.

The *Druides* that dwelt in the Ile of *Man*, which are 35 famous for great coniurers, are reported to have beene lousie with familiars. Had they but put their finger and

3-4 hys his rustie Q.

their thumbe into their neck, they could have pluckt out a whole neast of them.

There be them that thinke euerie sparke in a flame is a spirit, and that the wormes which at sea eate through a ship, are so also: which may verie well bee; for haue not 5 you seene one sparke of fire burne a whole towne, & a man with a sparke of lightning made blinde, or kild outright? It is impossible the gunnes should goe off as they doo, if there were not a spirit either in the fier, or in the powder.

Now for wormes: what makes a dog run mad, but a ro worme in his tung? and what should that worme bee, but a spirit? Is there anie reason such small vermine as they are, should deuoure such a vast thing as a shippe, or haue the teeth to gnaw through yron and wood? No, no, they are spirits, or els it were incredible. | 15

 B 4^{*} Tullius Hostillius, who tooke vppon him to coniure vp Ioue by Numa Pompillius bookes, had no sense to quake & tremble at the wagging and shaking of euery leafe, but that he thought all leaues are full of wormes, and those wormes are wicked spirits.

If the bubbels in streames were wel searcht, I am perswaded they would be found to be little better. Hence it comes that mares (as *Columella* reporteth) looking their formes in the water, run mad. A flea is but a little beast, yet if she were not possest with a spirit, she could neuer 25 leape and skip so as she doth. *Froisard* saith, the Earle of *Fois* had a familiar that presented it selfe vnto him in the likenes of two rushes fighting one with another. Not so much as *Tewksburie* mustard but hath a spirit in it or els it would neuer bite so. Haue wee not read of a number 30 of men that haue ordinarily carried a familiar or a spirite in a ring in stead of a sparke of a diamond? Why I tell ye we cannot break a crum of bread so little, as one of them will be if they list.

From this generall discourse of spirits, let vs digresse, & 35 talke another while of their seperate natures and properties.

350

I coud Q.

The spirits of the fire which are the purest and perfectest, are merry, pleasant, and well inclined to wit, but neuertheles gyddie and vnconstant.

Those whome they possesse, they cause to excell in what 5 euer they vndertake. Or Poets or boone companions they are, out of question.

Socrates Genius was one of this stampe, and the Doue wherewith the Turks hold *Mahomet* their Prophet to | bee Cr inspired. What their names are, and vnder whome they to are gouerned, the Discouerie of witchcraft hath amplified at large, wherefore I am exempted from that labour. But of the diuinest quintessence of mettals and of wines are many of these spirits extracted. It is almost impossible for any to bee encumbred with ill spirits who is continually to conversant in the excellent restorative distillations of wit

- and of Alcumie. Those that rauenously englut themselues with grosse meates, and respect not the quality but the quantity of what they eate, haue no affinitie with these spirits of the fire.
- A man that will entertaine them must not pollute his bodie with any grosse carnall copulation or inordinate beastly desires, but loue pure beauty, pure vertue, and not haue his affections linsey-wolsey, intermingled with lust and things worthy of liking.
- As for example if hee loue good Poets hee must not countenance Ballet-makers, if he haue learned Phisitions he must not fauor horse-leaches and mountebanks: for a bad spirit and a good can neuer endure to dwell together.

Those spirits of the fire, however I tearme them comparatively good in respect of a number of bad, yet are they not simply well inclinde, for they bee by nature ambitious, haughty, and proud, nor do they love vertue for it selfe any whit, but because they would overquell 35 and outstrip others with the vaineglorious ostentation of

it. A humor of monarchizing and nothing els it is, which

8 be c.w.

23 linseywolsey Q.

makes them affect rare qualified studies. Many Atheists are with these spirits inhabited.

C IV

To come to the spirits of the water, the earth, & the ayre; they are dull flegmaticke drones, things that haue much mallice without anie great might. Drunkards, 5 mizers, and women they vsually retain too. Water (you all know) breedeth a medley kinde of licor called beere; with these watrie spirits they were possessed that first inuented the art of bruing. A quagmire consisting of mud and sand, sendeth forth the like pudly mixture.

All rheumes, poses, Sciaticaes, dropsies, and gouts, are diseases of their flegmaticke engendring. Sea-faring men of what sort soeuer, are chiefe entertainers of those spirits. Greedy vintners likewise giue hospitalitie to a number of them; who having read no more scripture than that 15 myracle of Christs turning water into wine in Chanaan, thinke to doo a farre stranger miracle than ever he did, by turning wine into water.

Alehouses and cookes shadie pauilions, by watrie spirits are principally vpholden.

The spirits of the earth are they which crie, all bread and no drinke, that loue gold and a buttond cap aboue heauen. The woorth in nought they respect, but the weight, good wits they naturally hate; insomuch as the element of fire, their progenitor, is a wast-good & a con- 25 sumer. If with their earth-plowing snowtes they can turne vp a pearle out of a dunghill, it is all they desire. Witches haue manie of these spirits, and kill kyne wyth them. The giants and chiefetaines of those spirites, are powrfull sometimes to bring men to their ends, but not a iot of good can 30 they doo for their liues.

Souldiers with these terrestriall spirits participate part | C 2 of their essence, for nothing but yron and golde (which are earths excrements) they delight in. Besides, in another kinde they may be said to participate with them, insomuch 35 as they confirme them in their furie, & congeale their mindes with a bloodie resolution. Spirites of the earth

353

they were that entred into the heard of swyne in the Gospel. There is no citie merchant or country purchaser, but is haunted with a whole hoste of these spirits of the earth. The Indies is their Metrapolitane realme of abode. 5 As for the spirits of the aire, which have no other visible bodies or form, but such as by the vnconstant glimmering of our eies is begotten; they are in truth all show and no substance, deluders of our imagination, & nought els. Carpet knights, politique statesmen, women & childre they most 10 conuers with. Carpet knights they inspire with a humor of setting big lookes on it, being the basest cowards vnder heauen, couering an apes hart with a lions case, and making false alarums when they mean nothing but a may-game. Politique statesmen they priuily incite to bleare the worlds 15 eves with clowdes of common wealth pretences, to broach any enmitie or ambitious humor of their owne vnder a title of their cuntries preservation. To make it faire or fowle when they list to procure popularity or induce a preamble to some mightie peece of prowling, to stir vp tempests 20 round about, & replenish heaven with prodigies and wonders, the more to ratifie their auaritious religion. Women they vnder-hand instruct to pownce and boulster out theyr brawn-falne deformities, to new perboile with painting their rake-leane withered visages, to set vp flaxe shops on C 2^v 25 their forheads when all their owne haire is dead and rotten, to sticke their gums round with Comfets when they have not

a tooth left in their heads to help them to chide withall.

Children they seduce with garish objects and toyish babies, abusing them many yeares with slight vanities. So 30 that you see all their whole influence is but thin ouercast vapours, flying clouds dispersed with the least winde of wit or vnderstanding.

None of these spirits of the ayre or the fire haue so much predominance in the night as the spirits of the earth and 35 the water; for they feeding on foggie-braind melancholly, engender thereof many vncouth terrible monsters. Thus

I

much observe by the way, that the grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humor, which in the spleene congealed whose office is to disperse it, with his thicke steaming fennie vapours casteth a mist ouer the spirit, and cleane bemasketh the phantasie.

And euen as slime and durt in a standing puddle, engender toads and frogs and many other vnsightly creatures, so this slimie melancholy humor still still thickning as it stands still, engendreth many mishapen objects in our imaginations. Sundry times wee behold 10 whole Armies of men skirmishing in the Ayre, Dragons, wilde beasts, bloody streamers, blasing Comets, firie strakes, with other apparitions innumerable: whence haue all these their conglomerate matter but from fuming meteors that arise from the earth? so from the fuming melancholly of 15

C 3 our spleene mounteth that hot matter into the | higher Region of the braine, whereof manie fearfull visions are framed. Our reason euen like drunken fumes it displaceth and intoxicates, & yeelds vp our intellectiue apprehension to be mocked and troden vnder foote by euerie false object 20 or counterfet noyse that comes neere it. Heerein specially consisteth our senses defect and abuse, that those organicall parts which to the minde are ordained embassadours, doo not their message as they ought, but by some misdiet or misgouernment being distempered, faile in their report, and 25 deliuer vp nothing but lyes and fables.

Such is our braine oppressed with melancholy, as is a clocke tyde downe with too heauie weights or plummets; which as it cannot chuse but monstrously goe a square, or not goe at all; so must our braines of necessitie be either 30 monstrously distracted, or vtterly destroyed thereby.

Lightly this extreamitie of Melancholye neuer commeth, but before some notable sicknesse; it faring with our braynes as with Bees, who, as they exceedingly toyle and turmoile before a storme or change of weather, so doo they 35 beate and toyle and are infinitelie confused before sicknes.

28 too] two Gro.

Of the effects of melancholy I need not dilate, or discourse how many encumbred with it haue thought theselues birdes and beasts, with feathers, and hornes, and hydes; others, that they haue been turned into glasse; others, that 5 if they should make water they should drowne all the world; others, that they can neuer bleed inough.

Phisitions in their circuit euerie day meet with far more C 3^v ridiculous experience. Onely it shall suffise a little by the way to handle one speciall effect of it, which is dreames.

A dreame is nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie, which the day hath left vndigested; or an after feast made of the fragments of idle imaginations.

How manie sorts there be of them no man can rightly set downe, since it scarce hath been heard there were euer two men that dreamed alike. Diuers have written diuersly of their causes, but the best reason among them all that I could euer picke out, was this, that as an arrow which is shot out of a bow, is sent forth manie times with such force, that it flyeth farre beyond the marke wherat it was aymed;

- 20 so our thoughts intensively fixt all the day time vpon a marke wee are to hit, are now and then ouer-drawne with such force, that they flye beyonde the marke of the day into the confines of the night. There is no man put to any torment, but quaketh & trembleth a great while after the
- 25 executioner hath withdrawne his hand from him. In the daye time wee torment our thoughts and imaginations with sundry cares and deuices; all the night time they quake and tremble after the terror of their late suffering, and still continue thinking of the perplexities they haue endured.
- ³⁰ To nothing more aptly can I compare the working of our braines after we have vnyoakt and gone to bed, than to the glimmering and dazeling of a mans eyes when hee comes newly out of the bright Sunne into the darke shadow.

35 Euen as ones eyes glimmer and dazle when they are withdrawne out of the light into darknesse; so are our

25 his hand Q. 33 the the bright Q.

C 4 thoughts troubled & vexed when they are retyred from labor to ease, and from skirmishing to surgerie.

You must giue a wounded man leaue to grone while he is in dressing : Dreaming is no other than groaning, while sleepe our surgeon hath vs in cure. 5

He that dreams merily is like a boy new breetcht, who leapes and daunceth for ioy his pain is past : but long that ioy stayes not with him, for presently after his master the day, seeing him so iocund and pleasant, comes and dooes as much for him againe, whereby his hell is renued.

No such figure of the first Chaos whereout the world was extraught, as our dreames in the night. In them all states, all sexes, all places are confounded and meete together.

Our cogitations runne on heapes like men to part a fray, 15 where euerie one strikes his next fellow. From one place to another without consultation they leap, like rebells bent on a head. Souldiers iust vp and downe they imitate at the sacke of a Citie, which spare neither age nor beautie : the yong, the old, trees, steeples, & mountaines, they con- 20 found in one gallimafrie.

Of those things which are most knowne to vs, some of vs that haue moyst braynes make to our selues images of memorie: on those images of memorie whereon we buyld in the daye, comes some superfluous humour of ours, lyke 25 a Iacke-anapes in the night, and erects a puppet stage, or some such ridiculous idle childish inuention.

A Dreame is nothing els but the Eccho of our conceipts in the day.

C 4^v But other-while it fals out, that one Eccho borrowes of 30 another : so our dreames (the Ecchoes of the day) borrow of anie noyse we heare in the night.

As for example; if in the dead of the night there be anie rumbling, knocking, or disturbaunce neere vs, wee straight dreame of warres, or of thunder. If a dogge 35 howle, we suppose we are transported into hell, where we heare the complaint of damned ghosts. If our heads lye

double or vneasie, we imagine we vphold all heauen with our shoulders like A tlas. If we bee troubled with too manie clothes, then we suppose the night mare rides vs.

I knew one that was crampt, and hee dreamt that hee 5 was torne in peeces with wylde horses; and another, that having a blacke sant brought to his bed side at mid-night, dreamt he was bidden to dinner at Iron-mongers Hall.

Anie meate that in the day time we eat against our stomackes, begetteth a dismall dreame. Discontent also in dreames hath no little predominance: for euen as from water that is troubled, the mud dispersingly ascendeth from the bottome to the top; so when our blood is chased, disquieted, and troubled, all the light imperfect humours of our bodie ascend like mud vp aloft into the head.

- ¹⁵ The clearest spring a little tutcht, is creased wyth a thousand circles: as those momentarie circles for all the world, such are our dreames. When all is said, melancholy is the mother of dreames, and of all terrours of the night whatsoeuer.
- Let it but affirme it hath seene a spirit (though it be D r but the moone-shine on the wall) the best reason wee haue cannot infringe it.

Of this melancholy there be two sorts; one that, digested by our liuer, swimmeth like oyle aboue water, & that is 25 rightly tearmed Womens melancholy, which lasteth but for an houre, and is (as it were) but a coppie of their countenance: the other sinketh downe to the bottome like the lees of the wine, and that corrupteth all the blood, and is the causer of lunacie. Well moderated recreations are 30 the medicine to both: surfet or excessive studie the causers of either.

There were gates in *Rome* out of which nothing was carried but dust and dung, and men to execution: so, manie of the gates of our senses serue for nothing but to 35 conueigh out excrementall vapors, & afrighting deadly dreames, that are worse than executioners vnto vs.

Ah woe be to the solitarie man that hath his sinnes

continually about him, that hath no withdrawing place from the diuell and his temptations.

Much I wonder how treason and murder dispense with the darknes of the night, how they can shriue themselues to it, and not raue and die. Me thinkes they shuld 5 imagine that hell imbraceth them round, when she ouer spreads them with her blacke pitchie mantle.

Dreames to none are so fearfull, as to those whose accusing private guilt expects mischiefe everie hower for their merit. Wonderfull superstitious are such persons in 10 observing everie accident that befalls them; and that their D 1° superstition is as good as an hundred furies to tor-|ment them. Never in this world shall he enioy one quiet day, that once hath given himselfe over to be her slave. His eares cannot glowe, his nose itch, or his eyes smart, but 15 his destinie stands vpon her triall, and till she bee acquited or condemned, he is miserable.

A cricket or a rauen keepe him fortie times in more awe than God or the Diuell.

If he chance to kill a spider, he hath suppressed an 20 enemie; if a spinner creepe vppon him, hee shall haue golde raine downe from heauen : if his nose bleede, some of his kinsfolkes is dead; if the salt fall right against him, all the starres cannot saue him from some immediate misfortune.

The first Witch was *Proserpine*, and she dwelt halfe ²⁵ in heauen and halfe in hell : halfe witches are they that pretending anie Religion, meddle halfe with God, and halfe with the diuell. Medling with the diuell I call it, when ceremonies are observed which have no ground from Diuinitie. 30

In another kinde witches may be said to meddle halfe with GOD and halfe with the Diuell, because in their Exorcismes they vse halfe Scripture and halfe blasphemie.

The greatest and notablest heathen sorcerers that ever were, in all their hellish adiurations, vsed the name of the 35 one true and ever-living God: but such a number of

18 rauen [will] keepe Gro.

damned potestates they ioined with him, that it might seeme the starres had darkned the Sunne, or the Moone was eclipsed by candle-light.

Of all Countries vnder the Skie, *Persia* was most ad-5 dicted vnto Dreames. *Darius* King of the *Medes* and D ² *Persians*, before his fatall discomfiture, dreamt hee saw an Estritch with a winged crowne ouer-running the earth, and deuouring his Iuel-coffer, as if it had beene an ordinarie peece of yron. That Iuel-coffer was by *Alexander* sur-10 prized, and afterward *Homers* Workes in it carried before him. euen as the Mace or Purse is customably carried

before our Lord Chancelor.

Hannibal dreamed a little before his death, that hee was drowned in the poysonous Lake Asphalites, when

15 it was presently his hap within some few dayes distance, to seeke his fate by the same meanes in a vault vnder earth. In *India* the women verie often conceiue by diuells in

their sleepe.

In *Island* (as I have read and heard) spirites in the lyke-20 nesse of ones father or mother after they are deceased, doo converse with them as naturally as if they were living.

Other spirites like rogues they have among them, destitute of all dwelling and habitation, and they chillingly complayne if a Constable aske them *Cheuela* in the night, 25 that they are going vnto Mount *Heela* to warme them.

That Mount *Hecla* a number conclude to bee hell mouth; for neere vnto it are heard such yellings and groanes, as *Ixion*, *Titius*, *Sisiphus*, and *Tantalus*, blowing all in one trumpet of distresse, could neuer conioyned bellowe foorth.

30 Bond-men in *Turkey* or in *Spaine* are not so ordinarilye D 2^v sold, as witches sell familiars there. Farre cheaper maye you buy a winde amongst them, than you can buy wind or faire words in the Court. Three knots in a thred, or an odde grandams blessing in the corner of a napkin, will 35 carrie you all the world ouer.

Wee when we frowne knit our browes, but let a wizard

2 rhey Q.

there knit a noose or a riding snarle on his beard, & it is haile, storme, and tempest a month after.

More might be spoken of the prodigies this countrey sendes foorth, if it were not too much erring from my scope. Whole Ilands they haue of yce, on which they 5 build and traffique as on the maine land.

Admirable (aboue the rest) are the incomprehensible wonders of the bottomlesse Lake *Vether*, ouer which no fowle flies but is frozen to death, nor anie man passeth but he is senselesly benummed like a statue of marble. 10

All the inhabitaunts round about it are deafned wyth the hideous roring of his waters when the winter breaketh vp, & the yce in his dissoluing giues a terrible cracke like to thunder, when as out of the midst of it (as out of *Mont-Gibell*) a sulphureous stinking smoak issues, that welnigh 15 poysons the whole Countrey.

A poyson light on it, how come I to digresse to such a dull, Lenten, Northren Clyme, where there is nothing but stock-fish, whetstones; and cods-heads? Yet now I remember me, I haue not lost my way so much as 20 I thoght, for my theame is The terrors of the Night, and *Island* is one of the chiefe kingdomes of the night; they hauing scarce so much day there, as will serue a childe D₃ to ask his | father blessing. Marry, with one commoditie they are blest, they haue Ale that they carry in their 25

pockets lyke glue, and euer when they would drinke, they set it on the fire and melt it.

It is reported, that the Pope long since gaue them a dispensation to receive the Sacrament in ale, insomuch as for their vncessant frosts there, no wine but was turned 30 to red emayle, as soone as ever it came amongst them.

Farewell frost: as much to say as farewell *Island*, for I have no more to say to thee.

I care not much if I dream yet a little more: & to say the troth, all this whole Tractate is but a dreame, for my 35

6 ttaffique Q. 11 Run on in Gro. 24 father[s] blessing Gro. 32 Run on in Gro.

wits are not halfe awaked in it : & yet no golden dreame, but a leaden dreame is it ; for in a leaden standish I stand fishing all day, but haue none of Saint *Peters* lucke to bring a fish to the hooke that carries anie siluer in the 5 mouth. And yet there be of them that carrie siluer in the mouth too, but none in the hand : that is to say, are verie bountifull and honorable in their words, but except it be to sweare indeed, no other good deedes comes from them.

Filthie Italionat complement-mungers they are, who would faine be counted the Courts *Gloriosos*, and the refined iudges of wit; when if their wardrops and the withred bladders of their braines were well searcht, they haue nothing but a fewe moath-eaten cod-peece sutes (made against the comming of *Mounsier*) in the one, and a few is scraps of out-landish prouerbes in the other : and these alone doo buckler them from the name of beggers and idiots. Other-while perhaps they may keep a coyle | with the spirit of *Tasso*, and then they folde their armes D₃. like Braggarts, writhe their neckes *alla Neapolitano*, and 20 turne vp their eye-balls like men intraunced.

Come, come, I am entraunced from my Text, I wote well, and talke idlely in my sleepe longer than I should: those that will harken any more after Dreames, I referre them to Artimidorus, Synesius, & Cardan, with many 25 others which onely I haue heard by their names, but I thanke God had neuer the plodding patience to reade, for if they bee no better than some of them I haue perused, euery weatherwise old wife might write better.

What sense is there that the yoalke of an egge should 30 signifie gold, or dreaming of Beares, or fire, or water, debate and anger, that euery thing must bee interpreted backward as Witches say their Pater-noster, good being the character of bad, and bad of good?

As well we may calculate from every accident in the 35 day, and not goe about any busines in the morning till we have seene on which hand the Crow sits.

O Lord, I haue heard many a wise Gentlewoman say,

I am so merry and have laught so hartily, that I am sure ere long to bee crost with some sad tydinges or other; all one as if men comming from a Play should conclude, Well we have seene a Commedie to day, and therefore there cannot choose but be a Tragedie to morrow. 5

I doo not deny but after extremity of myrth, followe many sad accidents, but yet those sad accidents (in my opinion) wee meerely plucke on with the feare of comming mischiefe, and those meanes wee in pollicie most vse to D 4 preuent it, soonest enwrappe vs in it; and that was | Sathans 10 tricke in the old world of gentillisme to bring to passe all his blind Prophecies.

Could any men set downe certaine rules of expounding of Dreames, and that their rules were generall, holding in all as well as in some, I would beginne a litle to list to 15 them, but commonly that which is portentiue in a King is but a friuolous fancie in a beggar, and let him dreame of Angels, Eagles, Lyons, Griffons, Dragons neuer so, all the augurie vnder heauen will not allot him so much as a good almes. 20

Some will object vnto mee for the certainety of Dreames, the Dreames of Cyrus, Cambyses, Pompey, Cæsar, Darius, & Alexander. For those I answer, that they were rather visions than Dreames, extraordinarily sent from heauen to foreshew the translation of Monarchies. 25

The Greeke and Romane histories are full of them, and such a stirre they keepe with their Augurers and Soothsayers, how they foretold long before by Dreames and beasts and birds intrayles, the losse of such a battaile, the death of such a Captaine or Emperour, when, false knaues, 30 they were all as Prophet Calchas, pernitious Traytors to their Country and them that put them in trust, and were many times hyred by the aduerse part to disharten and discourage their Masters by such Convcatching Riddles as might in truth be turned any way. 35

An easie matter was it for them to prognosticate treasons

8 pluck[t] Gro.

and conspiracies, in which they were vnderhand inlincked themselues, & how euer the world went it was a good pollicie for them to saue their heades by the shift, for if the treasons chaunst afterwards to come to light, it. | would $D_{4^{v}}$ 5 not be suspected they were practisers in them, insomuch as they reueald them, or if they should by theyr confederates be appealed as practisers, yet might they plead and pretend it was done but of spite and mallice to supplant them for so bewraving and laying open their intents.

This tricke they had with them besides, that neuer till the verie instant that anie treason was to be put in execution, and it was so neere at hand that the Prince had no time to preuent it, would they speake one word of it, or offer to disclose it : yea, and euen then such vnfit seasons 15 for their colourable discouerie would they picke foorth,

as they would be sure he should have no leasure to attend it.

But you will aske why at all as then they should step foorth to detect it? Marry, to cleare themselues to hys 20 successors, that there might bee no reuenge prosecuted on their liues.

So did Spurina the great Astrologer; euen as Cæsar in the midst of all his busines was going hastely to the Senate house, he popt a bill in his hand of Brutus and 25 Cassius conspiracie, and all the names of those that were colleagued with them.

Well he might haue thought that in such hast by the high way side, he wold not stay to peruse any schedules, and well he knew and was assertained, that assoone as 30 euer he came into the Capitoll, the bloudie deed was to be accomplished.

Shall I impart vnto you a rare secrecy how these great famous Coniurers and cunning men ascend by degrees | to E I foretell secrets as they doo? First and formost they are 35 men which haue had some little sprinkling of Grammer learning in their youth, or at least I will allowe them to haue been Surgeons or Apothecaries prentises: these I say

having runne through their thrift at the elbowes, and riotouslie amongst harlots and make-shifts spent the annuitie of halfpennie ale that was left them, fall a beating their braynes how to botch vp an easie gainfull trade, & set a new nap on an old occupation.

Hereupon presently they rake some dunghil for a few durtie boxes and plaisters, and of tosted cheese and candles endes, temper vp a fewe oyntments and sirrups : which having done, farre North, or into some such rude simple countrey, they get them, and set vp.

Scarce one month haue they staid there, but what with their vaunting and prating, and speaking fustian in steede of Greeke, all the Shyres round about do ring with their fame: and then they begin to get them a Library of three or foure old rustie manuscript books, which they them- 15 selues nor anie els can read; and furnish their shops with a thousand *quid pro quos*, that would choake anie horse; besides some wast trinkets in their chambers hung vp, which maye make the world halfe in iealouzie they can coniure.

They will euermore talke doubtfully, as if there were more in them than they meant to make publique, or was appliable to euerie common mans capacitie: when God bee their rightfull Iudge, they vtter all that they know and a great deale more. 25

To knit vp their knaueries in short (which in sooth is | E I^v the hang-mans office, & nones els), hauing pickt vp theyr crummes thus pretely well in the Countrey, they drawe after a time a little neerer and neerer to London; and at length into London they filtch themselues priuely: but 30 how? Not in the hart of the Cittie will they presume at first dash to hang out their rat-banners, but in the skirtes and out-shifts steale out a signe ouer a Coblers stall, lyke Aqua vitæ sellers and stocking menders.

Manie pore people they win to beleeue in them, who 35 haue not a barreld Herring or a peece of poore Iohn that

24 Iudges Q. 26 short, which Q. 34 Aqua vitæ-sellers Q.

lookes ill on it, but they will bring the water that he was steept in vnto them in an vrinall, & craue their iudgment whether he be rottë, or merchant & chapmanable, or no. The brute of their cunning thus traueling frõ ale-house 5 to Ale-house, at length is transported in the great hiltes of one or other countrey Seruing-mans sword to some good Tauerne or Ordinarie: where it is no sooner arriued, but it is greedily snatcht vp by some dappert Mounsier Diego, who liues by telling of newes, & false dice, and 10 it may be hath a pretie insight into the cardes also, together with a little skill in his Iacobs staffe and hys Compasse; being able at all times to discouer a new passage to Virginia.

This needie Gallaunt (with the qualities aforesaid) 15 straight trudgeth to some Noble-mans to dinner, & there enlargeth the rumor of this newe Phisition, comments vpon euerie glasse and violl that he hath, rayleth on our Galenists, and calls them dull gardners and hay-makers in a mans belly, compares them to dogs, who when they are sick eate

- 20 grasse, and saies they are no better than pack | or malt E 2 horses, who if a man shuld knock out their brains will not goe out of the beaten high way; wheras his hors-leach will leap ouer the hedge & ditch of a thousand *Dioscorides* and *Hippocrates*, and giue a man twentie poysons in one,
- 25 but he would restore him to perfit health. With this strange tale the Noble-man inflamed, desires to bee acquainted with him: what does me he, but goes immediately and breaks with this mountebanke, telling him if he will diuide his gains with him, he will bring him in
- 30 custome with such and such States, and he shall bee countenanst in the Court as he wold desire. The hungrie druggier, ambitious after preferment, agrees to any thing, and to Court he goes; where being come to enterview, hee speaks nothing but broken English like a French
- 35 Doctor, pretëding to haue forgottë his naturall tung by trauell, when he hath neuer been farther than either the

20-1 malthorses Q.

Lowe Countries or Ireland, inforced thether to flye either for getting a maid with child, or marrying two wiues. Suffiseth he set a good face on it. & will sweare he can extract a better Balsamum out of a chip than the Balm of Iudæa: yea, all receipts and authors you can name 5 he syllogizeth of, & makes a pish at, in comparison of them he hath seen and read: whose names if you aske. hee claps you in the mouth with halfe a dozen spruce titles, neuer til he inuëted them heard of by any Christian. But this is most certaine, if he be of any sect, he is 10 a mettle-bruing Paracelsian, hauing not past one or two Probatums for al diseases. Put case he be called to practise, hee excuseth it by great cures he hath in hand ; & will not encounter an infirmity but in the declining, E 2^v that his credit may be more autétical, | or els when by 15 some secret intelligence hee is throughlie instructed of the whole processe of his vnrecouerable extremitie, he comes grauely marching like a Judge, and gives peremptorie sentence of death; whereby he is accounted a Prophet of deepe prescience. 20

But how he comes to be the diuells secretarie, all this long tale vnrips not.

In secret be it spoken, he is not so great with the diuell as you take it. It may be they are neere a kinne, but yet you have manie kindred that will doo nothing for one $_{25}$ another; no more will the diuell for him, except it be to damne him.

This is the Tittle est amen of it: that when he wexeth stale, and all his pispots are crackt and wil no longer hold water, he sets vp a coniuring schoole, and vndertakes to 30 play the baud to Ladie Fortune.

Not a thiefe or a cut-purse, but a man that hee keepes doth associate with, & is of their fraternitie; only that his master when any thing is stoln may tell who it is that hath it. In petie trifles hauing gotten some credit, great 35 · Peeres entertaine him for one of their privile counsaile, and

3 set[s] Gro.

if they have anie daungerous enterprise in hand, they consult with him about successe.

All malcontents entending anie inuasiue violence against their Prince and Countrey runne headlong to his oracle. 5 Contrarie factions enbosome vnto him their inwardest complots, whilest he like a craftie Iacke a both sides, as if he had a spirite still at his elbow, reciprocallie embowelleth to the one what the other goes about; receiuing no intelligence from anie familiar, but their own | mouths. E 3

¹⁰ I assure you most of our chiefe noted Augurers and Soothsayers in *England* at this day, by no other Arte but this gaine their reputation.

They may verie well picke mens purses, like the vnskilfuller cousning kind of Alchumists, with their artificiall 15 and ceremoniall Magicke, but no effect shall they atchieue thereby, though they would hang themselues : the reason is, the diuell of late is growen a puritane, and cannot away with anie ceremonies ; he sees all Princes haue left off their States, and hee leaues off his state too, and will not be 20 inuocated with such solemnity as he was wont.

Private and disguised he passeth too and fro, and is in a thousand places in an houre.

Faire words cannot anie longer beguile him, for not a cue of curtsie will he doo anie man, except it be vpon 25 a flat bill of sale; and so hee chaffers with wysards and witches euerie howre.

Now the world is almost at an end, he hath left forme and is all for matter; and like an Embroyderer or a Tailer he maketh hast of worke against a good time, which is the so day of iudgement: therefore you goodmen exorcisers, his olde acquaintance, must pardon him, though (as heretofore) he stay not to dwell vpon complements.

In diebus illis when Corineus and Gogmagog were little boyes, I will not gainsaye but hee was wont to iest and 35 sport wyth countrey people, and play the good fellowe amongst kitchin-wenches, sitting in an evening by the fire

18 Princes Q. 33 In diebus illis Q.

side making of possets, and come a woing to them in the likenes of a cooper, or a curmogionly purchaser: & | E 3^v somtimes he would dresse himselfe like a Barbar, & wash and shaue all those that laye in such a chamber: otherwhile like a stale cutter of Queene hyue, hee would iustle men in 5 their owne houses, pluck them out of bed by the heeles, and daunce in chaynes from one chamber to another: now there is no goodnes in him but miserablenes and couetousnes.

Sooner he will pare his nayles cleanly, than cause a man to dreame of a pot of golde, or a money bag that is hid 10 in the eaues of a thatcht house.

(Heere is to bee noted, that it is a blessed thing but to dreame of gold, though a man neuer haue it.)

Such a dreame is not altogether ridiculous or impertinent, for it keepes flesh and bloud from despaire : all other 15 are but as dust we raise by our steps; which awhyle mounteth aloft, and annoyeth our ey-sight, but presently disperseth and vanisheth.

Senior Sathan when he was a yong stripling, and had not yet gotten perfect audacitie to set vpon vs in the day 20 time, was a sly Polititian in dreames; but those dayes are gone with him, and now that he is thoroughly steeled in his scutcherie, hee playes aboue-boord boldly, & sweeps more stakes than euer he did before.

I have rid a false gallop these three or foure pages: now 25 I care not if I breathe mee, and walke soberly and demurely halfe a dozen turnes, like a grave Citizen going about to take the ayre.

To make a shaft or a bolt of this drumbling subject of dreames, from whence I haue bin tost off and on I know 30 not how; this is my definitiue verdit: that one may E 4 aswel | by the smoke that comes out of a kitchin gesse what meat is there a broach, as by paraphrasing on smokie dreames præominate of future euents. Thus far notwithstanding Ile goe with them; Phisitions by dreames may 35 better discerne the distemperature of their pale clients, than either by vrine or ordure.

3 some- c.w.

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He that is inclining to a burning feuer shall dreame of frayes, lightning and thunder, of skirmishing with the diuell, and a hundred such like. He that is spiced wyth the gowte or the dropsie, frequently dreameth of fetters s & manacles, and being put on the bilbowes, that his legges are turned to marble or adamant, and his feet, like the giants that scal'd heaven, kept vnder with Mount Ossa and Peleon, and earst while that they are fast locked in guagmyres. I have heard aged mumping beldams as they sat 10 warming their knees ouer a coale scratch ouer the argument verie curiously, and they would bid yong folks beware on what day they par'd their navles, tell what luck euerie one should have by the day of the weeke he was borne on; show how many yeares a man should live by the number 15 of wrinkles on his forhead, and stand descanting not a litle of the difference in fortune when they are turnd vpward, and when they are bent downward; him that had a wart on his chin, they would confidently assertaine he should haue no need of anie of his kin : marry, they would likewise 20 distinguish betweene the standing of the wart on the right side and on the left. When I was a little childe. I was a great auditor of theirs, and had all their witchcrafts at my fingers endes, as perfit as good morrow and good

euen. |
25 Of the signification of dreames, whole catalogues could E 4^v I recyte of theirs, which heere there is no roome for: but for a glaunce to this purpose, this I remember they would verie soberly affirme, that if one at supper eate birds, he should dreame of flying; if fish, of swimming; if venison, 30 of hunting, and so for the rest: as thogh those birds, fish,

- and venison beeing dead and disgested, did flie, swim, and hold their chase in their braynes; or the solution of our dreames should be nought els but to expresse what meates we eate ouer-night.
- 35 From the vnequall and repugnant mixture of contrarious meates, I iumpe with them, manie of our mystic cogitations

²⁷ glannce Q.

proceede : and euen as fire maketh yron like it selfe, so the firie inflammations of our liuer or stomack transforme our imaginations to their analagie and likenesse.

No humor in generall in our bodies ouer-flowing or abounding, but the tips of our thoughts are dipt in hys 5 tincture. And as when a man is readie to drowne, hee takes hold of anie thing that is next him: so our flutring thoughts, when wee are drowned in deadly sleepe, take hold, and coessence themselues with anie ouerboyling humour which sourseth hiest in our stomackes. 10

What heede then is there to be had of dreames, that are no more but the confused giddie action of our braines, made drunke with the innundation of humours?

Iust such like impostures as is this Art of exposition of dreames, are the artes of Phisiognomie and Palmestrie; ¹⁵ wherein who beareth most palme and praise, is the palpa-

F I blest foole and Crepundio. Liues there anie such slowe yce-braind beefe-witted gull, who by the riueld barke or outward rynde of a tree will take vpon him to forespeak how long it shall stand, what mischances of wormes, cater- 20 pillers, boughs breaking, frost bitings, cattells rubbing against, it shall haue? As absurd is it, by the external branched seames or furrowed wrinckles in a mans face or hand, in particular or generall to conjecture and foredoome of his fate.

According to euerie ones labor or exercise, the palme of his hand is wrythen and pleyted, and euerie daye alters as he alters his employments or pastimes: wherfore well may we collect, that he which hath a hand so brawned and enter-lined vseth such and such toyles or recreations; but 30 for the minde or disposition, we can no more looke into through it, than wee can into a looking Glasse through the woodden case thereof.

So also our faces, which sundrie times with surfets, greefe, studie, or intemperaunce, are most deformedlye 35 welked and crumpled; there is no more to bee gathered by their sharpe embossed Ioyners anticke worke, or ragged

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ouer-hangings or pit-falls, but that they have beene layd vp in slouens presse, and with miscarriage and misgouernment are so fretted and galled.

My owne experience is but small, yet thus much I can 5 say by his warrantize, that those fatall brands of phisiognomie which condemne men for fooles and for idiots, and on the other side for trecherous circumuenters and false brothers, haue in a hundred men I know been verefied in the contrarie.

So Socrates (the wisest man of Greece) was censured by F 1^v a wrinckle-wyzard for the lumpishest blockehead that euer went on two legs: whome though the Philosopher in pitie vouchsafed with a nyce distinction of Art and nature to rayse and recouer, when he was vtterly confounded with 15 a hisse and a laughter, yet sure his insolent simplicity

might lawfully haue su'd out his patent of exemption; for hee was a forlorne creature, both in discretion and wit-craft.

Will you have the summe of all: some subtill humorist, to feede fantasticke heads with innouations and nouelties, first inuented this trifling childish glose vppon dreames and phisiognomie; wherein he stroue onely to boast himselfe of a pregnant probable conceipt beyonde philosophie or truth.

Let but anie man who is most conuersant in the superstition of dreames, reckon me one that hath hapned iust, 25 and Ile set downe a hundred out of Histories, that haue perished to foolerie.

To come to late dayes; Lewes the xj. dreamt that he swam in blood on the toppe of the Alpes: which one Father Robert (a holy Hermit of his time) interpreted to 30 be present death in his next warres against Italy: though hee liu'd and prosperd in all his enterprises a long whyle after.

So Charles the fifth, sayling to the siege of Tunis, dreamt that the Citie met him on the sea like an Argosie, and 35 ouerwhelmed his whole Nauie: when by Cornelius Agrippa the great Coniurer (who went along with him) it was expounded to be the ouerthrow of that famous ex-|pedition. F 2 And thereupon Agrippa offred the Emperor (if it pleased him) to blowe vp the Citie by Art Magicke in the ayre before his eyes, without anie farther ieopardie of warre, or besieging. The Emperour vtterly refused it and said, Since it was Gods warres against an Infidel, he would neuer 5 borrow aid of the diuell.

Some haue memorized, that *Agrippa* seeing his counsaile in that case rejected, and that the Emperour (notwithstanding his vnfortunate presage) was prosperous and succesfull, within few dayes after dyed franticke and desperate.

Alphonso King of Naples in like case, before the rumor of the French Kings comming into Italy, had a vision in the night presented vnto him of *Æneas* ghoast having *Turnus* in chase, & *Iuno Pronuba* comming betwixt them, and parting them; whereby hee gest that by marriage 15 their iarring Kingdomes should be vnited: but far otherwise it fell out; for the French King came indeed, and he was driven thereby into such a melancholy extasie, that he thought the verie fowles of the ayre would snatch his Crowne from him; and no bough or arbour that ouer- 20 shadowd him, but enclosed him, and tooke him prisner; and that not so much but the stones of the street sought to iustle him out of his Throne.

These examples I alledge, to proue there is no certaintie in dreames; and that they are but according to our de- 25 uisings and meditations in the day time.

I confesse the Saintes and Martirs of the Primitiue Church had vnfallible dreames fore-running their ends, as *Policarpus* and other: but those especially proceeded | F 2* from heauen, and not from anie vaporous dreggie parts 30 of our blood or our braines.

For this cause the Turkes banish Learning from amongst them, because it is euerie daye setting men together by the eares, mouing straunge contentions and alterations, and making his professors faint hearted and effeminate. 35 Much more requisite were it that out of our ciuill Christian

10 franticke Q.

Common-wealths we seuerely banish and exterminate those fabulous commentaries on toyish fantasies, which feare-benum & effeminate the harts of the stoutest, cause a man without any ground to be iealous of his owne frends 5 and his kinsfolkes, and withdraw hym from the search and insight into more excellent things, to stand all his whole life sifting and winnowing dry rubbish chaffe, whose best bottome quintessence prooues in the end but sandie grauell and cockle.

¹⁰ Molestations and cares inough, the ordinarie course of our life tythes of his owne accord vnto vs, though we seeke not a knot in a bulrush, or stuffe not our night pillowes with thistles to encrease our disturbance.

In our sleepe wee are agasted and terrified with the ¹⁵ disordered skirmishing and conflicting of our sensitiue faculties: yet with this terror and agastment cannot wee rest our selues satisfide, but we must pursue and hunt after a further feare in the recordation and too busie examining our paines ouer-passed.

²⁰ Dreames in my minde if they haue anie premonstrances in them, the preparatiue feare of that they so premonstrate and denounce, is far worse than the mischiefe it selfe by them denounced and premonstrated.

So there is no long sicknesse but is worse than death, F₃ ²⁵ for death is but a blowe and awaye, whereas sicknesse is like a Chancerie sute, which hangs two or three yeare ere it can come to a iudgement.

O, a consumption is worse than a *Capias ad Ligatum*; to nothing can I copare it better, that to a repriue after 3° a man is condemnd, or to a boy with his hoase about his heeles, ready to be whipt, to whom his master stands preaching a long time all law and no Gospel, ere he proceed to execution. Or rather it is as a man should be rosted to death, and melt away by little and little, 35 whiles Phisitions lyke Cookes stand stuffing him out with hearbes, and basting him with this oyle and that sirrup.

I Common-wealths Q. 18 after Q. 26 three] thee Q.

I am of the opinion, that to be famisht to death is farre better, for his paine in seauen or eight dayes is at an end, whereas he that is in a consumption, continues languishing manie yeares ere death haue mercie on him.

The next plague and the neerest that I know in affinitie 5 to a consumption, is long depending hope friuolously defeated, than which there is no greater miserie on earth ; & so *per consequens* no men in earth more miserable than courtiers. It is a cowardly feare that is not resolute inough to despaire. It is like a pore hunger-starud wretch ¹⁰ at sea, who still in expectation of a good voyage, endures more miseries than Iob. He that writes this can tell, for he hath neuer had good voyage in his life but one, & that was to a fortunate blessed Iland, nere those pinacle rocks called the Needles. O, it is a purified Continent, & a fertil ¹⁵ plot fit to seat another Paradice, where, or in no place, the image of the ancient hospitalitie is to be found.

F 3^v While I liue I will praise it and extoll it, for the true magnificence and continued honourable bountie that I saw there. 20

Farre vnworthie am I to spend the least breath of commendation in the extolling so delightfull and pleasaunt a *Tempe*, or once to consecrate my inke with the excellent mention of the thrice noble and illustrious Chiefetaine vnder whom it is flourishingly gouerned. 25

That rare ornament of our Countrey, learned Master *Camden*, whose desertfull name is vniuersally admyred throughout Christendome, in the last repollished Edition of his *Brittania*, hath most elaborate and exactly described the sourceigne plenteous scituation of that Ile; as also 30 the inestimable happines it inherites, it beeing patronizd and carefully protected by so heroicall and couragious a Commaunder.

Men that have neuer tasted that full spring of his liberalitie, wherwith (in my most forsaken extremities) 35 right graciously hee hath deigned to reviue and refresh

10 hungerstarvd Q.

mee, may rashly (at first sight) implead me of flatterie, and not esteeme these my feruent tearmes as the necessary repaiment of due debt, but words idly begotten with good lookes, and in an ouer-ioyed humour of vaine hope slipt 5 from me by chance: but therein they shall shewe themselues too vnciuill iniurious, both to my deuoted obseruant dutie and the condigne deare purchased merite of his glorie.

Too base a ground is this, whereon to embroyder the rich storie of his eternall renowme; some longer lyued ¹⁰ Tractate I reserve for the full blaze of his vertues, which

here onely in the sparkes I decypher. Manie embers of F 4 encumbraunces haue I at this time, which forbid the bright flame of my zeale to mount aloft as it would. Perforce I must breake from it, since other turbulent cares sit as 15 now at the stearne of my inuention. Thus I conclude with this chance-medley Parenthesis, that whatsoeuer minutes intermission I haue of calmed content, or least

respite to call my wits together, principall and immediate proceedeth from him.

20 Through him my tender wainscot Studie doore is deliuered from much assault and battrie: through him I looke into, and am lookt on in the world; from whence otherwise I were a wretched banished exile. Through him all my good (as by a conduit head) is conueighed vnto 25 me; and to him all my endeuours (like riuers) shall pay tribute as to the Ocean.

Did Ouid entitle Carus, a Noble-man of Rome, the onely constant frend hee had, in his vngratefull extrusion amongst the Getes: and writ to him thus,

30

Qui quod es id verè Care vocaris?

And in another Elegie,

O mihi post nullos Care memorande sodales?

Much more may I acknowledge all redundant prostrate vassailage to the royall descended Familie of the *Careys*: 35 but for whom, my spirit long ere this had expyred, and my pen seru'd as a puniard to gall my owne hart. Why doo I vse so much circumstance, and in a streame on which none but gnats and flies doo swimme, sound Fames trumpet like *Triton*, to call a number of foolish skiffes and light cock-boates to parley?

F 4^v Feare (if I be not deceiud) was the last pertinent matter 5 I had vnder my displing; from which I feare I haue strayed beyond my limits: and yet feare hath no limits, for to hell and beyond hell, it sinkes downe and penetrates.

But this was my position, that the feare of anie expected euill, is worse than the euill it selfe; which by dyuers 10 comparisons I confirmed.

Now to visions and apparitions againe, as fast as I can trudge.

The glasses of our sight (in the night) are like the prospectiue glasses one *Hostius* made in *Rome*, which 15 represented the images of things farre greater than they were: each moate in the darke they make a monster, and euerie sleight glimmering a giant.

A solitarie man in his bed, is like a poore bed-red lazer lying by the high way side; vnto whose displaied wounds 20 and sores a number of stinging flyes doo swarme for pastance and beuerage: his naked wounds are his inward hart-griping woes, the waspes and flyes his idle wandering thoughts; who to that secret smarting paine he hath alreadie, do adde a further sting of impatience, and new 25 lanch his sleeping griefes and vexations.

Questionlesse this is an vnrefutable consequence, that the man who is mocked of his fortune, he that hath consumed his braines to compasse prosperitie, and meetes with no counteruaylement in hir likenesse, but hedge wine 30 and leane mutton, and peraduenture some halfe eid good looks that can hardly be discerned from winking; this G I poore piteous perplexed miscreant either final-lie despaires, or like a lanke frost-bitten plant looseth hys vigor or spirit by little and little: anie terror, the least illusion in the 35 earth, is a *Cacodæmon* vnto him. His soule hath left his

33 despaire Q: despaire[s] Gro.

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bodie; for, why, it is flying after these ayrie incorporeate Courtly promises, and glittring painted allurements; which when they vanish to nothing, it lykewise vanisheth with them.

5 Excessive ioy no lesse hath his defective and ioylesse operations, the spleene into water it melteth; so that except it be some momentarie bubbles of mirth, nothing it yeelds but a cloying surfet of repentance.

Diuers instances haue we of men, whom too much to sodaine content and ouer-rauished delight hath brought vntimely to their graues.

Foure or fiue I haue read of, whom the very extremitie of laughter hath bereft of their liues: whereby I gather, that euen such another pernitious sweete, superfluous mirth 15 is to the sence, as a surfet of honnie to a mans stomacke, than the which there is nothing more dangerous.

Bee it as dangerous as it will, it cannot but be an easie kinde of death. It is like one that is stung with an *Aspis*, who in the midst of his paine falls delighted asleepe, and 20 in that suauitie of slumber surrenders the ghost: whereas hee whom greefe vndertakes to bring to his end, hath his hart gnawen in sunder by little & little with vultures, like *Prometheus*.

But this is nothing (you will object) to our journeys 25 ende of apparitions. Yes, altogether; for of the ouerswelling superabundance of joy and greefe, wee frame | to G IY our selues most of our melancholy dreames and visions.

There is an olde philosophicall common Prouerbe, *Vnusquisque fingit fortunam sibi*, Euerie one shapes hys owne 30 fortune as he lists. More aptly may it be said, Euerie one shapes his owne feares and fancies as he list.

In all points our brains are like the firmament, and exhale in euerie respect the like grose mistempred vapors and meteors; of the more fœculent combustible ayrie 35 matter whereof, afrighting formes and monstrous images innumerable are created; but of the slymie vnweeldier drossie part, dull melancholy or drousines. And as the firmament is still moouing and working, so vncessant is the wheeling and rolling on of our braines; which euerie hower are tempring some newe peece of prodigie or other, and turmoyling, mixing, and changing the course of our thoughts.

I write not this, for that I thinke there are no true apparitions or prodigies, but to shew how easily we may be flouted if we take not great heed, with our own anticke suppositions. I will tell you a strange tale tending to this nature : whether of true melancholy or true apparition, 10 I will not take vpon me to determine.

It was my chance in Februarie last to be in the Countrey some threescore myle off from London; where a Gentleman of good worship and credit falling sicke, the verie second day of his lying downe, hee pretended to haue 15 miraculous waking visions: which before I enter to describe, thus much I will informe ye by the way, that at the reporting of them he was in perfect memorie; nor | G 2 had sicknes yet so tirannizd ouer him to make his tongue grow idle. A wise graue sensible man he was euer 20 reputed, and so approou'd himselfe in all his actions in his life time. This which I deliuer, (with manie preparatiue protestations) to a great Man of this Land hee confidently avouched: beleeue it or condemn it, as you shal see cause, for I leaue it to be censured indifferently. 25

The first day of his distemprature, he visibly saw (as he affirmed) al his chamber hung with silken nets and siluer hookes, the diuell (as it should seeme) comming thether a fishing ; whereupon, euery Pater noster while, he lookt whether in the nets he should be entangled, or with the 30 hookes ensnared ; with the nets he feard to be strangled or smothred, & with the hooks to haue his throat scracht out, and his flesh rent and mangled : at length, he knew not how, they sodainly vanished, and the whole chamber was clered. Next a cõpanie of lusty sailers (euerie one a 35

28 hookes Q. 29 whereupon [he said] euery [word of] Pater noster, while Gro.

sharker or a swaggerer at the least) having made a braue voyage, came carousing and quaffing in large siluer kans to his helth. Fellowes they were that had good big pop mouths to crie Port a helme Saint George, and knew as 5 well as the best what belongs to haling of bolings yare, and falling on the star-boord buttocke.

But to the issue of my tale: their drunken proffers he vtterly put by, and sayd hee highly scorned and detested both them and their hellish disguisings: which notwithro standing, they tost their cups to the skies, and reeled and staggered vp and downe the roome like a ship shaking in the winde.

After all they danst Lustie gallant, & a drunken Danish | Laualto or two, and so departed. For the third course, G 2^v ¹⁵ rusht in a number of stately diuels, bringing in boystrous chests of massie tresure betwixt the. As braue they were as Turkish Ianissaries, hauing their apparel all powdred with gold and pearle, and their armes as it were bemayled with rich chaynes and bracelets; but faces far blacker than ²⁰ anie ball of Tobacco, great glaring eyes that had whole shelues of Kentish oysters in them, and terrible wyde mouthes, whereof not one of them but would well haue made a case for *Molenax* great Gloabe of the world.

These louely youths and full of fauour, hauing stalkt vp 25 and downe the iust measures of a sinkapace, opened one of the principall chests they brought, and out of it pluckt a Princely royall Tent, whose empearled shining canopie they quickly aduaunced on hie, and with all artificiall magnificence adorned like a state: which performed, pompous 30 Lucifer entred, imitating in goodly stature the huge picture

- of *Laocoon* at *Rome*: who sent vnto him a gallant Embassadour, signifying thus much, that if hee would serue him, hee should haue all the rich treasure that he saw there, or anie farther wealth hee would desire.
- 35 The Gentleman returned this milde aunswere, that he knew not what he was, whether an Angell or a wicked

feend: and if an Angell, he was but his fellow seruant, and no otherwise to be serued or regarded; if a fiend or a diuell, hee had nothing to doo with him, for God had exalted and redeemed him aboue his desperate out-cast condition, and a strong faith he had to defie & with-stand | 5
G 3 all his iugling temptations. Hauing vttered these words, all the whole traine of them inuisibly auoyded, and hee neuer set eye on them after.

Then did ther, for the third pageant, present themselues vnto him, an inueigling troupe of naked Virgins, thrice ¹⁰ more amiable and beautifull than the bright Vestals, that brought in *Augustus* Testament to the Senate, after hys decease: but no Vestall-like Ornament had they about them; for from top to toe bare despoyled they were, except some one or two of them that ware maskes before ¹⁵ their faces, and had transparent azur'd lawne veyles before the chiefe iewell houses of their honors.

Such goodly lustfull Bonarobaes they were (by his report) as if anie sharpe eyd Painter had been there to peruse them, he might haue learned to exceed diuine 20 *Michel Angelo* in the true boske of a naked, or curious *Tuns* in quicke life, whom the great masters of that Art do terme the sprightly old man.

Their haire they ware loose vnrowled about their shoulders, whose dangling amber trammells reaching 25 downe beneath their knees, seemed to drop baulme on their delicious bodies; and euer as they moou'd too and fro, with their light windye wauings, wantonly to correct their exquisite mistresses.

Their daintie feete in their tender birdlike trippings, 30 enameld (as it were) the dustie ground; and their odoriferous breath more perfumed the aire, than Ordinance would, that is charged with Amomum, Muske, Cyuet, and Amber-greece.

But to leave amplifications and proceed: those sweet $|_{35}$ G₃^{*} bewitching naked maides, having maiestically paced about

the chamber, to the end their naturall vnshelled shining mother pearle proportions might be more imprintingly apprehended, close to his bed-side modestly blushing they approched, & made impudent profer vnto him of theyr 5 lasciuious embraces. He, obstinatly bent to withstand these their sinfull allurements no lesse than the former, bad them goe seek entertainment of hotter bloods, for he had not to satisfie them. A cold comfort was this to poore wenches no better cloathed, yet they hearing what to to trust too, verie sorrowfully retyred, and shrunk away.

Lo, in the fourth Act, there sallied out a graue assembly of sober attyred Matrones, much like the Virgines of *Marie Magdalens* order in *Rome*, which vowe neuer to see man; or the chast daughters of Saint *Philip*.

¹⁵ With no incontinent curtesie did they greete him, but tolde him, if so hee thought good they would praye for him.

Therupon, frõ the beginning to the ending he vnfolded vnto them, how he had been mightely hanted with wicked 20 illusions of late : but neuertheles, if he could be perswaded that they were Angels or Saintes, their inuocations could not hurt him; yea, he would adde his desire to their requestes, to make their prayers more penetrably enforcing.

Without further parley, vppon their knees they fell most 25 deuoutly, and for halfe an hower neuer ceased extensively to intercessionate GOD for his speedie recouerie.

Rising vp agayne on the right hand of his bed, there G₄ appeared a cleare light, and with that he might perceiue a naked slender foote offring to steale betwixt the sheets so in to him.

At which instant, entred a messenger from a Knight of great honour thereabouts, who sent him a most precious extract quintessence to drinke : which no sooner he tasted, but he thought hee saw all the fore-named Enterluders at 35 once hand ouer head leap, plunge, & drowne themselues in puddles and ditches hard by, and hee felt perfect ease.

But long it lasted not with him, for within foure howers

after, having not fully settled his estate in order, hee grewe to trifling dotage, and raving dyde within two daies following.

God is my witnesse, in all this relation, I borrowe no essential part from stretcht out inuention, nor haue I one iot abusde my informations; onely for the recreation of 5 my Readers, whom loath to tyre with a course homespunne tale, that should dull them woorse than Holland cheese, heere and there I welt and garde it with allusiue exornations & comparisons: and yet me thinks it comes off too goutie and lumbring.

Bee it as it will, it is lyke to haue no more allowaunce of English for mee. If the world will giue it anie allowaunce of truth, so it is: For then I hope my excuse is alreadye lawfullye customed and authorized; since Truth G 4v is euer drawne and painted naked, | and I haue lent her 15 but a leathren patcht cloake at most to keepe her from the cold: that is, that she come not off too lamely and coldly.

Vpon the accidentall occasion of this dreame or apparition (call or miscall it what you will, for it is yours as 20 freely as anie wast paper that euer you had in your liues) was this Pamphlet (no bigger than an old Præface) speedily botcht vp and compyled.

Are there anie doubts which remaine in your mynde vndigested, as touching this incredible Narration I haue 25 vnfolded? Well, doubt you not, but I am milde and tractable, and will resolue you in what I may.

First, the house where this Gentleman dwelt, stood in a low marish ground, almost as rotten a Clymate as the Lowe Countreyes; where their mystie ayre is as thicke as 30 mould butter, and the deaw lyes like froathie barme on the ground.

It was noted ouer and besides to have been an vnluckie house to all his predecessors, scituate in a quarter not altogether exempted from witches. 35

The abrupt falling into his sicknesse was suspitious,

OF THE NIGHT

proceeding from no apparant surfet or misdiet. The outragious tyrannie of it in so short a time, bred thrice more admiration and wonder, and his sodaine death incontinent ensuing vppon that his disclosed dreame or vision, might 5 seeme some probable reason to confirme it; since none haue such palpable dreames or visions, but die presently after.

The like to this was Master Allingtons vision in the beginning of her Maiesties raigne; than the which there is | nothing more ordinarilie bruted. Through Greeke and H I Romane common-places to this purport I could runne, if I were disposed to vaunt my selfe like a ridiculous Pedant, of deepe reading in Fulgosius, Licosthenes, and Valerius.

Goe no farther than the Court, and they will tell you of ¹⁵ a mightie worthie man of this Land; who riding in his Coatch from London to his house, was all the waye haunted with a couple of Hogges, who followed him close, and doo what his men could they might not driue them from him: wherefore at night hee caused them to be shut vp in ²⁰ a barne, and commanded milke to be giuen them; the barne dore was lockt, and the key safely kept, yet were they gone by morning, and no man knew how.

A number of men there be yet liuing, who haue been haunted by their wiues after their death, about forswearing 25 themselues, and vndooing their children, of whom they promised to be carefull fathers: whereof I can gather no reason but this, that Women are borne to torment a man both aliue and dead.

I have heard of others likewise, that beside these night 30 terrors, have been (for whole months together, whether soeuer they went or rid) pursued by wesels and rats, and oftentimes with squirrels and hares; that in the traueling of three hundred myle, have still wayted on their horse heeles.

35 But those are onely the exploytes and stratagems of witches, which may well astonish a little at first sight, but if a man haue the least heart or spirite to with-stand one fierce blast of their brauadoes, he shall see them H 1^v shrinke | faster than Northren cloath, and outstrip time in dastardly flight.

Fie, fie, was euer poore fellow so farre benighted in an old wiues tale of diuells and vrchins. Out vpon it, I am 5 wearie of it, for it hath caused such a thicke fulsome Serena to descend on my braine, that now my penne makes blots as broad as a furd stomacher, and my muse inspyres me to put out my candle and goe to bed: and yet I wyll not neyther, till, after all these nights reuells, ¹⁰ I haue solemnly bid you good night; as much to saye as tell you how you shall haue a good night, and sleep quietly without affrightment and annoyance.

First and formost drinke moderately, and dice and drabbe not away your money prodigally and then for- 15 sweare your selues to borrow more.

You that be pore mens children, know your own fathers; & though you can shift & cheate your selues into good cloathes here about Towne, yet bow your knees to their leathern bagges and russet coates, that they may blesse 20 you from the ambition of Tiburne.

You that beare the name of souldiers, and liue baselie swaggering in euerie ale-house, hauing no other exhibition but from harlots and strumpets; seeke some newe trade, and leaue whoring and quarrelling, least besides the nightly 25 guilt of your owne banqurout consciences, Bridewell or Newgate prooue the ende of your caueleering.

You, whosoeuer or wheresoeuer you be, that live by spoyling and ouer-reaching yong Gentlemen, and make but a sport to deride their simplicities to their vndooing, | 30 H 2 to you the Night at one time or other will prove terrible, except you foorthwith thinke on restitution: or if you have not your Night in this world, you will have it in hell.

You that are married and haue wives of your owne, and yet hold too nere frendship with your neighbours; set 35 vp your rests, that the Night will be an il neighbour to your rest, and that you shall have as little peace of minde

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as the rest. Therefore was *Troy* burnt by night, because *Paris* by night prostituted *Helena*, and wrought such treson to Prince *Menelaus*.

You that are Macheuilian vaine fooles, and thinke it no 5 wit or pollicie but to vowe and protest what you neuer meane, that trauell for nothing els but to learne the vices of other countries, and disfigure the ill English faces that God hath giuen you, with Tuscan glickes and apish trickes; the night is for you with a blacke saunt or a matachine, 10 except you presently turne and conuert to the simplicitie you were borne too.

You that can cast a man into an Italian ague when you list, and imitate with your diet drinkes anie disease or infirmitie, the night likewise hath an infernall to act before yee.

- ¹⁵ Traitors that by night meete and consult how to walke in the day vndiscouered, & thinke those words of Christ vainly spoken, *There is nothing done in secret but shalbe reuealed and laid open:* to you no lesse the night shalbe as a night owle to vexe and torment you.
- 20 And finallie, O you Iudges and Magistrates, if there bee anye amongest you, that doo wrest all the Lawe | into H 2^v their owne hands, by drawing and receyving euery mans money into their hands, and making newe golden lawes of their owne, which no Prince nor Parliament euer
- ²⁵ dreamed of; that looke as iust as Iehouah by daye, enthronizing graue zeale and religion on the eleuated whites of their eyes, when by night corrupt gifts and rewards rush in at their gates in whole Armies, like Northren Carriers comming to their Inne; that in steede of their
- 30 bookes turne ouer their bribes, for the deciding of causes, adjudging him the best right that brings the richest present vnto them. If anie such there be I say, as in our Commonwealth I know none, but haue read of in other States, let them looke to haue a number of vnwelcome Clients of 35 their owne accusing thoughts and imaginations, that will betray them in the night to euery idle feare and illusion.

17 nothing Q.

I

386 THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

Therfore are the terrors of the night more than of the day, because the sinnes of the night surmount the sinnes of the day.

By night time came the Deluge ouer the face of the whole earth; by night time *Iudas* betrayed Christ, *Tarquin* 5 rauisht *Lucretia*.

When anie Poet would describe a horrible Tragicall accident; to adde the more probabilitie & credence vnto it, he dismally beginneth to tell, how it was darke night when it was done, and cheerfull daylight had quite abandoned 10 the firmament.

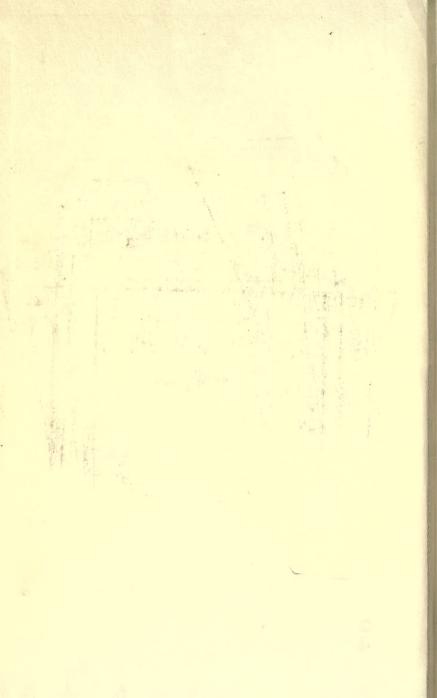
Hence it is, that sinne generally throughout the scripture is called the workes of darknesse; for neuer is the diuell H₃ so busie as then, and then he thinkes he may aswel | vndiscouered walke abroad, as homicides and outlawes.

Had we no more Religion than we might deriue from heathen fables, me thinkes those dolefull Querristers of the night, the Scritch-owle, the Nightingale, and croking Frogs, might ouer-awe vs from anie insolent transgression at that time. The first for her lauish blabbing of forbidden 20 secrets, being for euer ordayned to be a blabbe of ill newes and misfortune, still is crying out in our eares, that we are mortall, and must die: the second puts vs in minde of the end and punishment of lust & rauishment; and the third and last, that we are but slyme & mud, such as those 25 watrie creatures are bred of: and therfore why should we delight to adde more to our slyme & corruption, by extraordinarie surfets and drunkennes?

But these are nothing neither in comparison: for hee whom in the day heauen cannot exhale, the night wil 30 neuer helpe: she onely pleading for her old grandmother hell, as well as the day for heauen.

Thus I shut vp my Treatise abruptly, that hee who in the daye doth not good woorkes inough to answere the objections of the night, will hardly aunswere at the daye 35 of judgement.





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