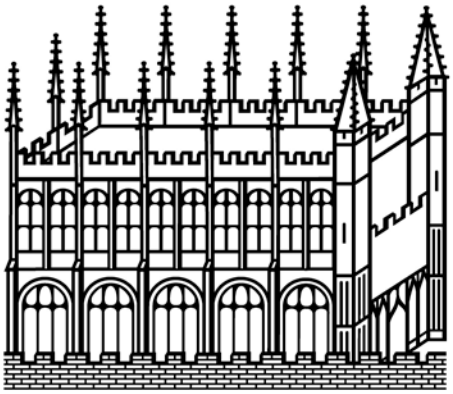

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JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

THOMAS POWELL'S

Tom of all Trades.

The Glasse of Godly Loue.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

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BEEING

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WITH HIS OWNE INUECTIUE AGAINST IELOSY.

AND

THE PASSIONATE MORRICE.

1593.

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OR

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BEING

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1631.

THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOUE.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

1569.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A., CAMB.,

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§ 1. HERE are reprints of three rare tracts, of which the first two are on the England of Elizabeth's time (1593, 1600), and the third is written by a man of her time, tho' not publisht till the seventh year of Charles the First's reign (1631). The fourth scrap is before 1600.

The printing of the first tract was urg'd on me by my friend Mr W. C. Hazlitt, because there was only one copy of it known to him, and that at Peterborough Cathedral Library, quite out of the way of the ordinary student. As this tract dealt with the husband-and-wife question in Shakspere's young days, and mainly took-up the other side (the woman's) to that which Shakspere backt in *The Comedy of Errors* (Act II. sc. i.; V. i. 68—86), I was glad to recommend it to the friend and fellow-member of our Society[1] who had offerd to give us a Shakspere's-England reprint of moderate size. Otherwise its inner worth would not have given it so early a place in our Sixth Series. But still, for the social condition of England in Shakspere's time, this *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* of 1593 has great interest, so far as the family life of the middle classes is concernd. Oddly enough, too, it does illustrate aptly a bit of the last long speech of Suffolk in 1 *Henry VI*, V. v. 48—54 (tho' I suppose that is not Shakspere's), about the young king's choice of the dowerless Margaret:

[1] He has made it a condition that his name be not mentiond.

> *Suf.* A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your king,
> That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
> To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love
> Henry is able to enrich his queen,
> And not to seek a queen to make him rich:
> *So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,*
> *As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.*

At p. 61-2, of Tell-Troth's Part II, *The Passionate Morrice*, we come on the following passage:—

"Fie, fie! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children. He that bids most, shal speed soonest; & so he hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so; & I wil assure you, loues commonwealth wil neuer florish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer."

This cannot be calld an advance on the low part of the earlier *Paston-Letters* view of the marriage question.[1]

I do not want to puff our Victorian time against the Elizabethan. We have faults enough, God knows. There *may* be a few beings calld women now extant, who justify the sketches that reviews tell us sensation-novelists draw, and that prurient article-writers affect to denounce,[2] but surely no one can turn from the cuckoo cry which the *Love's-Labours-Lost* end song, and almost all Elizabethan books on social life, echo; no one can contrast Shakspere's doctrine on the relation of husband and wife in *The Errors* (First-Period) and *Taming of the Shrew*, with Tennyson's in *The Princess*,[3] without

[1] There is also proof of plenty of true love in these Letters; and Margaret Paston, the heroine of the volumes, is not far from being a model wife of the time.

[2] See my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 2.

[3] There's nothing, situate under heaven's eye,
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky:
The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls,
Are their males' subject, and at their controls:
Men, more divine, the masters of all these,
Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives, and this proud watch-word rest
Of equal; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal, nor unequal: each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,

feeling that enormous moral progress has been made since the Elizabethan time in the relations of the sexes, and of husband and wife.[1]

The comparison of *Love's Labours Lost* with *The Princess* is full of interest; and though the contrast of the converse excluders of the opposite sex in the two works strikes a student of both poets at first sight, I have never seen or heard it alluded-to in any criticism of the poem or play. The comparison of *In Memoriam* with the *Sonnets* has been indeed mentiond, but never workt out, full of interest as the subject is. Victorians need not fear to set Arthur Hallam by Shakspere's Will H., or the grounds of Tennyson's affectionate reverence for his friend, by those of Shakspere's love for his.

Assuming, then, that the full description by the unknown 1593 TELL-TROTHE[2] of the causes of Jealousy in English husbands, and

Lords of the wide world, and wild wat'ry seas,
Indued with intellectual sense and souls,
Of more pre-eminence than fish and fowls,
Are masters to their females, and their lords:
Then let your will attend on their accords.—Luciana, in *Errors*, II. i.
(Cp. Milton's view.)

The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-cell'd heart, beating, with one full stroke,
Life.
The Princess, p. 157, 1st ed., 1847.

[1] The views of our narrow-minded (and often caddish) folk, as well as those of our broader-minded and more generous men, on the Woman-question, are annually stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Woman's-Suffrage Bill, or any attempt to admit women to the learned professions. Women still wait for justice and fair-play.

[2] *Indouinello*, a tell-truth, a tom-tell-troth.—1598; Florio. For the second name of the title, Robin Goodfellow (or Hobgoblin), see Shakspere's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 34, 40, Cotgrave, and Florio:

Follet; or, *Esprit follet.* An Hobgoblin, **Robin-goodfellow,** Bugbeare.—1611; Cotgrave.

Luiton: m. A Goblin, Bug, **Robin-good-fellow,** merrie diuell, that vses to mocke, and deceiue, sillie people.—1611; Cotgrave.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe ... also a **Hobgoblin,** Hob-thrush, **Robin-good-fellow**; also a night-walker, or flie-light; one thats neuer seene but by Owle-light.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, **Robin-good-fellow,** Hob-thrush; a spirit which playes reakes in mens houses anights.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutiner. To play the Goblin, or night-spirit; to keepe a foule rumbling, or terrible racket vp and down a house in the night.—1611; Cotgrave.

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a **robin goodfellow,** a hob-goblin, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or mare.—1598; Florio.

the relation of father and daughter, husband and wife, justifies the appearance of our first tract, in this volume, I pass on to the second, John Lane's *Tom Tel-troths Message and his Pens Complaint*, of 1600, when Shakspere was writing, or had just written, his brilliant Second-Period *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*.

§ 2. John Lane is known to manuscript men by his still unprinted completion of Chaucer's *Squires Tale*,[1] and his re-telling of the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*, the prose Forewords to which are printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 521-5, from the Harleian MS. 5243 in the British Museum. He is not mentiond in Edmund Howes's list of English poets with "Willi. Shakespeare gentleman" (Continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, ed. 1615, p.

Mani ... **hobgoblins**, or elfes, or such misshapen images or imagined spirits that nurces fraie their babes withall, to make them leaue crying, as we say bug-beare, or els, rawe head and bloodie bones.—1598; Florio.

Lemuri, the ghosts or spirits of such as dye before their time, or **hobgoblings**, black bugs, or nightwalking spirits.—ib. And see *Manduco*.

[1] Thus describ'd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., 1845, col. 91-2:

No. 53. A small quarto volume, containing 81 leaves of paper, gilt at the edges, beside three on which are written the title and introductory pieces: it is very neatly written, as for a presentation copy; and the royal Arms are stamped on the covers.

"Chaucer's Piller, beinge his Master-peece, called the Squires Tale, wch hath binn given [up as] lost, for all most thense three hundred yeares: but now found out, and brought to light by John Lane. 1630."

On the back of the title is an acrostick (forming "Maria Anglie. C. M.") from "The Muse to the soveraigne bewtie of our adreadded sovereign lord King Charles:" which introduces an affected dedication, followed by 8 lines from "The Muse to the fowre winds," by "J. L.," and 6 lines to the author by Thomas Windham, of Keinsford, co. Somerset, Esq., one of the Justices. On the fourth page are 4 stanzas from the fourth book of the Faerie Queene by "The poet Spencer, uppon the loss of that peece of Chaucers." Then follow the Description of the Squier by Chaucer (in his prologue to the Canterbury Tales, v. 79—100), and "The Squires prolog, as it is in Chaucer," and "The Squiers tale as it is in Chaucer," the text of which on f. i.

The two first parts of this poem, and the two first lines of the third part, are copied from Chaucer; at the end of the second (f. 10b) is this note—"Heare followeth my suppliment to bee inserted in place of that of Chaucer's which is missing. J. L." This long poem, which bears no just proportion to Chaucer's tales, consists of twelve parts or cantos, to each of which is prefixed a summary stanza of 4 lines. At the end are an Epilogus (f. 79b), "The Marchantes wordes to the Squier, and the Hostes wordes to the Marchant as they are in Chaucer" (f. 80), and "Comparatio," f. 80b.

On the back of f. 81, Ashmole has written an extract from Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," about Canace, the heroine of this story.

811, col. 2); but, as the friend of Milton's father, he is done more than justice to by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, who in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, thus describes Lane:—

"A fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublisht, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gain'd him a name not much inferiour, if not equal, to *Drayton* and others of the next rank to *Spencer*; but they are all to be produc't in Manuscript: namely, his *Poetical Vision*[1]; his *Alarm to the Poets* [1648]; his *Twelve Months*[1]; his *Guy of Warwic*, a Heroic Poem (at least as much as many others that are so Entitled); and lastly his Supplement to *Chaucer's* Squires Tale."—1675, p. 111-12; edition 1824, p. xxiii. See also Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, p. 100 [which only repeats part of Phillips].—Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 326, col. 2.

Besides the above, John Lane[2] wrote

"An Elegie vpon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soueraigne Elizabeth. By I. L. Imprinted at London for John Deane, at Temple-barre. 1603; 4to, 7 leaves. *Bodleian* (Malone) *ib.*; and

"Tritons Trumpet, 1620." (Hazlitt.)

His *Tom Tel-Troths Message* is a poem of 120 six-line stanzas, in which he complains of his countrymen's naughtinesses. The closest handling of his subject is in pages 119—134, where he deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. This should be compared with the like part in *The Times Whistle*, by R. C., about 1616 A.D., edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr J. M. Cowper in 1871.

Lane first complains of the Pope, the Cardinals, priests, monks, friars, and all 'this popish ribble-rabble route,'[3] stanzas 14-19, p. 113-114. Then he laments vaguely the state of 'Englands two Vniuersities,' and the Seven Liberal Sciences, p. 115-118, of which, Grammar 'stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,' l. 149, and Poetry brings no solace to country swains, who fancy more 'the winding of an horne,' l. 208, while ballad-makers pen 'new gigges for a countrie clowne,' l. 216, and 'bastard braines' with their base rymes work Poetry's infamy, l. 226.

[1] See *Percy Folio*, ii. 522, col. 1, at foot. The Poetical Visions was to have 'first and second partes.'

[2] Under A.D. 1572, Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. i, col. 189, notes,—when speaking of John Lane, of Christ Church, who died in 1578—"There was one John Lane, a poet, about this time."

[3] Compare *The Image of Ypocresye*, &c., in my *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 181-266.

Next come the Seven Deadly Sins. Under (1) *Pride*, Lane abuses the 'fine-ruft Ruffines,' st. 42, p. 119; the dandies 'full trick and trim tir'd in the lookinge glasse,' l. 255, casting sheeps-eyes[1], &c., walking with fantastical gait, st. 45, wearing long hair or curld locks, st. 46, resembling every shape like Proteus,[2] and every colour like the chameleon, st. 47; drest in the snip-snap jagd clothes, st. 48, that in former fashions Chaucer in his *Parsons Tale*, and so many other complainers from time to time condemnd; and with wingd sleeves, round hose, cloaks short and long, st. 51, p. 121. Then the women are scolded for their dress: bold Beatrice with her wires—that movd Stubbes's wrath—tires, periwig, and caul (st. 52); with feathers (which men wear too), st. 53, 54; pumps, pantofles, corkt shoes (st. 55, p. 122), and fans (st. 56). The picture alluded-to in stanzas 57-8, of the Englishman set alone, in other folks' feathers, I have not come across.[3] Andrew Boorde's caricature, given at p. 167 of my *Harrison*, is the only one of the kind I know.

Under (2) *Envy*, the only special hits are at the Minstrels daily striving with blind fiddlers, l. 398, p. 124, the justling Jacks driving their betters to the wall, l. 400, and the scoffers 'with rimes and riddles rating at their foe,' l. 405.

Under (3) *Wrath*, we have the fights in Smithfield, the lines that make one think of the sad death of Marlowe in a quarrel for a drab, st. 76, p. 126. Then Wrath's contraries are dwelt-on in st. 80-1, p. 127, Chaucer's other 'vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferaunce' (*Remedium contra Iram*), being treated as two.

(4) *Sloth* or Idleness has no local colour.

Avarice (5) repeats Harrison's complaints in his *Description*, II. 18, p. 296, &c., how 'She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,' st. 90, p. 129, and specially 'engrosseth all the corne,' l. 547; and leads to Usury (Harrison, p. 242), the two making the proudest cavaliers stoop, and penning 'them vp within the Poultries coope,' in gaol, st. 94. Avarice too leads to landlords racking the rents of houses and lands, p. 130, of which Crowley, Harrison, my *Ballads from MSS.* i., the *Supplications* (E. E. Text Soc.), &c. &c., complain so bitterly.

Of *Gluttony* (6) Lane says, p. 131, that it is allied to Lechery and Drunkenness:—

[1] Compare Laneham with the Ladies, in his *Letter* of 1575, p. 60 of my ed.

[2] Compare Andrew Boorde, and Harrison's *Description*, II. vii, p. 167, &c. Also Stubbes.

[3] Perhaps it's in the *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits*, Paris, 1562 (A. Boorde, p. 323).

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie 601
In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
To spend their substance vpon whorish mates. 604

Under *Lechery*, the seventh and last Deadly Sin, Lane's stanza 109, p. 132, evidently alludes to Shakspere's *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. He regrets the infection of the French disease, st. 110, p. 133, the wide-spread cuckoldry of his day, st. 113, and the 'light-taylde huswiues' showing and vaunting themselves in (?) Shakspere's Globe theatre, 'the Banke-sides round-house,' where in 1599—perhaps at its opening—he brought out his triumphant *Henry V.* Then Lane stops, not for want of further matter, st. 120, p. 135, but because his pen is dry. And he affirms, l. 713-14,

. . . . *Tom Teltroth* will not lie,
We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

(I pay for the present reprint of Lane and the extract from Pritchard or Rogers at the end of this volume.)

§ 3. Our third tract is by a reverencer of Bacon in his distress, a rollicking attorney and Welshman, Thomas Powell, who seems to have begun writing very bad serious poetry in 1598 and 1601, and then turnd to chaffing prose,—still intersperst with scraps of bad verse,—and divers professional handbooks, till he ended his career of authorship in 1631[1] with his *Tom of all Trades*, here reprinted.[2] My attention was first calld to the last-namd book during my inquiries into 'Education in Early England,'[3] by Warton's extract from it in his *History of English Poetry*, § 58, vol. iv, p. 304, note 3, ed. Hazlitt.[4]

There being no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and the second edition being conceald by its title, I waited till a visit to the Bodleian enabl'd me to read the book there; and I found it interesting enough to justify its reproduction here. As Powell was Shakspere's contemporary, his account of how fathers then pusht their sons and daughters on in life, tho' not publisht till 1631,

[1] He may of course have seen through the press some of the later editions of his *Attourneys Academy*, &c.

[2] There *may* have been two Thomas Powells. But as the one of 1603-1631 had both a serious and a humorous style in his prose, and in his verse in his prose-books, I see no sufficient reason for supposing that he is not the serious-style verse-writer of 1598-1601.

[3] See the Forewords to my *Babees Book*, E. E. Text Soc. 1868.

[4] I have also had copied for the Society, Edward Hake's *Touchstone for this time present*, 1574, for its bit about girls' education and amusements, partly quoted by Warton in the same note. But the rest of the book is preachy and dull.

covers Shakspere's time, and enables us to realize a bit of his fellow-countrymen's being. Our Member, Miss E. Phipson of Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke, kindly bears the cost of this Powell reprint.

Of Thomas Powell's first publication, *Loues Leprosie* (W. White, 1598), a quarto of ten leaves, only one copy is known, that of Mr Christie-Miller, at Britwell. It was reprinted by my friend Dr Rimbault for the Percy Society in his five "Ancient Poetical Tracts of the Sixteenth Century,[1] reprinted from unique copies formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Caldecott, Esq." 1842. The poem is on the death of Achilles, through his love for Priam's daughter Polyxena. Here are three extracts from it, on that love, on Achilles's fight with Troilus, and on Achilles's death from the arrow shot into his only vulnerable spot, his heel :—

"Achilles loues Polyxene : What is shee ?
The lyuing daughter of his enemie.
How shall he woe her, that hath wed another ?
How shall he winne her, that hath slaine her brother ?
His trophees and his triumphes she doth hate ;
In Hectors death his vallor liued too late ;
Liue blest in this, that thow art Orpheus brother :
Hee none of thine, nor Thetis is his mother."—p. 71.

"Well mounted and well met, they ioyne togeather
Like flowdes, whose rushing, cause tempestuous weather ;
And now their clattering shildes resemble thunder ;
The fire, a lightning when the cloudes do sunder :
Long did it thunder ere the heavens were bright ;
So long, that when it cleered, the day was night ;
A night perpetuall vnto Priams sonne ;
His horse was slaine, the day was lost and won ;
And heere each one might heare windes whispering sound,
When earst the drums their senses did confound ;
Troilus dethes chiefe conquest from the fielde ;
Wrapt in their colours, couered with their shielde,
They carry him to make the number more,
Whose bleeding sydes Achilles speare did gore."—p. 78.

"Foorthwith a marriage twixt them was concluded ;
Alas, that true loue should be so deluded !
The sunne is rose, sees Thetis sonne to fall
Vnder this false pretended nuptiall.
The Delphick oracle is now fulfilde,
'Eare Troy be wonne, Achilles must be kilde.'

[1] 1. The Doctrinall of good Servauntes. 2. The Boke of Mayd Emlyn. 3. The New Nutbrowne Mayd. 4. The Complaynt of a dolorous Louer. 5. Loues Leprosie.

This is the day wherein they surfet all,
With blood of his who made the Troians thrall;
And this the day wherein he did appease
Vnquiet soules, which earst could find no ease.
This day was nyght to him, and day to those
By whom vntimely death did heere repose.
His liues familliar starre doth shoote and gall,
The fairest starre the heauens weare gracte withall,
Euen when his steppes salute the temple porch
With hymmes, and Hymæn[e]us burning torch,
A shaft from Paris hand did soone disclose
Where Styx had kist him, and how high it rose.
Where the Stygian flood did neuer reach,
Deathes winged messenger did make a breach,
Whence from each veine the sacred breath descending,
Polyxens ioyes began, and his had ending.
Finis." p. 79.

Powell's second book, I have not seen. Mr Hazlitt believes that the unique copy from Heber's sale is at Britwell, and gives it as

"The Passionate Poet. With a Description of the Thracian Iemarus. By T. P. London, printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill, at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601. 4to. 26 leaves."

Of the third book, which is a very rare[1] black-letter quarto of 16 leaves, Mr Henry Huth has, with his unvarying kindness, lent me his copy. It is a tract written just before and just after Queen Elizabeth's death: 1. justifying the reasonableness of her dealing with Papists on the one hand, and Dissenters on the other (see the first two extracts on p. xviii, xix); 2. chaffily describing the effect produc't by the news of Elizabeth's death, the disturbances likely to arise from it, and the quieting of them by the happy proclamation of James I; 3. arguing that the Scotch and English are of like nature, and fit to form one nation; in this, the opposite of the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*,[2] and too of Andrew Boorde with his "Trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes; & all is falsholde:" see the amusing bits in my edition of Boorde (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 59, note 3, p. 135-8. The title of this third book is

[1] It was suppresst. Valentine Simmes was fined 13*s.* 4*d.* on Dec. 5, 1603, for printing it and a ballad. See p. 192, below.

[2] "there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men:" for, in short, the Englishmen are devils, and the Scotchmen are angels. But note Andrew Boorde's "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicion of a Scotysh man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man." p. 137.

A / WELCH BAYTE / to spare Prouender. / Or, / *A looking backe vpon the* / Times past. / Written Dialogue wise. / *This booke is diuided into three parts,* / The first, a briefe discourse of *Englands Securitie,* while her / late Maiestie was liuing, with the maner of her proceeding in / Gouernment, especially towards the Papists and Puritanes of / *England,* whereof a Letter written late before her death, speci-/fies, as followeth in this first part. / The second, A description of the Distractions during her / Maiesties sickenesse, with the composing of them. / The third, Of the Aptnesse of the English and the Scotte to / incorporate and become one entire Monarchie: with the / meanes of preseruing their vnion euerlastingly, added there-/vnto. [*Scroll.*] Printed at London by Valentine Simmes. / 1603.

The extracts above referrd to, p. xvii, on Elizabeth's treatment of Romanists and Dissenters follow:—

"But when about the twentieth yeare of hir raigne shee had discouered in the King of *Spaine* an intention to inuade hir dominions, and that a principall point of the plotte was to prepare a partie with in the realme that might adhere to the forreiner, and that the Seminaries began to blossome, and to send forth dayly, priests and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subiects from their obedience, yea and binde many of them to attempt against her Maiesties sacred person, and that by the poyson which they spred, the humors of most *Papists* were altered, and that they were no more *Papists* in conscience and of Softenes, but *Papists* in faction; then were there newe lawes made for the punishment of such as should submitte them selues to such reconcilements or renuntiations of obedience; And because it was a treason carried in the clowdes and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldome to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusancie to come to diuine seruice: Because it was sette downe by their decrees, That, *To come to Church before reconcilement, was to liue in schisme;* But, *To come to Church after reconcilement, was absolutely hereticall and damnable,*

Therefore there were added Lawes containing punishment *pecuniarie* against such Recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impouerish the meanes of those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no.

And when, notwithstanding all this prouision, this poyson was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no meanes to stay it but by restraining the Merchants that brought it in,

Then lastly, was there added a Lawe whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled; and those that were at that time within the land shipped ouer, and so commanded to keepe hence, vpon paine of treason.

[sign. B 4, bk] This hath beene the proceeding, though intermingled,

not only with sundrie examples of hir Maiesties grace towards such as in her wisdome she knewe to be *Papists* in Conscience, and not in Faction and Singularitie; but also with an ordinarie mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree conuicted by lawe: If they would but protest, that if in case this realme should be inuaded with a forreine armie by the Popes authoritie, for the Catholique cause, (as they terme it) they would take part with hir Maiestie, and not adhere to hir enemies.

For the other part which haue bin offensiue to the State, though in other degree, which name themselues *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritanes;* this hath bin the proceeding towards them.

A great while when they inueighed against such abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities*, *Nonresidence* & the like; their zeale was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured.

When they refused the vse of some ceremonies and rites, as superstitions, they were tollerated with much conniuence, and gentlenes: Yea, when they called in question the Superioritie of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracie* into the church; Yet, their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrarie writing, debated, and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceiued that their course was dangerous, and very popular; as, because *Papistrie* was odious, therefore it was euer in their mouthes, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of *Papistrie;* a thing acceptable to the people, who loue euer to run from one extreame, to another.

Because multitude of Rogues, and Pouertie were an eye-soare, and dislike to euerie man, therefore they put it into the peoples head: That, if Discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds, nor beggers (a thing very plausible,) and in like manner, they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline.

Besides, they opened the people a way to gouernment by their *Consistorie*, and *Præsbyterie*, a thing though in consequence no lesse præiudiciall to the liberties of priuate men, then to the soueraignty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular. Neuerthelesse all this (exept it were in some few that entered into extreame contempts) was borne, because they pretended but in dutifull maner to make propositions, and to leaue it to the prouidence of God, and the authoritie of the Magistrate.

But now of late yeares, when there issued from them, as it were a Colonie of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when vnder pretence of a confession, to auoide slaunders and imputations, they combined themselues by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile & base meanes of defacing the gouernment of the Church by rediculous *Pasquils* [1]; When they beganne to make many subiects in doubt to

[1] The Martin Marprelate controversy began in 1589.

take an oath, which is one of the fundamentall parts of Iustice in this Land and in all places; When they beganne both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partizans, and followers, and to vse communications that their cause would preuaile, though with vproare and violence; Then it appeared to be no more zeale, no more conscience, but meere faction and deuision: And therefore though the State was compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restraine them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church & State could permitte.

And therefore, Sir, (to conclude,) consider vprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Maiestie is no temporizer in religion; she builds not religion vpon policie, but policie vpon religion; It is not the successe abroade, nor the change of seruants here at home can alter her; onely as the things themselues alter, so she applieth hir religious wisdome to correspond vnto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, & yet in discouering Faction from Conscience, & Softnes from Singularitie. Farewell.

Your louing friend
T. P."

The *Welch Bayte* is dedicated by Powell to Shakspere's patron, Lord Southampton, but oddly makes no allusion to that Lord's being set free from the Tower on James I.'s accession. He was committed there for his share in Essex's rebellion in Feb. 1600-1. Perhaps lines 2 and 4 below mean that his committal was unjust.

[sign. A, back] A Prelude vppon the name of Henry VVriothesly *Earle of* South-hampton.

Euer.

WHoso beholds this Leafe, therein shall reede,
A faithfull subiects name, he shall indeede;
The grey-eyde morne in noontide clowdes may steepe,
But traytor and his name shall neuer meete.

Neuer.

[sign. A 2] To the right Honorable *Henry Wri*othesly *Earle of* South-hampton Baron of Tichfield: and of the Noble Order of the Garter.

LEt golden artists practize quaint imposture,
And study to a semblance of perfection,
Let Leopers sweate to shew the world their moisture,
We study not to Patrones for direction:

Vnlesse the Honor that my lines shall owe,
Can both protect vs, and approoue them too.

And such is thine, whose beames of Patronage
Doe heate alike in Iudgement, and in blood,
Both, with pure fires deriu'd from parentage,
Preserued in the Arke of Fortunes flood,
When Neptune, *and the sea gods did abette,*
With Cynthia *in her fullest veines aspect.*

Thou wholesome Honour, Chaste Nobilitie,
Be in protection mine, as Generous,
Without distent though all thy auncestrie:
It was thy wont, Thou canst not erre in vs:
And for the Test sufficeth me to know;
Thy Iudgement best deserues my lines to owe.

Your Lordshippes
In all the nerues of my ability,
Tho: Powell.

At the end of the *Welch Bayte* are 8 lines of verse 'To the vnparaleld blesst disposition, *The Lady* Elizabeth Bridges'; two 6-line stanzas 'To the noble Gentleman, Sir Thomas Kneuet'; and one stanza of 6 'To the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Dyer.' The book's signatures are A 1. 2; B, C, D, in fours, E 1, 2.

Though Powell's notions of girls' education are not ours,

"Instead of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie: And instead of reading in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery.* I like not a female poetesse at any hand":

yet no doubt Mrs Wm Shakspere shar'd them. Powell was a practical, sharp, business man, with a gift of racy speech. He was evidently a searcher of Records—see his book on them, and his advice to a father, p. 143 below, and specially his proposal to search the Wills Office for grants to charitable uses. I hope his readers will take to him somewhat.

The fourth book of Powell's was a professional one of 78 pages, whose title is overleaf:—

DIRECTION FOR SEARCH OF RECORDS

Remaining in the CHANCERIE, TOWER, EXCHEQUER, with the *Limnes* thereof: *viz.*

The
- Kings *Remembrancer.*
- Lord Treasurers *Remembrancer.*
- Clarke of the *Extreats.*
- *Pipe.*
- *Auditors.*

The
- *First Fruits.*
- Augmentation of the *Reuenue.*
- Kings *Bench.*
- Common *Pleas.*
- Records of Courts *Christian.*

For the clearing of all such *Titles*, and *Questions*, *as the same may concerne.*

With the accustomed Fees of Search: And *diuerse necessarie Obseruations.*

Cui Author
THOMAS POWELL, *Londino-Cambrenſis.*

—— —— *Cum tonat ocyus Ilex*
Sulphure discutitur sacro, quam tuque, domusque.

LONDON,
Printed by B. A. for *Paul Man*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Chancerie* Lane, at the Signe of the *Bowle*; or in *Distaffe* Lane, at the Signe of the *Dolphin*. 1622.

Powell's fifth book is a merry one of 34 leaves:

Wheresoeuer you see mee, / Trust vnto your selfe. / Or, / THE MYSTERIE / OF LENDING / AND / *BORROWING.* / *Seria Jocis*: / Or, / The Tickling Torture. /—*Dum rideo, veh mihi risu.* / *By* THOMAS POVVEL, / London-Cambrian. / [4 *bits of old ornament.*] LONDON, / Printed for *Beniamin Fisher*, and are / to be sold at his shop in *Pater-noster-row*, / at the signe of the *Talbot*. / 1623

It is a chaffy rollicking description of the different kinds of Borrowers—Courtier, Inns-of-Court man, Country Gentleman, and Citizen—and Lenders, Debtors' places of refuge, and debtors' shifts to avoid payment. (For the 2nd edition, see below, p. xxvi.)

Here is the beginning of how the Courtier handles the Citizen he wants to borrow money of, p. 3:—

"*The Courtiers method followes.*

First he invites his Creditor, to a dish of Court-Ling, with Masculine mustard plenty.

Then shewes him the priuie lodgings and the new banquetting house.

Perhaps the Robes next.

Then the great Magolls tent in the Wardrobe: And so much serues for the first meeting, and to procure an appetite to the second.

To the second Meeting our Creditor is summoned, and brings behinde him his wife, like to a broken wicker glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the Masking roome.

Whereat the Courtiers skill in deliuering of the Maskers names, vnder their seuerall disguises, did purchase an euerlasting and indissoluble citie-consanguinitie with his female charge, ouer whom, the more sleepy hir spouse, the more vigilant was my cousen courtier.

And now he hath made his partie strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take vp of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee deuised for such like vse and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and inlarging of his credit, our Courtier pretends how he has receiued newes that his feign'd kinred is very sicke; and thereupon a takes occasion (in stead of venison) to send her a bottle of that famous and farre fetcht *frontineack:* He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there in a cursorie way of commending the art of man, in matter of Manufacture, he falls by chance vpon the remembrance of an extraordinarie stuffe, which hee saw a great personage weare lately in Court, not doubting but that his cousens [the Creditor or citizen's] shop did afford the like: His purpose was to haue a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by for him till his moneyes came in: Yet with a very little intreaty so cleanly exprompted, he

was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish foreman vnawares before his returne.

Giue vs old Ale, and booke it,
O giue vs old Ale, and booke it:
And when you would haue your money for all,
My cousen may chance to looke it."

This larky book of Powell's was followd by his sober sixth :—

The / Attourneys Academy: / *or*, / The Manner and / forme of proceeding practically, vpon / any Suite, Plaint, or Action whatsoeuer, in any / Court of Record whatsoeuer, within / this Kingdome: / especially, / in the Great Courts at / *Westminster*, to whose motion all other Courts of / Law or Equitie; as well those of the two Pro-/uinciall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall / *London;* as Those of like Cities / and Townes Corporate, And / all other of Record are diur-/nally moued: / *With the Moderne and most vsuall Fees of the* / Officers and Ministers of such Courts. / Published by his Maiesties speciall priuiledge, / and / Intended for the publique benefit of all / His Subiects. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.* / Tho: Powell / *Londino-Cambrensis.* / London, / Printed for *Beniamin Fisher:* and are to be sold at his / Shop in *Pater-noster* Row, at the signe of the / *Talbot*: 1623.

This is a regular Attorney's Handbook, dedicated to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England," and with a second dedication which does credit to Powell :—

"To / trve Nobilitie / and tryde Learning, / beholden / To no Mountaine for Eminence / nor Supportment for his Height, / Francis, Lord *Verulam*, and / Viscount S^t^ *Albanes.*

O Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good *Seneca*, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I receiued at thy reading:
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe again.

The same
THOMAS POWELL."

There were later editions in 1630, 1647, &c. Then came in 1627, Powell's seventh book, a professional one in 72 leaves:

The / Attornies / Almanacke, / Provided / & / desired / For the generall ease and daily vse of all / such as shall haue occasion to remoue any / Person, Cause or record, from an / inferiour Court to any the / higher Courts at / *Westminster.* / By THOMAS POWELL. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita* / *exitus.*

London. / Printed by B. A. and T. F. for *Ben: Fisher*, and are to / be sold at his Shop at the signe of the *Talbot* without / *Aldersgate.* 1627.

Next appeard, in 1631, his eighth book, to which he did not put his name, as not half of it was his own work. The title is given by Mr Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, 1876,[1] as

"The Repertorie of Records: remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt side at Westminster [and] the two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a briefe introductiue Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tower: whereby to giue the better Direction to the Records abouesaid. As also a most exact Calendar of all those Records of the Tower: in which are contayned and comprised whatsoeuer may giue satisfaction to the Searcher for Tenure or Tytle of any thing. London, Printed by B. Alsop and F. Fawcet for B. Fisher, &c. 1631.

4to, A—Ee in fours, first leaf blank."

"Dedicated in verse 'To the Vnknowne Patron,' which is followed by a leaf with a somewhat enigmatical heading 'To the same Patron the great Master of this Mysterie Our Author payeth this in part of a more Summe due.' There is also a prose address to the Reader, in which Powell gives some account of the circumstances attending the publication."

Powell says he first thought of dedicating his book to Mercurie, who'd inspir'd him to write a bit of verse again, but as he can't find a Patron, he dedicates it to an unknown one, whom Mercury is to find out. The address to the Reader follows:—

To the Reader.

IT may be obiected vnto me, that the collation of these things, is not all made vp and digested into this fabrique of mine owne materials and structure, and I doe ingenuously confesse it: Seeing the Foure Treasuries [p. 17—120] were collected by Mr. *Agard*, his priuate notes, a man very industrious and painfull in that kind[2]; and one who had continual recourse vnto the most, & custody of many of the rest of the same: And the latter Callender of the Records of the Tower [? p. 211—217], came to my hands from an Author vnknowne, euen as the Printer was drawing the last sheet of the precedent worke from the Presse. I was content to giue it wharfage, and to let it be layd on shore with the rest, but very vnwillingly; because I had no conuenient roome left where to dispose it, without blaming of my Methode, in that it was not layd

[1] Mr Hazlitt also notes that "Verses signed *T. P.* are attached to Ford's *Fames Memoriall*, 1606."

[2] See his collections in the Public Record Office.—F.

in his proper place, with the rest, that is, vnder the Title of the Tower, in the first Station: whereof I hope an equall censure, ever resting

Sub rostro Cycanič.

The book is a 4to of 217 pages, besides Title and four pages of dedication, and describes where the Records are, what bundles of them, &c. are in the several rooms, and what Countries and places some of them refer to. Here's a short extract:—

"*And now to the foure Treasuries.*

The first is, the Treasurie of the Court of Receipt. In which are Two of the ancientest Bookes of Records in this Kingdome: made in William the Conquerours time, called *Doomes-day.*

The one Booke in Quarto, containing the Description or Suruey of Essex, Norfolke, and Suffolke.

The other in Folio, being the like, for all the Shires in England, from Cornwall, to the Riuer of Tyne.

Here is a Booke called the blacke Booke, made in Henry the seconds time, *De necessarijs Sca*[*ca*]*rij observandis:* And in the same, are the Oathes and Admittances of Officers inrolled, and other Notes of some consequence." [and so on].

This was followd by his 9th work, the last I find under his name, his *Tom of all Trades* printed below, p. 137—175. In 1635 came out a second edition of both his *Tom of all Trades* and earlier *Mysteries of Lending and Borrowing*, in one little volume with the following title, no doubt written by himself:—

The Art of Thriving. / Or, / The plaine pathway to / Preferment. / Together with / The Mysterie and Misery / of *Lending* and *Borrowing.* Consider it seriously. / Examine it judiciously. / Remember it punctually. / And thrive accordingly. / [by Thos. Powell, Gent. *in MS.*] Published for the common / good of all sorts &c / London, / Printed by *T. H.* for *Benjamin* / *Fisher*, and are to be solde at his shop / at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-/gate street. 1635. [120 pages: at p. 121 a fresh title,]

The / Mistery / and / Misery / of / Lending / and / Borrowing / By / Tho: Powel, *Gent.* / London: / Printed by *Thomas Harper* for / *Benjamin Fisher*, and are to be / sold at his shop in Aldersgate / streete at the signe of the / Talbot. 1636. [p. 121—254.]

Of the Sir Edward Hales whom Powell praises so warmly in his Dedication to his *Tom of all Trades*, the Rev. W. S. Scott Robertson of Sittingbourne sends me the following account:

"Sir Edward Hales was the first of his name at Tunstall.[1] He

[1] "I come now to speak of the Hales, present lords of Tunstall, a family of

was originally of Tenterden, but marrying the Harlackenden heiress, of Woodchurch, he removed to her seat. He was created a baronet in 1611. After the death of his first wife he married the widow (*née* Martha Carew) of Sir James Cromer of Tunstall, and removed thither. Sir James Cromer died in 1613, and left no son. One of his three daughters, Christian, the youngest, who inherited Tunstall, married Sir Edward Hales's eldest son John, and thus the Hales family became fixed at Tunstall. John Hales died in his father's lifetime, but his son Edward,[1] who was born about 1626, ultimately succeeded his grandfather Sir Edward.

"The first baronet, with whom your author Thomas Powell was so pleased, died in 1654, and was buried in Tunstall Church. The present representative of the family is Miss Hales of Hales Place, Canterbury, whose name figured in the statements of the claimant to the Tichborne estates. She has very recently sold her Tunstall property."

great antiquity; but as their interest here is not of so long standing, I shall go no higher than the last century, beginning with

"*Sir Edward Hales*, Knight, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet 1611; he served in several parliaments, and took part with those that raised the rebellion against king Charles I. He died October 6th, 1634, aged 78.* This is he for whom the noble monument in Tunstall church was erected with his effigies in full proportion cut in marble. His wives were Deborah, da. and heir of Martin Lackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., and Martha the relict of Sir James Crowmer.

"*John*, the eldest son of Sir Edward, by Deborah his first lady, married Christian, the youngest of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Crowmer aforesaid; and by this marriage was Tunstall brought into the family of Hales. This John died in the life-time of his father, and left issue *Sir Edward Hales*, baronet, a zealous royalist, who in his younger years risqued his person and fortune in the cause, insomuch that he was forced to abscond and live beyond the seas on account of the great debts he had contracted for the king's service. He died in France some years after the Restoration." From the 'History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent.' By Ed. Rowe Mores, printed in Nichols's Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. i. pp. 33, 34. (Mores died in 1778, this History was publisht in 1780.)

"This Sir Edward Hales was a commissioner for the survey of Aldington in 1608, Sheriff of Kent in a year between 1611 and 1620, and M.P. for Kent in a Parliament preceding the Long Parliament."—Furley's *History of the Weald of Kent*, Ashford, 1874, vol. ii. Pt. II. pp. 522, 602.

[1] Sir Edward Hales, the third of that name, but the first baronet, of Tenterden, Kent, was knighted, and on June 29, 1611, was created a Baronet. He was twice married, first to Deborah, only daughter and heir of Martin Herlackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons, viz. John his eldest son,

* See the cp. ded. to Powell's *Tom of all Trades*. Lond. 1631, 4to.

§ 4. The last piece in the present volume, "*The Glasse of Godly Loue*, Wherein all married couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures,"—I was tempted to add because it made a kind of Appendix to the *Tell-troth* tract of 1593, and because it was part of a thin treatise belonging to me, that Mr Hazlitt believes to be unique, but which is unluckily imperfect. It is undated, but is printed by Richard Jones, who took up his freedom of the Stationers' Company on the 7th of August 1564 (Arber's *Transcript*, I. 278), had one press in May 1583 (ib. 248), and printed till 1600. Whether the *Glasse* is by Thomas Pritchard,[1] the writer of the first part of the volume, or I[ohn] R[ogers] who seems to have written the second part, I cannot tell. It follows the I. R. Discourse. The title-page of Pritchard's tract is on p. xxix, opposite.

§ 5. I have now but to thank the Librarian of Peterborough Cathedral for trusting his unique 1593 *Tell-troth* to me; Mr Henry Huth for his loan of Powell's *Welch Bayte;* Mr W. G. Stone of Walditch for so kindly making the Contents, Notes, and Index to this volume; Miss E. Phipson for paying for *Tom of all Trades*, and our friend who hides his name, for his gift of the first *Tell-troth* reprint.

F. J. Furnivall.

3, *St. George's Square, London, N.W.*
July 11, 1876.

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who married Christian one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Jas. Cromer, knt., and in her right became possessed of the manor of Tunstall and other large estates, and died in his [father's] life-time; his other children were Edward, Samuel, Thomas, and a da. Christian. His second wife was Martha, da. of Sir Mathew Carew, and relict of Sir Jas. Cromer. He died Oct. 6, 1654, in his 78th year, is buried in Tunstall Church. His grandson Edward (son of his eldest son John) succeeded him; this Edward was about 13 years of age at his father's death in 1639. "He succeeded his grandfather in title and estate in 1654; but being most zealously attached to the royal cause, he risqued his fortune as well as his person, in the support of it; by which means he ruined the former, and was obliged on that account to abandon his native country, to which he never afterwards returned, but died in France soon after the restoration of K. Charles II." He was one of the three who escaped with James II. in 1688. Abstract taken from Hasted's History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 576.

[1] On '1628, July 9, Thom. Prichard of Jesus College,' Oxford, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, pt. 1 (*Athenæ*, vol. ii.), col. 443, ed. Bliss. But I do not suppose that this is our T. Pritchard.

THE SCHOOLE

of honeſt and vertuous lyfe:

Profitable and necessary for all eſtates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the *yonger ſorte, of both kindes, bee they men or* Women. by T. P.

Also, a laudable and learned Diſcourſe, of the worthyneſſe of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aſwell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their singuler instruction, *to chooſe them vertuous and honeſt* Husbandes:

But (moſt ſpecially) ſent writtē as a Iewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By *her approoued freend and* kinſemen. I. R.

Imprinted at London by *Richard Johnes, and are to* be ſolde at his ſhop ouer againſt S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate.

Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift

Beeing

Robin Good-fellowes newes out of thoſe Countries, where inhabites neither Charity nor honeſty.

With his owne Inuectiue againſt Ieloſy.

LONDON
Imprinted by Robert Bourne.
1593.

Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift. [sig. A 2]

IMarry, ſir, now you looke as if you expected newes: me thinks I ſee your eares open to heare what Robin good fellow will tel you; & becauſe your deſire ſhal not be altogether fruſtrate, you ſhal, if you will, be ſomewhat the wiſer before you goe. I am aſſured it is not ſtale; and were you as long in reading of it, as the Senators haue bene in agreeing vppon it, I know you would craue many baetes before you had paſſed the mainger. But behold, they had the paine, and you may haue the pleaſure; and I am glad that it was my fortune to meete with it; and doubtleſſe it was a great haſſard, that a worſer carrier had not hapned on it. For thus it fel out: walking towards Iſlington in a froſty morning, I by chaunce lighted into the company of a boone companion, that ſeemed no leſſe pleaſing in ſhew, then he prooued in ſubſtaunce. A merry mate hee was, and matched with one of his owne minde, a ſimple fellow, that marchinge vnder the habbite of true meaninge, tels all that he ſees, and euery thing he thinkes to be true: *Tell-troth* is my name, and you may truſt me if you will, for I aſſure you, that he that crediteth me moſt, ſhall not ſpeede worſt. We two matches mated by good fortune, *Robin good-fellow* the one, who neuer did worſe harme then correct manners, and made diligent maides: and I, *Tell troth*, the other, who euer haue beene a ſworne enemy to laſye lurdens, and a profeſſed foe to *Iack No-body*: no ſooner ſettinge our eyes, the one on the other, but knew each others conditions, falling forthwith into familiarity. And it being my hap to enquire firſt from whence hee came, hee made it not ſcrupulous to certifie his comming from hell, a place (ſayde hee) that is odious, and yet to none but to them that feare it: Mary (qd. hee) *Robin good-fellow*, that could go inuiſible from [1]his infancy, had it by nature giuen [1 sig. A 2, back]

him, that he ſhould bee ſubiect to no inferiour power whatſoeuer, either ruling or inhabiting vnder the higheſt elemente, with a generall priuiledge to ſearch euery corner, and enter any caſtell to a good purpoſe. By libertye of which pattente, I croſſed the riuer *Stix* in *Carons* boat without his leaue, giuinge him a patt on his drowſie pate for my paſſage. And from him vnknowne, I came to *Cerberus* (that Lubberly Porter), who was makinge faſte of the brand gates, which were faine to bee opened, that the greate *Magog* with his companye that were ſummoned to the Parliamente, might enter without interruption. He heard my trampling, and therefore asked who was there? but when I would not aunſweare, he thought it was *Lelaps* his curre, bidding him to lie downe, and ſo likewiſe I eaſely entred the dungion. To tell what I there ſaw, were no newes: becauſe it hath beene tolde by ſo many, whereof ſoome of them haue not reported amiſſe. But going on to the mercileſſe pallace, the gates ſtoode wide open, ſo that any might enter ther without controlement. With in the great Hall whereof, were aſſembled the whole ſociety of bad company, a generall conuocation beeing called about the deciding of many matters which were not altogether perfected. There was a greate thronge, and no little ſturre, the ſeuerall billes of complainte which were there exhibited of many matters, beeing ſo many, as they would require an age to rehearſe them, eſpecially ſeeing this one matter wherof my newes conſiſteth, was a hearing and deciding ſeauen yeares.

But to come to the matter, all the worſt diuels being placed in their orders according to their cuſtome (which is needleſſe to ſet downe, for that I hope there is none heere that euer meane to be partakers of any of their Offices) the Speaker vttered an Oration that would haue made a maſtie to haue broke his collor with girning thereat, declaringe what a continuall profite Ieloſie, aboue all other vices, brought to that place, praiſinge ſo highly the commodity thereof as, in his diueliſh iudgement, hell would be paſſinge beggerly without that helpe. Manifeſtinge how eaſely mens and womens mindes were
[1 sig. A 3] drawn to all cor[1]ruption thereby, with ſuch a dilatinge narration as neuer an Orator in hell could haue ſpoken more. After the finiſhinge of whoſe fuſtie framed ſpeech, there was a queſt of enquiry called, whoſe forman deliuered a whole bundell of ſcroles and papers,

wherein were ſett downe the cauſes that helped Ieloſie, with the meanes that hindered the ſame, as alſo the kindes thereof, with ſeuerall complaintes made both by men and women that were vexed with the like. The which I will, quoth Robin, deliuer vnto thee if thou ſo wilt: whereof, I beeing wonderfull deſirous, for *Mens hominis nouitatis auida,* hee went on with it as followeth.

Parents f[or]ced loue a cause of Ielosy.

The firſt cauſe (quoth he) is a conſtrained loue, when as parentes do by compulſion coople two bodies, neither reſpectinge the ioyning of their hartes, nor hauinge any care of the continaunce of their wellfare, but more regardinge the linkinge of wealth and money together, then of loue with honeſty: will force affection without liking, and cauſe loue with Ieloſie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or elſe matche them with inequallity, ioyning burning ſommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder, to rich cormorants of threeſcore or vpwards. Whereby, either the diſlike that likely growes with yeares of diſcretion engendereth diſloyalty in the one, or the knowledge of the others diſability leades him to Ieloſie.

Rob. Goo[d-] fellowes digres-sion. The natu[re] of the Sw[anne] is, that at such time[as] he sees an vnconstan[t] tricke to b[e] perfourme[d] by his fem[ale.] he neuer s the Swan commit the fault her vn-e hath d him & he bee-laine, he es the with his own e.

What is the cauſe of ſo many houſholde breaches, deuorcements, and continuall diſcontentmentes, but vnnaturall diſagreementes by vnmutuall contractes? Will the Turtel change while her mate is true, or the Swanne be cruell as long as his female is loyall? If there be diſloyalty betweene mates linked by their owne election (as doubtleſſe there is), how can vnconſtancy be condemned in thoſe that neuer had that liberty? were the hart as ſubiect to the law as the body is, I would thinke ſuch marriages lawfull, but ſince the one hath liberty, when the other is in captiuity, I know, *Tell troth,* (quoth *Robin*) it will not ceaſe to ſeeke reuenge for his bodies ſlauery, vnleſſe grace [1] correcteth, by ſhewinge what the law of God forbiddeth. Pretious iewels are choſen, and deere thinges loued; but at what price are thoſe rated at which are eaſely obtained? Doubtleſſe at ſo low a reckoninge as pipple ſtones are, in compariſon of pearles; the one had without coſt or trauell, and the other not to be obtained without both. A leſſon learned with ſtroakes, ſtaies with the ſcholler, when a ſentence read without regarde, is not ſo ſoone in at one eare, as out at the other: And loue gained with ſighes &

[1 sig. A 3, back]

ſlightes encreaſeth, when obtained otherwiſe, it ſoone decayeth. *Durum pati meminiſſe dulce*, & an ounce of pleaſure ſtolne with feare of a pound of vnreſt, makes vs ſtill to thinke on the ſweeteneſſe of loue, and all wayes to be ſtriuing to continue it, when the contrary will procure lighte regarde thereof. How farre more delightſome is ſtolne veniſon to him that hath inough, then his owne? And how pleaſant is that meat in taſte which is dainty? Thinges farre fetchte and deere boughte, are good for Ladies: and trifles will often better content then treaſure. The Diuels crye for miſlike, but who beares the brunt of it? The feete that flie from it, not the head that bredd the baite; the man can prouide for himſelfe, when the poore woman is voide of all ſuccour, and he will haue a cloake to hide his miſery when ſhe ſhall want a cap to couer her[1] extremitye. She muſt beare the lumpes and lowres; if happily ſhe eſcapes the blowes, the biting[2] woordes, if not worſe, euen cruell hart-breakinges and back-beatinges. Thus ſhall the Fathers couetuouſnes be cauſe of the childes vndooing, and his harts-eaſe beginning of her woe, and ende of her happineſſe: his likinge meeting with her loathing, which ſhall vndoe her by Ielowſy. Hath God by an inſtinct of nature ingrafted loue ſo farre forth in vnreaſonable creatures, as they doo not onelye chooſe their mates (as all creatures doe), but liue faithfullye to them, and conſtantly with them, ſo longe as life endureth; and ſhall that priuiledge be taken from man-kinde, whome onely he hath endowed with reaſon and diſcretion? The birdes bringe vpp the yong, vntill they can ſhift for themſelues, and then giues them leaue to vſe their liberty: the beaſtes of the fielde haue the ſelfe[3] ſame freedome, and the fiſhes in the Sea, no other reſtrainte; onely man is iniurious vnto himſelfe, by vnnaturall vſage of his deereſt bloud. They care for their children vntill they be paſt care: and euen then themſelues freed from that charge, they bring their young ones to a greater croſſe: geuing them ſorrow for their pleaſure, and vnreſt in ſteede of hartes eaſe. They doe not matche them with the mates their childrens eies haue choſen, but with the men their owne greedy deſire haue found out: little fore-thinking of their childrens after-greeuinge, and their owne repenting. They regard not now a dayes the old ſayinge of the wiſe man, *I had rather haue a man then mony*, but teſtify by their doinges that they eſteeme more of wealth then of

[1 *orig.* his]

[2 *orig.* bting]

[3 leaf A 4]

Men [make] themsel[ues] vnnatur[al] to their[chil-] dren by t[heir] matches

humanity. They forget what themſelues haue beene, and will not remember what themſelues haue done. Their coueteouſneſſe choaketh their charity, and their worldly care keepeth em[1] for knowinge diuinity. They abhorre and grow mad to heare their children entreat for the maides that pleaſe them, or for the men their ſoules loue, but tirant like they ſay, *ſic volo ſic iubeo, ſtet pro ratione voluntas:* I like him, and thou ſhalt haue him; loue this man or I will loath thee. This effecte hath coueteouſneſſe in the father; and beholde what diſcontentmente it worketh in the childe.

[1 *orig.* keepe them. for = from.]

He or ſhee by duety is bound to their Parentes commaundement, and for feare of their diſpleaſure are linked to continuall miſery. What ſaith the huſband to the wife, but, this was thy fathers worke, to winne me by his mony; and ſince hee hath his will with the want of my weale, I wil not liue alone in ſorrow, but[2] will make thee taſte of the ſame ſauce. Thy Father hath his, and why ſhould I not haue mine? So ſaith he, and ſo fareth ſhee: hee inuentes meanes to make her mourne, and leaues no practiſe vntried, which is like to procure her miſery. They liue in one houſe, as two ennemies lie in the field: their habitation being ſeuered, like twoo campes that bee ready for battell. Hauocke is made lauiſhly, of that their fathers gathered corruptly, that either being ſpente laſciuiouſly in the company of ſtran[3]gers, or licentiouſly in controuerſies at law. So great [4]miſchiefe ariſeth of coueteouſneſſe in matches of matrimonye. Touching the ſaluing of which ſore, it is moſt requiſite that the children ſhould haue their free liberty in likinge, as the fathers haue had theirs in chooſing. For as thoſe matches are beſt, wher there is a mutuall agreement betweene parentes and their children, ſo do thoſe for the moſt part loue beſt, that haue the priuiledge of chooſinge for themſelues. My cheefeſt reaſon may bee drawne from contentment in loue, which is ſatisfied with any thinge, according to the ſaying, *Loue hath no lacke;* and my old leſſon, *Selfe do, ſelfe haue,* makes the patient often not to complaine of a great ſore, when an other will cry out for no harme. Experience hath beſt diſplayed it to ſome: and common reaſon cannot but make it knowne to all. For who that hath done him ſelfe an iniury will complaine thereof, for feare of beeing [5]accompted a foole? Or what woman that hath burnte her finger will blame others for the deede done by her ſelfe?

[2 *orig.* bnt]

[3 an- *orig.* au-]

[4 leaf A 4, back]

[5 acc- *orig.* arc-]

You might haue tooke better heede, and *It was your owne fault,* are two ſhrode plaſters for a greene wound: and the minds of men are beſt pleaſed with their owne thoughts, & women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes. When a woman diſtruſtes of any helpe to come from any part-taker, ſhee will bee glad to pleaſe hir huſband, & they two falling foorth, ſhe (hauing none to maine-taine her in her pride) will bee contented to reconcile her ſelfe vnto him by kinde ſubmiſſion. And where a louing kiſſe will ſaue a great deale of coſt, if there it bee not vſed, mony cannot be better beſtowed then in buying wit to ſaue the next charges. But how now, *Robin!* thou haſt beene ouer longe in thy digreſſion. I haue indeede, and therfore, frend *Tell-troth,* I returne to my matter.

Indiscreete gouernment the second cause of Ielosy.

A ſecond cauſe of Ielocy ſpringeth from indiſcretion in gouern-ment, which is either in one or both of them *that* are linked together in mariage, neither of them hauing reaſon to knowe what belonges to either, or neither of them diſcretion rightly to correct what is amiſſe in either. Loue will bee too wanton vnleſſe he be whipped with ruſhes, and ouer dull if his winges be clipped; giue him his [1 sig. B] liberty, and he will runne at randum; [1] ſhut him vp in priſon, and he will be ſtarke mad; ſo that gentle correction muſt barre his liberty, and mild chaſticement preuent his madneſſe; a wanton toung be-wraies a laſciuious hart, and by the vttraunce of the toung, wicked thoughts are manyfeſted; therfore, either to gaze laſciuiouſly, or to ſpeake wantonly, may moue Ielloſy. Modeſty in a young woman is as a garland of wheat in a ioyfull harueſt; and diſcretion in a man like an oliue braunch after long diſcention: ſhe honoureth her huſ-band with a ſigne ot happineſſe, and he contentes his wife with a pledge of loue; by his wiſdome hee teacheth her knowledge, and by her obedience ſhe makes him glad; his correction is as a warme cup of drinke to a cold ſtomake, and her reformation as a ſonne-ſhine daye after much raine. Peace flouriſheth where wiſdome ruleth, and ioy raigneth where modeſty directeth. To pleaſe the harte of a huſ-bande, is to ioyne vnity with the whole world; and to be in the loue and fauour of a wife is a freedome from much care; wiſdome there-fore in men to gouerne their common wealths, and modeſtie in women, are of no ſmall meanes to continue vnity, and deſtroy Ielloſy.

Another cauſe is cauſeleſſe diſcontentment, when the man will lowre without occaſion, and the woman fret, not knowing any reaſon, and eſpecially when either of them wil oppoſe them ſelues againſt other, and both of them maintaine their hartes pride: when a man will finde fault without cauſe, or a woman complaine of two much eaſe, it ſhowes a troubled minde and breeds ſuſpect. He that cannot be merry at home, goes about to perſwade hee will be mad abroad; and ſhee that lowers on her huſband when he comes home, ſhowes ſhe had as liue haue his roome as his company: where loue is, there is no thought of battell; and there, what abſence hath hurt, preſence will heale. A kind and louing wife forgetteth all vnkindneſſe by the ſight of her beſt beloued, as a child doth the correction of his mother by the receipt of an apple from her; and a diſcreete huſband is no longer diſpleaſed then a fault is a doing. Contentment is an excellent ſauce to eury diſh, and pleaſantneſſe a ſinguler portion to preuent miſchiefe: the head is neuer[1] euill; but either it is [2]pleaſantly diſpoſed or knauiſhly occupied. A merry countenance is a ſigne of contentment, but froward wordes are meſſenger of melancholly. In what the hart delighteth, with that it is beſt pleaſed; and harde it is to hault before a creppell. A frowne lodeth, and a ſmile lightneth; to frowne therefore kindly, is a barre to Iellocy: but loading crabbedly, men vndoe themſelues ſpeedily.

Cauſes d[is]contentme[nt] the third.

[1 *orig.* nener]

[2 sig. B, back]

Many men delighting in much company, cannot be contented to follow their deſire abroad by vſing new familiarity, but wil bring daily grief vnto their houſes, as little regarding their diſpoſitions with whome they ioyne frendſhip, as the occaſions that may be offered of diſlike by after repentings; ſo that following their pleaſure in ſatisfieng that humor, they fall afterwards into a worſe vaine, being ſuſpitious of ouer much familiarity to haue crept with their acquaintance, and doubtful leaſt their copeſmates are matched with them in their darlinges boſomes. When they will begin ſo to watch their wiues eies, and dogge their frendes lookes, as the miſe ſhall not pepe without daunger of the cats, nor the ſilly women ſpeake without ſuſpition of falſhood, Others will bring ſtrang women vnto their wiues to welcome: ſpeaking lauiſhly of their beauties, and vndecently in their praiſes, they will make compariſon without diſcretion, and giue iudgement without wiſdome. They regard preſent pleaſ-

[M]ens follye [the] fourth.

ure, but care not for future profit, not ſo much as thinking on the chilling winter in the heate of ſummer, nor of warre in time of peace. They conſider not how loue wil brooke no equalitie, nor marriage allowe of the leaſt vnconſtancy; and both theſe, though themſelues haue beene the procurers of their own diſcontentment, yet will they lay all the burthen on their wiues backes, either plaging them in beeing ſuſpitious, or puniſhing them by making them ielious. The old ſayng is, that he which will no pennance doe, muſt ſhonne the cauſe that belongs thereto: had I wiſt, is a ſlender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifeſt badge of folly, eſpecially when a man will leaue the bridg, to trie to leap ouer the ditch and fall into it. Thought is free; but when the toung blabs, it [1 sig. B 2] is ſigne the hart [1] aboundes. What an euident token of foliſh blindneſſe is it, for a man to ſeeke many daies to pleaſe his mind, when afterwards, hauing found and inioying it, he will miſlike thereof in a moment, by ſight of a new obiecte? O! that is a weake harte that hath ſuch a wandring eie! and hee is no ſmall foole that ſo little eſteemes of experience, as hee delighteth in the practiſe of vnknowne concluſions. Might it pleaſe them to vſe leſſe wordes and more wit, fewer companions or kinder familiarity, they ſhould not ſo lightly enter the hazard of Ielloſy.

The ill co[un]cell of the wicked th[e] fift cause [of] Ielosy.

Ill counſell is the next cauſe of Ielloſy; wher by the wicked (whoſe immaginations are only to ſoe diſcentions by bruting euil ſuppoſes, bred of a ſuſpitious braine, & vttered with colored hipocriſie) labour to ſette debate betweene true hartes, and to ſhuffle in ſuſpition amongſt thoſe that are free from thought thereof. They will ſtriue to perſwade by liklyhoods, & confirme aſcertions with falſe oathes. They will place betweene man and wife a tree of diſcorde, and plant in peacable houſes, rootes of variance; their toungs ſhall be wagging to wiſh them to taſt of the fruit thereof, their heads ſtudying how to bring them to like of the practiſe of their premeditated miſchiefe. They will alleadg, lo thus it hath proued by others, and ſo hath it fell out vnto them for want of ſuſpition. Think on the worſt (ſay they) for the beſt is not hurtfull; but thinke of them as of the worſt, ſay I, for they are moſt hurtfull.

Credite g[i]uen to fal[se] reportes t[he] sixt.

And theſe make-bates will not let to brute reportes, though meerely falſe, to confirme their ſayings, cloking their miſchieſe with

the habit of good meaning, and hiding their knauery with a ſhow of puritie. They will tatle tales as if fraught with truth: and vtter ſlanders, with proteſtations. They will inuent to perſwade, and ſweare to confirme: ſticking burres on their backes, that were free from motes; and filling their heads with wonders, that before were in quiet. They ioy to ſet diſcention in a louing plat, and reioyce to ſee debate betweene faithfull frendes; they hunt after controuerſie, and honour Ielloſy. And becauſe themſelues are old, they will hate all that are younger then themſelues, and ſuſpect all, for that themſelues haue loued [1] the game: experience of knauery is a peſtilent helpe to Ielloſy; and if the mother hath loued to playe falſe, ſhee will bee ſure to miſtruſt the daughter. Beware, for I haue tried: tis a vile whip to ſcourge a fearefull hart with; and perſwaſions from a diſſembling hart are wondrous hurtfull to an vnconſtant louer. It is a ſmall bit that will not make a hungry dogge gape; and an vnſauery morſell that will not content a longing appetite. A will, with a diueliſh wit, will practiſe any thing; and what is it that they cannot effecte? Marry, the beſt helpe to preuent their miſchiefe, is miſbeliefe; and the readieſt mean to trie truth, is, to ſearch into their own liues. And for that you ſhall, Tell-Troth, quoth hee, the better vnderſtand the diueliſhneſſe of ſuch creatures as are theſe makebates, I will tell thee a merry tale, I haue hard there tould, of one who was croſt in her wicked ſuſpition.

[1 sig. B 2, back]

There was an olde trott, that in her youth hauing beene a true traueller, and now through her looſe life was worne to the bones and paſt all goodneſſe, dwelled neere vnto a proper young woman matched with a very honeſt man. This olde beldame, being good for nothing but to keepe the cat out of the aſhes, and to prattell ouer a pot of nut-browne ale, would ſpend the reſt of her time which was not imployed ouer the fagget, in ſitting at the dore to watch what company reſorted to the young mans houſe afore ſaid. Whether, for that he was of a trade, did come diuers, ſome to bargaine, other about other buſineſſe, and amongſt the reſt, this man had a frend, being a young man, which did often repaire thether. The olde cat hauing ſeene him there twiſe or thriſe, beeing at a certaine time amongſt many of her other goſſopes, (like vnto her ſelfe in condition and of her own ſtampe by antiquity,) called this honeſt mans wiues name into queſtion,

[A merry tale [of a] make [bate.

ſo ſetting her worne chappes a wagging, as ſhe burthened her conſcience with the confirmation of her miſtruſtfullneſſe concerning her liuing. The reſorte thether was her reaſon, and the ſight of the former younge man her concluſion for the truth thereof. Some of her companions (ſomewhat better diſpoſed then her ſelfe) gaue their
[1 sig. B 3] iudgement with ſome tol[1]leration concerning the ſuſpected diſhoneſty, of which ſhe miſliking, reproued their light of beliefe with a ſhameleſſe interrogation, howe ſhee could bee honeſt, ſeeing ſuch a one doth reſorte daily vnto her, who is like to bee a wild youth, and therefore cunning, and ſhe a young woman ſoone to be inticed: we know (ſaid ſhe) by experience the dealings of ſuch mates, hauing our ſelues beene fully tried by their flightes: verily they cannot be well thought on; nor may ſhe be liked, nor her huſband praiſed, for giuing
A fires-bir[d,] for that she sat continually by the fire side. ſuch entertainment. Vpon which report, her withered goſſipes gaue vppe their verdict, that then indeede ſhe could not be honeſt; and ſo for that time the court broke vppe. They gon, this wether-beaten fieres-bird could not be ſatisfied with thus much, but the chuffe her huſband comming in, ſhee could not chuſe but tell him of the company that had beene with her, and of the talke that had paſſed betweene them, with a recitall of her newly broched miſchiefe, affirming it was great pittie, ſeeing ſhe was a very proper young woman, and hee an honeſt man, a young beginner that was like to doe well, were he not ouer-reached by ſuch companions. Doubtleſſe (quoth ſhee) it were good, and a thing well pleaſing vnto god to impart thus much vnto her huſband, peraduenture he, ſilly man, miſtruſt no ſuch matter, or is loth to offend his wife by telling her of it; but if hee ſeekes not preſent remedy, howe is it poſſible hee ſhould eſcape vndoing? To which ſuppoſed impoſſibility hee agreed; I thinke, lead thereunto rather for feare then otherwiſe, as you ſhall hereafter gather. Well, ſhortly they agreed to ſend for the yong man, and at his comming ſent for a pinte of wine, giuing him therewith to gnaw, ſuch cruſtes of ſmall comfort, as tended both to his owne diſcredite & his wiues diſhoneſty: both their opinions concerning ſuch men which reſort to his houſe, as they feared, rather to her then to him: as alſo the reportes of other their neighbours that greatly pittied them, miſtruſting no leſſe then they had ſaide, confirmed their ſlaunders, endinge their tittell tattell with perſwaſions to forewarne their wiues of ſuch

company. With which vnlooked-for banquet, the younge man, being ſtroken amaſed (and maruell not, ſince it was meat [1] of ſo hard a diſ-geſture), ſtoode ſtill for a ſeaſon; but after callinge his wittes together (of which he had no ſmall neede being mated with two ſuch rookes) aſſured them of his wiues conſtancye toward him, that loued him moſt intierly, and obeyed him moſt duetyfully. And touching the reſorte, his trade required cuſtomers, and not of the worſt ſort (for he was a ſhoomaker); and ſo lightly thanking them for their proteſted good will (giuing as ſmall credit to their prittell prattell as he had ſtomacke to their cheere) he departed home, nothing leſſe louing, or thinking worſe of his wife then hee did before. But they, ſeeing their purpoſe tooke ſo little effecte, grewe mad, eſpecially the ſhe beetell, that in a great rage ſhe poſted to the tauerne, where ſhe found ſome of the queſt of inquiry aforeſaid, to whome ſhe blaſed the rancour of her hart, ſhowing them howe ſhamefully their young neighbour was wronged, and diſhoneſtly abuſed, through his kind ſimplicity. Where-vppon this honeſt man was dubbed amongſt them a wittall; but while mother trot and her fellowes were deſcanting on others honeſty, there came in a new goſſip, and not without newes, aſſuring this breede-bate that her huſband (the olde fornicator that had beene with his wife a bate-maker) was at the flower de luce, a houſe of as good reſort of honeſt women as any be in brid-well, and had ſent for thether wine and other good cheere; which brought ſo bad cheere to her hart, as in all haſte ſhee did runne thether: where not finding him, but vnder-ſtanding, I know not by what meanes, that hee was newe gon, ſhee fals ſo hot to ſcoulding with the whipperginne her oſtice, as from wordes they fell to blowes, ſo as in the ende our good neighbour came home to her huſband with a painted face, as if ſhee had beene at her nuntions with cats. Well, beeing come, Ioane Stoomp-foot and Tom Totty, fell to 'thou knaue' and 'thou queane,' with other ſuch ſhameleſſe tearmes, as her huſband, not able to ouermaiſter her that way, began to beelabour her faire and handſomely with a faggotſtick, a preſent remedy to charme ſuch diueliſh tounges. With which noiſe (for doubtleſſe it was great, eſpecially the longe toungd beare getting the worſe), the neighbours beeing troubled, were [2] forced of pitty to come in, who, ſeeing the fray bloody, ſeuered the knaue and the queane, and ſo parted the combate. But the ſcoulding champion

[1 sig. B 3, back]

They are [ro]okes for [th]eir trou-[bl]ing tongs.

The nature [of] a Hee bee[te]ll is, with [th]eir whole [fo]rce to flie [a]gainst ei[th]er man or [b]east, tosting [th]em.

Which was the Shee make-bate.

[2 leaf B 4]

(hauing good occaſion to ſet her chappes a-wagging, that were faine to ſlaunder before, for want of other matter) curſed the time that euer ſhee met with ſuch a whore maſter knaue, telling the whole circumſtaunces of the matter, with tearmes fit for women of her owne ſtampe. And her huſband, on the contrary part, forced to heare her tale, requites it with a iadiſh tricke, that ſhe was taken with before time by him in his celler with a collier vpon two ſackes of coales. And thus both of them that accuſed others ſo lately of diſhoneſty, were now by all condemned for a Ielious knaue and a miſtruſtfull baude, worthy titles for ſuch makebates.

I therefore warne (quoth Robin) both all ſuch Ielious goſſipes as loue to haue owers in euery mans bote, and could wiſh that all mens daggars belonged to their ſheathes, and alſo thoſe driggell draggells (whoſe wicked and laſciuious liues haue waſted their bodies to the bones, and yet not worne the tippes of their tounges) to leaue to be ſo raſh in their iudgementes, or to let their ſhameleſſe inſtrumentes to blabb ſuch vnconſcionable vntrothes to ſo abhominable an ende. And I alſo councell both men and women, lightly to regard their backebitings and ſlaunders, that by vncharitable intermedling with their doings, ſeeke to moue ſtrife and procure diſlike, betweene thoſe that loue faithfully and liue quietly together, neuer giuing occaſion of ſuſpition the one to the other, ſeeing that ſlaunders are onely likely hoodes, and no likelyhood certaine.

The hard vsage ether of a man towardes his wife, or of [a] woman towards her husbande, i[s] the seauent[h] cause of Ielosy.

A ſeauenth cauſe proceedeth of hard vſage, when as a man will brutiſhly vſe his wife by ſtrokes, and curriſhly barre her of matrimoniall kindneſſe. The man that will lifte vp his hand againſt his wife, is like the horſe that doth fling out his heeles to ſtrike his keeper; the one hauing a knauiſhe, and the other a iadiſh tricke. Will a man of loue launce his owne fleſhe, thoughe ſome of deuotion ſcourge their owne backes? Doth not the dog feare the ſtaffe that hath ſtroken him? and can a woman like of the hand that hath hurt her? He that calleth his brother foole in [1]anger, is in daunger of hell fire: and thinkes the other man that hatefully beates his wife, or the woman that reuiles her huſband, which are neerer the one to the other, to eſcape that furnace? It is an eaſie matter to find a ſtaffe to beate a dogge, but vnpoſſible to meete with a dogge that will loue to be beaten with a ſtaffe, and as hard to finde a kinde huſband that

[1 leaf B 4, back]

will hold vppe his hand in anger againſt his wife, which is as his owne hart vnto him; but it is very eaſie, for that they are ouer-com mon, to light vppon breakers of wedlocke, that will hold vp their armes, bend their fiſts, and beat their ſilly wiues, at their comming home from bad women, loathinge thoſe that loue them, and louing thoſe that lothes them but for aduauntage. There was alſo inform-ation made of many, that hauinge vſed their wiues wondrous ill all their life time, dealing with them as rigorouſly as many iades do with the Oſtlers knauiſhly, that notwithſtanding their cruelty hath beene manifeſt to the whole world: yet lying vpon their deathes bed, as late as poſſible they could, and yet better late then neuer, haue, ſtroken with penitencie, confeſſed their faultes with ſorrow, and affirmed with proteſtations that they know there were, nor euer haue beene, more faithfull, carefull, obediente, nor louinge wiues then theirs: I pray you what would ſuch haue prooued, if they had beene matched with like kind-harted men. Well, I leaue that to your iudgement, and will come to the laſt cauſe of Ieloſy.

Which being not the leaſt, is a leaud behauiour in company, when by looſe trickes it may bee adiudged that nothing but oportunity is wantinge to their inciuillity. But where ſhame tames not, there blame maines not. A feſtred ſore muſt haue a ſearching ſalue; and a ſhameleſſe ſmile an open frowne. They that careleſly offende the law of modeſtye, muſt not taſte of the ſweete of courteſy; and they which reſpect not humanity, ſhalbe troubled with Ieloſy. Blame not the childe that feares the rod, hauing felt the ſmart therof, nor miſlike thoſe that ſhonne ſoure thinges, hauing taſted of ſuger. A hound that knowes the game, delightes in hunting; and geue the keeper leaue to beſtirre him[1]ſelfe when a curre chaſeth his deare. Hee [1 sig. C] that ſteales by night, eſcapes often when the day-theeues is appre-hended; but an impudent and deſperate robber muſt haue a ſhort dome, for that a plaine matter needes a ſmall triall. He that feares not the halter will hardly become true; and they that care not for ſuſpect, are ſeldome honeſt. A ſtill dogge bites ſore, but the barking cur feares more. The hart is the director of the other partes. I pray you then what thinkes he that ſhames not who ſee? Fy of hipocricie, but the diuell take impudencie.

Theſe cauſes thus ſet downe were reduced into theſe eight kindes.

Knauiſh and fooliſh doters and fornicators, backebiters and liers. Bankrotes and hipocrites: the two firſt kindes haue effectes from the third, fourth, and eight cauſes, the two ſecond from the firſt and fift; the ſix and ſeauen kindes, of the fourth and fift cauſes; and the two laſt proceede, of the ſecond, third, and ſeauenth cauſes, of euery one of which there was a ſeuerall bil of complaint deliuered, which for that they were very tedious, I haue but onely brought awaye the endorcementes of them.

The firſt was, that whereas Iaſper Impudencie lately entertained into the familiarity of one Ioone, good wench, that had vſed him very kindly in ſecrete, had to her great diſcredite, for that ſhe barred him of that Priuiledge in an open aſſembly, called her name and fame in queſtion, by accuſing her of plaing faſt and looſe (about a kind glaunce that ſhee had geuen vnto an other, that had better deſerued her fauour), in conſideration of whoſe fooliſh knauery and knauiſh folly, ſhee deſired redreſſe againſt him.

The ſecond was, againſt the folly of a yong nouice, that was ſo paſſionate for the loue of a maide, that he could not ſee any to ſpeake vnto her, but ſtraighte would fall into a ſounde through Ieloſy. An other complained of an old dotor of fourſcore yeares of age, that had gotten, through the compulſion of her parentes, her ſelfe in marriage, being but two and twenty. Who through his watching, and the dodging of an old beldam his ſiſter, being in houſe with him, was ſo tormented, that if ſhee were neuer ſo little out of both their ſightes: he preſently thought his head be[1]gan to bud, though it were in the deade of winter, and woulde moſt ſhamefully raile vpon her. And ſhee, hauing learned ſome ſubtelty by the old foxes craft, on a time ſtole foorth to her fathers to ſupper, not making any priuy to her parting, and there ſtayed vntill nine of the clock. When comming home, ſhee found her huſband a bed, that had almoſt fretted his hart out for his wiues long tarrying: who no ſooner ſaw her, but fell a threatning of her, and ſtricktly examining her where ſhee had beene: But ſhee, beeing well acquainted with that cuſtome, fained, that by chaunce, comming from her fathers, ſhee met with a younge gentleman, an old frend of hers, that would not be ſaid nay, but ſhe muſt of force go ſup with him. And affirming that to be true, ſhee fell

[1 sig. C, back]

downe vppon her knees and craued his pardon. At the hearing of which, yea, and before ſhee had quite done (now thinking that to be certeine, which before he onely miſtruſted, being verily perſuaded that the deſtinies hadd crowned him with a paire of hornes for his New-yeares gift), he ſpitted at her, laying Bridewell in her diſh, and the cart for her trencher: not only refuſing her company for his bed-fellow, but driuing her out of his chamber with a bedſtaffe. Neither contented with this, but in all haſt in the morning hee trotted vnto her fathers: infourming him of many falſe tales, and amongſt the reſt, her laſt nights tricke was brought in for a confirmation of his hard fortune in beeinge matched with ſuche a one. But her father, knowing that to be falſe, and the other as likely, perſuaded him from his Ieloſy, which would not be, notwithſtanding.

The fourth kind deſired iudgement againſt their huſbands, that, hauing beene married to them the ſpace of threeſcore yeers, and growing wery of them, brought home to their houſes yoong men, vnder the titles of their kinſmen, to haunt their companies, with commandment that they ſhould vſe them as well as them ſelues. Who (through their ciuill behauior deſeruing no leſſe) being on a certaine time in their chamber with them, were taken by their huſbandes with other of their copeſmates, that through bribes proued falſe wittneſſes, by which the old fornicators procured deuorcementes, and married younge wenches.

[1 si3. C 2]

[1] As for make-bates, there was framed againſt them a bill, to the effecte of the tale aforetould of them. And touching their commorades the liers, they were complained of, for that in open aſſemblies they would ſpeake againſt Ieloſy, curſing him and his followers. But beeing matched accordinge to their hartes deſire, with women that are moſt faithfull and honeſt, enioying through them the happineſſe of a bleſſed eſtate, they, ouercloyed with the ſweete it yeeldeth, and wearied with the gainefull fruite which ariſeth therof, will (for that ther are no occaſions of Ieloſy offered) themſelues nouriſh cauſers by moſt vnciuill companions. Talke of Ieloſy in their company, they wil vtterly condempne ſuch fickell headed Buſſardes, that vppon euery light occaſion are miſtruſtful of their wiues, ſwearing and proteſting that they are not, nor would bee of ſuch a ſuſpitious ſociety for the

world: when their priuy checkes for their wiues modeſt familiarity ſhall be ſo openly executed, as their actions ſhow their tounges haue lyed.

But theſe of the ſixt kinde are knaues in graine, that hauing lauiſht their ſtockes leaudly by badd meanes, and ſeeing their eſtates to grow weake, will ſeeke out wiues, not of the common ſorte for properneſſe, but ſuche matchleſſe paragons as are for neatneſſe not to be mated in a countrey. Theſe muſt bee ſett in their ſhoppes to tole in cuſtomers; vnto whome, if they ſhow not themſelues good-fellowes by gentle ſpeeches, their houſes will proue to hoat for them. They muſt not ſticke to promiſe fairely and to kiſſe, ſo they do it cloſely; onely this prouiſo muſt be had, that they keepe them out of their mony boxes and cloſecubberds. Which practiſe proouinge profitable, and thereby their eſtates being amended, ſtraight falſe meaſure is ſuſpected, and thervpon, this their owne inuention miſliked off. Then they will ſay that they do more then their commiſſion alloweth, though leſſe a great deale then in the beginning was commaunded. Yea, thence after they muſt ſit no more in the ſhoppes for feare of thunderclappes; and if perchaunce once in a moneth they are there, in which time it may happen ſome of their olde cuſtomers to come to renue their acquaintance, priuy frownes ſhalbe geuen them [1]of the wittals their huſbandes, their chapmen beeing in company; and in their abſence, bitter woordes, if not bitinge blowes. Then ſhall they not bee ſuffered to looke on a man without controlement, nor dare to ſpeake to any for feare of buffets. If any aske for them, buying there, preſently they are thoughte to be their wiues cuſtomers, and therefore ſhall haue bad entertainement, and be ſerued with the woorſt ſtuffe, if any be worſe then other.

[1 sig. C 2, back. *Catch word* by]

The laſt were cried out vppon, for that, whereas they are married with honeſt mens children, beeing beloued of them far better then they deſerue, they will ſhowe them ſo much kindneſſe in their wooing time, and on their marriage day, as they leaue neuer a whit for the time following. For, hauing reaped the firſt dayes roſt, and beeing inriched with the profit thereof, they growe careleſſe of that which might inſue, thinking there is no heauen but the time preſent, nor any commodity like to ariſe of the remnant. Before company, their kindneſſe ſhall bee ſo freely vſed, as when their wiues and they

are alone, noughte but bitter wordes and worſe ſhall followe. Abroad, their behauior towardes them ſhall bee paſſing louing, mingled with kinde mirth; but at home they will ſo lumpe and lowre, as it were better to be in hel, then to liue in houſe with ſuch hipocriticall Ielious huſbandes. At feaſtes and at aſſemblies they will vſe themſelues like ſaintes, affirming they are matched with pearleſſe wenches for good and honeſte behauior; but in their chambers they are diuels, ſuſpecting falſhood and cloſe dealings betweene their deareſt frends and faithfull wiues. And to make an end of the meſſe, I will tell you of an euidence giuen there againſt a moſt notable aſſe.

There was one that, to ſhonne his predeſtinated fortune, and to preuent his hard hap fore-told him by ſome diuell incarnate, did ſearch to ſee if hee mighte finde ſuche an ill-fauoured peece of ſtuffe as all men els would miſlike of, not eſteeming how deformed ſhee were, ſo ſhee brought money with her. And at laſt, Nature had ſhapen a morcell for his tooth, ſuch a matche as it was impoſſible to mate her, vnleſſe her forenamed mother had bene [1]hired therevnto. [1 sig. C 3] Shee was beetell-browed, goggell-eyed, blobber-lipt, wry-necked, crooke-backt, and ſplay-footed: hauinge the huckle bone of her breech burſt, whereby ſhee wente wriggling with her taile like a broken legged dogge; with ſo ſweete a breath, as a man had beene as good to haue gone faſtinge into the common gardens about London, as into her chamber when ſhe was in it. With this vnmatchable creature did this ſtripling marrie, ſuppoſing it vnpoſſible that ſhe that[2] [2 *orig.* thā] had neuer a good part in her body, ſhoulde haue ſo bad a tricke as to lende his muſtard pot to others vſes. Wherevppon, ioying that hee alone liued with an honeſt woman (as hee thought), hee would laugh at his neighbours folly for chooſing wiues to ſerue other mens turnes, beeing, by feeding of their owne fancies, cuckold by ſuch as himſelfe was, who had notwithſtandinge at home for his owne diet ſuch an one as would not bee of others regarded, nor himſelfe coulde ſnuffe it off. But his tender crippell, knowing that there were Vulcans that woulde ſometimes looke into ſtraunge Smithes ſhoppes, and perſuading her ſelfe that *Pecunia omnia poteſt*, did hire a plowman ſhee had, to ſupplye ſome wants in her ſweete hartes abſence. Who, agreed on the matter, did ſo cloſely perfourme their knauery, as to their thinkinge the Diuell himſelfe perceiued not their villany.

Well, ſoone after there came certaine chapmen to this clothiers houſe, (for he was of that trade) to make merry with him al the Chriſt maſſe holly dayes, in which time they vſed this kinde crippell for his ſake ſo familiarly, as they would ieſt with her before his face. Who, watchinge for a diſhe from off Ieloſies table, feared his owne ſhadow would beguile himſelfe, and therefore would neuer leaue, vntill by a ſhift he had got them forth of his doores. So played hee with euery one that came after vnto his houſe, warning his wife from vſing ſuch companions familiarly: neuer miſdoubtinge Lobb, his man, that did daunce trenchemore once euery day in his priuy kitchin. But the deſtinies that had ſworne his horned dubbing, to let him ſee the fruite of his choice, and the certainety of his fortune, (for to be a cuckold, and know it not, is no more (ſayes ſome) then to drincke with a flye in his [1]cuppe, and ſee it not,) brought him on a time into his barne; when thinking to finde his man a threſhing, he found him a kiſſing of his crippell, with ſo plaine further euidence of his hard fortune, as he killed both man and wife; and himſelfe was hanged for it afterwardes.

[1 sig. C 3, back]

Of theſe ſortes were the billes of enditementes, beeing practiſes ſo well liked and allowed off by this confocation, as the perfourmers of them were rewarded with the beſt entertainement Hell affoordes. And laying plats to effect further miſchief, they concluded that, by cutting one an others throat, their kingdome might ſooneſt be enlarged. To which end they inuented theſe meanes, which I will rehearſe vnto thee.

Firſt, that knauiſh Ieloſy ſhould be requited with clubbing iniury: namely, that they that ſhal abuſe their loues with lauiſh ſpeeches, ſhall be lubberly beaten by champions, which ſhall be prouided for that purpoſe: ſo that, through knauiſh miſtruſtfulneſſe and murthering reuenge, they may all purchaſe Hell. Then that thoſe fooles, which (being lodgde in the bed of conſtant amity, taking their reſt in Pleaſures armes: and rocked a ſleepe louingly, like infantes in the cradle of Diſporte, by their nurſes Carefullneſſe & Security) toſſe their loues conſtancy ſo lightly with ſtroakes of biting and iniurious wordes, and baule ſo vnquietly, ſhowing moſt ielious trickes of childiſhe miſtruſtfullneſſe, as they force thereby their nurſes to bee careleſſe of their vndiſcreete quietneſſe, and to turne their bliſſe into bane, That

theſe (I ſaye) for requitall of ſuche fooliſhneſſe, ſhoulde bee caſt off, neuer againe to taſte of the ſweeteneſſe of their looues wonted curteſy, by which meanes they may become deſperate and hang themſelues.

And touching doating or dolting Ieloſy, that their wiues, to pay them for their ſuſpition, ſhoulde not wander much abroade, nor giue entertainement to any gallants at home, but to growe familiar with their ſeruauntes, and ioyne ſuch a helper to their huſbandes imperfection as Iacke the ſcullian is, which ſhall neuer bee miſtruſted. And the better to effecte their knauery, it was agreed that they ſhould bee councelled that euer after Ie|lious complaintes made by [1 leaf C 4] their huſbandes to their frendes, they ſhoulde ſitte withe them at dinner and ſupper for company, to preuente miſdoubte, but ſhoulde not eate a bit, nor drinke a droppe, without their kindnes, for their huſbandes vnkindnes did yeeld ſufficient teares to quench their thirſt with. Marry, in a corner with iacke their partners, to fare as well as money and mirth could make them, Whereby it was thought that they would recant of their Ieloſy, and giue them liberty to vſe it at their pleaſure, ſo far as them*ſ*elues might be aſſured how much they were vnhappy. And that fornicators (after they had obtained their deſires according to the courſe of lawe) ſhould, ſtroking vppe their crooked ſhankes, and belabouring their ruſty beardes with their wetherbeaten fingers, ſeeking other wenches, meet with whipper ginnies that ſhould knowe how to vſe ſuch old leachers ſo handſomely, (beeing contented to indure diſcontentment, with the thought of the coine that lines their olde bagges,) as they ſhall be reputed by them for as honeſt women as liue, vntill the wedding day bee paſt, when in the euening (fore-thinkinge of the ſmall pleaſure is like to enſue by their paſtime) they ſhal faine themſelues ſo ſicke, as of force they will lye alone, or at leaſt without thoſe old wretches. So ſhall they ſerue them by the ſpace of a moneth, by which time (and it is no marueil) the churles will beginne to miſdoubt ſomewhat. But what ſhall they care, ſeeinge they are miſtriſſes of all they haue, and can keepe the chuffes from their owne? When they tell them of their vnkindneſſe, theſe wil be ready to ſpit in their faces, bidding them to goe trott vnto their trulles. As for them ſelues, they cannot abide ſuch olde fooles: their breath ſtinckes, they ſlauer with their

kiſſinge, with ſuche other opprobrious ſcoffes, as by their harde ſpeeches and woorſe vſage, they ſhall make the olde fooles to betake themſelues to their beades, confeſſing with ſhame their ſhameleſſe behauiour towardes their late faithfull wiues, and, curſing the cauſe of this hapleſſe fortune, cry *Peccaui*, and die quite diſcontented.

It was further agreed vppon, that backebiters, that will not ceaſe to blaze ielious vntrothes, ſhall bee plagued with hauinge [1] their tounges pulled foorth, or elſe woorſe puniſhed by looſinge the regardes of ſuppoſed honeſty. And all the commodity ſuche malicious Impes ſhall reape for their knauery, is, a faire purchaſed place called Bridewell; and for their falſe reportes they ſhall bee ſure of a proper cage to ſinge in; where their good names dyinge with their honeſtye, they ſhall bee carried from thence in cartes of reproach, and be buried in continual infamy, ronge to hell with laſhes of whip-corde. And the liers: they, becauſe they would not be iellious, but cannot leaue it, ſhal weare hornes, whether they will or no.

[1 leaf C 4, back]

But the grand wittalls, that will alure cuſtomers by the fine wenches, and with hauing inriched themſelues thereby, will turne their knauery into villanie. They by their crabbedneſſe ſhall come to extreame pouerty, and then endeauoring to put in triall their olde cuſtome, their wiues ſhall either growe ſtuborne and reape no profit, or elſe too too liberall,[2] ſpending the remnant which is left, leauing their huſbandes as monyleſſe as witleſſe. As for the laſt ſort, not leaſt, whoſe miſtruſtfullneſſe cut their owne throates, cauſing their wiues to fall vnto lewdneſſe[3] by ouer rulinge them with hippocr[i]ticall iuriſdiction. Onely this ſhall be added vnto the forwardneſſe of their diſtruction, that their halting diſ[ſi]mulation ſhould breede vpſtartes to ſaue their fore forheades; and they, regarding to maintaine their owne good names with hipocricie, ſhall thereby plante newe trickes of huſwiuerie in their wiues conſciences.

[2 *orig.* librrall]

[3 *orig.* lewdensse]

Thus, *Tell troth* (quoth *Robin*), thou haſt hard ſome thinge that thou neuer hardſt of before, which, when it ſhall come vnto the diuells eares, I knowe hee will bee monſtrous collericke; but it mattereth not: it is better he ſhould fret, then humanity fade. For vnleſſe theſe his inuentions ſhould be knowne, how ſhould they be preuented?

I tell thee (frend), howſoeuer ſome thinke of me, *Robin*, as he is a good fellowe by name, ſo is hee no leſſe in minde; and I ſweare vnto thee I had rather ſee the diuells dance the morice alone in that fiery hellhouſe, then a chriſtian to foote it there, through want of knowledge of their [1] inuentions. O, tell troth, is it not great pittie to ſee ſo manye thouſandes, through folly to inthrall themſelues to tormentes euerlaſting? thou wouldeſt thinke it vnpoſſible that the hundred part of them which are there onely for Ieloſy, ſhould bee bred in a world. Why, man, I haue onely tould thee of the Ieloſy betweene man and wife, and the louer and his ſweet hart; I haue not touched the Ieloſy betweene frend and frend, the father and his ſonne, the mother and her daughter, yea, and betweene whome not, that are ioyned together, either by conſanguinity, neighbourhood, by office, or duety. I let theſe paſſe, becauſe I meane not to meddle with them; onely, becauſe thou wanteſt ſome way to thy iornyes end, I will tell thee a pretty ieſt, which though it bee miſplaced for want of memory, yet here it may come in very good tim[e]. And it is of an olde dotor that was very well ſerued. [1 sig. D]

This dotor, who, though he were a man of fowerſcore yeares of age (knowing himſelfe vnable to ſatisfy the expectation of a widow of his owne ſtanding), yet would he needes marry with a girle of foureteene; Who, being conſtrained thereunto by her freendes compulſion, not knowinge what belonged to the rites of matrimony, was contented to loue him entierly, and to liue truely vnto him without thought of diſhoneſty. Yet ſo ill conceited was this fooliſh dotor, and ſo weary of his happy eſtate, as although he knew aſſuredly the cubbard was cloſe ſhutt and without any crannes, yet could he neuertheleſſe ſuſpect the ſilly mouſe, and would ſet trappes, hopinge to catche her, counſelled therevnto by his misdeeming thoughtes. If ſhee had beene neuer ſo little out of his ſight, he thought it was the ſpring time, being but Chriſtmas; to ſtay the forwardnes whereof, his froſt-biting wordes ſhould nippe her. The younge cubbe at laſt (learning ſubtilty by the olde Fox), ſuſpectinge there was ſome further ſweete in a marryed womans life, then as yet ſhee had taſted off, onely perſuaded thereunto by her huſbandes Ieloſye, tooke harte at graſſe, and woulde needes trie a newe concluſion. The nexte day beeing foorth at dinner with him, where were likewiſe many women

of all degrees, ſhee amongſt the reſt choſe [1] forth an old matron to paſſe away the time with, which in communication, finding her to be of ſuch a courteous diſpoſition, as vnto her ſhee made complaint of the ſeruile bondage her frends had brought her too. Which ſhee pittying (for what hart ſo hard as would not pitty her, that wanted alltogether contentmente?), gaue her ſuch good councell as ſhee her ſelfe had tried, hauinge beene peſtered with the like inconuenience, though not with ſo many hart-breakinges: whereof this younge woman liked ſo well, on the morrow ſhe meant to put ſome of her concluſions in practiſe. And a brother of hers comming home vnto her the next day, ſhe likewiſe ſhowed vnto him howe the Ieloſy of her huſband increaſed, deſiring him to help her to effect a practiſe ſhe determined to try; to which he ſoone agreeing, they ſtole both into one of her chambers, there ſpending the day in ſecret communication, How it might bee beſt performed; which beeing earneſt, paſſed away the time ſo ſoddenly as night was come vpon them ere they thought on it, ſo that thereby he, forced to departe, was let foorth at the dore by her ſelfe, whome a maied ſhee had (which the olde dotor made more of then of her ſelfe) did eſpy, not knowing who it was. But ſhee had newes inough that it was a manne, and ſo good to her liking, as in all haſt her maiſter muſt be made acquainted there with; he, vpon the hearing thereof, growing ſo hot, as he did not onely beate his wife, but in a great rage turned her forth of the dores, reuiling her moſt ſhamefully. The ſilly woman had no other ſuccour but to goe to her brothers that was married, in the ſame towne (for ſhe durſt not complaine to her father on a ſoddaine, he was ſo cruell), who receiued her kindly, and lodge[d] her for that night, becauſe it was ſo late. And in the morning betimes hee went with her to her fathers, making him acquainted with the whole matter. Who, after the true ſearch of the certainty thereof, condemned his owne folly for the match, ſending for the olde miſer, that was met at the dore poſting thetherwards to complaine. But at his comming his expectation was quite fruſtrated, for wher, according to a former courſe had in the like practiſe, he looked to haue his wife rebuked & himſelfe moned, [1] hee was nowe, not onely ſharpely threatened for his miſuſage towardes her, but alſo deſeruedly ſcoffed at, and driuen force perforce (becauſe hee was matched with his ſuperiours), to bee there-

[1 sig. D, back. *Catch word* foorth]

[1 sig. D 2. *Catch word* he]

with contented. And vppon the triall of the truth he found himſelfe ſo plainely convicted, as hee confeſſed his faulte, and aſked her forgiuenes, ſewing for a reconſciliation to bee made between them. Which done, they departed home, & his wife, not forgetting the ſhame ſhee had indured by his meanes, ſtuddied to requite his villanye, and effected it after this manner. Her huſband kept a proper man whome he did put in ſo great truſt, as he hiered him for a ſtale to deceiue himſelfe by wiſhing him to trie his wiues conſtancy, Who dallied ſo long with the flame, as at laſt he was burnte with the fire of deſire, his affection ſo iumply meeting with her conceipt, as within a ſhorte time, what by faire promiſes, larg[e] giftes, and her beauty (three notable baites to catch a kind foole with), ſhe had ſo won him to her will, as he would not onely reueale vnto her what ſo euer his wiſe maiſter would ſay, but alſo would euer by falſe oathes fobbe him vppe with a thouſand vntruthes concerning her approued honeſty. Well, his good reportes encreaſed but further miſlike in his maiſter, with a more earneſt deſire to finde her falſe; and there vppon he would teach his man how he ſhould further trie her, ſetting downe ſuch plaine plots as by the[1] practiſe of them hee was ſhortly after ready at any time to doe his miſtreſſe any good turne in his maiſters abſence. He had ſubtill wit inough, and therefore they both ſped the better, he prouing ſo good a plaiſter to her ſore, as if ſhe and her huſband fel out in the night, ſhe with her man would ſport in the day time; and becauſe the olde foole was ſo couetous as he would drinke onely ſmall beere to ſaue charges, they two would courroſe whole gallons of wine at their going abroad, which was often without ſuſpition to the olde fooles hornes. Allwayes at dinner and ſupper he ſhould haue her with him to ſhaddowe miſtruſt, but ſhee would not eate a bit with him, becauſe his fare was ſo baſe, collouring her nicenes with want of ſtomacke, and with ſorrow for his churliſhnes towardes her. With which[2] diſſembling (for what cannot women doe by teares?) her huſband, what betweene his mans flattery and his wiues hipocricy, was quite chaunged, being verely perſwaded now that ſhe is a ſaint, repenting he euer miſtruſted her, & recanting of his folly in falſly accuſing her. For a mends whereof, hee confeſſed the ſecond time to her parents and frendes that he had moſt vndeſeruedly ouerawed his faithful wife, greeued with nothing more

[1 *orig.* thy]

[2 sig. D 2, back]

then his hard vſage towardes her, in reſtraining her, beeing young, of honeſt liberty. In requitall whereof, it was lawfull for her with his young ſtripling to goe forth and returne at her pleaſure, to be in what company ſhe beſt liked of, and nothing ſuſpected, for at this time he would not let to ſweare he had the onely honeſt woman in the worlde. And if anye of his frends had reproued him of ſuch folly, aleadging that youth was ſoone inticed to lewdneſſe, his aunſwere was, hee cared not, and his thankes were ſharpe wordes. But if his neighbours tould him ſhee kept bad companye, aſſociating other women that were good fellowes, hee, forth with, would raile vpon the reporters for ſlaundering his wiues honeſty, and would ſtraight haue the lawe of them for calling her good name in queſtion. And thus liued this dotor as long as the diſtinies woulde permit him, at his death leauing onely his hornes for his ſucceſſors portion.

How like you this, Tell-troth? you ſmild at this mans folly, but you had more neede to pittie the weaknes of ſuch as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childiſhly. But nowe, becauſe thou art in a manner at thy iourneys ende, I muſt leaue thee, yet, before I goe, knowe this farther newes. That at my comming from hell, the aſſemblie aforeſaid had thought to haue broke vppe, and gon euery gouerner to his prouince to take their pleaſures, beeing ouertoyled with their tedious conſultations. But as they were a riſing, there came one in ſweating, with a ſupplication from Pierce-Pennileſſe, inforſing them thereby to a newe labour. Which I perceiuing, and immagining it woulde bee long before it were ended, beeing allready weary of their company, lefte that [1] newes for the knight of the poſte, and ſo you are wellcome to your iourneyes ende. Robin good fellow, looking for no other thankes for his company, but that (frend Tell troth) thou doſt me the fauour to publiſh this my inuectiue againſt Ieloſy.

[1 leaf D 3]

Wherevpon he deliuerd [2] vnto me a ſcroule of paper with the contents hereafter followinge, and ſo hee vaniſhed awaye, I know not howe.

[2 *orig.* deliuering]

[*Large Coat of Arms in the original.*]

Robin Good-fellowe his Inuectiue againſt Ieloſy.

[1 leaf D 3, back]

THe Poetes altogether aymed not amiſſe in their fiction, whereas, ſetting downe the torments of hell, they affirme ther is no torture that inflictes the furies with more extreame cruelty then the fond conceites of a ielious harte; and why? for that the reuenge of a diſdainefull woman is deadly, and her rewardes for miſtruſtfullneſſe, guiftes of vnceaſinge griefe, which in the ende woorke vtter deſtruction. The cauſe nouriſhed in men maketh the effect poſſible and the practiſe intollerable.

There is no ſweete ſo ſtronge, but the delighte thereof may bee croſſed by the contrarye; nor anye hart ſo firme, but continuall vnkindnes maye remooue it. The tall oake, that waueth not with euerye puffe of the winde, is eaſelye throwne to the ground by an extraordinary tempeſt. The hardeſt flint is pierſt with often droppes; and it is not impoſſible, thoughe vnlikelye, that the ſkie ſhould fall. Are they not woorthy to be nipte with the piercing ſtormes of a biting winter, that, hauing a ſhelter to defend themſelues from ſuch outragious wether, and knowing a tempeſt will come which may ouerthrow it, neglecteth neuertheleſſe to preuent that daunger by vnderpropping the ſame? or deſerue they to haue their eſtate pittied that wilfully ſeeke their owne vndooing? As it is a part of wiſedom to foreſee a daunger, ſo, not to withſtand and to endeuour to fruſtrate the ſame with reaſon and forecaſt, is a badge of extremeſt folly.

[a]spice, vt [imme]ritus mis[er]andæ [sorti]s aselus [a]ssiduo [d]omitus ver[b]ere tardus [e]rit.

And *Peccaui* deſeruedlye falles on their backes, that wittinglye and willinglye incurre the haſſard thereof. If men had no vnderſtanding of the plagues of hell they would be too too vitious, and their pleaſure could not but bee their deſtruction, vnleſſe euery one had a hale-backe for his companion. If Ieloſy be a torment more

Principiis obsta. sero medicina paratur, Cum mala per longas conualauere moras.

[1 leaf D 4] mercileſſe then diueliſh Pluto, and his common [1]wealth more greeuous then the ſorrowes of hell, I ſorrow to thincke that men ſhould be ſo witleſſe as to honour the Diuell, and ſo careleſſe as to delight in ſuch a weale-publike. But be it as it is, or let it be woorſe, as it is vnpoſſible it ſhoulde, their conceites are grown to be ſo baſe, and their enterpriſes ſo beaſt-like, as for the moſt part they follow Ieloſy ſo eagerly, as they conſtraine their deereſt freendes to cut their throates with the knife they moſt feare, when both the euell it ſelfe and the cauſe therof might be remooued, ſo euery one would ground their loue vpon diſcretion.

Arte citæ veloque rate[s] remoque r[e]guntur: ar[te] leves curru[s] arte regend[us] amor.

If the practiſes and proceedings of loue be ſo forcible as they bring death with them to the hopeleſſe harte, hee is vnwiſe that will ſtriue to encreaſe thoſe affections which are allready more then extraordinary. Waxe, by a temperate heat is mollified and formed, being ſofte to any ſhape, but through a furious flame it either waſteth and conſumeth, or els will not be touched without defiling of our fingers. The hartes of women are like vnto waxe, that, tempered by the paſſions of loue, are ready to take the impreſſion thereof; but if it coole againe before the printe of kindneſſe be ſurely ſet on, or if the flame of fury breake foorth about it, being ſett on fire by the coales of miſgouernemente, to what bad ende will the good beginning be turned? and how many hartbreakinges by quarrels and diſagreementes will ariſe in the ſmoother of ſuch ſmoaky miſrule! Doubtleſſe the experience thereof hath taughte too too many to their griefe, and will teach more to their vndooing, vnleſſe the ſwelling of that ſore be aſſwaged with ſom wholſome medicin. But they that only haue entertained the ſuperficies of loue, neuer harboring him in their hartes, affirme that he and Ieloſy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other. If they that holde the ſame for a maxime, meane in the defence of their freendes honours, and to be Ielious of their wiues good name and reputation, I graunt that that is moſt kinde affection.

But when Ieloſy ariſeth of a fooliſh fondnes, grounded with out reaſon, to bee remooued with euerye lighte occaſion; or of miſtruſtfullneſſe of the partye loued, without triall of anye vn[2]conſtancy; or, laſtly, of childiſh affection, lead away with an vnruely appetite, and nouriſhed with diſpayringe conceites, conceiuing what is not, and

[2 leaf D 4, back]

iudginge onely by ſhadowes which remoue all hope, cauſing continuall diſcontentment,—that maketh the ielious mans caſe deſperate, and the thinge fooliſh.

There is no concorde betweene water and fire, nor any medium betweene loue and hatred; for either the hart ſighes vnder the burthen of entiere affection, or groanes throughe the waight of greeuous diſſimulation. Loue couereth a multitude of ſinneful offences, and loyalty recouereth a world of ouerſlipt infirmities; but diſlike findeth rottenneſſe in ſound timber, ſpots in the pure white, and vnkindneſſe in the conſtant harte; it engendereth Ieloſy, and procureth enmities; it hatcheth breakepeace, and glories in quarrels; all it delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all it ioy to encreaſe miſlike. If it hath it beginning of loues contrary, yea, in nature, how can there bee anye brotherly equality betweene them? vnleſſe, vnhappilye, wee will make the eye father to both, that ſeeinge aſwell good as euell, entiſeth the hart, through corrupt affections, to be miſled by wicked eluſions, bringing foorth baſtardes in ſteede of true begotten children: For if Ieloſy be loues brother, it is by corruption of nature brought foorth vnlawfully, which may thus be manifeſted. After the eye hath choſen an obiect which brings ſo ſweet contentment to the hart, as it highly delighteth in the ſame, that prouing ſo kinde loue and ſuch feruent affection in both, as lawfull requitall makes a pleaſing ſatisfaction, the eye receiuinge kinde glaunces for amorous glotinges, and louinge harte-breakinges for affectionate hart ſighings. The eie beeing pleaſed with an eye, and the hart contented with a hart, they frolique both in glory as long as they reſt in conſtancie; but wandring from forth that ſanctuary, the eie either ſpies another eie that better pleaſeth it, and the harte likes of another harte that better contentes it, or elſe the eie lookes curiſhly into his owne hart, and ſpies ſome fault in himſelfe, which, diſpleaſing, begetteth Ieloſy: whereby the eie may be ſaid to be originall and father of both.

[1] How is it poſſible that falſhood ſhould be in frendſhip? or can [1 sig. E] the hand beguile the hart that ruleth it? no more will a louing wife playe falſe with him to whome ſhee is ioyned both by the lawe of god and man, or a frend croſſe her louing exceedinges, in whome his hart delighteth. That which is bred in the bone will neuer out of

the fleſhe; and what *Nature* hath made, *Arte* cannot marre. If Enuie hath a tricke with her heele, all the diuells in hell cannot alter it. And I maruell menne are ſo fooliſhe as to matche themſelues with ſuche women whome they haue cauſe to ſuſpect. Doubtleſſe, either their own life hath beene laſciuious, by which they iudge others, or their meaning bad in chuſing ſuch companions; when nowe, ouerlate repentinge of their bargaine, they light on a worſer miſchiefe. Allthough the fox be ſo crafty as he deceiues many, yet ſometimes he meeteth with a champion more ſubtill then himſelfe. The pitcher goeth long to the water, but at laſte getteth a knocke through the bearers fault, and is brought home broken. The Ielious man feareth his owne ſhadow, and looketh narrowly vnto it, yet (likely) at laſt commeth a ſubſtaunce, who (when he thinketh leaſt on it) entereth, doinge him iuſtice, though hee neuer the wiſer. It is ſtraunge that menne are ſo fooliſh as to ſeeke their owne vndoing, for aſſuredly looke, by what meaſure they ſell by, the ſame ſhall they receiue their owne, without aduauntage. The quarreling mate ſhall not complaine for want of knockes, or the ielious man longe deſire hell, when the one ſhall finde like ſwaſhbucklers vnto himſelfe, and the others wife will not ſticke to cut his throat with the knife hee hath ſo long feared.

Qu[o tibi] formosa[m] [si] non nisi [ca]sta place[bat]. No*n* pos-s[unt] vllis ista [coi]re modis.

Indign[ere] licet, iuua[t] inconcess[a] voluptas. Sola plac[et]. timeo, di[ce]re si qua p[o]test

If mens loue be ſimplie good, women cannot but affectionate them with like ſimplicity; but if they playe falſe (Ieloſye beeing their cloake), they will be ſure to keepe knaues to croſſe their cardes with. In theſe dayes euery cobler doth feare the carter, and ſetes vppe his whippe at his dore to keepe Iohn Cobbilero from his lattice. And I pray you vppon what reaſons ſhall theſe ielious trickes be diſcarded? Somme haue it by nature, and ſay, 'kit muſt after kind, bee it but in ſcraping of a [1] frying panne.' Beware of naturall foolles as long as you liue; for a bad tricke ingrafted in them, neuer leaueth them vntill he hath brought ſeauenty worſe into his roome. And, as for the inuention of their prediceſſors, they muſt needes goe to the diuell with them for companie. Others builde their knauery on other mens miſſortune, that are matched with Ioone, *communis omnibus*, that could play at bucklers ſo ſoone as ſhe was paſt her cradell. Oh, ſhee is a tall peece of fleſh, and will ſtand to her tackling ſo ſtoutly, as the diuell himſelfe ſhall not get the waiſters from her. I counſell

[1 sig. E, back]

him that thinketh hee hath met with her companion, to ceaſe to greeue at it, and ſtriue not to remoue that he cannot ſtirre, leaſt happily ſhee falls quit from him, & neuer ſerueth him after. Manye honour him of cuſtome, becauſe they hold their landes of him by homage, their predeceſſors allwayes hauing beene his ſworne ſubiectes. A pittifull cuſtome, that tendeth to the tenauntes vndoing, and a title that might very well bee reſigned ouer and denied; ſeeing it only toucheth free taile, or ſeruices vnreaſonable to be perfourmed. And a great part obtaine his entertainment by vſe and practiſe: thoſe are greene headed that long for reformations, & would haue new lawes inſtituted euery quarter, deſiring to try new concluſions, whether it were poſſible for a man to liue vnto himſelfe. Which are ſo delighted with common caſes, as they make honeſty a neceſſity, thruſting him out of the dores at their pleaſure, by vſing them moſt ſhamefully whome they ought to loue entirly. But moſt playe ielious parts of knauery and bad entention, meaning to make a practiſe of paltry peuiſhneſſe and knauiſh conceiptes. They will be ielious to try their wiues or frendes conſtancy, being neuer aſhamed of their owne villany.

What ſhall I ſaye? I greeue to thinke on mens hard happe, and womens vnkindneſſe; the one nouriſhing miſchiefe, and the other perſewing, with deadly execution, the tormentes they ſuſpecte and greeue at. I haue hard (euen of kinde gentlewomen reported, whoe haue beene ouer vexed with the ſuſpitious conceiptes of ielious huſbandes) that their ſlaunderous thoughtes [1]concerning the ſuſpected crimes, did not ſo much aggrauate their owne griefe (though it were intollerable), as the ſight therof did encreaſe their wiues ioy and delight, onely pleaſed with this ſweet melody: That they knewe themſelues to bee moſt conſtant and faithfull, though ſuſpected of the contrarye, and their huſbandes, deſiring no more then conſtancy, cannot content themſelues with their deſired felicity, but greeue their own ſoules with triphells, and eate vppe their owne harts through ſuſpition of diſloyalty. I would but demaund what recompence a ielious man receiueth by all his trauell, or what little ioy he reapes by his miſtruſtfullneſſe and continuall penſiueneſſe? The loweſt ebbe is counteruailed with as high a floode, and boyſtrous ſtormes with calme wether; the glomeſt daye maye darken the ſunne, but not

Quidquid [se]ruatur, cu[pi]mus ma[gi]s: ipsaque [fu]rem cura [v]ocat: pauci [q]uod sin[it] al[t]er, amant.

[1 sig. E 2]

abate his pride; and as there are extreame droughtes, ſo ſometimes falls the contrary by extraordinary tempeſts. There is no ſowre but may bee qualified with ſweet potions, nor any doubtfull malady that may not be allied with delightfull muſicke[1]; onely ielious thoughts with loue are vncurable, and that a coraſiue moſt dangerous to mens hartes. It is vaine to ſtriue againſt the ſtreame, and as fooliſh to build caſtels in the aire. He that thinketh to catch the aire in a bottle, deſerueth to be laſt at; & he that would ty vp his wiues or frends honeſty in a ſtring, to bee pitied: both follies fit for inno[c]ents & practizes without end. I thinke *Vulcans* Ieloſy preuailed him nothing, & his catching of *Marce* & *Venus* in a purcenet as little, except a confirmation of his great grief, & an aſſured knowledg of his horned head, prouing a continuall badge of his infamy. The like followed many others ſuſpition, and the like will enſewe of ſuch folly. *Vulcan* knewe that *Mars* was a copartner with him in *Venus* boſome. And he himſelfe could not but bluſh when hee had wooed his owne ſpouſe (the goddeſſe of loue), in ſteede of *Briceris*, his beloued paramore. I knowe that euery one hath his faulte, and all deſerue equall puniſhmente; onely *Robin good fellow* wiſhes, that mens & womens preſumtions may be certaine, and that their ſuſpecte may bee built on a ſure ground.

[1 *orig.* musiicke]

[2 sig. E 2, back]

[2] If men would imitate the ſame rule, to auoide Ieloſy, which *Cicero* hath ſet downe in his Offices, as moſt requiſite to maintaine a happy weale publike (alleaginge, *it was the parte of mad men, to wiſhe for a gloomy day when the ſonne ſhined moſt gloriouſly; or to deſire warre and turmoyling troubles, when the common-wealth flouriſheth moſt happily through peace and tranquillity; But, to alay hurly burlies with councel, and to make warres ceaſe by aduice, was greate wiſedome,*)—They would not encreaſe their owne greefe and ſorrow: or rather, beeing at quiet, and obtaining the height[3] of pleaſure by mutuall loue and affection, they woulde not (I ſay) long after vnreſt, or purſue troubles, and continuall diſquietnes, with might and maine, without meaſure; ſeeing the obtaining of their owne deſire is a proofe of their misfortune, and the iudgemente after the verdict of ſuch a title, continual ſhame and infamy. The man is happy that is accounted happy, and none are richer then thoſe that be ſo

[3 *orig.* heigth]

reus est, niumque fauet ille ori, cui itur victa ma crua, rea.

adiudged of. If, then, fame be ſo fauourable as to reckon a beggar equall with a kinge, is not hee a foole which will himſelfe reprooue her of an vntrueth? The prouerbe adiudges that 'an il bird which will defile his owne neſt;' and is not he a bad cuckold, that will regiſter himſelf one when the clarke hath left him out of fauour? By how much it is better to be one, beeing accounted none, then to be none, and reputed one,—by ſo much the more are they beholdinge to themſelues for the horne that blowes their Ieloſy vntill it flames. An extraordinary ſmoake breedes ſuſpect of a hurtefull fire, and many ſparkes make men to wonder; yet the harme of both of them is preuented by care and diligence.

I would but know the manne (*ſemper excipio*, the wittall) that would not be loath to be pointed at with a paire of hornes, & yet I know very many, and haue hard of an innumerable company, that haue made the whole parriſhe, yea, the country, priuy to their miſfortune by deſarte of them. Well, then, hereafter if there be any that hath a tooting head, and would not haue it ſene, let him keepe it ſecretely to himſelfe, and make the beſt of it. He goes farre that neuer turnes, and ſhee is a diuell that will neuer [1] mende; and ſince the diuell is good to ſome body, let the ielious man make much of her, that the ſhee diuell may bee good to him. [1 leaf E 3]

Sorrow craues pitty, and ſubmiſſion deſerues pardon. Hee is ouer hard harted that will not be entreated, and diueliſh that cannot forgiue. If, then, vpon penitent ſubmiſſion, a man ſhalbe forced to receiue her into fauour that hath offended, will it not be ſo much to his better contentmente, by how much a few are acquainted with the miſchiefe? That grief is beſt diſgeſted that bringes not open ſhame, but a ſpightefull blow prooues a noted ſcarre. But ſuppoſe the worſt that can happe, imagine ſhee will neuer be good, building vpon the old ſayinge: *Shee that knowes where Chriſtes croſſe ſtandes, will neuer forget where great A dwels*,—yet a man were better to bee troubled with a queane alone, then to bee forced to keepe both a queane and a knaue: for as the law grantes a deuorcement, ſo is it requiſite it ſhoulde allow the woman mainetenance; and what ſhall her knaue lacke that ſhe hath? Whoſoeuer, therefore, that is bound to a bad bargaine, whereof comes two miſchiefes, either to keepe a queane or

Flectitur tus voce r gante de

Quo sem[el] est imbuta recens seruabit odo[rem] Testa diu.

E duob[us] malis, min[i]mum est el[i]gendum.

to parte with money, if he will follow Robin good fellowes councel, let him rather chooſe to diet her in his owne houſe, then to pay for the boord of her and her louer in a ſtrange place.

But becauſe it is the beſt labour to woorke the confuſion of ſuch an ennimy as Ieloſy is, whoſe company encreaſeth multitudes of inconueniences, My meaninge is to ſet downe ſome neceſſary helpes how ſuch a miſchiefe may bee beſt preuented. And firſt, I councel euery one that is enfected with ſuch a plage to ſeeke to foreſtall the daunger thereof, by kinde and gentle plaiſters. I meane, that ſhee who hath a ielious huſband, ſubiect to the like infirmities before mencioned, ſhoulde reclaime him by gentle vſage, and ouercome his vaine ſuſpition with modeſt behauiour, not vſinge any vnciuill tricke in diſdainefull manner before his face, he hating the ſame; or vſing other ſuſpitious practiſes, onely to croſſe him with them; and ſo to carry themſelues in all places, and at all times, as they may neither giue cauſe of offence vnto them or of miſtruſt vnto others. The like meane ought to be executed by men, that they ouerlay not their [feare]¹full wiues, brauing them with diſdainefull likelyhoodes of diſhoneſt behauiour, but that they diſſuade them from ſuſpition by the contraries, remoouing their ielious conceites by kindneſſe and louely dalliance. It is eaſy to cure a greene wound, but the daunger of a feſtred ſore is mortall. The young tree will ſtoup, when the old ſhrewd cannot bend; and new conceites are eaſily remoued, but engrauen thoughtes will not be rubbed forth; and loue is of ſo great force, as he ſooner ouercomes with a faire word, then his enimye ſhall conquere by all his forces. Howe happie is that common wealth where peace raigneth, and that family which concord gouerneth, the one nouriſhing true amity amongſt her ſubiectes, the other eſtabliſhing vanity betweene man and wife.

Obsequium tigresq[ue] domat, timido[s]que leones.

[¹ leaf E 3, back. *Catchword* fearefull] [Fle]ctitur ob[seq]uio cur[ua]tus ab ar[bo]re ramus: [fra]nges, si [vir]es experi[ar]e tuas.

What greater griefe then life with diſcontent,
When diſcontent of want of loue ariſeth?
Loue hath no lacke, but allwayes liues content,
And any thing to pleaſe his mind ſufficeth;
Rich is true loue, abounding ſtill with ſtore,
The lacke whereof makes want a grieuous ſore.

The ſweete of loue doth yeeld ſo ſweete a taſt,
As mixt with gall, he turnes the ſower to ſweete:
By him is ſtrength and bleſſed weale imbraſt;
By him is harts-eaſe gaind, and ioy moſt greet.
Strong is true loue, whoſe ſtrength is kindly ſet:
To heape with ſweete, that ſower his ioy ne let.

The ſport of loue is full of ioyfull ſmiles,
He cures all ſores with one moſt kindeſt ſalue;
A pleaſing kiſſe his frowning rage beguiles,
And one faire word his anger doth diſſolue;
Pleaſant is loue, he ioyes in weale and woe;
His rage with ſmiles, his wroth with kiſſes goe.

[1] Thus liueth loue, and no otherwiſe fare they that be his followers; they are neuer hart ſicke, becauſe they neuer ſuſpecte; nor euer diſpleaſed, becauſe for that by themſelues they are not grieued. Who is more tormented then he that teares his owne fleſh? or who deſerues more griefe, then they that will not vſe the remedy? To lock vp ones wife, for fear of ſparrow-blaſting, dub himſelf a cuckould within an iron cage, and to ſeeke to[2] rule her by correction, when he cannot gouerne himſelf with diſcretion, is to gather a rod to beate his owne breeche. For whiles ſhe is lockte in her ſtudie, her mind hath the more liberty to inuent a fit reuenge againſt her going abroad. What is it they cannot effecte, if they haue a will therevnto? And what woman is there that liues without a meanes to repaye a good turne, or to requite a bad? Vſe them, therefore, well, is the wiſeſt way to liue quietly; to loue them entirely, the onely meanes to bee long happy.

If ſhe meanes to deceiue thee, her inuention is hard to be preuented, for, watch her neuer ſo narrowly, ſhe will finde a time to performe her knauery. The ſilieſt creatures are ſildome catcht in ordinary trappes: and can women want wit to fruſtrate a common ſtale? If it wer poſſible to know their thoughts, it were likely their practiſes might be hindered; but as long as *ſecreta mihi* raignes, the rains of their liberty are at their own pleaſures. And I thinke men are beſt at eaſe when they are ſo pleaſed,—at leaſt, wiſe men are, or

[1 leaf E 4]

[2 *orig.* seeke is to to] Non mentem ſeruare potes, licet o[m]nia claudas omnibus e[x]clusis, int[us] adulter eri Si sapis indulge dom[i]n[æ]: vultus[que] seueros exue. Centum fron[-]te occulos, centum cer[-]uice gerebat Argus, & hos vnu[-] sæpe fefelli[t] amor.

ſhould be, ſeeing their contentment hanges in their wills. For what houſe is in quiet where the goodwife is out of patience? If the maiſter bee angry, the fault onely lies on the miſtriſſe her necke; but be ſhe moued, about goes the maides, away runne the menne, and I make a doubt whether her huſband dares to out ſtand her. I am aſſured ſhee will out chide him. Flatery is a ſweet baite, and kindneſſe a wholeſome potion; & nothing more then vnlawfullnes, enticeth vs vnto lewdneſſe. The delighte of ſweete is taken away by ſurfiting of ſuggar; but who by nature is not deſirous of nouelties? There would not ſo many purcaſe Tiborne, vnleſſe there were a Bull to hange them; nor ſo many yeeld vppe [1] the poſſeſſion of their garmentes to the hangmen, were ther not a lawe to condemne them. And I warrant you, there would be fewer horned heads, if ielious hartes were ſcanter, wherby the practiſe of watching might decay. Who knowes liberty better then they that haue beene in bondage? And whoe, for the moſt parte, vſeth it worſe then they that knowe it beſt? A mind ouerladed with ioy, committeth manye errours in his iolity; & a harte preſſed downe with ſorrowe, thinkes of manye miſchiefes. Extreames are neuer good: and howe can one ſooner fall into them, then being made acquainted with one of them? Hauing beene in the dungion of diſcontent, and being ſet free to range at our pleaſure, we thinke we are neuer at the territ of delight, before, with *Ouids* builders, wee touch the heauens, ſo imperfect is our nature.

Quod licet ingratum est: quod non licet acrius vrit.

[1 leaf E 4, back] [Flec]timur in [v]it[i]um sem[per] cupimus- [qu]e negata [cu]i pec- care [lic]et, peccat [mi]nus[.] ipsa [po]testas se[m]ina nequi[ti]æ langui[di]ora facit.

Perſwaſions are of great force to moue women, whoſe harts, though moſt tender, withſtand nothing more then crabbed vſage. Vowe loue vnto them, and they will ſweare conſtancy vnto you; and if perchance they make ſome ouerſlip by their deſeruing Ieloſy, yet grow not ſtraight collericke, but ſay your paternoſter before you reprehend them for it; in which time which is as ſmall as may be, you ſhall, by tempering your wit with wiſdome, finde ſo tractable a medicine to drawe her from a ſecond fault, as her penitencie will take away all ſuſpition of hipocricie. Say but you are ſorrowfull to heare it, or aſhamed to ſee it, and, of my word, her next ſhall be an oth neuer to commit the like folly. What a cheape *ſubpena* is this to drawe an anſwere from the conſcience! When, paraduenture, to deale otherwiſe, would come to neede a writ of rebellion. There is

O vtinam [a]rguerem [si]c, vt non [v]incere pos[s]em: Me mi[s]e- rum quare [t]am bona causa mea est?

Per venere*m* iuro, pueriq[ue] volatilis ar- cus: me non admissi cri- minis esse reum.

no aſſurance better then that which is made with a ſafe conſcience; and no man ſtands on a better ground, then he that buildes on his wiues word. If ſhe ſpeaks it, why ſhould we not rather belieue her, then an other that ſhould report no more vnto vs? Oh, I knowe what you will ſay, becauſe ſhe ſpeakes in her owne defence; and maye not the other ſlaunder vppon a malicious will? What will not the diuell doe for aduauntage, and what can hee doe without his inſtrumentes? To bee too too cruell [1] breedes repentaunce, as well as careleſſenes forerunnes ſorrow. When tender droppes will pearce the flint, the hard ſtele is vnneceſſarye; and where good counſell will correcte, a rod were better awaye then preſent. They ſay that ouerawing makes fooles, and what will they let to doe? It is as hard to get any good out of them that are witleſſe, as to force water out of a flint; and yet I ſay not but that good may be gotten of them; but with it, I affirme it muſt be by kind meanes. *Fy, fy, ſweete hart, what loſe trickes are theſe! or what immodiſty will this be accounted!* Will ſtrike ſo deepely into a reformatiue conſcience, as there ſhall not neede out vpon thee, with ſome beaſtly tearme of a brutiſh toung for a whit of correction. And they will driue an obedient wife to ſuch contrition, as there ſhall be no thought of an vnkind extrution, either of her out of dores, or of her good name and fame from it wonted reputaation. Why is the huſband called his wiues good-manne, but becauſe hee ought to be a meane to withdraw her from ſuch imperfections as nature hath left in her? He, in my iudgement, can be but a bad common wealthes man which is an ill huſband, for, looke what ill faſhions raigne vncorrected at home, the like inormities ſhould reſt in his forrain charge. For who knowes not that we haue the greateſt care (if we haue any at al) of thoſe things which are neareſt vnto our ſelues? and why may not I affirme that ſuch a one will reſpecte little a common profitte, when hee regards ſo lightly his owne priuate wellfare? Oh, I woulde Robin might be tedious, not troubleſome, hee would then endeauor a further probability of the ielious mans folly, but fearing he hath offended too too much already, hee will euen but ſhut vppe his remnant breefely.

[1] sig. F]

Hæc tib[i] sunt mecu[m], mihi sunt communia tecum: in bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit?

The ſweeteſt flower whoſe ſtaulk ſharpe prickles gard,
Yeeldes pleaſant ſent, through care, without annoy:

The Goosbery, with hurtfull buſhes ward,
Surrenders vp it ſelfe, through care to ioy.

[1 sig. F, back] [1] *The rammiſh hauke is tamd by carefull heed,*
And will be brought to ſtoope vnto the lewre;
The ferceſt Lyon will requite a deed
Of curteſie, with kindneſſe to endure.

What fiſh ſo proud as doth diſdaine a baite?
Nor fiſh, beaſt, foule, nor fruit, but takes the mate.
Then ſince that care ſpeedes beſt with curteſie,
Vſe care and kindneſſe to mate Ieloſy.

Nec blan-[ ]atis, nec [eri]t tibi co[mi]s amica, [pe]rfer & ob[du]ra: post[m]odo mitis [eri]t.

This is Robins counſell, a ſoueraigne oyle of experience to drawe away the droppinges of Ieloſyes noſe, that ſo much anoyes the patients harte. Which muſt be wrought moſt gently, laboured with the perſwaſions of reaſon, the effecte wherof, I warrant you, wil proue ſo profitable, as either he will be freed from noyſomnes,[2] or haue his noſe put out of ioynt. Couetuouſnes is a peſtelent help to Ieloſy; for how can he that hath ſet al his loue on his money, be drawn to beſtow part thereof on his wife? No, of my credit, he that hath crept into that vaine, hath ſo far crawled from honeſty, as hee cares not what iniury hee doth. He knowes that loue will aſke coſt; and why doth he loue the diuell, but to ſaue charges? For could he be contented to doe good, as he is forward to worke miſchieſe, he would deale with loue better then to locke him vp in his coffers. Oh, it is a ſweete thing to him to diue vppe to the elbowe in a bagge, while the kind man beſtowes his time in kiſſes. But let the other be aſſured, that whileſt this inioyes paradice, he ſhall be ſtriuing to paſſe through the eie of an nedle, which ſhall proue vnpoſſible. It is a gay thing to come to dignity, but it is a more benificiall thinge to vſe honeſty; but whye doe I talke of honeſty to them that neuer meant to enter eternity? Surely for no other cauſe, but for that Robin, knowinge the ſlauerye that is prepared for you, is moued to pitty, and could wiſh you had care to preuente the puniſhment of the cormorantes dungion. But I care not howe little honeſty you haue, ſo you ſhunne Ieloſy, for I onely harpe on that ſtring at this preſent, which

[2 *orig.* noysommes]

I ſay cannot bee a[1]voided without the entertainment of loue, who will ſoone thruſt him headlong beſides his poſſeſſion. [1 sig. F 2]

Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori. The paſſions of loue are ſo paſſing kinde, as they ſubdewe whereſoeuer they become, yea, aſſuredly they will either conquere or kill; and becauſe life is moſt ſweete, we will rather yeeld to affection then die for Ieloſy. Loue is a pleaſing gout, which will ſuffer vs no more to be miſled by vnreſt, then the tormenting gout wil giue his patientes leaue to reſt while the paine is vnceaſing. And ſuch a hartie dropſie is he, as he ſwels his criples affections with ſo great kindneſſe, as they ſing no ſong, but Ah, I loue. He is a nettle that ſtinges the hart with continuall pleaſure; and that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies, on whome none ſhall fix the fancy kindly, that ſhall not be ſtroken with a darte of conſtauncy; hee is the greeuing woe that breedes continuall ioy, the fond conceipt that faſtens faithful thoughts in his place, and that euill that reapes eternall good. To rehearſe her qualities, were a new worke for Robin-good-fellow, and to followe his properties, not a labour without profit. But his chiefeſt qualitie [2] is to be kind and his next to be conſtant; he euer forgiues, and ſtill forgetes faultes. He delightes not in breed-bates, nor doth he glory in the quarrells of deereſt frendes, but all his actions are faithfull, and all his thoughtes frutfull. Dandill him, and he will ſporte thee; ſet him in thy lappe, and hee will comfort thy hart; Speake him faire, and hee will kiſſe thee kindly; like him onely, & he will loue thee euer. He neuer is haſty, but hee repentes thereof preſently, paying for euery vnkinde worde a ſorrowfull hei ho. As he will be ſoone angry, ſo is hee ſtraight pleaſed, & therfore was he fained to be little in being neuer long troubled with extreames. But there is a certaine madneſſe which men call loue, the ſame prouing ſo great fondneſſe, as euery frowne of a miſtriſſe makes ſome melancholy a quarter after, and to match that, is fooliſh dotage ſet, both ſo hot paſſions for a while, as they proue in the end to be loues greateſt enimy, euen peſtelent Ieloſy. The one will die if hee hath not his longing; as for the other (for that hee is more craftie), hee hath [3] many ſubtill meanes to obtaine his deſire; yet both of them are ſo far from reaſon, as they hurt themſelues willingly. Nowe, to iudge howe kind they will be [3 sig. F 2, back. *Catch word* man]

Desine (c[re]de mihi[vi]tia irritar[e] vetando: [ob]sequio v[in]ces aptius ipse tuo.
En ego co[n]fiteor tua sum noua præda, C[u]pido.
Porrigim[us] victas ad t[ua] vincla manus.
Blanditiæ comites t[ibi] erunt tetr[i]que furo[res] assidué pa[r]tes turba [se]cuta tuas.
His tu mi-[li]tibus superas homin[es]que deosq[ue]
Nil opus e[st] bello: ve[ni]am pacem[que] rogamus.

[2 *orig.* qua litle]

to others, that be ſo crabbed to themſelues, Robin leaues that to common reaſon. Yet becauſe theſe two extreames, namely, mad fondneſſe and dottage, are the onely meanes to helpe Ieloſy, I will bee bould a little to touch them.

The extraordinary conceipt of obtained curtiſy, moues ſuch a liking in the ouer paſſionate louer, as all his ſences are onely tied to one obiect, & his whol hart dedicated to that ſaint, the ſole miſtriſſe of his hart. As the extremity which tormentes him, is eaſed with nought except what comes from her kindneſſe, ſo his mad fittes, once croſſed with diſcourteſie, breed that vncurable melancholy, which deadly grife and vntimely death do followe. But both of them being perchance ſtroken with the ſelfe ſame arrowe, ſhot from the vmpertiall blind boy his bowe, are rauiſhed with the delighte they conceiue the one from the other, their thoughtes beeing heauenly, becauſe true to each other, and their true loue vowed to eternity, manifeſted by no ſmall fauours. Which happily euery day more and more encreaſing frendſhip, remaines to both with wiſhed contentment, vntill vnhappily, Ieloſy (the profeſſed enimye to louers proſperity) picketh a quarrell with one or both, by falſe vnconſtancy. Then beginnes our hot loue to turne to burning coles, prouing ſuch fondneſſe, as wee ſuſpecte our owne ſhadowes. Wee gorge our ſelues ſo vnreaſonably with the delight of our ſaintes beautie, as wee caſt vppe the hope of their faithfullneſſe. We wil make them ſaintes, and thinke them diuells, louing them ſo entirely, as our ouer much makes them vnhappy. Wee doe ſet them vp in vndecent brauery, and ſet them out with fooliſh praiſes; yet, ſhould any ſtrangers (though of the familiars ſorte) ſeeme to ſue to them,—nay, I may truely ſay, ſpeake to them, it may bee the better for the men, but bee aſſured it ſhall bee the worſe for the women. And now comes in diſſimulation, by which we moſt practiſe to vſe them kindly, whome wee hate deadly; to ſpeake them faire to their faces, whome wee curſe behind their backs, [1] and to feede them with dainties, whom wee could wiſh poiſoned. After the ſelfe ſame manner fare our wiues: they haue a kinde dinner and a crabbed ſupper, ſweete meate with ſower ſawce, and a pleaſaunt drinke with a poiſoned potion; ſo fonde extreames falling one on the others backe, as in a moment wee will vſe them like Goddiſſes (if we doe not confeſſe vnto them, they are no leſſe

[I] meane the [de]ath of hyr [ſpir]it or of hir [lo]ue.

[P]inguis a[m]or nimiu*m*[q]ue patens, [in] tædia no[b]is vertitur, [et] stomacho [d]ulcis vt es[c]a, nocet.

[1 sig. F 3]

vnto vs), and no otherwiſe then diuels, ſwering now we hate them moſt deadly, whome euen now wee proteſted to loue moſt diuinely; ſuche monſtrous vnconſtancy dooth this fondneſſe nouriſh. Neither ſhall theſe trickes be extraordinary once in ſeauen yeares, but I would Robin could not avow that he hath ſeene them perfourmed on[c]e euery day in many places. Well, I will leaue them to their amendes, and touche as briefly the dotor. O facies & oculos na[ta] tenere me[os]

Who, after a little pampering (hauing perchance had his liberty in good paſture for halfe a yeare, without exerciſe), doth grow ſo frollicke, as he thinkes himſelf as youthfull as the yongeſt nagge, though he hath as many diſeaſes as a iade can haue. In this brauery hee muſt bee furniſhed with a gay ſaddell, and none vnder a ladye maye ſerue his tourne; I meane, while his prouender prickes, he wilbe ſo luſty, as hee thinkes no woman too yong for him. In which vaine, beeing thus couragious, hee ſpendes franckly, and ſettes himſelfe foorth in the braueſt manner, ſo that by his hope, *quid non aurum?* he will hap vppon ſo vnequall a match (by practiſe prooued), as after one nights iourney, he begins to be iadiſhly tired, euery day after growing miſtruſtfull. So that as his monſtrous deſire hath bene the meane to ioyne himſelfe with ſuche inequallity, ſo ſhall his knowne cold courage and her youthfull yeares be a line to leade him to Ieloſy, Whoſe perſuaſions as yet haue taken ſuch deſired effect, as at this time, where loue ſeekes to builde his kingdome, this his ennimy (I meane Ieloſy) neuer ſurceaſeth from armes vn till he hath loue out by the eares, being ſtill accompanied with like bats, & alwaies followed by vnhappy diſcontentment. His proſperity, generally allowed off in mens conceits, is greedely followed by their vnconſtant hartes, which loue nothinge that [1] is eternall, nor like of any loue but what wil alter dayly. And becauſe I haue entred ſo farre into the gouernement of Ieloſy, I will preſume to wade a little further into his kingdome. [1 sig. F 3, back]

In the countrey of Euery-place he raigneth, a ruler as pernitious as mightye, and more mightye then either vertuous or peaceable. As his kingdome is large, ſo his ſubiectes are many, his land beeing inhabited by people no leſſe vnruely then himſelfe, and his right mainetained by make-bates that neuer are ſatiſfied, vntill their owne bloud hath raunſomed the delight of their deſired death. Manye are

his aduerſaries, and more his freendes, euery diſpoſition drawne to follow his humours, and deſirous of his entertainement, by reaſon his actions ſeeme pleaſing, and his cauſe righte and profitable. His regimente is well ſtrengthned by force of men, hauing ſtronge holdes, ſeeming no leſſe delightfull in ſhow, though by experience it prooues moſt fruitleſſe and barren. His chiefeſt citty and ſeat of pleaſure (accompted of his ſubiectes the ſeconde Parradiſe) ſtandes on the top of a high hill, called Miſtruſtfullneſſe, at foote whereof runneth the ſwift riuer Vnconſtancy, hauinge this effecte in operation, that whoſoeuer inbathe themſelues therein, finde continuall alterations in their harts before ſetled, and now tormented with variable thoughtes. In this ſtreame are manye ſandy ſhallowes, and as many daungerous holes, both continually vſed and frequented vnto, as well by the inhabitantes of that citie, as alſo by all ſuch who chaunce to trauell that way. This citty hath his name 'Light of loue' maineteined by elders, whoe are elected, not for their wealth and wit, as in other countries, but for their envy and fooliſhneſſe. Their common trafficke is Exchaunge of Loue; and their profites, Diſquietneſſe and Hate. The fruite that delighte[t]h their appetites, is Faith-leſſe Fancies; and the meates they feede on, Care & Vnreſt. The ſportes they ioy in, are continuall brawles, and the walkes they take pleaſure in watching, and hope of finding. All their triumphes are Controuerſies in law, and all their turnies, for broken pates, with faggot ſtickes; their feaſt day is repentaunce, and Death their Saboath.

[1 leaf F 4] [1]This citie bearing the chiefe ſwaie for vnrulineſſe, hath ſo diſperſed her inhabitaunce into the other partes of the cuntrey, as, for the moſt part, there is neuer a cottage in Ieloſyes common wealth, but harbours iourney men as bad as their maiſters in condition. His houldes and caſtels are both ſtronge and many, being fortified with deepe caſtrauelinges, and furniſhed with all kindes of ingions fit for warre. Theire artillery for defence, ſo wel placed on the battlements of their towers, as they wonderfully and daungerouſlye annoye their ennemy. Curſes and Banninges are the leaſt ſhot they carry, and a thouſande bitter wordes will do no more then charge one of them. The natures of theſe people are variable, and they, beinge for the moſt parte falſe harted, are likewiſe deſirous ſtill of new freends. The enterteinement they will giue ſtrangers is verye good, but the vſage of their

frendes and familiars, eſpecially of their wiues (as you haue hard already), is generally too too bad. They, alltogether reiecting reaſon, performe raſhly what ſo euer they thinke, and effecte diueliſhly what ſo euer they practiſe. Their wills are their lawe, and ſuſpecte their iudge, their iudgments being as lawleſſe as their lawe is wanting reaſon and diſcretion. They bandy honeſty as a tennis-ball, and play with good report, as a childe doth with an apple,—the one not being in quiet vntill it bee eaten, & the other neuer ſatisfyed vntill their good hope be quite extinguiſhed. The buſy Ape comes not to ſo many ſhrowde turnes by his vnhappye trickes, as they come vnto miſchiefe by their troubleſome diſpoſitions; nor doth he deſerue ſo much the whip to keepe him in awe, as they merrit the halter for bringing ſo many vnto miſery. For if the law rewards him with a halfe penny corde, that doth rob a ſtranger of thirteene pence halfe penny, I knowe no reaſon howe they can bee accompted leſſe then theeues, that either robbe their neighbours, or ſpoile themſelues of their good names. He that kilies himſelf, ſhalbe buried by the law in the commons; and why ſhoulde not he be intoombed vnder the gallowes, that not onelye cuttes his owne throate, haſting thereby to the diuell, but cuts his wiues alſo, toling her thither for company?

[1 leaf F 4, back]

[1] *Ah, ſoueraigne loue, whoſe ſweetneſſe ſalues the ſowre,*
And cures the woundes of euery dying hart:
Thou kilſt by kindneſſe, if thou kilſt; No lowre
Ads greater griefe to them that feele thy ſmarte.

Thou countes it paine enough, by proofe to finde,
How two kind hartes may faſt remaine in one.
Thy captiue bounds make but a conſtant mind,
And all thy warre is for long Peace alone.

Thou ties the mind, and lets their handes goe free:
Thou woundes the hart, and neuer hurtes the ſkinne:
Thy victory is, loue for loue to ſee:
Thy greateſt conqueſt, where there is leaſt ſinne.

Ah, ſweeteſt loue, thou wounds to cure for aye,
Whoſe ſharpe ſhort-night[2] *procures a ſweete long-day.*

[2 *orig.* shor-nitght]

Such is loues enuy, and himſelfe no worſe an ennemy; hee fightes ſtrongly, but to free euerlaſtingly; he tormentes happily, and cheereth

frowardly; and both his ſmiles & frownes are ſo equally tempered, as his pleaſing mixture makes a perfect medley, which yeelds moſt melodious conſtancy. One loue and one life ſhall knit ſo perfect a knott of amity, as one death ſhall ende both their ioyes and miſeries. Her loue ſhalbe his life, and his life her loue, ſhee ſhall endure no torment without his torture, nor ſhall he ſuffer any extreamity without her agony. His ſickeneſſe ſhalbe her ſorrow, and her griefe woorſe then his deathes wound. Their care ſhalbe to encreaſe eachothers hartes-eaſe; and their ſtrifes, which of them ſhall exceede the one the other in courteſy. Their dalliaunce ſhall bee rewarded with darlinges, whoſe ſweete fauoured faces ſhal be continuall pledges of their faithfull kindneſſe. The daughters ſhalbee like to their fathers, and the ſonnes haue the countenances of their mothers. Their encreaſe ſhalbe multiplied, their ſubſtance doubled and trebled, till it come to aboundance, liuing ſo longe as three folde gene²rations ſhall make ioyfull great grand-mothers, and degrees of honour make happy poſterities. They ſhall adde ſo great a bleſſing to their ſtore, as time ſhall not take away the memory of them, nor fame ſuffer their antiquitye euer to die. A woor[l]d ſhall ende with their honour, neither ſhall that world decay vntill their dignity be regiſtred in the true cronicles of eternity.

Non mihi [m]ille placent. [n]on sum de[sul]tor amo[ri]s: Tu mi[h]i (si qua fi[d]es) cura pe[r]ennis eris. Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi fila [S]ororum, vi[v]ere contingat teq[ue] dolente, mori.[1]

[² sig. G]

Thus ſhall loues followers be thriſe happy, and thus Robin goodfellowes well-willers, in imitating his care, bee manifolde bleſſed. They ſhall haue their hartes deſire, and I my wiſhe, which I pray may happen to both our contentmentes; and ſo, farewell.

[1] A good deal of the Latin side-notes comes from Ovid's *Amores*, book 3, elegy 4.—W. C.

[1] *To the Gentlewomen and others of England.*

[1 sig. G back]

COurtious and louely Dames, ſome, to winne your fauour, prouid ſuche coſtly giftes as may beſeeme your acceptance; and others, ſo rare deuiſes as a yeares trauell hath purchaſed; but Tell troth, though as ſeruiceable as they which are moſt paſſionate, and as amorous as who exceedes in affection, hath only bought for you a dramme of wit, amounting to fower pennye charges to paſſe for a new-yeares gift. The dedication whereof, I haue rather ſubiected to your curteſie, then to mens patrocinie; for that your ſelues, being of the pureſt mettall, and hauing your hartes framed of the kindeſt moule, will be both more ready to defend our good meanings, and willing to hinder that hagges proceedings, your wills will be leaſt followed, and therefore your wits muſt be moſt vſed; wherby you, whoſe ſweete flowing tounges charme more then the Orphean muſicke, muſt ſtraine your melodious notes to that heigh[t], as by your ſingularitie you may make Ielouſie aſhamed, & by ſolemme vowes, breake the necke of ſuſpition. You muſt diſwade with wordes, and perſwade by modeſt behauiour, confounding by wit, and confirming with diſcretion; Following Robins rules to preuent the diuells practiſe, and making much of loue, to withſtand Ielouſies councell. And for that Tell troth tells the truth, which by triall you muſt proue, vſe Robins ſalue to heale your ſore, and performe his will to inioy your weale, whereby your confirmation may approue his cunning, and allowe my perſumption in a [2] greater matter. Robin hath here but onely touched that generall knowne enimie to a quiet life; but hee meanes, by your further fauourable protection, ſhortly to arme you againſt many pettie aduerſaries, which worke againſt loues welfare. If, in the meane time, your good reportes knocke downe the buſie carppers, it ſhall bee a ſufficient ſpurre to make both Robins wit and my pen to triumph in ſpite of them, which ſhall, by wading further to anger them, light into that vaine which will better content you. Vntill which time (becauſe I would not be tedious) I will leaue you, ſubmitting the wiſh of your welfare to the pleaſure of your owne wills.

[2 leaf G 2; *the back of this leaf is blank.*]

Yours, as he hath euer beene,

Tell troth.

[Mr H. C. Levander has kindly identified the side-notes of *Tell-Troth* by means of his Ovid Index, and copied them out as follows :—

Quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.—Ovid. III. Am. IV. 41.
Indignere licet ; juvat inconcessa voluptas
Sola placet, Timeo, dicere si qua potest.—III. Am. IV. 31.
Quicquid servatur, cupimus magis ; ipsaque furem
Cura vocat : pauci, quod sinit alter, amant.—III. Am. IV. 25.
Ferreus est, nimiumque suo favet ille dolori,
Cui petitur victa palma cruenta rea.—II. Am. V. 11.
Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.—Art. Am. I. 442.
Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.—Horace, Epist. I. ii. 69.
[. . . ex malis eligere minima oportere . . . . Cic. de Off. III. i. 3.]
* Obsequium tigresque domat *timidos*que leones.
Ov. Art. Am. II. 183.
Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus.
Franges, si vires experiare tuas.—Art. Am. II. 179.
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas ;
Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit.—III. Am. IV. 7.
Si sapis, indulge dominae ; vultusque severos
Exue.—III. Am. IV. 43.
Centum fronte oculos, centum cervice gerebat
Argus : et hos unus saepe fefellit Amor.—III. Am. IV. 19.
Quod licet, ingratum est ; quod non licet, acrius urit :
II. Am. XIX. 3.
Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.—III. Am. IV. 17.
Cui peccare licet, peccat minus : ipsa potestas
Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.—III. Am. IV. 9.
O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem !
Me miserum ! quare tam bona causa mea est ?—II. Am. V. 7.
Per Venerem juro, puerique volatilis arcus,
Me non admissi criminis esse reum.—II. Am. VII. 27.
Haec tibi *sunt* mecum, mihi *sunt* communia tecum :
In bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit ?—II. Am. V. 31.
Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis *amica ;*
Perfer, et obdura ; postmodo mitis erit.—Art. Am. II. 177.
Desine (crede mihi) vitia irritare vetando ;
Obsequio *vinces* aptius *ipse* tuo.—III. Am. IV. 11.
En ego confiteor ; tua sum nova praeda, Cupido :
Porrigimus victas ad tua *vincla* manus.—I. Am. II. 19.
Blanditiae comites tibi erunt, *Terror*que, Furorque,
Assidue partes turba secuta tuas.—I. Am. II. 35.
His tu militibus superas hominesque Deosque.—I. Am. II. 37.
Nil opus est bello : pacem veniamque rogamus.—I. Am. II. 21.
Pinguis amor, nimiumque patens, in taedia nobis
Vertitur ; et stomacho, dulcis ut esca, nocet.—II. Am. XIX. 25.
O facies oculos nata tenere meos !—II. Am. XVII. 12.
Non mihi mille placent : non sum desultor Amoris :
Tu mihi (si qua fides) cura perennis eris.
Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi fila Sororum,
Vivere contingat ; teque dolente mori.—I. Am. III. 15.]

* There are several various readings of the words in Italics.

[THE

PASSIONATE MORRICE,

A SEQUEL TO

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT, 1593.

By A.]

[sig. A 2]

To the Gentlewomen and others of *England.*

ONce more (moſt beautiful damſels) I am bold to preſume of your wonted fauour, thereby being lead to a performance of a vowed duetie: where a kinde zeale bindeth to offer the acceptance of a ſeruiceable good will, there a carefull feare that forewarneth to incurre the hazard of offence, maketh the hart to ſtagger betweene hope and deſpaire; hoping through the kindenes of your gentle diſpoſitions, to obtaine a defence againſt iniurious cauillers, and fearing by an ouer-bolde preſumption, to offer offence to the affable ſweetenes of your ſoueraigne curteſie. But ſeeing my deſire to bee poſſeſſed of the better cordiall, makes me hart-ſtrong to ſuppe of that potion which is likeſt to lengthen my welfare, the ſame being an aſſured confidence of your continuall carefulnes, in ſhrowding with your affection the ſlender ſubſtance of my humorous Morrice.

It is not long ſince, for *Tel-troths* Newyeeres-gift, I preſented vnto your liking *Robin good-fellow* his newes, with his inuectiue againſt Loues moſt iniurious enemie, Ielouſie; which, though it was a token to gratifie the day, yet, if with indifferent iudgement, the matter therein contained be conſidered of, I doubt not, though it was a New-yeeres day toy, it may proue a many yeeres helpe to hinder that hagges enterpriſes. The worke tooke his title according to the time of his creation[1]; but ſhall *Robins* preſcript[2]ions be followed? the patients maladie ſhall continually finde it a gifte to ſignifie the [3]good beginning, and proſperous proceeding of many new yeeres vnto them. But now to ſend *Tell-troth* packing, *Honeſtie* hath thruſt himſelfe into your ſeruice, who, though at the firſt ſight he may ſeeme a crabbed companion, yet let me beſeech you to ſtay your

[1 *orig.* creationt]
[2 pt- *orig.* pr-]
[3 sig. A 2, back]

cenſure til you haue throughly tryed what is in him; and if then he ſhewes not himſelfe a diligent pleaſer of your immortal vertues, memorize in the Cronicles of Diſdaine the fame of that runnagate ſimplicitie, and let me, for his faulte, be baniſhed from your good thoughts to euerlaſting ignominie.

I was rather deſirous to trauel altogether inuiſible, then to haue had a title which might giue light to the vnderſtanding of me your vnworthie profeſſed Author; but ſince the higher powers denie me that priuiledge, I am content to ſubiect my ſelf to the opinions of courteous diſpoſitions; beſeeching you to beare with my vaine, for that the vanitie of this age regardes no other; nor would any be content to heare of faultes, vnleſſe they be tolde them in meriment. I proteſt there is nothing ſcandalous therein, nor which is ment to offer iniury to any; onely my purpoſe is, that if you ſhould know any like vnto any of thoſe in diſpoſition, that either you forewarne them thoſe monſtrous iniurious vices, or accompt of them as peſtilent fooliſh wretches. To ſhun tedioufnes, I commit my intention to your miſticall conſideration, my woorke to your courteous protection, my ſelfe to your fauourable opinions, and your ſacred ſelues to the heauens tuition.

Yours in ſeruice and affection
moſt loyall, A.

[sig. B]

THE PASSIONATE[1]

[1 orig. *PASSOINATE*]

Morrice.

IN the moneth of *March*, a time as fit for wooing, as *May* is pleaſant to ſporte in, *Honeſtie* trauelling, as his cuſtome is, to ſearch ſuch corners as good fellowſhip haunteth, it was my hap, co*m*ming into *Hogſden*, to light vpon a houſe, wherein were met ſuch a troupe of louers, as, had not the hall been wondrous bigge, a multitude ſhould haue been forced to ſtand without dores. Yet, though the roume was ſo ſpatious, as an armie might haue lodged therein without peſterment, notwithſtanding it was ſo well filled at this inſtant, as all the place *Honeſtie* could get amongſt them was, to ſit on the rafters on the top of the houſe, which fitted beſt my humour, that deſires rather to ſee then to be ſeene. There, ſeated in my Maieſtie (as ready to heare newes, as the pickthanke is forward to tell newes), I might eaſely perceaue my louers mated, as if they ment to make Marche birds, euery man hauing his ſweete hart, and euery couple their corner. There were of all ſortes, and in many manners ſorted,—ſome batchelers ſewed to widdowes, others to maides; widdowers likewiſe wooed ſome maides, and otherſome, widdowes; there was age and youth coupled together, equalitie of yeares courting each other, and diuerſity of diſpoſitions, arguing to make a ſympathie.

[2 sig. B, back]

[2] Amongſt them I lent my eares firſt to a couple that had choſen forth the moſt ſecret corner in the houſe, which were not worſt fitted for yeares; for it was a youth of three and twentie, that had matched himſelfe with a maide of eighteene; hee, holding her vpon his knee, with his right hand claſping hers, & his left about her middle, made many proffers to win her fauour, and breathed many ſighes to ſhew his loue; he vowed conſtancie with proteſtations, and confirmed with

othes the pleadge of his loyaltie; he ſhewed her how long he had loued her before he durſt tel her of his affection, how many iournies he had made with loſſe of labour, and how many complaintes to the God of Loue, not finding any remedie. Hee made her priuie to the many houres he had at ſundrie times ſpent in watching to haue a ſight of her, ſhewing vnto her how ioyfull he were, had he, perchance, but ſeene any creature belonging to her fathers houſe, yea, were it but the little dog that turned the ſpit. 'Many times (quoth he) haue I lookt vp to the windowe, imagining I haue ſeene thy picture engrauen in the glaſſe, when, with long gaſing to viewe the true portrature thereof, I haue at laſt recalled my ſelfe, by letting my ſoule ſee how mine eyes were deceiued, in expecting that true forme from the glaſſe, which was onely pictured in my heart. Then would I ſorrowe to my ſelfe, and power forth ſuch paſſions into the ayre, as my heart, being ouer loaded with the extremitie they would force, would conſtraine me to ſit downe, ending my ſpeeche with ſuch ſighes, as my breathed ſorrowe would no leſſe darken the ayre, then a miſtie fogge doth obſcure the ſkie. But at laſt, comming to my ſelfe, I would returne home, locking vp my ſelfe within my lodging, a cloſe priſoner by the commandement of loue; where, to paſſe away the time, I would write paſſionate lines, amorous ditties, pleaſing fancies, pleaſant ronddelaies, and dolefull drerelayes. Now would I thinke to winne thee by letters; anon I thought it better to pen ſpeeches; but ſuddainely, both miſliking mee, I would
[1 sig. B 2] throwe [1] my ſelfe vppon the bed, ſo long thinking which way to obtaine thee, as in the end I ſhould fall into a ſlumber. Yet, amidſt my reſt, my thoughtes concerning thee were reſtles; For then ſhould I dreame ſometimes thou ſpakeſt me faire, repaying my kindenes with ſweete kiſſes, granting my requeſts, and forward to doe my will; but awaking from forth that ſoueraigne eluſion, looking to finde thee, I ſhould feele the bed-poaſtes, that hard hap, turning my glad heart to a new bread ſorrow, which was the more painefull, by how much my dreame was pleaſing; at another time, I ſhould thinke, that ſuing to thee for fauour, thou wouldeſt beſtowe frownes, & profering my ſeruice, thou wouldſt offer ſkornes. If I ſighed, thou wouldſt ſmile, laughing at my teares, and ioying at my griefe, requiting euery kinde demande with ſo cruell anſwers, as if thy bitter words could not force

me to leaue my ſuite, thy ſkornefull farewels ſhould fruſtrate my wil; offering to touch thine hand, mee thought thou profereds[t] thy foote, and ſtouping to catch that, being glad of any thing, thou wouldſt in a rage fling from me, and leaue the doore barred againſt me. There ſhould I ſit till my teeth chattered in my head, and my heart aked in my bellie; then ſhould I ſhake for colde, and ſigh for ſorrowe; when, thinking to knock my legges againſt the ground to get heate, I ſhould kick al the cloathes off me, being in the end conſtrained to awake through colde. At what time that colde fare would better content me, then the former flattering cheare did pleaſe me, being as glad it was falſe, as I would haue been glad if the other had been true. Many like to theſe did I endure before my acquaintance with thee, not knowing any meanes how to obtaine the ſame of thee, vntill happely finding thee in a ſommers euening at the dore, I preſumed to enter parlie with thee, offering my ſelfe your ſeruant, which had been a tweluemoneth your ſworne ſubiect, doubting of your patience, though you ſeeme to be a patterne of pittie. How, and after what order I haue ſince that time beſought your fauour, your ſelfe ſhall [1] be my iudge, for I liſt not to rehearſe my dayly ſhiftes to [1 sig. B 2, back] ſhewe my zeale, my manyfolde concluſions to obtaine your companie, my giftes to wooe the ſeruants, and my preſents to gaine your good will. But to be briefe, thereby to come to that I like beſt, one whole yeare I loued thee before thou kneweſt me, & three more are paſſed ſince firſt I ſpake to thee; yet then was I as neare as now I am, and now as farre off as I was then. Say, therefore, ſweete, ſince to ſtay longer yeelds but little comfort, ſhall my ſuite now end with the verdit, You loue me?'

To which long preamble, ſhut vp with ſo whot a concluſion, ſhe no leſſe prepared herſelfe to anſwere him, then Frier *Tuck* vſed ceremonies before he ſong mattens. She caſt her eyes vp to Heauen, as if ſhe had been making her praiers to loue, ſighing ſo bitterly, as I thought hir placket lace would haue broken; then to the matter thus ſhe anſwered: 'Alas, gentle ſir, I muſt confeſſe I haue found you kinde, and you haue been at a great deale more coſt then I could wiſh you had; your ſuite hath been long, and my kindenes not much, nor doe I hope you expect more at my hands then you haue had, before my friends haue granted their good will. Maidens are modeſt, and

muſt not bee prodigall of their courteſie; children are bound, and cannot conſent without their parents counſell; pardon mee, therefore, I pray you, if I ſay I loue you not, ſince my father knowes you not; and thinke not much if I deſire you to leaue to loue mee, vntill my mother giue me leaue to like of you. At which time, aſſure your ſelfe I will bee as ready to performe your will, as they ſhall be forward to wiſh me that good; and thus, in the meane time, I hope you will reſt ſatiſfied.' This was a ſhroade bone for my paſſionate youth to gnawe on, that being ſo ſtrucken on the head as his heart aked therewith, thought to eaſe his ſorrowe with this replie: 'Ah, my ſweeteſt ſweete (quoth hee), Thinke not on thy fathers counſel, ſeeing a greater friend craueth his deſerte, nor let me reſt their leaſure without pitie, that hath thus long remained conſtant vnto [1]thee. I loue thee not[2] for thy freendes ſake, though I loue them for thy ſake; nor doe thou lothe me for their pleaſure that liues but at thy pleaſure. But, ſweete and ſoueraigne of my hart, as thy thoughts be not tied to their wils, ſo let not thy loue be linked ſo faſt to their liking, as their miſlike ſhould end my life by remouing thy loue. Say, my goddeſſe—' and therewithall, as he was proceeding, ſhe cut off the reſt with this ſhort anſwere: 'I beſeech you, ſir, to leaue off your courting, vnleſſe you entend ſome other concluſion then as yet I can gather; for, of my faith, loue you I wil not, nor conſent; I dare not, without my freends giue their conſents firſt;' and thereupon ſhe thruſted through the throng, and poaſted out of doores, leauing my paſſionate louer to ſay his pater noſter alone; where we will leaue them.

[1 sig. B 3]
[2 *orig.* nor]

What I thought I will tell you, and I hope you will not doubt of the matter, for that *Honeſtie* ſpeakes it. One yeeres loue without acquaintance, and three yeeres ſuite to be neuer the neerer; either he was a bad lawyer, or ſhe a monſtrous vniuſt iudge; but be it, both a paſſionate Aſſe, and a peeuiſh wench were well met. But marke his folly and her cunning; he, building Caſtles in the aire, and ſetting trappes in the Sunne to catch the ſhadowe of a coye queane, was pleaſed by her, with wagging his bawble and ringing his bell, while ſhe pickt his pocket and cut his purſſe. A proper peece of ſeruice of a paſſionate Souldier, and a prettie ſleight of a flattering Slut; I would we had more of them, nay, why wiſh I that, ſince the worlde

is too full of ſuch alreadie? Yet, of my honeſty, ſhe was as fitte a match for ſuch a foole as might be found in the worlde. A great deale of fond fancie repaied with a ſharpe ſhorte deniall, and three yeeres affection rewarded with an ounce of flatterie, mingled with a pound of diſcurteſie, a good cordiall to comfort ſo kinde a hart. Oh, the ſubtilty of the diuell, that vnder the ſhadow of obedience couers *the* craft of coſonage. It is hotte loue that buildes on freendes liking, and peſtilent affection that relies rather on the mothers [1] loue, [1 sig. B 3, back] then on the Louers loyaltie. Such as ſtands ſo curiouſly on their Parents good will, hauing dealt ſo craftily without their conſent, are worthie, by *Honeſties* doome, to ſtand in a Cage, vntill either their freends good will be got, or her ſweet harts licence obtained for her deliuerie. And this is too good, for that the kinde Aſſe wil too too ſoone releaſe her; I thinke this puniſhment would be worſe welcome vnto her, namely, that ſhe be bound from mariage, ſo long as ſhe hath kept him without his anſwere, which will ſo pinche her prodigall deſire, as either ſhe will forſweare honeſtie, or neuer commit the like knauerie. Oh, there is a companie of minions which delight to haue many ſutors, that they may bragge amongſt their mates of their diuerſitie of louers; they thinke it commendable to haue ſtore of cuſtomers. But knewe they ſo much as I know, they were better to goe once in a fortnight to *Greenes* Cunnyberries, then to haue ſuch reſorte to haunt their companies.

Honeſtie honours the conſent of Parents, but abhorres ſuch loue as is built on their liking; if there be no remedie but that either they ſhall like, or thou wilt not loue, let him haue thy Fathers good will before he obtaines thy countenance; for doubtles ſhe that will entertaine louers, and repay their courting with kindenes, will care as little for her freends counſell, hapning on a mate ſhe can fancie, as the horſe wil for haye, that hath his manger full of prouender. And, what is the cauſe why ſo many ſtande ſo curiouſly on their freends conſent? nought, forſooth, but the preſumption of a double baite, that being ſure of their countenance, they may be aſſured of an other dinner if their owne likes them not; or otherwiſe to haue a hole to hide a Fox in, for that her owne denne is not ſecret enough. If her Huſband controlle her for any miſdemeanour, or reproue her of any diſhoneſt behauiour, then on goes her pantoples, building the

reckoning of her honeſty on her fathers countenance, ſo far preſuming of his bounden duetie for the match making, as if he kept the keye
[1 leaf B 4] of [1] her huſwiferie. Her long toung vtters large ſpeeches, ſtanding at defiance vnder the banner of her Fathers defence, and his houſe muſt be her Caſtell to keepe her from her Huſband. This is the commoditie a man ſhall reap by ſuch a match; and this is their meaning that would couer their rebellion with the cloak of obedience. Is not he wel preferred that is ſo well married? and how can he mend it? Marry, no way but this, that he which is mated with the like inconuenience, to learne more wit againſt the next time, ſtriuing, in the meane time, to pleaſe both her and her freends, ſince he had ſo much reaſon to woo both her freends and her, to be bound to ſo bad a bargaine.

It is follie (quoth a wiſe man) to be ſorrowful for things irrecouerable, and *Honeſtie* thinkes it madnes to repent for deedes done, whereof her ſelfe is culpable; can any man be ſo witles (eſpecially in matter wherein wiſedome is ſo much required) as to doe, and wiſh vndoone in a moment? yea, doubtles, *Honeſtie* knowes ſuch, they being the hotte ſpurres of our age, that thinke euery day a twelue moneth vntill they be married; and after they are matched, euery houre ſeauen yeeres vntill they are parted. It was hotte loue that will be ſo ſoone colde, ſome of you will ſay; but I ſay, if it had been hot loue (as it was burning luſt), it would not haue been ſo ſoone colde. For whereas *the* prouerb goes, that *hot loue wil be ſoone colde*, it is ment by ſuch affection as wants matter therby to continue longer. For as that is the pureſt wood which yeelds the perfecteſt heat, and *the* purer it is, the ſooner it wilbe it own deſtruction, leauing the ſitters by without fire, vnles a freſh ſupply be as neede requires added,—ſo wil our hotte loue (whoſe kindled affection is come vnto it perfection, the hart being on ſuch a blaze, as euery part of it is on a light flame,) decay (as reaſon and nature requireth), vnles new faggots of kindenes adde freſh matter for fiering, the ſupply thereof remouing all ſuſpition of want of affection. How pure *the* loue is where there is ſo light a regarde of proffered kindenes, as 'my Fathers
[2 leaf B 4, back] will,' or 'my Mothers leaue' muſt be a Spurre [2] to my liking, let euery one iudge that knowes loue.

But, in my opinion, as I confeſſe that the duetie we owe to our

Parents may doo muche where the knowledge thereof bindes to obeye; ſo muſt I confirme that loue is a duetie, himſelfe binding to ſo great obedience, and tying with ſuch ſtrong conuaiances, as he remoues all thoughts of lower dueties; I, tearming al dueties lower, for that by commaundement thoſe dueties muſt be reiected in reſpect of the louing duetie that a Huſband ſhall require. Now, how far my nice Minion was from knowing this duetie, her coye demeanour and cunning behauiour hath manifeſted. Yet how happie was my youth at laſt to be rid of ſuch a monſter! And monſter may I tearme her, in reſpect of her lewde behauiour; for was it not much better that her inconſtancie ſhould haue beene knowen before he was faſt linked vnto her, then it ſhould haue beene found when it had been incurable? Doubtles it was a good cauſe he had to double his oriſons vnto loue, for ſo louingly preſeruing him from ſo peſtilent a prittie-bird,—I ſhould haue ſaid pricking-burre, or paultry bauble.

BUt to come to my ſecond couple, which were ſeated oppoſite to theſe in an other corner, being a luſtie widdower that was courting a gallant wench, both of them being highly beholding to nature for her liberall ſkill in their making, which were thus placed: She was ſet down, ouerlooked by him ſtanding before her, hauing one of his hands leaning on her lap, and the other reſting on the wal, hauing therby (as I geſſe) the more libertie to vſe his pleaſure, in beſtowing kinde kiſſes and louing fauours; ſo he was ſeated, and thus he began to ſue: 'Faire Maide (quoth he), I know my experience to be greater then your practiſe, for that I haue tried, rules me by reaſon; hauing loued and liued with my loue, vntill by the fates I was bereaued of that fruit. ſo well liked I of my laſt loſſe, as my former good hap breeds an aſſured hope of the like good fortune, that being a helpe to further my will, and a meane to make a new choiſe; which change, what good it ſhal yeeld, [1] your ſelfe ſhall chal- [1 sig. C] lenge, whoſe good reporte hath bound me to commence my deſerts, to receiue their cenſure by your doome. To boaſt what I am, were friuolous, for that your freends are alreadie priuie to my eſtate; and to ſay how well I loue you, were booteles, for that women loue to trie ere they truſt; yet, vnles I ſhould ſay more then I haue ſaide, I ſhould ſeeme to ſay nothing; though to ſay more then is ſpoken

already, were meerely fooliſh. For thus ſtands the caſe: I haue made choiſe of you for my ſecond wife, and haue already your freends good will; there reſtes therefore nothing but a confirmation of your duetie, in agreeing to that they haue confirmed:' thus comming to a full point, he cloſed vp his period with a brace of ſmirking kiſſes, which wrought with his Louer, as a ſtrong pyll dooth with a ſore ſicke patient; namely, they forced her to anſwere him thus ſhrewdely: 'The aſſurance of your good fortune, Sir, hath made you highly beholden to her deitie, that dauncing in the morrice of good matches, you ſhould be led by her to ſo good hap; but, belike, it was ouer good to continue long, either her kindenes being ouermatched with your vnconſtancie, or your good happe ouer ruled by fortunes cruelty; They euer change, and lightly, neuer but for the worſe; which the rather ſeemes ſo vnto me, by the ſure knowledge I haue of your ſecond choice, that is ſo far vnequall to your reported firſt match, as I know your liking would not remain long, or my miſliking would come too too ſoone; becauſe I am not able to follow what your firſt wife hath performed, and you will be vnwilling to beare with the wants your ſecond choice muſt be enriched with. But, peraduenture, I miſtake your meaning; for whereas I thinke you ſue to haue me to your ſecond wife, you ſeeke but to haue my good wil to liue with my freends; alas, good ſir, my duetie (as you ſay) muſt not gainſay their pleaſure, nor will I, for that matter; but with all my hart, if you haue their licence for your boord, haue my good will to obtaine your bed there alſo, for their houſe is at their owne commaundement.' [1 sig. C, back] 'Then doubt I not (replyed he) to [1] haue you for my bedfellow.' 'But that doubt I (anſwered ſhe), for that I know the contrary.' 'Why dare you (quoth he) to diſobay your Fathers commaundement?' 'No (ſayd ſhe), ſo it be for my commoditie.' 'It ſhall be both for your profite and preferment.' 'Make me to beleeue that (quoth ſhe), and then, peraduenture, it may be a bargaine.' 'Why, woman (ſaide he), I deſerue your better.' 'Take her (anſwered ſhe), and I will not be matched to your inferiour.' 'Why, then, I ſee you do ſcant loue me?' 'I vſe it not (quoth ſhe), and yet I ſweare I will mocke you, rather then marrie with you.' With which, being highly diſpleaſed, he beſtowed three or foure crabbed tearmes, being liueries of his cholerick long toung, and ſo departed.

A ſhame goe with him, thought *Honeſtie*, whatſoeuer ſhe thought, and with all ſuch Louers! louers, with a halter,—lubbers, I may better tearme them. What monſtrous matches are ſuch as are ſhuffled vp after the ſelfe ſame order! Suppoſe ſhe had beene feare-full, and durſt not to haue reſiſted the receipt of what ſhe lothed; imagine ſhe had beene fooliſh, and could not haue iudged of affection? thinke ſhe had beene forward, and would haue beene glad of any one? alas! poore wretch, I pittie the ſuppoſition; what ſhould I haue ſaid to the confirmation? I know aſſuredly ſhe ſhould haue ſighed, whatſoeuer I had ſaide; and mourning ſhould haue been her companion, what ere had been my communication: he would haue daunſt with her portion, while ſhe had drooped through want of affection; he would haue loathed her company, for that ſhe was not a dayly commoditie; her life ſhould haue been like the hacknies that are at euery mans commaundement for the hire, and her ioy as momentary as the floriſhing greene graſſe in Iuly. Pitifully ſhould ſhe haue liued, puniſhed by him without pitie: and this is my reaſon of the poſſibilitie; for that it is moſt likely he loued her not, & how well any body vſe them they loue not, let them ſpeake that ſuſpect not. Now, that he loued her not, may be proued both by his kinde of wrong, careleſlye ſuing vnto her, peremptorily v[1]ſurping her Fathers [1 sig. C a] authoritie, which was a band to tye her to obedience, though a bad meane to obtaine her curteſie. For affection is not to be limitted, nor loue to be compelled; but, *con*trarily, hatred followes feare, and feare forerunnes miſlike; and how we loue thoſe we regarde not, iudge they that woo and obtaine not. But this cuſtome is too common and ouer cruell, namely, a wooing of freends, and a conſtraint of loue, I would not ſay compelling, but for feare it ſhould haue been taken for compelling. Were *Honeſtie* a Iuſtice, they ſhould either lye in the ſtockes a fortnight, or marry her I would match him with, which ſhould ſeeke a wife after this order. I thinke, verily, he would rather ſtay his ſtint by the heeles, then be bound to the other inconuenience; and yet he could finde in his hart to binde another to *the* bad bargaine. This is charitie, yea, & neuer a whit of honeſtie, being ſo farre from ciuilitie, as the Millers craft is from true dealing. Now, truely truly, to deale as we would be dealt with, is ſent to the hedge a begging, and neighbourly loue is made a hacknie,

being ſo worne to the bones with ſeeking a good Maiſter, as his ſkinne will hang on the buſh ſhortely.

I haue heard a reporte of a paſſing kinde man that complained of his wife at a Seſſions for piſſing a pot full, iudging thereby ſhe was diſhoneſt; and that ſame man ſhortly after burying his wife, ſued to a maide, after the manner aforeſaid; he had obtained her freends good will, and were at a point for the Maidens loue; yet on a time ſhe was troubled with the head-ake at his being with her, whereof he ſo miſliked, as in the morning he went to the Phiſitions to haue their opinions to what diſeaſe it coulde turne, and vpon their reporte left her. I am aſſured I haue erred in no point, vnleſſe I haue miſtooke the laſt, putting the Phiſitions opinion in the roome of his owne bad meaning: it was no diſeaſe, indeede, that miſliked or miſled him, but it was of the Fathers purſſe, not of the Daughters head; well, ſhe was well prouided for in miſſing of him, and if he ſped any thing the better, let him boaſt of it; but [1]*Honeſtie* can iudge no better of the remnant of his companions, then his action giues the verdict of him, which is as bad as may be.

[1 sig. C 2, back]

But to another that hapned on one that had the toothake, with whom he would not marry for feare the hollowneſſe of her tooth ſhould corrupt her breath, and ſo annoye his colde ſtomack. It was colde indeede, and I would ſuch ſtomacks might be heated with redde hotte gold, as cheerfull as ſcalding leade. Well, to a third: he liked her parents wel, for that they were honeſt & godly, and as well of the maiden, becauſe ſhe ſeemed modeſt; to be breef, he could find no faulte in either of them, onely his feare was that the Daughter would be ſomewhat ſhrewiſh, for that ſhe had a long noſe, and thereupon gaue her ouer. If her noſe had beene long enough, I think ſhe might haue ſmelt a knaue, but I am aſſured ſhe knewe a churle, and ſo let her claime him whereſoeuer ſhe ſees him. Yet one more of the ſame ſtampe, and ſo we will leaue them. This was a wooer in graine, who had gone ſo far, as they were at next doore to be aſkt in the Church. The wedding apparel was bought, the day appointed, yea, and I may tel you, many of *the* geſſe bid, only there was no aſſurance, for that he abhorred; but it fortuned that before the day there dyed a rich man that left a welthie widdow, to whom he made ſo ſecret loue, as he wonne her good will within a

fortnight after the death of his predeceſſour; well, notwithſtanding, to ſaue his counterfeit credit and preſerue his hypocriticall honeſtie, he reſorted dayly to his olde ſweete hart, with whom vpon ſome ſmal reaſon he fel at ods, vſing her ſo vnkindly in ſpeeches, as he drew teares for ſorrow. Glad of this, though turning his earneſt into ieſt, he called her vnto him, in the preſence of many of her Fathers ſeruants; then ſwearing that if ſhe tooke him not about the necke & kiſſed him, he would neuer marry with her as long as he liued. Which *the* yong Gentlewoman refuſed to doe, partely for that he had iniured her highly, but *the* rather leaſt ſuch fondnes ſhould ſeeme immodeſtie to the ſeruants; vpon whoſe denial, in a great [1] fume he [1 sig. C 3] flung forth of the doores, and in a rage as if of ſpight, within one fortnight after he matcht with the widdowe aforeſaid. But to tell you what a life ſhe lead with him, were to hunt from the purpoſe; yet aſſure yourſelfe it was ſo bad, as *the* world iudged this maid neuer better bleſt then in not being beſtowed ne caſt away vpon him.

Such, and of the ſame ſorte, are theſe money-woers, that ſue firſt to the Father, to ſaue labour; for, ſpeede they will; and if they miſſe in one place, they knowe another where they will practiſe. And how can it be iudged otherwiſe, ſeeing their meaning in vſing that meane importes no leſſe? for, thinke they, 'if I haue the Fathers good will, the daughter will be eaſilie wonne; and if I miſſe of his, I ſaue that time and labour, in ſuing to the maide, beſides the giftes I ſhould beſtowe.' Ha, ha! I haue him by ſent: and what thinke you of him? in faith, no otherwiſe then *Honeſtie* beleeues. You ſmell a Foxe? I, and a ranke one too, whoſe breach is ſo ſtainde with this gilding matter, as it may eaſely bee iudged what muck hee loues. Alas! good hearts, that are coupled with ſuch bad mindes, this is loue; true; but what loue? couetous loue, hatefull diſſimulation, hipocriticall affection, and what not that is contrarie to the ſweete ſoueraigne loue, which ſues for kiſſes and not for coyne, which craues the heart & nothing elſe; for with it, al ſhe hath is his; and he that wil looke for more, I would he had a halter; and he ſhall not want it in hell, howſoeuer he ſpeedes here. Fie, fie! mariages, for the moſt part, are at this day ſo made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, ſo wil men ſel their children. He that bids moſt ſhal ſpeed ſooneſt; & ſo he

hath money, we care not a fart for his honeſtie. Well, it hath not been ſo, and I hope it wil not be long ſo; & I wil aſſure you, loues common-wealth wil neuer floriſh vntil it be otherwiſe. Why, it is a common practize to aſke the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if ſhe be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, ſhe muſt ſtay another cuſtomer. Out, alas! what loue is this? in faith, if
[1 sig. C 3, back] I [1] might haue ſped better in another place, come to notice after I haue bought your daughter, ſhe ſhall pay for it, or I will make dice on her bones. A pittifull partenerſhip, where there is no greater loue; and how can but one of them be vndone? He will vſe her ill, becauſe he loues her not; and ſhee cannot loue him for not vſing her well; for whome we feare we hate, and what then? Hee will practiſe her ende; ſhe will wiſh his death; and while they liue together, it will be ſo full of heartbreakings through quarrels and contentions, as woe to them both, I, and to the third too, that was ſo forward to make ſo bad a matche. But, howſoeuer they two ſpeede, I am aſſured ſhee will ſpeede worſe: as for hir huſband, he will not want excuſes to defend his knauerie; and hir Father muſt beleeue him, becauſe of hir former credit giuen vnto him; ſo that contented ſhe muſt be, how diſcontented ſo euer she liues; and beare it ſhe muſt, vntill her hart breake; which happie day muſt ende her miſerie, and ſet my craftie wooer at libertie.

Thus much for my ſecond corner: and now to my third couple, which were ciuilly ſeated on a benche together, they being, the one a batcheler, and the other a widdowe, which was wooed by him after this like order: 'It were follie, forſeeth (quoth he), to vſe circumſtances, ſince you are ſo well acquainted with the like practize; but to leaue them and come to the matter, which is (as I thinke) the beſt meane to pleaſe vs both, you ſhall vnderſtand that vpon the good reporte your honeſt life hath deſerued, I haue conceiued ſo good liking of you, as I ſhould thinke my ſelfe happie if I ſhould ſpeede no worſſe.' 'I thanke you (anſwered ſhe) for your good will; but ſurely, Sir, I thinke you haue deceiued your ſelfe. For, peraduenture, you imagine, or it hath been vntruely reported, that I am the woman, which indeede I am not; namely, ritche, for that my deceaſed huſband made ſome ſhowe to the world; but if that bee your thought, I

aſſure you you are deceiued.' 'You miſtake my meaning (replied hee), for it is no ſuch matter; I re[1]ſpect not ſo much your wealth, as [1 leaf C 4] I doo your matronlike modeſtie; my ſelfe is young, and I haue a trade, and am, I thanke God, of my ſelfe able to maintaine a woman. But I doo rather deſire to match with your like, then with a younger, for that you knowe better both what belongs to a man, as alſo to vſe thriftely what I get. And, moreouer, my ſelfe is not ſo young, but that I am meeter to match with a widdowe then to marrie with a maide, and would be moſt glad if it might be my good happe to ſpeede with you.' 'I cannot tell (quoth ſhe) what your good ſpeede may be; I knowe you not, and therefore I hope you will giue me leaue to enquire of you; which done, I will ſend you your anſwere by ſuch a day; in the meane time, I wiſh you well.'

I, mary, *Honeſtie*, & what then? no marry theſe: forth ſhe went to her broker, to will him to ſearch after his ſubſtance, vſing that manner which vſurers can beſt diſcloſe, which is their practiſe in putting forth their money. This was a paſſing commoditie; for what better then a ritche widdowe? but that fooliſh enquirie ſpoyled all; had ſhee thankt him heartily, deſired farther libertie, and had made ſearch into his eſtate ſecretly, ſhee had ſhewed her ſelfe the wiſer; but ſo bluntly to ſaie, 'giue mee leaue to enquire of you,' ſhewed as bad bringing vp as might bee poſſible. But, tut! I like her the better, becauſe ſhe could not diſſemble; for ſhe, alas! did but followe the common trade, dooing with the ape but what ſhe had ſeene done before her. She had heard her huſband inſtruct his prentices to make a profit, and ſhe thought ſhe might trie the ſame for her own good. I would ſhee and others knewe what was good for them; they would then rather reſpect the man then money. But this couetouſnes ſpoyles all, though 'I would I had more,' is too much in our mouthes; for, followed ſhe not the greedie deſire of adding muck to muck, might ſhee not as well haue liued with this man, that had a trade as good, yea, much better then her huſbands was, as ſhee did before with him? Shee had no children; ſuppoſe ſhe had, they [2] were [2 leaf C 4, back] prouided for well; and what greater charge woulde this haue brought? he had a care to liue, or elſe hee would haue ſought to loue without reſpect; for who knowes not that ſhe is as able to ſatiſfie a mans deſire that hath little, as ſhe that hath much,

if we onely regarde pleaſure? Take this on *Honeſties* credit, that hee that buildes his loue on ſuch reaſon, as hauing little, hee will choſe one that hath ſomewhat, wil proue a better match vnto thee, then him that brings mountaines. Beware when loue is vpholden with maintenance; if the heart remembers, 'I am thus much beholden vnto her, ſhee loued mee or elſe ſhee would neuer haue matcht with me; ſhe made me a man, being before worſe then nothing; how much better might ſhe haue done, if ſhe had not been led with affection,' and ſuch like; It will alſo remember the duetie this kindenes requireth, euen like for like, leaſt the worſe crie ſhame of him. How happie ſhould parents be, were this in their remembrance at their mariges making! how bleſſed ſhould their children be, if the like practiſes were vſed! and what a floriſhing commonwealth would that be, where equalitie of birth (which alwaies ſhould bee regarded, ſpecially on the mans ſide) ſhould bee linked to abundance, whereby the number of gentle beggers ſhould be decreaſed, and the miſgouernement of wealth will be auoided. One man ſhould not haue his cofers ful, and twentie want it that better deſerue it. How many able men ſhould we haue (if this were vſed) to ſerue and ſet forth men for the princes ſeruice, where now I am but one man, and I am bound but to my ſtint, to finde one mans charge, though I haue fiue mens liuings. But no more! this is too ſerious for *Honeſtie*, & I meruaile how I fell into this vaine, ſiuce I ſtudied to bee pleaſant. What, thinke you, did my widdowe after her ſearch of enquirie, for you muſt thinke that the batcheler longed for his anſwere? Marry, though ſhe was not a foxe in her ſpeeches, yet ſhee proued no leſſe in her dooing, for now ſhee kept her houſe as cloſely, as hee dooth his holde craftely. She miſlikt of the man: for
[1 sig. D] what cauſe, geſſe you? [1] if you knew as much as I knowe, you would ſweare, not for lack of honeſtie, or becauſe he was vnthriftie. But wil you knowe whie? he had not the hundreds lying by him, as the reporte went ſhee had left her, and therefore ſhee thought it needeles any one ſhould loſe ſo much labour, as to fulfill her promiſe in carrying his anſwere. Yet, if that were all, it were well; I, and it had been well for him (for the ſauing of ſhoo lether) if ſhe would haue ſpoken with him at his comming to fetche it: But my widdowe would not be within, or elſe ſhe was buſie; and thus was his kindenes

requited. Now, fie of the diuell! is this a meete reward for affection? nay, ſuppoſe it be no more, the good will, was it well requited? Me thinkes that if his dog had come, hee deſerued better entertainement then to haue been beaten away; and ſhee had dealt better if ſhee had ſent himſelfe away with a crabbed anſwere, then ſo vnmannerly to vſe him by ſleeueles excuſes. And well it were if ſhee had no more fellowes; but out vpon them! there are too many ſuch, whoſe coye nicenes expreſſe their miſchieuous fondenes; for, ſpeake they will with any man that come, vnles a Herald fore runnes the ſewtor.

In my opinion, and it ſhall bee grounded vpon reaſon, ſuch widdowes are worthie to ſit while their breeches growe to their ſeates, as refuſe to anſwer all commers of what degree ſoeuer; and becauſe I promiſt you reaſon, this ſhall be it. Who knowes not, that whoſoeuer ſues for the like match, winneth a thouſand incombrances with his good ſpeede? for he that knowes not that care ſhal be mingled with his beſt contentment, ſhall fall into a pitte before he be ware of it. And who, were it not for his ſoules health, would imbrace ſuch an inconuenience for a little commoditie? I, and the beſt mariage is but a little commoditie, in reſpect of the continuall carking that comes with it. If, then,—as who ſaies it is otherwiſe?—a man makes ſo great ſuite for ſo ſmall hearts eaſe (reſpecting the earthly pleaſure), deſerues not he a good countenance, or at leaſt a welcome, that longs for ſo bad a bargaine? In my iudgement, [1] and it ſhall iumpe with mine opinion, that woman is much more beholden to the man that would match with her, then to her parents that haue brought her vp; for they did what ere they did, of duety, & this doth what might be vndone, of mere deuotion. Why, thinke the beſt you can, thinke for your ſelues: ſuppoſe one that hath nothing, comes to craue your loue: did he only reſpect your wealth, without his owne welfare (and hee that thinkes to haue welfare without dealing wel with you, he reckens without his hoſteſſe, and ſhal finde a new bil of charges), had he not much better to hazſard the taking of a purſe by the high way? Yes, doubtles; for were hee by that means brought vnto miſerie, he might haue death at his cal, to rid him from extremitie; but now being grieued vnceſſantly, he may ſeeke for death, but meete with the diuell; hope for an ende, but feele the want of it con-

[1 sig. D, back]

tinually. Yet come we to one further point: imagine ſome men that bee ouer-unruly, deſire to haue acceſſe into your companie: if you knowe them for ſuch companions, I would holde you vnwiſe to admit them into your preſence; but ſhall your hart but ſay, I ſuſpect without trial, you cannot out-runne the crime of want of deſcretion. It is beſt, therefore, you that feare ſuch reſorte, to harbour your ſelues, during the time of the heate of the market, in ſuch places as the countenances of your protectors ſhall preuent ſuſpect, and diſparage the practiſe of ſuch vndecent behauiour; or otherwiſe, to appropriate vnto your houſes ſuch helpes as ſhall bee likely to foreſtall the like miſchiefe. That euery one may bee anſwered, is *Honeſties* meaning; for vnles they bee, they haue not their due, nor doo you ſhewe your ſelues to be inriched with that curteſie which widdowes deſcretion dooth challenge. For, let me tell you, and enſure as many as knowe it not, that a man ſhall finde more pleaſure in lying in the campe, being dayly threatned with the bullets of his enemie, then in lodging with a wife, vnles his wiſdome be the greater. And I knowe you looke for my reaſon: then for this
[1 sig. D 2] cauſe, for that their vnconſtancie [1] breedes more feare then the ſhot brings hurt; and their tender heart will craue more gouernement to content them, then the other will aſke forecaſt to preuent the danger they bring with them. For a ſteele coate reſiſtes the harme of a muſket; but what garment ſhall out ſtand her threatning of the horne? That man amongſt Souldiers is counted accurſt that is ſtrucken with a great ſhot; and that huſband thriſe bleſt among married men, that is not continually wounded with ſome miſdemeanor or other he ſhall eſpie in his wife; well, I ſay no more, becauſe I am a batcheler; but *Honeſtie* muſt ſpeake the trueth, or ſhame will follow him.

It is wiſdome to looke before lepping, but extreame follie to ſtand vpon nothing; hee or ſhee that makes many doubtes, ſhall neuer want care; and ſhe wil il rule a charge, that cannot charme a knaue. Speake the diuell faire, and he will be ſatiſfied; and what woman knowes not how to flatter? It is good to knowe vice, that we may ſhun that euill; and as good to trie the honeſtie of wooers, that you may not ſpeede the worſe. You ſhall often finde a kings heart clad in a thred-bare coate, and a ſenators wiſdome harbored in a youthfull

head; vertue goes not by birth, nor deſcretion by yeares, for there are olde fooles and young councellers, counterfeit knaues & crabbed churles, the one being clad in a lambes ſkinne, and the other kept warme with Foxe furre. Nature makes, but fortune clothes; a ritch knaue therefore may march in the habit of a true meaning gentleman, when poore *Honeſtie* muſt goe as he is able, bee it in a mouldie caſſock. I haue heard it credibly reported, that there was a ritch widdowe fell here in England, which had left her liuing enough to maintaine a younger brother; and vnto her did reſorte ſuch an one, as had not ſildome flung out at a bootie, nor would haue cared much if it had been his father, ſo he had met him in a conuenient place. This young gentleman (yet not very young, for he was about fortie) came vnto this widdowe, to craue her good wil, vſing as ſpeedie tearmes as he [1] deſired quicke ſpeede. Hee tolde her his name, ſo well knowne throughout the countrie for a ſhifting liuer, as he ſpake no ſooner then hee was well knowne vnto hir. Whome ſhe vſed courteouſly, anſwering him after this order: 'I hope, gentle ſir (quoth ſhe), you will giue me leaue to anſwer you as ſpeedely as you bluntly aſke the queſtion.' 'And with all my heart (replied hee), for that is my deſire.' 'Then aſſure you thus much (ſaid ſhe), that if there were no more men in the world beſides your ſelfe, I would not marrie with you.' 'A ſhort and ſower anſwere (quoth he); yet let mee aſſure you, that onely ſuch an one (naming himſelfe) will haue you,' and ſo tooke his leaue, departing in as good order as ſhee had in kinde manner vſed him. Shortly after, at a meeting with many of his companions, he craued their aide, finding them as forward to performe any thing hee ſhould require, as hee would wiſh. Vnto whome hee ſhewed his whole intention, the rather deſiring their helpes, for that they had been partners with him in as great hazards; well agreed vppon the match, they rode towards the widdowes houſe, comming thither in the euening about ſupper-time, when it was very darke, whereby their companie coulde not bee deſcried. They knockte at the gate, and was anſwered by the porter, that being aſked who was within, certified them according to his knowledge. Him they ſo hampered, as gagde hee was and bound, being laide forth of the way; which done, they paſſed further, entring the hall with their drawne ſwordes, where they found all the ſeruants at Supper. They

[1 sig. D 2, back]

had no weapons neere them but bones, being vnmeete inſtruements to reſiſt armed men; and dogges, they were not to be wonne by ſuch baites. Therefore, eaſily one by one they were bound and laide on a heape; the wooer in the meane time, with two of his mates, being in the Parlor with the widdowe that was garded with two ſutors, being Gentlemen of account in that Country, he vnmaſked himſelfe, for
[1 sig. D 3] they had al viſards, and tolde the widdow he was [1] come for her; at what time one of them grewe cholerick, and I thinke it was he that was likeſt to haue ſped beſt, for he was placed on the benche neereſt to her hart, and drew his poyniard, the beſt weapon he had at that inſtant, making as if he meant to darte the ſame; but vpon better conſideration had, he put vp his Dagger, and was contented to be bound with his fellowe. All of them being bound, they got *the* Widowe foorth, and bound her with a towel behinde one of them, hauing before their departure hid all the Saddles, and turned forth the Horſes out from *the* houſe. Ouer a long plaine they rode, & ſo through a wood, where, being out of greateſt danger, he himſelfe, the wooer, got vp before the widdowe, entreating her to conſider of their eſtates, not ſo much he himſelfe reſpecting his own weale, as he regarded his freends welfare, whome he had drawen into that deſperate action. But it was all in vaine, for agree ſhe would not; ſhe ſware rather to dye then to conſent, which ſeemed little to remedie his affection. Wel, in ſhort time they were come to a place prepared for *the* nonce, where they found a good fire with a Parſon, and other good company aſſembled together about the ſame matter. It was a wonderfull rainie euening, ſo that all of them were throughly wet; but there ſhe wanted nothing ſhe could deſire, nor ſpared he kinde words to winne her good will, which was ſo long in graunting, as before the obtaining of it, Hue and cry was followed into that Towne. Whereof he, hauing notice, came to her with his laſt hope, willing her, that as ſhe was a woman, either then or neuer to conſent to the ſauing of all their liues. When ſhe, ſeeing no remedy, but either ſhe muſt relent, or they repent it: 'will you (quoth ſhe) be good to my boy *Tom?*' for ſhe had one onely childe called *Thomas*. 'To ſay I would (replyed he), in this extremitie, might be ſaide to be but flatterie, but aſſure thy ſelfe I will, and much better then I will boaſt on;' vpon which agreement, they were foorthwith maried.

Soone after he called her aſide, and tolde her ſhe was now his wife, whoſe credit was her good regarde: 'we [1] ſhal, I know (quoth he), be brought for this before *the* counſel, at which time, vnleſſe you vſe *the* matter thus cunninglye, as to affirme this was your owne practiſe, to ſhewe your loue, and ſhun a bad reporte, we ſhall, notwithſtanding, ſmart for it.' Which ſhe promiſed to doo, and did indeede no leſſe, all them being ſhortly after apprehended, and brought vp to anſwere it at the counſell Table, where ſhe tolde ſo good a tale for him and his fellowes to the effect aforeſaide, as the faulte was remitted, and they diſcharged. Now, that you may vnderſtand how well he requited this her kindnes, ſhe liued with him a long time, and yet leſſe then a doſen yeeres; and dying, left this good reporte of his vſage towards her: namely, that neuer woman liued with a more kinde man then ſhe had found him, with other ſuch probable tokens or the certainty thereof, as a Countrie can witnes the ſame. Him ſelfe liued not long after her, at his death leauing her ſonne *Thomas* fiue hundred pounds by the yeere, ouer and aboue his own Fathers liuing, which he himſelfe had purchaſed by his good huſbandrie. [1 sig. D 3, back]

What ſay you to this vnthrifte? was not ſhe put to a ſhrewde triall? ſhe was, and it proued paſſing wel. Wherfore, then, ſhould yonger brothers be reiected, or why they that haue little, be vnregarded? ſurely, becauſe the hart is couetous and miſtruſtfull, and womens mindes are aſpiring, being neuer contented. They ſo much thirſte after preferment, as often they ouer-leape amendement, and iumpe iuſt into a worſer predicament.

Many looke ſo long for aboundance of mucke, as [2] they fall into a quagmire of miſeries, hauing ſiluer to looke on, though wanting mony to ſupply many wants; hauing a faire ſhewe and a ſhrewde keeper, one that hath more then enough, & yet will not part with any thing: *Honeſtie* knowes many of theſe, and they feele more then I can tell you. Who goes, for the moſt parte, worſe ſhod then the Shoomakers childe? and who hath leſſe money in her purſſe, then ſhe whoſe Huſband hath moſt in his cheſt? [3] But, for that I am ſomewhat ſtraied out of my way, I will return to my firſt widdowe before my ſhooes be quite worne: My forenamed Bacheler, that neither by himſelfe or his freends could ſpeake with her to know her anſwer, deuiſed this concluſion, to ſend her a Letter by a freend, not ſo much [2 *orig.* as as] [3 leaf D 4]

for the matter there in ſet downe, as that *that* might be a meane to entice her to be ſpoken with, which, indeede, proued to ſome purpoſe. For to the Meſſenger ſhe came, and after notice giuen from whome the Letter was sent: 'gods Lord (quoth ſhe), did not my freend giue him his anſwere?' 'No,' replyed the Meſſenger; 'for he craues no more by this Letter.' 'Surely (quoth ſhe), I thanke him for his good will, but I am not minded that way.' 'What way? (replyed he), not to marry?' 'Yes,' ſaide ſhe, 'but not with one ſo yong.' Now you ſhall vnderſtand her ſimple excuſe, cleanly made; for in a mans iudgement it would not be thought there was much difference betweene their ages. And, as it was gathered after, ſhe meant one way, and the Meſſenger tooke it an other; for ſhe meant yong in ſubſtance, though he vnderſtood it for yeers; as, after further talk, ſhe plainely expreſſed. What ſhall *Honeſtie* ſay more of her? in ſooth, nothing, but to pray, either for the amendement of her and her companions, or elſe that this puniſhment may be inflicted vpon them; that is to ſay, that they may be ſo haunted, vntill they deale better, as they may not peepe foorth of their houſes, without as much wondermen[t] as the Owle hath that flieth in the day time. And doo they deſerue leſſe that make fooles? it hath beene a fuſtie ſaying, *Qui moccat moccabitur*, and, vntill that proue true by practice, as it falles out true often vnlookte for, we that are to ſpeed ſhall neuer finde better. If all men will agree to *Honeſtie*, we wil keepe a Cronicle of ſuch wenches; my ſelfe will be ſpeak the regiſtreſhip, and though it be no great office, yet it may doo much good. But now to a fourth kinde.

Which were a thriſe-made, not a threed-bare Widdower, and a fiue times left Widdowe, both of them being ſo much in Fortunes bookes, as they were endowed with the [1] thouſands. They ſoone agreed vpon the matter, and within a ſhorte time were married; vnto whoſe houſe, hauing heard them boaſt of their ſubſtance, I often reſorted to ſee what good cheere they kept; I was twiſe there together in Chriſtmas time, but neuer could ſee hotte meate, yet good ſtore of cold, by reaſon they had had foure daies before many gueſts. But ſince the holly dayes, hoping for hotter fare, I found him and ſhe ſet at a couple of red Herring & a ſlice of barrel butter: colde fare, as I thought, for a tueſday ſupper. Alas! how were the ſeruants dieted,

[1 leaf D 4, back]

when they had no better? I would haue thought *the* faulte to haue beene in her, vntill ſhe ſaide vnto me, that ſhe was ſorrye ſhe had no better fare for *Honeſtie;* when the olde Churle replied, 'holde thee content, wife; he is welcome, I thanke God I haue this for him!' 'I thanke your worſhip,' ſaide I; though I thought, 'I beſhrewe the Churles hart!' But there of force muſt I lodge too, for that I had ouer farre home, and he that had fedde me ſo hungerly, had found talke enough to keepe me with him till midnight. I muſt confeſſe I lay better then I had ſupped; lodgde in the next Chamber to themſelues, there being nothing but a thinne wall betweene vs. After my firſt ſleepe, I heard them two very lowde, and though I did not greatly deſire to be a partaker of their ſecret, yet I could not chooſe, vnles I had beene either naturally or artificially deafe. They were at ſo hotte words, as he cryed, 'out vpon thee, old beggarly whore!' with other moſt ſhamefull tearmes; ſhe therby being forced thus to complaine: 'Alas, that euer I was borne to ſee your face; I was no begger when I met with you, for I brought with me as good as twentie thouſand pounds, which now being at your diſpoſition, you deale thus crabbedly with me; meeting together in reſpect but yeſterday, what hope reſteth to me of the end, ſeeing the beginning is ſo bad? you diet me with hardmeat, and cheer me with crabbed vſage; I can neither haue a penny in my purſſe, nor a good ſhooe to my foote. I greeue to heare my ſeruants repine thereat, though I cannot amend it, and [1] for that I tell you of it which may redreſſe it, [1 sig. E] thus you reuile me.' 'Holde thy peace, olde whore (quoth he), or I will make thee; if they like it not, let them mend theirſelues, and either charme your toung, or I will clapperclaw your bones;' with which cooling carde, ſhe was glad to be quiet, as I geſſe, for I could heare no more of her at that time.

Now, *Honeſtie,* hauing leaſure to thinke of what he had heard, ſtill harpt of *the* twentie thouſand pounds, which, as I thought, was meeter to haue made a King, then to haue pleaſed a churle; with *that* I condemned his cruelty, and pitied her chaunce, ſo long thinking on her hard fortune, as I fell a ſleepe, taking vp the remnant of my mornings nap. Well, before I roſe, my olde carle was vp, and before I was ready, gone abroad; when ſuddenly comming foorth of my lodging, forced to paſſe through his Chamber, I found the good olde

woman ſhedding teares ſo aboundantly, as I could not but greeue for company. But, ſeeing me, ſhe rowzed vp her ſelfe, and would haue ſhadowed her diſcontent; yet, at laſt, aſſured I had heard the iarre, ſhe ſaide ſhe was ſorrie I had beene diſquieted; the which I excuſed, ſaying, 'I was more greeued for her then for my diſquieting, for had that beene the worſt, *Honeſtie* hath beene farre woorſe troubled.' 'Ah, good ſir (quoth ſhe), this is their fortune that are couetous; for I had enough left me to haue liued like a woman, if I could haue been ſo contented; but aiming at dignitie, hath been my deſtruction, and longing after promotion hath brought me to this miſerie; my laſt Huſband was accounted a good houſholder, and companion to the beſt in the pariſh; but he being gone, and my hope to become a Lady, hath ledde me to this ill bargaine. Ah, gentle *Honeſtie*, I was no meane woman when I met with him, but he thinkes, for that I haue turned my Cloth to ſilke, he hath made me happie. How happie had I beene, if I had neuer ſeene him; but too late it is to wiſh, and folly to complaine, for that it was my owne choice that hath matcht my ſelfe with ſuch a churle. He clothes me in gay
[1 sig. E, back] [1] coates for his owne credit, but with them cloyes me with multitudes of diſcontentments; abroad he is gone, and perchaunce I ſhall not ſee him till bed time; nor are ſuch trickes plaide ſeldome, when he leaues nothing, what need ſoeuer we ſhould haue of any thing, but what the houſhold prouiſion is, the beſt being no better then your yeſternights fare. If he brings any bodie home with him, we muſt run to the Cookes to ſaue fiering; nor can a bit of bread be eaten without an account giuen to him; he ſearcheth euery corner, & chides for euery candles end he findes miſplaced; and if, perchaunce, he happe on a cruſt, he will make as much ſtirre as if it were the loſſe of a Cow; he will prie into the greace pot, and hunt after the Tappe droppings: to be breefe, the creame pot ſhould be ouerlooked by him euery day, once at the leaſt, and his fiering ſurueied as often; a Cheeſe cannot be cut without his leaue, nor a ſticke be burned without grutching. Nor doo I ſo much greeue at this in reſpect of my ſelfe, as for that my ſeruants want their due, their want being more irkeſome vnto me, then this ſcant; for what will they let to reporte? and who can blame them? or who will ſtaye in ſuch an houſe, and not without reaſon? ſo that dayly diſcredit is heaped on vs, and con-

tinuall care for looking after new ſeruants, neuer from vs. This is my greateſt hart breake; and my ſute to haue this redreſſed, is our only breake-peace. He fumes when I informe him of what I haue heard, and ſtampes when I tell him it is not well; nor wil I tel thee all, for that this is too much, nor ſhouldſt thou haue knowne of thus much for me, except his crabbednes had made the path. But, hark! he is come in; for the paſſion of God, hide thy ſelfe! for if he ſhould know thou wert not gon, he will miſtruſt vs, and ſmart I ſhall for vs both.'

Now, the Diuell breake his necke, or God amend him, thoght I; yet, for feare of her harm, I was content to be lockt vp by her into a cloſet, where I was conſtraind to ſtay, while *the* teeth chattered in my head, before we could be rid of him. Well, at laſt, by good fortune, a companion of his fetcht him [1] forth to dinner, who, being [1 sig. E 2] gone, I was let forth, an extraordinary fier being made for my welcome down; & to make me a mends, ſhe had ſent a bracelet ſhe had, of which he knew not, to paune, prouiding ſo good fare for my Dinner, as I was not at better all the Chriſtmas. But while we were eating of it, our mirth could not be much, her feare was ſo great of his comming home; but we, making as quick ſpeede as our teeth would let vs, after we had doone, I thanked her, taking my leaue and departing. Wel, my backe was ſcarce turnde, when ſhe bid her men and maids to beſtirre them, that the kitchen might be dreſt vp, and the remnant of our Chriſtmas fire to be quencht and caſt into the priuie, leaſt his ſearch ſhould finde out the brandes, and that breede no little diſquietnes to them all. Alas! poore wretch, thought I, how much ſeruants are there which liue at more eaſe, and ſtand in leſſe awe, then thou dooſt! Is this a wiues portion? doubtles, no; but a iuſt plague for couetouſnes; for they which cannot vſe a benefite when they haue it to a good purpoſe, ſhall want it when they would, and ſeeke it when they cannot finde it. Couetouſnes ſhall not eſcape hell; for how farre, I pray you, was ſhe from it? her good daies died with her matching with him; and if there be any purgatory betweene vs and hell, ſhe was in it, and thereby at the next doore to that dungeon. I would but all couetous mindes were plagued but with a dramme of the like diſcontent; I would haue theirs but a ſeauen-nights puniſhment, whereas ſhe muſt endure, peraduenture, ſeauen

yeeres torment. *Honeſtie* thinkes ſuch a meſſe of miſerie would bring them to a banquet of happines at their deliuerie from that wretchednes. If many of our coye dames, that cannot be content with any thing, and are ſo curious, as daily dainties ſeeme nothing vnto them, were but pincht a while with her morſelles, I am perſwaded it would ſaue their huſbands a great deale of charges in their diet thence after, and would make their ſeruants much happier, by being freed from much needeles labour. Their houſes would be pulled downe, and the [1]delight of their curious poked ruffes would be ſet aſide; they would not reſpect *the* ſuperfluous diſhes they vſe, nor regarde their ſuperſtitious curioſitie in rubbing *the* flowres of their houſes: what ſhould I ſay more? they would vſe obedience towards their Huſbands more, and brawling with their ſeruants leſſe, they would thinke of their owne happie liues, & pittie others: they would ſeeke to pleaſe, and be more eaſily pleaſed; they would liue contentedly, and be thankfull for ſo great proſperitie.

[1 sig. E 2, back]

The fiſhe that hath beene ſtricken with the hook, feares the baite; the childe that hath burnte his fingers, dreades the candle; the horſe that hath beene puniſhed with the ſpurre, ſuſpects the wagging of the heele; and the apprehended theefe begins to thinke on the halter. What delight brings ſweete things vnto them that neuer taſted of ſharp ſauce? or, what an indifferent opinion carrie they of proſperitie, that haue neuer beene in miſerie? The vnridden Colte bites the ſnaffle, while the olde horſe is glad to play with the bit; and they that are vſed to ſhackles, weare them without much annoiance; for that it is vſe that gets experience, and experience that brings profit. When a curſt Cow hath ſhort hornes, harme is leſſe ſuſpected; and if a crabbed cur be muſled, there can be no danger. There are both baites to entice, and bobbes to make to forbeare; allurements to winne, and corrections to driue away; and he that thought this to be needefull, knowes beſt to vſe it, which happens alwaies to vnbrideled nouices, once good ſpeede egges vs to a ſecond aduenture; and, it twiſe a theefe hath eſcaped the halter, he will neuer leaue vntill he purchaſe tiborne. 'My laſt Huſband was ſo good,' makes ſome ſo deſirous of a ſecond, as their haſtie bargaine bringes ouerlate repentance. 'Like will to like,' quoth the Diuell to the Collier, and ſome will neuer be ſatiſfied vntill their mouthes be filled

with Clay. He that hath enough, ſeekes for more, and ſo I carrie a great countenance, I care not how I am beloued. Indeede, what cannot money doo, that will buye any thing? and yet honeſtie will purchaſe that [1] which all the muck in the world cannot compaſſe, [1 sig. E 3] namely, a good report for euer. Who knowes not that the couetous man cannot liue quietly? and why wil we not knowe that the aſpiring minde ſhall be brought lowe? The loue of your wealth is in your owne hands, but the key of your wittes kept by a higher guide. You may choſe a ritch man, and hunt after an honeſt (yet ritches and honeſtie goe ſildome together), but to ſay it ſhall be for your weale, muſt craue anothers leaue. Hee that giues all things, can giue thee both; and if thou wilt taſte of his liberalitie, built on his charitie, ſuſpect not, and ſpeede well, feare, and ſpeede ill; let therefore all thy care be built on his kindenes, and thou wilt be better contented with a kinde begger then a crabbed churle. To take heede by another mans harme, is a louing warning; but if thou wilt needes try, take the hazard. When our neighbours houſe is on fier, we haue neede to beſtirre vs; and he that ſits ſtill at ſuch an extremetie, is worthie to taſte of the like miſerie. To looke ere we lep is good counſell, yet, to looke hartely, and lep faintly, makes many to fall into a ditch dangerouſly; well, a word to a wiſe man is enough, and there are few women but haue ſtore of wit, if they adde diſcretion vnto it. *Honeſtie*, therfore, wiſhes them to vſe it ſo well, as they neuer ſpeede ill.

A fift ſorte now followeth, which was a couple ſtanding in the midſt of the company, both of them being of equall yeares. He was a young ciuill gentleman, no leſſe proper then hee ſeemed wiſe, his diſcreet gouernement beautifying both; but ſhe, though ſhee had wit at will, and was very proper, yet lacked ſhee the other ſtep to wiſdome, namely, diſcreetenes in her behauior. Her immodeſt fondnes gaue ſuſpect of vnciuill lightnes, ſo that her ouerforwardnes ſeemed to ouerlay her louers affection. Shee would hang about his neck before all that company, as a iacke of Napes doth ſitting on the bear-heards ſhoulder, and kiſſe as openly, as a dog ſcombers careleſly. She followed him at heeles like a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his ſlieue. He could not ſtirre without [2] her company, [2 sig. E 3, back] nor ſcarce goe to make water, but ſhe would awaite on him. Thus

much did ſhe not let to doe openly, and therefore I had the more deſire to ſee how ſhe ſpent her time ſecretly, which was as contrarie as might bee; for whereas ſhe would bee mad merrie in his company, in his abſence ſhe would be as mad melancholie. Shee then would ſit in a corner, as a dogge doth that is crept into a hole, hauing done a ſhroude turne, wetting her couch with teares for the lack of her ſweet heart, as a childe doth the bed for want of a chamber-pot. But, being in a good vaine, ſhee would pen paſſionate ſonnets, and, in that humor did I once take her, when ſhe had newly finiſhed this amorous dittie:

SAd is the time while my deare loue is abſent;
Eiſe waile my miſſe, and tongue bewailes him wanting;
Heart bleedeth teares that doo encreaſe my torment,
And yeelds forth ſighes which ſet it ſelfe a panting;
While he is abſent, ſuch is my delight,
As is the ſaylers in a ſtormie night.

If I chaunce ſing, with ſighes my ſongs be graced,
And in my tunes, my grones my baces be;
Grieuous complaints are for the trebles placed;
The meanes be teares, the tennor miſerie.
Foure partes I beare, and want the fifte alone,
Which is my ioye that with my loue is gone.

When I ſhould ſpeake, my tongue forgets it talking;
When I ſhould write, my fingers are benommed;
Wnen I ſhould goe, my feete haue loſt their walking,
And euery part is dead, of ſence bereaued:
Nor can I tell what is the cauſe of this,
Except becauſe my heart with him gon is.

Thus dayes are nights to me, while he is wanting,
And merieſt ſongs are plaintes for ioy departed;
[1 leaf E 4] [1] *My mirth is mone, my ſorrowe ſuccor wanting,*
And ſences gon, my bodie haue vnharted:
So that I liue aliue, as being dead,
And by his abſence ſole, this death is bread.

After the ſelfeſame order ſpends ſhee her well ſpent time, yeelding

ſuch bitter ſighes, while ſhe is ſetting down the like paſſions, as a horſe doth hartie neeſes, that is troubled with an extreame colde. Then, pauſing a while on that ſhe hath done, weighing the eſtate of her lamentable caſe, ſhee caſtes her ſelfe vpon hir bed, breathing againſt the fates the rancor of her heart, after this manner: 'Vniuſt and cruell ſiſters, that haue prolonged my dayes to endure this miſerie; is this the force of your decree, to decreaſe my ioy by increaſing my dayes? Haue you drawne to this length the thread of my life, now to cut the ſame with ſo ſharpe an edge-toole? Cruell and vnkinde are ye, ſo crabbedly to deale with a poore virgin, ſuffering me to liue to endure this crueltie.' There, making a full point, would ſhe lie gaſping as if ſhe were giuing vp the Ghoſt; till at length, hauing gathered winde, ſhee would thus begin to murmur againſt *Fortune:* 'Vnconſtant dame, ſo much delighting in mutabilitie, as all thy ioye is to alter chances! How wauering is thy wheele, and how vncertaine thy fauours! the one ſtill turning, and the other neuer remaining long, where ſo ere they are beſtowed. Was this the pittie of your heart, to ſet downe ſo vnmercifull a doome, as I ſhould alwaies reſt vnhappie? You whirle your wheele about to pleaſe your ſelfe with the turning, toſſing thereby vnto me one miſerie vpon another; then eaſing me of that burthen, to make the next ſeeme more diſpleaſing vnto me; thou ſhewes me my harts ioye, and ſets me on the top of delight, to beholde the difference betweene weale and woe. But, from thence thou throweſt me as quickly downe, as I was ioyfully ſeated, letting thy wheele reſt as ouerlong, while I lie in the dungeon of vnceaſing paine, as it did too too little ſtay at the [1] height of my pleaſure. Thou giues me kinde words and cruell fare, happie ſightes and horrible heart-akes; thou ſhewes me reſt, and fees me with trouble, ſetting me at the table of dainties, yet binding my hands leaſt I ſhould touch them, ſo far am I from taſting of their ſweetnes. Vnkinde and vnconſtant fortune, what chance had mankinde to be charmed to thy beck? and, wherein are we more vnfortunate, then in being forced to obay fortune?' To which interrogation, her ſelfe would anſwere with a flat mad fit; curſing her parents that begot her; her birth day wherein ſhee was brought forth; the nurſe that gaue her ſucke; the cradle that lulled her aſleepe; death, for that hee ended not her dayes; and her ſelfe, for that ſhe

[1 leaf E 4. back]

was. Now tearde ſhe her haire from her head; anon ſhe vnapparelled her ſelfe to hir ſmooke; then, like a ſpirit would ſhee daunce the Morrice about the chamber, and ſoone ſoſſing her ſelfe downe by the fiers ſide, ſit no les ſenceles then her actions had been witleſſe, a long time reſting as in a traunce. But, at laſt, as ouerlate comming to her ſelfe, ſhee would, looking on her ſelfe, ſeeme to bee afraide of her ſelfe; ſorrowfull to ſee the fruite of her forſaken reaſon; and riſing, would ſoone make her readie. Being readie, ſhee fell vpon her knees, crying the Gods mercie, and powring forth aboundance of teares, in token of her penitencie. And after that, being indeede in her righteſt minde, ſhee tooke her lute, ſinging to her fingering this ſonnet:

WHat booteth loue, that liking wants his ioye?
Grieuous that ioy which lackes his hearts-content;
The ſight of ſweete in taſting of anoy,
Ads but more griefe to former hearts-torment.

What ſweet in loue to liue debarr'd of loue?
Soure is that ſweete as honny mixt with gall;
Loue with vnreſt the heart to paſſions moue,
That ſighing ſing, and ſinging ſigh withall.

[1 sig. F] [1]*While eyes beholde the pleaſure of my heart,*
Heart ioyes through eyes in gayning of that ſight;
But when that pleaſure from mine eyes doth part,
Heart partes with ioy, and reſts in heauie plight.

And tongue may ſing a hei ho for my heart,
That through mine eyes doth finde both ioy and ſmart

Which muſick would bee ſo metamorphoſed, as, in truth, her ſinging would turne to ſighing, and her playing to complaining, when, in a rage, ſhe would throwe her lute downe, beginning to dilate on her loues vnkindnes, that could be ſo cruell to ſtay foure and twentie houres from her. Now, found ſhe fault with her ſelfe for being ſo fond on him, that forbeared ſo careleſly her companie; and, by and by, in a great rage ſwearing to forſake him, ſhe ſetled her ſelfe to frame a rayling letter for a laſt farewell. But, before ſhee had ſcarce written an vnkinde worde, ſhe pauſed on the matter, caſting both pen,

inke, and paper from her; yet, vpon her ſecond aduice, about ſhe goes with a freſh charge to pen a crabbed charme, and had gone ſo farre as ſhe had ſet downe, *Fie, vnkinde wretch!* And there, againe, in a doubt of going forward, or leauing the reſt vndone, ſhee gnawed ſo long vpon her pen in ſtudying what to doe, as ſhe had eaten it almoſt quite vp. But, at laſt, with a reſolution, ſhe played the woman, falling into ſo kinde a vaine of ſcoulding, as ſhe had charged him with a thouſand diſcourteſies for miſſing one nights reſorte vnto her. And, as ſhe was concluding her colour, with a proteſtation neuer to deſire to ſee his face againe, in came one of her ſiſters with newes that Maſter *Anthony* was belowe. Which ſo quite purged her of her melancholie, as in a rage ſhe rent the paper, and caſt all her anger with it into the fier, poſting with ſuch haſte to her ſweete-heart, as in ſtead of running downe, ſhe tumbled downe a whole paire of ſtayres. Which bad beginning was careleſly put ouer with the conceiued ioy of his preſence; ſhee entertaining [1 him with a kiſſe, for that he was [1 sig. F back]
not forward enough to beſtowe on her the like fauour. But ere long, ſhee began to perceaue that Maſter *Anthonie* was changed, being nothing ſo frolick of his kindnes as hee had been, and it was no maruel. For ſome reporte of her fore-uſed fondnes was come to his eares, that being no ſmall froſt to nip his former affection; ſo that his onely comming was to make that concluſion ſhe was of late imagining, ſoone finiſhing in wiſe and diſcreet tearmes that her ſuſpect was penning. Vpon whoſe departure, with the paune left of his reſolution, my minion fel into a ſound, there being ſuch a ſtirre for her recouerie, as what for running for *aqua vitæ*, poſting for ale, plying warme cloathes, and ſuch like, there was no leſſe rule then is in a tauerne of great reſorte. 'Here, forſooth,' ſaith ſhe that had the *aqua*, '*come quickly;*' 'By and by,' anſwered ſhee, being called that went for the ale; the reſt no other wiſe replying to euery queſtion and commaunde. Well, at length life was got in her; though no words could bee drawne from her; but, being got to bed, ſhe ſong ere long like a bird of Bedlam.

In which fit I left her, more pittying her peeuiſhnes then her paſſions; the rather leſſe regarding either, for that I knew that violent fit would not ſtay long. But, to tell you what *Honeſtie* thought all this while, for I knowe that is your longing; and, if you

beſhrowe any body, blame her for not letting you haue your will ſooner, by keeping me ſo long there againſt my will. For vnwilling I was to ſtay there ſo long, and as loath to leaue her before ſhee had left at a full point. That you might know all, was my wiſh; and ſince I haue mine now, you ſhall not bee long without your wil. She neuer ſighed hartely, but I laught as merely, being as often readie to piſſe my breeche for ioye, as ſhe was to ſhed teares, which came from her as had at commandement. And, wherefore was *Honeſtie* thus vncharitable, thinke you, reioycing at his neighbours miſerie? Surely, becauſe her ſelfe was ſo fooliſh to bee ſo diſquietly
[1 sig. F 2] moued with nut-ſhels: would it not haue made a [1] horſe breake his halter, to ſee her mumble to her ſelfe as an ape mowes at his own ſhaddow? Doubtles,—may I ſpeake it without the ſuſpect of arrogancy?—*Honeſtie* hath as much holde of his ciuilitie, as a mare hath of her honeſtie; and yet, I might as well be hanged as be kept from being merry when ſhe mourned. A Camelion cannot change her ſelfe into more kinde of colours then ſhee would vſe change of motions. Sometimes ſhee would walke with her hands claſped, and her eyes caſt vp to heauen, as if ſhee were ſent for, with all ſpeede to render an account of her paſſions. Anon, ſhe would runne about the chamber like a hare that had loſt her way; then, by and by, would ſhe houle like a kinde dogge that had loſt her maſter. After that, girne like a Monkie that ſees her dinner; and ere long be as dead as a dore naile, lying by the fier ſide as a block doth at the backe of a chimney. And this laſt *ſimile* proues not worſt, for ſhe burned no leſſe through the cinders of too kinde affection, then the logge dooth with the helpe of charke-coles.

Was not this a monſtrous fit, that had ſo many motions? Why, if *Honeſtie* ſhould tell you how ſhee would ſometimes bite of her owne nailes, knocking the wall with her feete, praunſing on the ground, and lepping of and on the bed, you would thinke hee had to doe with an vnruly iade. Fie, no, ſhe was a mankinde creature! and I would not offend them for a kingdome; but this *Honeſtie* is ſuch a peſtilent ſpie-fault, as he cannot ſee a wench out-ſtart the bounds of modeſtie, but ſtraight he hollowes the ſight of a ſtriker, thinking it vnpoſſible that if ſhee want maidenly behauiour, ſhee can haue womanly honeſtie. Well, I knowe ſome will ſay hee is a pick-

thanke; but were not they ſhonne-thankes, they would ſpeake better of *Honeſties* ſonne. But thus much for *Honeſties* credit; and now, againe to my craft-loue, that had crauled ſo farre into affections extremitie, as ſhe had loſt the habit of her cuſtomers curteſie. I went once more of deuotion to ſee her, becauſe I left her in ſo extreame an agonie, and it was [1] within two dayes after; Whome then I found claſped within a new louers pawes, as iocunde with him of mine honeſtie, as euer I ſawe her pleaſant with Maſter *Anthonie*. And what thought *Honeſtie*, then, thinke you? in faith, no otherwiſe then I am aſſured you doe now. I thought vpon ſuch fondnes the prouerbe was builded, 'hot loue wil be ſoone colde;' but enough of that in another place, and thus much more of her at this time. [1 sig. F 2, back]

She was as glad, I warrant you, of a louer, as a weried iade is of a faire way; and he, being tyred, is not more glad of a ſtable, then ſhe was deſirous of a babell; it is onely for rime at this inſtant, and therefore let it paſſe (I pray you) with your fauour; but, whether it doth or no, I beſhrewe my name if I get any blame. For my tongue will not amble out of the trueth, though I ſhould digge out my guttes with the Spurre, 'Beware leaſt you offend.' There is one ſtill at mine elbowe, and ſayes I muſt take heede how I diſſemble, ſince *Honeſtie* is become a deitie. I would I were not, or went not ſo vnuiſible: for then I ſhould not craule ſo eaſily into maydens chambers, and heare them boaſte of ſo many fauours beſtowed by them on this day; ſo many kiſſes giuen to one; another vnlooſing her garter, yea, and ſhe thought hee went not high enough. Well, but that I am mercifull, and will not name you that are ſo immodeſt as to boaſt of ſuch lightnes, for if I ſhould, I ſhould quite fray away many of M. *Anthonies* companions from beſtowing their affections on ſo liberall whipſters. But I ſaye no more, for ſhame, hoping I ſhall haue no cauſe to ſpeake of the like againe, you will become ſo ciuill; then, thus much for you, and now to another.

This way a coy dame, whoſe nice ſtrangenes moued me not to the leaſt admiration; ſhe ſtoode iuſt at the doore, to whom not ſo few as twenty had in my veine made ſuite. They were of ſundrie ſciences, and of all degrees, that had tooke the deniall of her, which made mee the rather to admire the cauſe; and, to obtaine my longing, I lodged my [2] ſelfe that night vnder her bed. When ſhe was layed, and one of [2 sig. F 3]

her mothers maides with her, ſhee began thus to parly: 'Wot you what, *Nan* (quoth ſhe), how many ſutors thinkes thou haue I ſent packing to daye?' 'Not ſo many (anſwered the maide) as you did the laſt time you were there.' 'Yes, faith, girle, double' (replied ſhe). 'And found you ſo many faultes in theſe (quoth *Nan*) as you did in the other?' 'Nay, I trow, wench (anſwered ſhe), I let not them paſſe in whom I diſcouer not many ouer-ſlippes.' 'And what were their faults, I pray you?' quoth the girle. 'Some of them had ſtore of wealth (anſwered ſhe), but little honeſtie; other were honeſt enough, but too too hard fauoured; ſome had good faces and bad bodies; other being proper, had crabbed countenances; ſome were amiable for fauour, perfect of bodie, yet ill legged; other, which were well legde, ſhaled with their feete, or were ſplafooted; and, to be briefe, they that trode right, were either clouterly caulfed, tree like ſet, ſpindle ſhankte, or bakerly kneed; onely there were two exquiſitely ſhapte, whereof one was too tall, and the other too too lowe. Thus much for their parts, and now to their properties.

'They that were wealthy were meanely qualited, and they that had many good properties were moniles; ſome had good toungs, and ſpake well, hauing as ill geſtures; others were rich and ſeemed wiſe; thoſe I ſuſpected to be wenchers. And, to make as ſhorte woorke in telling thee of them, as I made ſpeedie haſte in ſending them packing, either I miſlikte their eſtates, ſcorned their perſonages, lothed their want of qualities, or could not away with their kinde of wooing.' 'But ſhal I be ſo bolde (quoth *Nan*) to aſke you one more queſtion?' 'I, twentie, and thou wilt; for, in faith, I haue no liſt to ſleepe.' 'In ſooth forſooth, then (quoth the girle), what manner of man ſhall he be with whom you will match?' 'Mary, ſuch a one (anſwered ſhe) as ſhalbe the onely matchles creature in the worlde.' 'But how will you meete with him?' replyed *Nan*. 'As he ſhall light vpon me by Fortune.' 'But Fortune is blinde (quoth [1] the wench), and may lead him to another in ſteade of you.' 'Yet, as ſhe is blinde (replyed the other), ſo is ſhe a Goddeſſe, a good ſupporter of my chaunces; and I know my reporte is ſet ſo neere her elbowe, as ſhe cannot forget me if ſhe would.'

[1 sig. F 3, back]

I, marry, ſirs, you talk of a wench, and what w[o]ts this of a proud one? is it not great pittie but nature ſhould haue compaſſion on this

neate creature, and ſhape for her a mirrour of meane worth? Now, of my troth, *Honeſtie* likes ſuch an one; and why, thinke you? I will tell you my reaſon, and if it iumpes with your conceite, ſay you mette with a kill Crowe. I am aſſured that they that are of my minde ſhall eſcape a great deale of trouble; for, of mine honeſtie, if I ſhould light on ſuch an one, I know certainely I ſhould be quickly rid of a neere miſhap, in being preuented of matching with a nice ninnie by a nice body; for not being the paragon of the worlde, would keepe me from marrying with the onely paltrie one of *the* worlde; whether, then, thinke you ſuch to be profitable members of a common wealth? Howſoeuer you think, *Honeſtie* hath ſaid, he thinks them hurtfull to none that eſcape the*m*, for *tha*t their folly onely hurtes themſelues, dooing good to others, in the like manner as he hath tolde you. Trot you, and you will, to trye your Fortune, and runne to wooe ſuch curious cuſtomers; but ſay I bid you take heede, leaſt you reſiſt good lucke, by being importunate to wooe them, with whome you ſhall winne a maſſe of manner-les Monkiſh trickes. And I ſpeak eſpecially to you, that hunt after monſters of modeſtie, deſiring to haue the maidens you would matche with, as very matrones as your mothers. Beware you light not vpon an ouerwearied, conceipted ſollom-bird, being one that hath beene ſo curious to be talkte with of any, as, hauing liued ouer long without one, is become glad of any. *Honeſtie* knowes ſuch, and you may be troubled with ſuch, and how can you thinke your ſelues vnworthie? In faith, ill conceited birds, if you thinke your ſelues ſo vnwiſe, as you are vnable to gouern a wilde wench, you will [1] ſhewe your ſelues more fooliſh if you match with a nice no- [1 leaf F 4]
maide. But what ſaide *Honeſtie?* be there any ſuch? I, that there are, ordained, for the nonce, to nurture ſuch noddies. It is as eaſie to be miſlead by hypocriſie, as it is follie to truſt to an vncertaintie; and it is more vncertaine to know now a daies whether a woman bee honeſtly modeſt, or knauiſhly coye, then whether a Smithfeelde horſe will proue good or iadiſh.

See how I haue a tale by the end, of a ninnie of my now handled maidens qualitie, which was a Miſers Daughter in the low Countries. Who was ſo proper a peece of fleſh, as I can tell you we haue not many Oyſter women that out goes her in hooke ſhoulders. By reporte ſhe was a louely one; but that ſhe was monſtrous blobber

lipt, and ſtoopt ſomewhat vnreaſonably in the vpper parte of her backſide; but that is no matter, her father was richer then moſt in that Countrie, and why ſhould not ſhe thinke her ſelfe the propereſt of a thouſand? of *Honeſties* word, ſo by likelyhoode ſhe did; and if you ſay not ſo anon, then ſay I haue heard a lye. She thought her ſelfe ſo proper, as none vnder a Burges his eldeſt Sonne might ſue vnto her, and he too to be no faultie gallant; for he with all commers ſhould be ſo ſurely ſifted by her, to ſee whether they trod their ſhooes awry or no, as the Miller doth the griſt before he mingles chalke amongſt it. She would haue a fling at their heades, to ſee whether they were round like a ball, or long like a bottell; and ſo from euery parte, til ſhe were paſt the vndermoſt parte of their Pantoples. And, in all of them ſhe would be ſure to finde ſome fault or other, the leaſt being a ſufficient cauſe to cut off their proceedings. Thus dealt ſhe ſo long, as at laſt her doultiſh age was vnawares come vpon her, making her fuſtie curioſitie a ſhamefull mockerie throughout the Countrie; ſo that the generall reporte of her bruted ignomynie made her growe glad of any companie; and now faine would ſhe be married, though loth to encreaſe her ſhame by matching with farre worſe then ſhe had refuſed being offered, and [1] therefore, thinking to hinder the make-ſpeede of murmured ignominie, with a craftie colour of a continuing care to couple her ſelfe to one of Fortunes darlings, ſhe concluded there ſhould be a Lotterie, and whoſe chaunce it was to be drawen by her ſhould onely poſſeſſe her withered ſelf. You muſt thinke that many were glad to win her; for whom almoſt will not wealth wooe to a bad bargaine? My ſtorie reportes that of all ſortes, ſome for paſtime, and others for profite, put their ſcrolles into fortunes budget, and on the day when my minions draft ſhould be manifeſted, who ſhould haue her by lot, but ſuch an one as *Tom-witles* is, that will cry if one offer to take away his bable!

[1 leaf F 4, back]

A ſutable mate for ſo long a ſearch; there was but one grand foole in a Country, and ſee how Fortune had kept her for him. Now, ſuch chaunce follow like curious coye wenches; and may neuer wiſer perſons match with them. And are they not, thinke you, the meeteſt for them? For they deſire to haue them that haue the ſmalleſt faults, and *Honeſtie* thinks it *the* leaſt fault in a man to be a foole. Who is more proude then a foole? and what woman more

coy, for the moſt parte, then ſhe that hath leaſt reaſon for it? The Crow likes her own birde beſt, though it be the blackeſt; and would not we haue women thinke well of them*ſ*elues? I pray you let them haue their willes; or they will, whether you will or no; and if you like them not, you may leaue them; and with as good reaſon as they will be ſure to deale ſo with you, vnleſſe you highly pleaſe them. The Aſſe hath a curious eye, and *tha*t makes his pace ſo ſlowe; for ſhort legges will trippe at euery ſtone, and what, ſhe is not afraide to fall on a ſtone! And reaſon too, but they will neuer be happie, vntill Tom foole and his fellowes be baniſht for throwing ſtones at them, which often hurt their bellies, whereas their falling breakes but their knees. Alas! poore aſſes, that your eyes cannot keepe you from burthens, as they make you ouer-leape often vnknowne diamondes. But what are more pretious then pleaſing thoughts? and what fancies are more full of pleaſure then [1]thoſe that moſt extoll our ſelues? This arrogancie is an infectious peſtilence; for we get pride one from an other, as we purchaſe the plague in a mortalitie. But once more returne we to the merry talke of our coye Maiden. [1 sig. G]

After a long progreſſe paſſed in deſcription of the ſweet hart ſhe would haue, being ſuch an exquiſite proper qualited Squire, as is ſcarſe one in a whole Countrey, *th*e maid fell with her to this point: 'Now, of my troth (quoth ſhe), by your leaue, I am not of your minde; for ſuch a matchles fellowe is as meete a baite to entice many women to doo his wife wrong, as a faire woman ſhall haue ſutors to doo her Huſband a ſhrewde turne. And, therefore, as I would not wiſh to be matcht with ſuch a crabbed peece of fleſh as none can fancie, ſo deſire not I to holde a mark for euery one to ſhoote at, the rather for that there are fewe men which will refuſe a kinde offer. Beware when the woman wooes! if ſhe be perceiued to be forward to ſome diſpoſitions, ſhe ſhall not want the offering of a bob; ſo that the bobbing bable ſhall bob the foole with her own curious choice.' Which knauiſh quip did ſo nip my Miſtres Daughter on the head, as in troth ſhe left arguing, and fell harde to ſcolding.

This is bobbing with a witnes, thought *Honeſtie;* but ſurely it were pittie it ſhould not be true in ſome caſes; and in thoſe onely would I wiſh it true, that ſtriue ſo far to out-goe their fellowes in ſuperexcellent obiectes.

Beware the Foxe that hath the ſmootheſt ſkinne! it is ſigne his coate is olde, and his wit not young; he will be ſure of a gooſe in ſtore, when many of his neighbours ſhall want one. I know ſome, about whome Nature hath beſtowed ſo long time in ſhaping faire faces with proper bodies, as ſhe hath at laſt for haſte beene conſtrained to let them paſſe with vnperfect hartes. She muſt performe her ſtinte, and a time is limited her to faſhion euery childe; by reaſon, then, they muſt haue the pureſt harts, *that* haue the vnlikeſt ſhapes. I know what you will ſay, and therby, wil onely ſeeme to gainſay *Honeſtie*, for that it is a Prouerbe, [1] *Crooked without, and crabbed within.* Of troth, I muſt confeſſe, that it is very likely, though not alwaies true (for, no work-man but hath ſometimes a miſchaunce happen to his moſt curious worke, after the finiſhing therof, either by a fall or ſuch like caſuall chaunce), that a halting bodie hath a diſſembling hart, and a miſhapen creature a crabbed diſpoſition; and we doe finde it commonly, that vnder fouleſt aſpects are hidden the faireſt harts, though I know women accompt blacke thinges to be of leaſt worth. But ſearch againe, and looke what dye is more perfect, or what will take ſoile ſooner, then the milke-like white? well, the maidens propoſition pleaſed *Honeſtie* ouerwell, as you may geſſe by my long ſtay vpon it; but I will aſſure you it diſpleaſed no les my yong miſtres. Alas! it is a little thing that will not diſpleaſe them whom nothing can pleaſe: and ſhall we thinke a wench could poſſibly pleaſe her long, vnto whom ſo many men were diſliking? Now ſurely he ſhall haue a new accompte, that reckons on leſſe then this; namelye, that his matching with ſuch a minion, which was ſo curious to be pleaſed, will craue as great care to be kept pleaſed, as a iade will require arte to be kept from tiring. Nor doo I ſay ſhe wil be tired; I would rather be driuen to affirme he ſhalbe iaded, though with ſuch an one as will neuer be tired.

[1 sig. G, back]

But let ſuch as my Miſtres Many-miſlike is, take heede leaſt by their coye kindenes they kill their harts whome they would gladly ſaue after, with all their arte, and cannot. How eaſie is it to put that away with our little finger, which we would willingly recouer againe with both our hands. I haue knowen ſome Faulkoners that haue beene ſo curious in dieting their Hawkes, as a nice curteſan is of her fare; and yet ſometimes they haue ſearcht a whole day after the kill-

ing of a carrion Crowe, and miſt of it too. The faire laſtes not alwaies; and ſuch as lightly regarde a good bargaine when it is proffered, may trie the market a twelue moneth after, and miſſe of the like offer. The rolling ſtone gathers no moſſe, nor the running fan[1]cie is worth the catching. They ſhalbe ſure to meete with a fickle [1 sig. G 2] hart that match with ſuch a wauering loue; and an vnconſtant affection is better loſt then found. And for that I am entred into the path of vnco*n*ſtancie, I wil come to a ſeauenth enemie, which a couple harboured that ſtood behinde the doore.

He was a Prentice that had foure yeers to ſerue, which I certainely vnderſtoode afterwards, though at that inſtant I geſte no leſſe by his fearefulnes to be ſeene; wel, theſe had ſo wooed and wonne the one the other, as ſure they were, hauing remained ſo by the ſpace of three yeers; yet now there was diſlike growen betweene them; firſte, ſpringing from the woman, that was diſcontented that ſhe had alreadie loſt ſo much time, being yet bound to endure a longer ſtay. Who knowes not the certaintie of her preſumption, confirmed by an order of the Cittie of London (which is, that if any man, ſtanding bound for the ſeruing of yeeres, entangle himſelfe and marrie before the tearme of his yeeres ended, he ſhall double his prentiſhip), and, therfore, muſt ſhe either out-ſtay the*m*, or binde him by the haſtie match to ſeauen yeers more ſeruice. Vpon this inconuenience, miſlike harboured in her boſome, hauing tied that with her toung which ſhe could not looſe with her hands; ſo that mad melancholly ſhe was for the matche made by her ſelfe, that tooke ſo ſmall delight therein.

Now, I would all might be ſerued with *the* ſame ſauce, thought *Honeſtie*, that ſo ſoone tying themſelues, deſire as ſoone to be looſed; and, it is great maruell when it falles out otherwiſe, eſpecially in theſe daies, wherin conſtancie is made a hackney. *Lingring loue breedes miſlike;* and how can that loue be faithfull that is faſtned with ſo ſlender a thong? There is a thing which maintaines the coherence of two harts, which, if it be long wanting, our loue will proue but watriſh affection; I meane, that certaintie of an euerlaſting happines, with an aſſurance of a continuall earthly pleaſure. There comes many faire Horſes into Smithfeelde in a twelue moneth, which make many that [2]are ſped alreadye, to wiſh themſelues vnprouided, to [2 sig. G 2, back]

deale with them; for all men haue not keeping for two Geldings. It is time that makes a iade knowen; and our knowledge *that* wiſhes him further from vs. Many thinges muſt alter in ſeauen yeeres, for that wonders happen in a moment. In one day a begger and a King are made equal; both the pompe of the one, and the poore eſtate of the other, being buried in duſt. Loſſes come ſooneſt vnlooked for, and the worſt bargaines are gotten with the greateſt ſearch; neede raiſeth the market; and much enquirie after a commoditie engenders ſuſpect there is ſcarcitie thereof. What cannot golde doo? and may it not, then, eaſily conuert a hart that longes after it? There are many entiſing baites that change many mindes; & who wil not ſtriue for the golden Apple? onely except thoſe that know they cannot get it, though they are deſeruing thereof, which impoſſibilitie muſt needs hatche miſerie. How be cormorants more plagued, then by a diſappointment of their purpoſe? They that foreſtall markets, make often times but bad bargaines, as well as the ſluggard that comes a day after the Faire.

Is it not folly to ſtriue to keepe a wet Eele by the taile? or what commoditie ariſeth of holding the Diuell by the great toe? the one is ouer-quick, and the other wonderous ſtrong; and, in *Honeſties* iudgement, a knowne loſſe, the ſooner it comes, the leſſe it greeues: and better it is to be without company, then to be matcht with an enemie. Slipperie ware is not *the* beſt Marchandize; and what requires more care, then Glaſſe that is moſt brittle? I know you wil ſay a woman*s* hart is as te*n*der, and *that* I think no leſſe. Then, ſince we muſt hazard our welfare, that are conſtrained to deale with ſuch pure metall, being tied to that traffique; let vs not beſtowe all our hope on a peece we know muſt ſtay ſo long by vs, before we can make profite thereof. *Honeſtie* is rather a profeſſed ſolicitor for a woman, then a counſeller to a man; but, for that both men and women are troubled with the like diſeaſes, let them [1] vſe my plaſter that like beſt of my knowledge. Where loue ſtrikes the bargaine, their liking cannot ſtart backe; but vnles he be bound by his agreement, affection is a fickle fellowe. What ſurer couenant then ſetled loue? But they which reſpect not their worde, will hardly regarde an oathe. Honeſtie is all, for hee is the father of conſtancie; and a fig for that loue which muſt be tied by the lawe! If we foſter a

[1 sig. G 3]

ſnake, ſhe will ſting vs by the boſome; and hee that ſues for an enemie, is worthy to haue his pate broken with want of honeſtie. A tedious ſuite makes ritch lawyers and leeſing clients; and a deſire to haue all, makes vs often to looſe all.

I haue heard of a Gentleman that tied himſelfe to a poore maide after the manner aforeſaide, meaning to marrie with her after the death of his father, for that hee durſt not doe it while hee liued. Hee maintained her paſſing brauely, running himſelfe greatly into debt, through the large expenſes ſhe laſht out. Which curious and ritch ſetting forth, made many to looke after her, which otherwiſe would not haue thought on her. A blazing ſtarre preſages alteration, as the Aſtronomers holde it; and doubtles, a proper woman gayly apparelled, breeds miracles in mens mindes. A prancing horſe moues wondring, when a ſure nagge onely pleaſeth the rider; ſo while ſhee liued according to her birth, few or none regarded hir; but now ſet foorth as readie for ſale, her gallantnes engendred thoughts of ſome great portion to be fallen by an vnlooked for accident. Nor will friends let to ſpeake, to make a friend ſpeede well, and hire of the ſame minde gaue forth that it was ſo indeede; vpon which reporte many wooers were drawne to trie their fortunes, and amongſt them a ritch farmers ſonne ſet in his foote to hazard his happe. Whome her parents and friends ſo well liked, being his fathers onely childe, as they began to perſwade their daughter to take it while it were offered, after this maner: 'Tut, wench (quoth they), while the graſſe growes the ſteed ſtarues; and, as ſoone goes the young ſteare as the [1]olde oxe to the market. Young heads are fickle; and ſuppoſe he ſhould play falſe, how ſhould we remedie it? Golde bies lawe now a dayes; and may not a bribe eate vp a ſure title, as wee haue heard a fat hog did a poore mans glaſſe of oyle? He that can giue moſte, ſhall be ſure to ſpeed beſt; and you knowe, daughter, your father is not able to wage lawe againſt ſo ritch an enemie. Why, woman, you haue not ſeene him this fortnight; and how knowe we but he hath a wife in a corner? By our Lady, girle, ſuch windefalles happen not often, as is this day put into your mouth. By cock and pie, doo as you will, but if you doo refuſe this proffer, we will denie you our bleſſing.' Which counſell ſtroke ſo deepe into her conſcience, as it ſent packing all the affection her proteſted loyaltie had promiſed, and

[1 sig. G 3, back]

turned it ſo to the farmers ſonne, as in ſhort time hee maried with her.

By that time, as my minion had been married three or foure dayes, thither comes poſting my out-ioynted Gentleman: of whoſe ſtarke ſtaring mad diſcontentment, vpon the hearing of his willow guift, *Honeſtie* liſts not to ſtand, ſince you can imagine it was great: but what remedie? What wiſe man would ſue for a falſe-hearted begger? or what gaine ſhould be got by the recouerie of a broken pipkin? In ſeeking to haue plagued her, he ſhould haue puniſhed himſelfe, adding but ſhame to the loſſe of a greater expence, and in the ende, recouered a flap with a foxe tale. Well, I pittie him, becauſe of his kindnes which was ſo croſſed; but if *Honeſtie* heares of any ſuch kinde aſſes hereafter, he will make as good ſporte thereat as the boyes doo at the foole of a Morrice. Are they not worthie to lie by the heeles, that purchaſe the countertenor with ſo plaine a prickſong? I warrant you it prict and pincht him too; but his father was the more willing to releaſe him, for that he hopte that loſſe had gaind him more wit. *Honeſtie* could tell you of a thouſand that haue been ſerued after the ſame order, they hauing promiſed to ſtaye one for another; ſome a yeare, others more or leſſe, whereof ſome haue had their [1] hope ſound within a fortnight of their day, and then, thinking themſelues neereſt to haue their willes, in come takers, putting their noſes quite beſides the ſweete ſent of their foreſpoken bedfellowes. This can be no ſmall griefe to a kinde, conſtant heart, that hath, peraduenture, refuſed many good likely hoods to ſtay for ſuch a light huſwife. He that will thinke himſelfe ſure to a woman, or ſhee that will build on a mans conſtancie, till the pariſh prieſt hath ſaide *God giue yee ioye*, and the brides bed hath borne it firſt nights waight, he is not of *Honeſties* minde, though I wiſh it were otherwiſe.

[1 leaf G 4]

It is as good to bee aſſured of the horne, as to bee made ſure to an vnconſtant heart, for they that looke for les ſhall be diſappointed. God forbid *Honeſtie* ſhould ſay it were vnpoſſible, that two may loue conſtantly vnmarried ſeuen yeres; but he may aboue that two ſay, ſuch are ſcarce found in ſeauen ages. Walke but to Weſtminſter,—a place, in faith, where conſtancie is as little vſed as wit in Bedlam,—and yet there (I warrant you) you ſhall haue your head filled with tales

of vnconſtant louers. Goe, likewiſe, to Poules (a path as well haunted with hunters of honeſtie as *Kemps* head is ſometimes peſtered with knauerie), and blame *Honeſtie* if there you heare not outcries of wauering wenches. Long lanes and broade ſtreetes, little cottages and manner places, are at this day, by report, bolſtred with naught ſo much as with vnconſtant mindes. Whereby, what through the ſorrowe Conſtancies complainte moues, and the griefe honeſties broken pate procures, it is great pittie wee ſhould not haue many knackes to knowe knaues by, and as many Iigges to gird gariſh girles with. I[n] peticoate lane is a pocket ful of new faſhions, the drift whereof is, that firſt commers ſhould be firſt ſerued; but they meane no commers which enter not the placket. In Shooelane there is one that ſelles running lether, the vertue whereof is maintained with liquor of a careles heart; ſo that hee or ſhee that cannot play light of loue, ſhall not be cuſtomed there. Withdrawe your ſelues [1]to Crooked lane, and, of *Honeſties* credite, you ſhall finde more traps to catch Rats and Mice there, then conſtant louers in *Shordich* Church at midnight. [1 leaf G 4, back]

What ſhall I ſay, ſince the art of Cony-catching hath foreſtalled good inuention? but fie on the diuell that driues ſuch wits to ſo bad a bargaine, as to be forſt to ſpend their time in no better ſtudies. They haue need of good intelligencers that ſhall intermeddle with trickes of Coning-ſhifts; for mine own part, I had rather wade to the middle in Loues whirle-poole, then to the anckles in the brooke of vnconſtancie. And yet, force perforce, by Loues appoyntment, I muſt haue a fling at her followers. Let them flye to the gallowes, for *Honeſtie*, that loues her ſo well; and my fling will driue them to a worſe place, vnleſſe they leaue her. Vp hill and downe hill is a very troubleſome labour; but vp the ladder and downe the rope ends many ones miſerie. What ſteeper way then to the height of affection? and how many often poſt vp and down betweene that and the valley Likings-recantation. 'I recant' now a daies followes Loues heeles like his ſhadowe; it is a halting crack-halter, and a hurtfull hinderloue, and beſt he ſhall be knowne by his ſtumpe foote. I meane not a miſhapen ledge, but a reſting loue, that either makes ſuch a full poynt in the beginning, as he can goe no further, or els ſtands at a ſtay two or three quarters, not knowing

whether it were beſt to goe forwards or backwards. Extreames are as daungerous as ſtretches: for, as many ioynts are out-ſet or crackt by the one, ſo many vncurable hurts are receiued by the other. *Honeſtie* thinkes a ſeuen nights ſpace is too ſhort a time to faſten a true louers knot; but he that out ſtayes *the* moneth, may learne as much in that time as is needfull to be knowne. A longer time is pleaſing to them that haue barres to hinder their forwardnes, but he that may goe on without hinderances, if hee aimes at a longer reſpite, take it on *Honeſties* word, hee workes but vpon aduantage. They that build their affection vpon reaſon, are like to remaine moſt conſtant; for
[1 sig. H] [1] where a condition of profite binds the ſutors, there a long day will not likely be broken. But this reaſon craues wiſedome, the experience whereof muſt awaite on Loues followers, the practiſe being nothing but this, a care in our choyce to maintaine the maine chaunce. That is, that they which haue little, doe fancie none but ſuch as haue ſomewhat, and they that haue nothing, either to match with ſuch as haue enough to ſerue themſelues and others, or els to ſit ſtill in the chimney corner. Al muſt meaſure their liking according to the depth of their deſire, to the end they may liue with contentment, which will (I warrant you) nouriſh conſtancie.

Now followeth another ſort, which are not the leaſt enemies Loue hath, being our common courting lads, who take ſuch pleaſure in their pregnant wits, and ſo great glorie in their readie tongues, as a wench cannot peepe forth the doores, but they muſt haue a fling at her beautie. Firſt comes, 'faire ladie, God ſaue you'; and then followes, that the ſight of ſuch a blazing Commet makes them ſtand at the gaze, for that ſuch ſights are ſeldome ſeene. After, enſues their application, falling from the celeſtiall creatures to their earthly Goddeſſes, extolling their beauties to ſuch a height, as, when they can goe no further, hauing forgotten their way backwards, they fall downe headlong, breaking the necke of Good reaſon. Then come they to the good parts of their bodies, and from thence to a ſupernaturall view of their hidden vertues, building vpon the prouerbe, *A faire face cannot haue a crabbed heart*, though many of them find by experience, but crabbed entertainment to proceede from thoſe their celeſtial obiects; yet the moſt, what through their quicke conceipts, falſe proteſtations and vſuall reſorting into their companies, bring

many into ſuch a fooles paradice, as they harpe on nothing but mariage. And maruell not, ſeeing we haue many ſo forward wenches, that if a man looke but earneſtly vpon them, they thinke verely hee is inamoured of their beautie; but ſhal he ſpeake, and ſay he loues them, "my father, my mother, [1] and all my friends muſt be made priuie to his proceedings, for I know he will haue me." [1 sig. H, back]

Alas! light hearts that are lead away with euery kinde blaſt; know ye not that our age flowes with fine wits, that muſt borrow their practiſe of ſuch like patients? Doe not many men cheapen, that meane not to buy? & think you to want ſuch cuſtomers? How many come into a Faire with neuer a farthing in their purſes, and yet for faſhion ſake will aſke the price of a coſtly peece of worke! Our tongues ſtand vs in little charges for reparations; and ſeeing they weare not, we will not ſpare to wagge them. But this is beſt knowne to you women, whom nature bindes to the greateſt practice, hauing giuen you no other weapon; yet, I may tell you, men cannot want that inſtrument, eſpecially in their wooing matters. But did many of both kindes vſe it leſſe, both you and they ſhould ſpeede neuer the worſe, for you ſhould miſſe of many fond faithles ſpeeches, and they ſhould march without as many kinde hit-home floutes. They ſhould not, playing with the fire, be burnt with the flame, and remaine helples through your careles pitie; nor ſhould you be intrapt in the ſnares of their ſmoothe words, decreaſing your glorious beauty by hopeles conceites of obtaining your wiſhed happines.

Many honeſt mindes taken at their words, are bound to bad bargaines, when, on the contrarie part, a crackt credit regardes neither his own reputation or anothers welfare. How eaſie is a free horſe tired, a good edge-toole ſpoyled, and a kinde heart ſurfeited? A dull iade will rather be ſpurde to death then breake his pace; and with a bad knife we may aſſay to cut any thing, without dooing it much harme; but woe bee vnto that heart, whoſe mildenes makes it ſelfe ſubiect to a counterfeit kindnes. You ſhall ſighe forth your ſorrow, while they ſmile at their good ſucceſſe; they, building their aſſurance of being no loſers on your good diſpoſitions, that ſerue for ſtables to reſt their hopes in; your good natures muſt bee but roumes for hacknies that neuer knowe their maſters, and your kinde [2] hearts to ſerue for mangers to feede their bad conceites. Their trotting ſhall [2 sig. H 2]

faſten to your heads heapes of proclamations, the clauſes whereof ſhall breede thouſand of doubted miſeries, and ten thouſands of carefull heartbreakings. Their counterfeit frendſhip ſhall hinder faithfull and louing proceedings, hurting affection by hindring it from it deſarte, with keeping it from receiuing the due of requitall. That bootles conſtancie ſhall baniſh faithfull loyaltie by crabbed croſſes, and purchaſe to it ſelf, through a haples concluſion, a cart-loade of carefull extremities. True-meaning thereby ſhall be deceaued on both ſides, and kind-heartednes plagued with ouer-ſureſet affection. Loue ſhal be banded away with the racket of diſſimulation, and beaten at laſt into the hazard Deſpaire by his ſporting enemie. What a great loſſe will followe ſuch a chaſe, and how great expence of hearts griefe muſt enſue ſo ſhroude a game, geſſe you, that lie condemned in the like charges. Onely *Honeſtie* pitties ſuch a paſtime that ends with ſo ſmal pleaſure, and wil now come to giue you warning of what he hath ſeene happen in the like caſes of little conſcience.

There was one of this ſocietie that had ſo courted vp a wench, as through a potion of pleaſure he had giuen her, her belly roſe like a blowne bladder. Belly round ſhe was, ſo that, through his craft, her credit ſtoode vpon cracking; which ſhe perceauing, entreated her phiſition, that as hee had taſted of her curteſie, ſo he would ſaue her honeſtie, declaring that ſhe was with childe, as the truth was. ' Of my faith (quoth he), what care I? You might haue tooke better heede; you are beſt to make haſte and get a father for it.' 'I hope (anſwered ſhe) you will not ſerue me ſo; are theſe your faire promiſes? and can your vowes bee ſo ſlightly paſſed ouer? Haue you not made loue to me by the ſpace of a quarter, being vſed kindly of mee, and can you finde in your heart thus cruelly to requite my extraordinarie fauour, putting me to ſhiftes in this extremitie? Is it poſſible your profeſſed whot loue ſhould be ſo ſoone cold, or that [1] your large promiſes ſhould turne to ſo little performance? I cannot thinke you, being a man, can be ſo cruell as to caſt away a poore maiden.' 'Away, beaſt (quoth he), thy perſwaſions are as bootles as thy thoughts; and I am aſſured thou art not ſo fooliſh as to build of any thing I haue ſaide, or of that I haue done, but as of a ieſt; if thou

[1 sig. H 2, back]

dooſt, it will be a bad foundation;' and with that, he flong forth of the dores, leauing my maimed-maide in a bad taking.

Doe you tearme ſuch dooing ieſting? thought *Honeſtie;* if *Chaucers* iapes were ſuch ieſtes, it was but bad ſporte; well, a ſporte it was, though it proued a ſure earneſt; and who knowes not that ſweete meates craue ſowre ſauce? Her laughing lye-downe came to ſad riſing-vp, a ſhrewde ſporte to turne to ſuch ſorrie paſtime; and if ſuch an earneſt penny cannot binde a bargaine, nought wil holde the like chapmen but a halter. Now, Tiborne and Wapping waite on ſuch for Porters, as poſt to markets, ſo to ieſt with lac'ſt-mutton. If ſaying had been all, ſhee had beene fooliſh indeede to haue regarded a fooles ſpeeches; but, ſeeing he crept ſo farre into credit with her, as he crackt her placket lace, how could he of conſcience call that ieſting? Doth *Honeſtie* talke of conſcience to *Buls* bailiffes, that haue no care of any thing but to ſaue their caſſokes from being his purchaſe? Now, fie of all the Beadles of Bridewell, if they ſpare ſuch a ſporter comming vnder their correction, without double the dole they puniſh one of *Baals* common Prieſts with. I would their blewe coates might fall to be *Hindes* fees, vnleſſe they giue ſuch foure luſtie laſhes at euery kennell and ſtreets corner they paſſe by. Why, vnder the cloake of honeſt ſatiſfaction, to allure an honeſt minde to lewde corruption, is no leſſe theſte then robbing of Churches; onely the Clarkes conſent ſeemes in the one to craue ſome tolleration ouer it doth in the other. Then you will ſay they deſerue both to be hanged, and ſo would *Honeſtie* ſay, but that their chriſtianity merites charitie. But, of my troth, if *Honeſtie* were a Iuſtice, ſuch as ſue after the ſelfe-ſame order, ſhould either marrie with them they [1] haue deceiued, or [1 sig. H 3] hang without them, my minion going vnpuniſhed, for that time in hope of amendment. Loue is a kinde hart, and mariage is a ſweete baite; what, then, will not ſuch promiſes gaine of a faithfull louer? This ieſting turnes to lingring loue, when the weakeſt hath ſurfeited in affection. Sweet ſpeeches haue vowed euerlaſting conſtancie; and running in the pleaſant meddowe of kindenes, it growes luſtie, ſpending the remnant of his wooing to winne vnto ſuch bad fare; courting endes with ſuch a charge, changing profeſſed loue into burning luſt. Loue lookes to be maintained with kindenes, and when he hath got

what wordes can affoorde, then falles he to ieſting, which turns contrary to *Chaucers* meaning, to *the* ſatiſfying of a leachers luſt in earneſt. But too too much of this, except it were better; and once more returne we to our melancholly lefte marde maide.

She, poore ſoule, ſet ſo lightly by in her fortie weekes reckoning, ſo thought on her preſent hard hap, as ſhe quite forgot her accompt, wherby now ſhe was in a worſe taki*n*g then before; for if, being put to her othe, ſhe ſhould miſſe of that, his counter othe would make but a ſo ſo end for her; and, therefore, thus ſhe beſtirred her ſelfe in the matter. She made her caſe knowne to a freend, and, falling downe vpon her knees, entreated him, for the paſſion of our Lady, to ſtand good helpe vnto her, to draw her mate to marry with her. Who, being a very honeſt man *tha*t had ſome care of her credit, laboured ſo effectually in *the* matter, as, what through promiſes and a peece of money, he made it a match; ſo that, what through a little honeſtie my man was endued with, and a peece of money my maiden was endowed with, we had a choptlodgicke. Now, woe vnto ſuch wooed ſpouſes, if their mates want altogether honeſtie, and they haue no money; and this might haue, perchaunce, wonne the ſtanding in a white ſheete without ſo good a maiſter. Take heede, girles, how you truſt to ſuch helpes, for *Honeſtie* can tell you they are not ordinarie. It is harder to finde one ſuch in euery pariſhe through a Countrie, [1 sig H 3, back] 1 then to finde a honeſt woman in a houſe of Weſtminſters Hoſpitalitie. Alas! how many honeſt mens children come to decay through this practiſe? Talke with any corrupted Virgine; and, excepting one amongſt twentie, if they all not agree that ſuch entice-ments were the procurers of their miſerie, neuer beleeue *Honeſtie* for a halfepennie. Beware if a rich mariage be offered for a rewarde of breache of honeſtie; there are fewe that will not conſent to leacherie with ſuch briberie.

But the opening of an other wound remaines, with which loue is hurt by his courting enemies, for they which haue beene once deceiued by flatterie, will hardly be drawen to beleeue ſinceritie, whereby the faithfull ſutor is hindred from his due. The beaten dogge ſhuns the ſtick; the torme*n*ted patient feares the Pothecaries drugs; the childe that hath beene ſore whipt for a fault, will feare, by offending, to hazard his breeche. Who is more warie of his wel-

fare, then he that hath been in greateſt extremitie? and if loue hath been wounded with a diſſembled affection, he will be afraide to enter into an action from whence the like ſorrowe may flowe. What giues greater hope of conſtancie, then vowed loyalty? or what ſeemes ſweeter then ſugered flatterie? Affection ſpringeth of kinde vſage, and loue ſettles on a continued ſhewe of profeſſed zeale, which, being ſure ſet, cannot be remoued without great danger, except wiſedome be a helper. What ſorrowe danger brings, and what care diſcontentment harboureth, he knowes not. But of the vnceaſing hartsgreefe, with the tormenting ſoure-ſauce which ſeaſoneth the deſtruction of entire affection, none can iudge, ſaue thoſe that haue taſted thereof; onely it may be imagined by *the* effects that haue followed the like cauſes (as by the vntimely death it hath brought to ſome, a depriuation of their wits to others, languiſhing diſeaſes to many; namely, the greene ſicknes, the mother, and ſuch like; and laſtly, to all mad melancholye fits), that they which are fauoured with the leaſt miſhap that comes through want of their longing, are rewarded [1] with [1 leaf H 4] the loſſe of a preſent wel-fare, hauing that ſupplyed by a gifte of ſighing heauines. Now, after *the* freedome from ſuch a miſcheefe, who will not ſweare to flie from the like danger? And ſince flatterie cannot, without dangerous triall, be knowen from faithfull freendſhip, who will not ſhunne both, fearing to miſtake the one for the other? If a kinde hart hath beene deceiued by a crooked knaue, clad in the robes of a courteous louer, ſhe will euer after miſtruſt the habite, for that it is vnpoſſible to know the hart. Who can forbid the Tailor to vſe his arte? and doo you thinke that any one for an aduantage will let to trie his crafte? The Diuell can change himſelfe into any ſhape; and the onely meanes to knowe him (as is ſaide before), is his ſtumpe foote.

Liking wil not be long a dooing; and loue that followes is but little, whereby he brings no great harme; but al the miſcheefe comes with deſire, which ſwelles the affections, and predominates ouer loue and liking; he makes the miſ-rule, and keeps the open Chriſtmas; he deſires the ſporte, and maintaines the paſtime, ſo that, though he be long in comming, and ſtaies but little in his Lordſhip, yet the remembrance of his iolitie is not forgotten a long time after. He keepes his cuſtome euery yeere; and a yeere with him is but a ſhort

ſpace; ſo that after he comes to his full age, he makes many Chriſtmaſſes; for Deſire is not ſhort liued. It is therefore this lingring loue that dooth all the harme, becauſe by him Deſire is onely begotten. He that, beating the market, is willing to buye, will not ſtand long a bargaining when he hath met with his liking, for feare a francker cuſtomer ſteppe betweene him and his longing; but if he be careles, he will not deale without a good penniworth. Very eaſily, then, is the miſcheefe of repentance taken from women, ſeeing a true-meaning ſutor may be as quickly diſcerned, as a careles chapman may be perceiued. And how fondly doo they entrude themſelues into the needles hazard of great diſcontent, that will let their loue runne ſo farre without reaſon, as it [1] cannot be called backe without great greefe at the leaſt. Though a buyer be not able to giue the ſeller his aſking, yet will he be earneſt to haue it at ſuch a price as he doth offer; and, although this louing cuſtomer be not of abilitie to anſwere thy freends expectation, yet ſhall he not be forward to be poſſeſſed of thee; he is but a watcher for aduantages. So that if either his abilitie be ſuch, as of himſelfe he can maintaine thee, or be thy poſſibilitie ſo great, as by his good endeuour he may winne a liuing, thy freends good will, by the poſſeſſion of thee, thy affection is too too colde, it thou keepes him lingring without his longing; and his deuotion is ſmall, if he be not an vnceaſing ſutor for it.

[1 leaf H 4, back]

And truely, in *Honeſties* minde (and pardon me, I pray you, with whoſe conceipts it iumpes not), thoſe matches ſhall proſper beſt, where loue is rather reſpected then wealth; prouided there be a care had of the likelyhoode of poſſibilitie which muſt come with one of them. But ſhall one that hath nothing, ioyne louing iſſue with an other that hath, or is like to haue as little, he hauing no meanes to make a liuing, he ſhewes himſelf to be a fooliſh follower of repentance, and an vncharitable procurer of an others wretchednes? There are many good wits, that, wanting matter to worke on, wade into the triall of dangerous concluſions, which otherwiſe being imployed, would become profitable members of a common wealth. All cannot be heires, and many yonger brothers children are but barely left, though they haue had good bringing vp, which nothing hinders their gentrie, onely, now a daies, it is a barre to their preferment. For men wil ſooner match their daughters with my yong maiſter, a rich Coblers

Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good houſe, being a yonger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this *the* making of vpſtart houſes; heerby, thoſe that haue had good bringing vp, muſt either goe to plough and carte, being drudges to ſuch drones, or their natures, diſdaining that, and more abhorring to begge, leade them to lewde practiſes to maintaine [1] the [1 sig. I] ſtate of their birth. And did you, Fathers, which are to match your Children, know the hart-breakings many parents (which haue beene of your mindes) haue found by triall, then would the feare of vnciuill behauiour, which ſpringeth by ſucceſſion from their carterly progenitors, turne your greedie deſire of golden gaine, to a ioyfull gaining of your poſterities happines.

But fie of couetouſnes, that is the roote of all miſchiefe; for men that haue enough to make their Daughters Gentlewomen, by matching them with houſes of no ſmall antiquitie, will, with the deſire they haue therevnto, wooe men of great liuing with large offers, to match their ſons and heires with them; Who, being drawen therunto, will vſe them their wiues meetely well during the life time of their owne and wiues Fathers, for that their eſtates are by their great portions better maintained, and their beſt freends thereby well pleaſed. But let your Daughters beware, after your and their Fathers death (when all hope is taken away of a further gaine, and a ſearch made of their aunceſtors alliance), for then, ſeeing the baſenes of your pettigree, and *the* noble deſcents of their predeceſſors, that corruption of blood which you, with your corruption of money, hath made, and their Fathers couetouſnes hath purchaſed to their ſucceſſion, will (as for the moſt parte it doth in the like caſes) moue ſuch hartbreakinges, as either quarrelles of diuorcement or ſutes of ſeparation will ſurely followe. When, on the contrary parte, if reſpecting gentrie, thereby to aduaunce your houſes, you would match *them* with Gent. yonger brothers (of whom there ought to be leſſe regarde, the chiefe houſe being maintained), your Daughters portions being the onely maintenance of their eſtates, would be ſo ſtrong a helpe to encreaſe their affection towards your children, with purchaſed happines to their poſterities, as knowing no houſholde quarrelles can be without charges, they willbe glad to ſtudie to encreaſe the ſweetenes of vnitie, thereby to continue euerlaſting proſperitie to their following ages.

[1 sig. I, back] [1] *Honeſtie* knowes what the fairing-monger will ſaye, when he ſhall heare of one ſo flat againſt his opinion touching mariages, not letting to affirme that it is moſt neceſſarie that the conſent of parents ſhould be laſt ſued for, and little regarded in reſpect of loue, eſpeciallye ſeeing his Pamphlet buildes ſo diuinelye on farre-fetcht arguments to proue the contrarie. Therfore, to preuent him, and to prouide againſt the great danger their matches-making procure, *Honeſtie* muſt tell him, and aſſure all thoſe that are of his minde, that were the worlde like vnto that wherein *Abraham* liued, or were Fathers of theſe daies of his diſpoſition, his argument drawen from the gift of *Euah* to *Adam*, by God, and ſuch like, might ſeeme to proue ſome thing. But, ſeeing theſe times in effect are quite contrary to thoſe, and the diſpoſitions of men in our daies altogether diſagreeing to theirs of that age, his time had beene better ſpent in a worke to ſome other purpoſe. For a little to ſeeme to flie from my matter, and to haue a fling at him: how many Fathers now a daies are there ſo carefull of prouiding conuenient mates for their children at a ſeaſonable time as our great Grandfather *Abraham* was? Againe, how manye haue children that are ſo obedient to bend their loue to their Parents liking as was *Iſaac?* Oh, Sir, you are deceaued, our yong ones are of riper wits, and far forwarder then Children were in thoſe daies, and our olde ones are of more couetous mindes, and far forwarder to be drawen to their childrens good; for what greater good then to enioye them they loue? and what will offend our parents more then to entreat that he ſent his ſeruant to ſearch forth one of his next kinne, not to enquire after one that had moſt wealth; and ſhould ſome children entertaine no loue in our time vntill their parents procured it, nor ſue for a match before their freends made it, it were requiſite their honeſtie ſhould be great, or I knowe what will follow. Yet, againe, Fathers liue not now adaies ordinarily aboue a hundred yeeres, whereby they haue a long la[2]ſting gouernement ouer their Children; but beholde it is far contrary, and therefore it requires contrary proceedings. And laſtly (for that I will not be long at this time in this matter), the holy writ beares not ſuch ſway in our conſciences, as it workt wonders in theirs of thoſe daies; and therefore, to helpe our weaknes in the want of that warrant, we muſt vſe the meanes—loue—to drawe vs to that euerlaſting happines.

[2 sig. I 2]

But once more to my courting companions, to make as ſpeedie an end with them, whoſe haire-braine fancying and fickle affection is no ſmall hindrance to loues proceedings. *Honeſtie*, hauing ſet downe the meanes to finde out their knauerie, hath alſo prouided a batte to beate downe ſuch flatterie, the inſtruement to finde out their diſſimulation being a ſearch into their lingring, and the clubbe to match their clubbe feete, a loathing of their company. But to come to the puniſhment I would haue ſuch to be plagued with: in my opinion, and by *Honeſties* doome, they are worthie to be ſet for ſcarre-crowes in newe ſowen fieldes; and the rather thus goes my iudgement, for that ſeeing they are ſo ſkilfull to doo harme in townes and cities, if that bad-uſed wit were forſt to be imployed about that commodious doo-good, they would inuent excellent meanes to preuent the ſpoyle the rauenous birds commit. Their pregnant wits and cunning deuices to catch womens affections, that farre exceede crowes in reaſon and diſcretion, confirme they would be ſtrange, and therefore profitable; yet, becauſe it is ſomewhat too bace, though their practiſes are as beaſtly, I will ende with them with this reſolution:—That they are as worthie to ſtand in white-ſheetes in Churches, for leauing women in deſperate caſes, hauing drawen them into that fooles paradice of ouer-paſſionate affection, as they that poyſon ſtrangers bellies; This would make faithfull ſutors happie, conſtant louers ioyfull, and courting diſſemblers feareful.

Honeſtie, hauing noted theſe enormities harbored in lewde diſpoſitions ſhuffled into this Morrice, at laſt lent [1] his eares, and beſtowed his eyes, ioyning with him his beſt vnderſtanding, to ſearch into the natures of *the* remnant, to ſee whether *the* multitud were mixed with theſe in bad conceits. But, behold, ſo contrarie practizes were performed by them, as thoſe proceedings are diſagreeing to the furtherance of perfect vnitie. Amongſt theſe did I beholde *Loue* dandled with ſweete muſick, and conſtant affection vpholden with modeſt demeanour. The ſoueraignes of Virginitie diſplayed their heauenly dignitie, by the imperiall colours of matchles beautie, grounde with the *Ambroſian* oyle of celeſtiall courteſie; and the matronly deities proued their ethereall diſcreetnes, in following the heauens preſcription for Loues true imitation. I ſaw Kindenes matched with Goodwill, Affection linked vnto Liking, & Loue embraced with

[1 sig. I 2, back]

Loyaltie, Vertue leading them to eternall happines. They liked not for a moment, loued not vpon aduantage, nor wooed but with a good intention. Theſe ſhaked not hands with hatefull hearts, nor vſed ſmoothe tongues with diſſembling thoughts. They courted not kindely, to corrupt ſhamefully, ne proteſted with vowes, to wound with wordes, and kill with deeds; but hand and heart went together, and the tongue vttered their paſſionate conceites; their heart louing them as faithfully as their tongue labored to winne their courteſie. And you no earthly creatures, though ioyned with men for their eternall good (you heauenly ſaints, I meane, maſking in the ſhadowes of terreſtriall ſhapes), you beautifie this crue with your deuine motions, whoſe mindes are onely inritched with the true wiſdome that vpholdes Loues welfare. Your ſacred actions ayde his ſimple followers, & naught but your carefull kindnes binds mens weake affections from vnconſtancie. You make their praiers effectuall, their requeſt gayning through you the ſafetie of their longing. Your pittie brings them to pietie, and your almes relieues them from the captiuitie of Deſpaire. Deſtreſſed *Honeſtie* is ſoly harbored within your milke-white boſomes, and were it not for your bountifull charitie, his end
[1 s'g. I 3] would be tormenting beggerie. Your allablaſter pappes do wholy miniſter moiſture to my conſuming welfare, and from their ſugered teates doe I onely drawe my liquor of life, ſo that by your motherly kindnes to decaying *Honeſtie*, they reape likewiſe their bliſſe, that would giue mee my baine; recouering contrarie to their wils the remaynder of their weale. For how marcheth the paſſionate ſouldier, without you ſound the alarome of his good-ſpeede? or, how fareth the amorous gallant, except you play the galliard of acceptance? Vnfortunate eyes, your pearcing fightes ſhal be cruelly curſt, and vnnaturall viſage ſhall be offered to your obedient hearts; for ſeeing and adoring celeſtiall obiects, vnles their relenting pittie take mercie on your deſtreſſed abiects. And blaſpheming tongue, thy vnbridled impudencie ſhall heape vpon thy owne back a bundle of vntollerable miſeries, by being forced to vtter execrable ſlaunders againſt them for their hard hearts, that were purchaſed to worke your hard happe through your owne iniurious follie. Paſſions of diſcontent muſt pleaſe your fancies, and ſorrowfull poems muſt grace your muſick; deep ſighes muſt ſtraine your heart-ſtrings, and direfull ſorrowe lull

you a ſleepe, when viſions of new deſtreſſes muſt diſquiet your greateſt happines, and dreames of freſh vexations forbid you the leaſt eaſe. You ſhall ſue in vaine, becauſe you haue delighted in vanitie; and hope without obtaining, for that your heart haue harbored diſſembling, except theſe goddeſſes, whoſe goodnes is vnſpeakable, vouchſafe to miniſter a plaſter of pitty to your louing pietie. It is their courteſie that muſt make you chereful, and their good conceits muſt cheriſh your dying mirth; their liking muſt honour your affection, and their gratefull kindnes muſt aduance the zeale of your proteſted loyaltie. It is in their choyſe to change your chance, and in their power to bridle Fortune; for that the Fates, being their ſiſters, are at their calles to ſet downe your deſtinies. If they ſay they doe hate you, beware, for they can hurt you; but if they affirme they loue you, ſtriue to con|tinue your preſent happines, and feare to loſe the proffered bleſſednes. [1 sig. I 3, back] Why are women accounted weake, but becauſe their nature is pure? Or, wherefore are they neceſſarie, but that men cannot liue without their companie? When we are ſuccorles, they comfort vs; being melancholy, they cheere vs; and they are the meanes to redeeme vs from the gates of hell. Being mad, their muſicall tongues chaſe away the euill ſpirits; being bewitched, their loue charmes the tormenting diuels; and being ſwallowed vp by the gulfe licentiouſnes, the heauens haue created them the helpe to redeeme vs from that helliſh furnace

Thus much for their power; & now, a little of their properties. O, ſacred mercie (neuer more honored then in the pittifull boſomes of theſe feminine deities), thou holds thy chief harborow within their paſſionate boſomes, & only art nouriſhed in their relenting harts. Thou ſingſt within the cloſets of their pittifull conſciences, & reioyceſt within the caſtles of their celeſtiall ſoules; thou liueſt with them ſecure, and makes through them multitudes of miſerable wretches poſſeſſors of the higheſt happines. Thou heares the ſighes of ſuing ſweet-hearts, & comforts the pinching griefe of pining louers. Thou meditates of their vowes, and ſtudies to requite their carefull affection with kindeſt curteſie. Thou pittieſt the fooliſh maladies of fond nouices, & ſorroweſt at the weaknes of many mens wiſdome. Thou ſtriueſt to do no wrong, that thou maiſt be free from iniurie; and labours to ſhunne ſuſpect, that thou maiſt bee without miſdoubt.

Thou ſtudieſt to repay, that thou maiſt reape thy due; and keepeſt thy day, that thou maiſt bee well dealt with. Yea, much more, and ſo much the better for man; thou pitties them that would ſpoile thee, and forgiues them that would hurt thee; thou wiſheſt them well that would bereaue thee of thy weale, & loueſt them (which is thy only fault), ouer entirely that eſteeme of thy proffered kindnes too too careleſly. Yet let diſcretion haue the ſecond place with you, for ſhe guides them by reaſon, and that gouerns men with wiſdome. [1 leaf I 4] She knowes when to charme with [1] ſweete melodie, and when to correct with louing perſwaſions; ſhe vſeth to dandle vertue, and reproue vice, to embrace good and flie from euill, and willingly to ſubiect obedient imitation to holſome counſell, as alſo dutifully to deſire libertie from ſtooping to iniurious doctrine. Shee ſearcheth into the depth of ſubiected ſeruiſe, and diſcouering whether it be offered of curteſie, or proffered of knauerie, regards it according to it value, and rewardes it with it full worth. She teacheth to like ere they loue, and louing to encreaſe, or deminiſh the heate of their fancie, according to the proportion of kinde coales that nouriſheth the fire of their affection. She perſwadeth to launce, courting to the bones to finde out the danger; and ſeeing what likelyhoode, either of weale or woe is likeſt to enſue; ſhee ſheweth them what is good to withdrawe the putrified liking, and what is holſome to preſerue the ſound loue. And ſhe ſtudies to make them happie, by wiſhing men their welfare to make them conſtant, by endeuoring to encreaſe a ſparke of loyaltie, and to make them honored by inſtructing them in the true rules of modeſtie.

And now ſtep in further, thou beautifying modeſtie; for thou addeſt no ſmall renoune to their adored natures, nor doth thy baſhfulnes meanely adorne their highly priſed excellencies; thy roſie bluſſhes bring no ſmall honor to their admired beauty; nor euer dies that ſacred ſtayning colour, vntil by mans corruption that maidenly marke be extinguiſhed. Yet then (but, ah! that man ſhould do ſo much!) thy decent ſobrietie aduanceth the dignity of their womanly chaſtitie, and thy matronly behauiour diſplayeth the soueraintie of their motherly nurture. Thou giues examples that, imitated, preuent occaſions of enticing offers to draw to folly, and eſcapes the iniurious ſlanders of ſuſpitious ſearchers, *that* hunt after ſhewes of ſenſuality. Thou main-

taineſt peace at home, eſcapeſt ſuſpect abroade, and keepeſt thy louers heart from harboring ielouſie, the chiefe procurer of greateſt miſerie. And thou gaineſt liking, and encreaſeſt affection, receiuing loue and loyaltie with an aſſu'red pledge of neuer-dying conſtancie. Neither [1 leaf I 4, back] art thou, euerlaſting goddes, a ſtranger to mens-helpers; for thou, with all the vertues, waite vpon theſe beautiful ſpectacles, and they, with the Graces, extol thoſe the earths miracles. Their praiſes are vnſpeakeable, for that their worth is vnualuable and their deſartes vnrequited, becauſe through mans weakenes miſpriſed; but ſuch and ſo great were the adorned excellencies of theſe humaine deities, as their practiſes layde open their princely courteſie, and their performances made their louers happie. And men reioyced through their faithfull affection; ſtudying to requite womens euerlaſting kindnes with the reward of neuer-ceaſing conſtancie. Men vſed heauenly wiſdome to obtaine liking, and carefull behauior to confirme loue being purchaſed; and women were forward to beſtowe modeſt kindnes, being faithfully dealt withall, and effectually requited proffered curteſie; neither being too too coye, or ſhewing themſelues ouer forward to be wonne. But briefly, and ſo to end: euery one of them rendred like for like with proofes of neuer-altering affection, they thereby gaining vnto themſelu[e]s the ſugred ſweetnes of celeſtiall amitie, & tying vnto their kinde thoughts, the affections of their well-willers, with euerlaſting conſtancie.

FINIS.

TOM TEL-TROTHS MESSAGE, AND HIS PENS COMPLAINT.

A worke not vnpleasant to be read, nor vnprofitable to be followed.

Written by Jo. La. Gent.

Nullam in correcto crimine crimen erit.

LONDON.
Imprinted for *R. Howell*, and are to be sold at his shop, neere the great North doore of Paules, at the signe of the white horse. 1600.

[p. 5]

TO THE WORSIPFULL

MASTER George Dowse, GENTLEMAN, Io. La. WISHETH FRVITION of endlesse felicitie.

IF writings may quittance benefits or goodwill, more then common curtesie, then accept, I beseech you, these first fruites of my barren braine, the token of my loue, the seale of my affection, and the true cognizance of my vnfained affection. And for so-much as the plot of my Pamphlet is rude, though true, the matter meane, the manner meaner, let me humbly desire, though slenderly I deserue, to haue it patronized vnder the wings of your fauour; in requitall whereof I will be,

Yours euer to command,
Io. La.

[p. 6]

TO THE GENTLEMEN READERS.

IVdiciall Readers, wise Apolloes flocke,
Whose eyes like keyes doe open learnings locke;
Daigne with your eye-lampes to behold this booke,
And in all curtesie thereon to looke:
Thus being patronized by your view,
I shall not be ashamed of his hew.
O graunt my suite, my suite you vnderstand,
That I may you commend, you me command.

Io. La.

TOM TEL-TROTHS

Message, and his pens complaint.

[1]

Thou that didst earst Romes Capitall defend, [p. 7] 1
Defend this sacred relique of thy wing,
And by thy power Diuine some succor send,
To saue the same from carping *Momus* sting: 4
That, like a tell-troth, it may boldly blaze,
And pensill-like paint forth a iust dispraise. 6

[2]

Goe, naked pen, the hearts true secretarie, 7
Imbath'd in sable liquor mixt with gall,
And from thy master these rude verses carrie,
Sent to the world, and in the world, to all: 10
In mournfull verse lament the faults of men,
Doe this, and then returne heart-easing pen. 12

[3]

Time sits him downe to weepe in sorrowes fell, [p. 8] 13
And *Truth* bewailes mans present wickednes;
Both *Time* and *Truth* a dolefull tale doe tell,
Deploring for mans future wretchednes. 16
With teare-bedewed cheeks, help, help therfore,
Sad tragicke muse, to weepe, bewaile, deplore. 18

[]

Mee thinks I see the ghost of *Conscience*, 19
Raisde from the darke graue of securitie,
Viewing the world, who once was banisht thence,
Her cheeks with teares made wet, with sighs made dry: 22
And this did aggrauate her griefe the more,
To see the world much worse than twas before. 24

[5]

She wept; I saw her weepe, and wept to see
The salt teares trickling from her aged eyes;
Yea, and my pen, copartner needs would be,
With black-inke teares, our teares to simpathize:
So long wee wept, that all our eyes were drie,
And then our tongues began aloud to crie.

[6]

Come, sad *Melpomene*, thou tragicke Muse, [p. 9]
To beare a part in these our dolefull cries!
Spare not with taunting verses to accuse
The wicked world of his iniquities!
Tell him his owne! be bold, and not ashamed,
Nor cease to speake till thou his faults hast blamed!

[7]

I seeme to heare resounding Ecchoes tatling,
Of misdemeanors raigning heere and there,
And party-coloured Pyes on greene bowes pratling,
Of foolish fashions raging euerie where:
Then blame not my muse, what so ere she say,
Sith birds and Ecchoes, mens fond faults bewray.

[8]

O world, no world, but rather sinke of sinne,
Where blind and fickle Fortune Empresse raigneth;
O men, no men, but swine that lie therein,
Among whom, vertue wrong'd by vice complaineth:
Thus world bad, men worse, men in world, worldly men,
Doe giue occasion to my plaintife pen.

[9]

Sinne, like the monstra *Hydra*, hath more heads, [p. 10]
Then heauens hie roofe hath siluer-spangled starres,
And in his Iawes,[1] mens soules to hell he leads, [1 *orig.* lawes]
Where fierie fiends meete them in flaming Charres:
This Pirate, like a Pilate, keepes each coast,
Bringing his guests vnto their hellish hoast.

[10]

If all the earth were writing paper made, 55
All plowshares pens, all furrowes lines in writing,
The Ocean inke, wherein the sea-nimphes wade,
And all mens consciences were scribes inditing: 58
Too much could not be written of mans sinne,
Since sinne did in the first man first begin. 60

[11]

But as the Ægyptian dog runs on the brinke 61
Of Nilus seuen-fold ouer-flowing floud,
And staying not, nowhere, nowhere doth drinke,
For feare of Crocodiles which lurke in mudde: 64
So shall my pen runne briefly ouer all,
Reciting these misdeeds which worke mans thral. 66

[12]

Nature, that whilome bore the chiefest sway, [p. 11] 67
Bridling mans bodie with the raignes of Reason,
Is now inforc'd in vncoth walkes to stray,
Exilde by custome, which encrocht through treason: 70
Instead of Art, Natures companion,
Fancie with custome holdes dominion. 72

[13]

Ouid could testifie that, in his time, 73
Astraea fled from earth to heauen aboue,
Loathing iniustice as a damned crime,
Which she with equall poised schoales did proue: 76
And this pen in my time shall iustifie,
That true religion is constrainde to flie. 78

[14]

The two leafe-dores of *quondam* honestie, 79
Which on foure vertues Cardinall were turned,
By Cardinals degree and poperie,
Are now as heretike-like reliques burned: 82
Now carnall vice, not vertue Cardinall,
Plaies Christmas gambals in the Popes great hall. 84

[15]

Well, sith the Popes name pops so fitly in, [p. 12] 85
From Pope ile take the Latin P. away,
And Pope shall with the Greeke π. then begin,
Whose type and tippe that he may climbe ile pray: 88
Pray all with mee that he may climbe this letter;
For in this praier each man is his detter. 90

[16]

I passe not although with bell, booke, and candle, 91
His bald-pate Priests and shoren Friers curse;
My plaintife pen, his rayling text shall handle:
Nor doe I thinke my selfe one iot the worse: 94
Yea, though my pen were in their Purgatorie,
Yet should my pen hold on his plaintife storie. 96

[17]

Oh, what a world is it for one to see, 97
How Monkes and Friers would religious seeme?
Whose heads make humble congies to the knee,
That of their humble minds all men might deeme: 100
These be the sycophants, whose fained zeale
Hath brought-in woe to euerie commonweale. 102

[18]

The Monkes, like monkies, hauing long blacke tailes, [p. 13] 103
Tell olde wiues tales to busie simple braines;
The baudie Friers do hunt to catch females,
To shriue and free them from infernall paines. 106
Thus Monkes and Friers, fire-brands of hell,
Like to incarnate diuels with vs dwell. 108

[19]

But I as loath, so will I leaue to write, 109
Against this popish ribble rabble route,
Hoping ere long some other will indite
Whole volumes gainst their slander-bearers stout: 112
Poets and Painters meane while shall descry,
With pens and pensils, their hypocrisie. 114

[20]

As thus my pen doth glance at euerie vice,
Needs must I heare poore Learnings lamentation,
Which whilome was esteem'd at highest price,
But now reiected is of euerie nation:
She loueth men, yet is shee wrong'd by men;
Her wronged loue giues matter to my pen.

[21]

Pallas, the nurse of Nature-helping Art, [p. 14]
Whose babes are Schollers, and whose cradels, schooles,
From whose milch teates no pupils would depart,
Till they by cunning shund the names of fooles:
She, euen she, wanders in open streetes,
Seeking for schollers, but no schollers meetes.

[22]

Englands two eyes, Englands two Nurceries,
Englands two nests, Englands two holy mounts,
I meane, Englands two Vniuersities,
Englands two Lamps, Englands two sacred founts,
Are so puld at, puld out, and eke puld downe,
That they can scarce maintaine a wide sleeu'd gowne.

[23]

Lately as one CAME ore a BRIDGE, he saw
An OXE stand ore a FORDE to quench his drouth:
But lo, the Oxe his dry lips did withdraw,
And from the water lifted vp his mouth.
Like *Tantalus*, this drie Oxe there did stand:
God grant this darke *Ænigma* may be scand!

[24]

The Liberall Sciences, in number seauen, [p. 15]
Which, in seauen ages, like seauen Monarchs raigned,
And shin'd on earth as Planets seauen in heauen,
Are now like Almesfolkes beggerly maintained,
Whilst in their roome, seauen deadly sins beare sway,
Which makes these seauen Arts, like seauen slaues obey.

[25]

Grammer, the ground and strong foundation
Vpon which Lady Learning builds her tower;
Grammer, the path-way and direction
That leadeth vnto *Pallas* sacred bower,
Stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,
Whom all in free Schooles erst might free behold.

[26]

Add *Rhetoricke*, adornde with figures fine,
Trickt vp with tropes, and clad in comely speech,
Is gone a Pilgrime to the Muses nine,
For her late wrong assistance to beseech.
Now rich Curmudgions, best orations make,
Whilst in their pouches gingling coyne they shake.

[27]

Logicke, which like a whetstone sharpes the braine, [p. 16]
Logicke, which like a touch-stone tries the minde,
Logicke, which like a load-stone erst drew gaine,
Is now for want of maintenance halfe pinde;
And sith in Colledges no maides may dwell,
Many from Colledges doe her expell.

[28]

Musicke, I much bemourne thy miserie,
Whose well-tunde notes delight the Gods aboue,
Who, with thine eare-bewitching melodie,
Doest vnto men and beasts such pleasure moue:
Though wayling cannot helpe, I wayle thy wrong,
Bearing a part with thee in thy sad song.

[29]

Arithmeticke, she next in number stands,
Numbring her cares in teaching how to number;
Which cares, in number passing salt-sea sands,
Disturbe her minde, and still her corps incumber:
Care addeth griefe, griefe multiplies her woe,
Whose ebbe substracting, brings reducing floe.

[30]

Geometrie, as seruile prentise bound [p. 17] 175
Vnto the Mother earth for many yeares,
Hath long since meated out the massie ground,
Which ground the impression of her foot-steps beares. 178
Great was her labour, great should be her gaine
But her great labour was repaid with paine. 180

[31]

Astronomie, not least though last, hath lost 181
By cruell fate her starre-embroidred coate;
Her spherie globe in dangers seas is tost,
And in mishap her instruments doe floate: 184
All Almanacks hereof can witnesse beare,
Else would my selfe hereof as witnesse sweare. 186

[32]

But how should I with stile poeticall 187
Proceede to rime in meeter or in verse?
If Poetrie, the Queene of verses all,
Should not be heard, whose plaint mine care doth pierce? 190
Oh helpe, *Apollo*, with apologie,
To blaze her vndeserued iniurie. 192

[33]

Horace did write the Art of Poetrie, [p 18] 193
The Art of Poetrie *Virgill* commended;
Ouid thereto his studies did applie,
Whose life and death, still Poetrie defended. 196
Thrice happie they, but thrice vnhappie I,
They sang her praise, but I her iniurie. 198

[34]

O princely Poetrie, true Prophetesse, 199
Perfections patterne, Matrone of the Muses,
I weepe to thinke how rude men doe oppresse
And wrong thine Art with their absurd abuses. 202
They are but drosse, thine Art it is diuine,
Cast not therefore thy pearles to such swine. 204

[35]

The sugred songs that sweete Swannes vse to sing,
Floting adowne *Meanders* siluer shore,
To countrie swaines no kinde of solace bring;
The winding of an horne they fancie more.
No marueile then though Ladie Poetrie
Doe suffer vndeserued iniurie.

[36]

Like to *Batillus*, euery ballet-maker, [p. 19]
That neuer climbd vnto *Pernassus* Mount,
Will so incroach, that he will be partaker
To drinke with *Maro* at the *Castale* fount.
Yea, more then this, to weare a lawrell Crowne
By penning new gigges for a countrie clowne.

[37]

When *Marsias* with his bagpipes did contend
To make farre better Musicke then *Apollo:*
When *Thameras* in selfe conceit would mend
The Muses sweete songs note, what then did follow?
Conuicted both, to both this was assignde:
The first was hangd, the last was stroken blinde.

[38]

And may it happen to those bastard braines,
Whose base rimes striue to better Poetrie,
That they may suffer like deserued paines,
For these be they that worke her infamie.
Thus hauing blazed false Poets in their hew,
Deare Poetrie (though loth) I bid adiew.

[39]

As Poetrie in poesie I leaue, [p. 20]
I see seauen sinnes which crost seauen Liberall Arts,
Which with their fained shew doe men deceaue,
And on the wide worlds stage doe play their parts:
As thus men follow them, they follow men,
They moue more matter to my plaintife pen.

[40]

These mincing maides and fine-trict truls, ride post
To *Plutoes* pallace, like purueyers proude;
Thither they leade many a damned ghost,
With howling consorts carroling aloude:
And as one after one they post to hell,
My plaintife pen shall their abuses tell.

[41]

First praunceth Pride with principalitie,
Guarded with troupes of new-found fashions:
Her hand-maides are Fancie and Vanitie:
These three a progresse goe throughout all nations;
And as by any towne they passe along,
People to see them gather in a throng.

[42]

Now fine-ruft Ruffines in their brauerie [p 21]
Make cringing cuts with new inuention:
New-cut at Cardes brings some to beggarie,
But this new-cut brings most vnto destruction:
So long they cut, that in their purse no groate
They leaue, but cut some others purse or throate.

[43]

Bedawbd with gold like *Apuleius* Asse,
Some princk and pranck it: others, more precise,
Full trick and trim tir'd in the looking-glasse,
With strange apparell doe themselues disguise.
But could they see what others in them see,
Follie might flie, and they might wiser bee.

[44]

Some gogle with the eyes, some squint-eyd looke,
Some at their fellowes, squemish sheepes-eyes cast,
Some turne the whites vp, some looke to the foote,
Some winke, some twinke, some blinke, some stare as fast.
The summe is infinite; eye were a detter,
If all should answere I, with I the letter.

[45]

Many desire to foote it with a grace, [p. 22]
Or Lion-like to walke maiesticall:
But whilst they striue to keepe an equipace,
Their gate is foolish and phantasticall.
As Hobby-horses, or as Anticks daunce,
So doe these fooles vnseemely seeme to praunce.

[46]

I will not write of sweatie, long, shag haire,
Or curled lockes with frisled periwigs:
The first, the badge that Ruffins vse to weare,
The last, the cognisance of wanton rigs.
But sure I thinke, as in *Medusaes* head,
So in their haires, are craulling Adders bred.

[47]

Men, *Proteus*-like, resemble euery shape,
And like Camelions euery colour faine;
How deare so ere, no fashion may escape
The hands of those whose gold may it attaine:
Like ebbe and flow, these fashions goe and come,
Whose price amounteth to a massie summe.

[48]

The sharp-set iawes of greedie sheeres deuoure, [p. 23]
And seaze on euery cloath as on a pray,
Like *Atropose* cutting that in an houre,
Which weauers *Lachese*-like wrought in a day.
These snip-snap sheeres, in al shieres get great shares,
And are partakers of the dearest wares.

[49]

When fig-tree leaues did shroude mans nakednesse,
And home-spun cloath was counted clothing gay,
Then was mans bodie clad with comelinesse,
And honour shrouded was in rude array:
But since those times by future times were changed,
Thousands of fashions through the world haue ranged.

[50]

Ambitious thoughts, hearts haughtie, mindes aspiring,
Proud lookes, fond gates, and what not vndescreete,
As seruants waite, mens bodie still atyring
With far-fetcht gewgawes for yong children meete:
Wherewith whilst they themselues doe daily decke,
Brauado-wise they scôrne to brooke the checke.

[51]

Some couet winged sleeues like *Mercurie*, [p. 24]
Others, round hose much like to Fortunes wheele
(Noting thereby their owne vnconstancie),
Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach their heele.
These Apish trickes vsde in their daily weedes,
Bewray phantasticke thoughts, fond words, foule deedes.

[52]

Bold Bettresse braues and brags it in her wiers,
And buskt she must be, or not bust at all:
Their riggish heads must be adornd with tires,
With Periwigs, or with a golden Call.
Tut, tut, tis nothing in th'Exchange to change
Monthly, as doth the Moone, their fashions strange.

[53]

It seemes, strange birds in England now are bred,
And that rare fowles in England build their nest,
When Englishmen with plumes adorne their head,
As with a Cocks-combe or a Peacocks crest.
These painted plumes, men in their caps doe weare,
And women in their hands doe trickly beare.

[54]

Perhaps some women being foule, doe vse [p. 25]
Fowles feathers to shroude their deformitie:
Others perchance these plumes doe rather chuse,
From weather and winde to shield their phisnomie.
But whilst both men and women vse these feathers,
They are deem'd light as feathers, winde and weathers.

[55]

Some dames are pumpt, because they liue in pompe,
That with *Herodias* they might nimbly daunce,
Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,
And most in corked shooes doe nicely praunce.
But here I doubtfull stand, whether to blame
The shoomakers, or them that weare the same.

[56]

In countrie townes, men vse fannes for their corne,
And such like fannes I cannot discommend:
But in great cities, fannes by truls are borne,
The sight of which doth greatly God offend.
And were it not I should be deem'd precise,
I could approue these fond fann'd fooles vnwise.

[57]

A Painter lately with his pensill drew [p. 26]
The picture of a Frenchman and Italian,
With whom he plac'd the Spaniard, Turk, and Iew;
But by himselfe he sat the Englishman.
Before these laughing, went *Democritus*,
Behinde these weeping, went *Heraclitus*.

[58]

All these in comely vestures were atired,
According to the custome of their land,
The Englishman excepted, who desired
With others feathers, like a Iay to stand.
Thus whilst he seeketh forraine brauerie,
He is accused of vnconstancie.

[59]

Some call him Ape, because he imitates;
Some foole, because he fancies euery bable;
Some liken him to fishes caught with baites,
Some to the winde, because he is vnstable.
Then blame him not, although gainst Englishmen,
This Englishman writ with his plaintife pen.

[60]

But hush! no more; enough's enough; fie, fie, [p. 27] 355
Wilt thou thy countries faults in verse compile?
Desist betimes, least thou *peccaui* crie,
For no bird, sure, his owne nest will defile. 358
Well, sith thou brak'st his head, and mad'st a sore,
With silence giue a salue, and write no more. 360

[61]

The world began, and so will end, with Pride; 361
With Pride this poynt began, with Pride it ends:
And whilst in pleasures Chariot she doth ride,
My plaintife pen, page-like still by her wends. 364
Thus hauing painted out Prides roysting race,
At this poynts end, a periods poynt I place. 366

[62]

Now pyning Enuie whining doth appeare, 367
With bodie leane, with visage pale and wan,
With withered face, and with vnkeamed haire;
She doth both fret and fume, sweare, curse, and ban: 370
She fareth ill, when other men fare well,
Others prosperitie is made her hell. 372

[63]

She peepes and pries into all actions, [p. 28] 373
And she is neuer well but when she iarres:
She is the mother of all factions,
She broacheth quarrels, and increaseth warres: 376
Anger is hot, and wrath doth roughly rage,
But nothing, Enuies heating hate can swage. 378

[64]

This Trull inticed *Pompey* to contend, 379
And with great *Caesar* ciuill warres to moue:
This dame allured kings their liues to spend
In bloodie broyles, and braules deuoyd of loue: 382
Incensing subiects gainst their gouernours,
Sonnes against Sires, Captiues against Conquerors. 384

[65]

As Iron doth consume it selfe with rust,
By eating which, it selfe it still doth eate,
So doth the enuious man soone come to dust,
And doth consume himselfe whilst he doth fret.
Thus Enuie still conspires to end his life,
That liuing with another, liues at strife.

[66]

We reade that Enuie twixt two men did grow, [p. 29]
And that the one of them one eye would lose,
So that he might pluck both eyes from his foe,
And plucking both eyes out, his eyes might close.
O who would thinke, a man should beare the minde
To lose one eye, to make another blinde!

[67]

What trade so base but there is Enuie in it,
When Minstrels with blinde Fidlers daily striue?
What strife is there, but Enuie doth begin it,
When iusling Iacks, to walls their betters driue?
The truth hereof I shall not neede to sweare,
Sith *Hesiode* old hereof doth witnesse beare.

[68]

What is the cause that many mop and moe,
That many scoffe, and scorne, and gibe, and iest,
With rimes and riddles rating at their foe,
Flouting the base, and powting at the best?
What is the cause? the cause one line shall show:
Enuie is cause, which in mens hearts doth grow.

[69]

Knowledge, within the hart of man doth dwell; [p. 30]
And loue, within the liuer builds his nest:
But Enuie, in the gall of man doth swell,
And playes the rebell in his boyling brest.
O would to God men had no gall at all,
That Enuie might not harbour in the gall!

[70]

Enuie and Charitie together stroue
Which of them two a man should entertaine:
The one with spight, the other sought with loue;
The first in gall, the last in hart would raigne:
So long they stroue, that Enuie lost the field,
And Charitie made Enuie captiue yeeld.

[71]

Enuie, adiew, and welcome Charitie,
The bond of peace and all perfection,
The way that leades to true felicitie,
Filling the soule with most diuine refection.
Enuie shall goe, Ile cleaue vnto thy lore,
Thee will I serue, and thee will I adore.

[72]

Next followes Wrath, Enuies fierce fellow-mate, [p. 31]
Attired in a roring Lions skin,
Ietting along with a giant-like gate,
Which aye a tyrant terrible hath bin.
A butcher like, within his hands doth beare
Their harts, which he with woluish teeth doth teare.

[73]

Wrath moued *Herod* with blood-thirstie hart
To slaughter infants from their mothers brest
Like lambes scarce ean'd, or doues new-hatcht to part,
And with liues losse to leaue both damme and nest.
O, had King *Herod* knowne what would ensue,
He had not done what he did after rue.

[74]

He shed their blood; their blood did vengeance craue;
They first too soone, he last too late did dye;
They led the way, he followed to the graue;
Both they and he a pray for wormes did lye.
Yet thus they differ, wormes them dead did eate,
But him aliue, the wormes did make their meate.

[75]

Wrath in *Caligulaes* mad head did grow, [p. 32]
Making him wish that Rome had but one head,
That he might smite off that head at a blow,
Whose pompe he saw, like many heads to spread:
But whilst he thought Romes heads in one to lop,
Romes heads in one, his flower of life did crop.

[76]

Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete
(Which may be called smite-field properly);
Wrath is the cause that maketh euery streete
A shambles, and a bloodie butcherie,
Where roysting ruffins quarrell for their drabs,
And for sleight causes, one the other stabs.

[77]

Wrath puffes men vp with mindes Thrasonicall,
And makes them braue it braggadochio-like:
Wrath maketh men triumph Tyrannicall,
With sword, with shield, with gunne, with bill and pike:
Yea, now adaies Wrath causeth him to dye
That to his fellow dares to giue the lye.

[78]

Mars is the Chieftaine of this wrathfull host, [p. 33]
Whose embrewd standard is with blood dyed red;
Of many he spares few, and kils the most,
And with their corps his bloodie panch is fed.
Tara tantara, sa, sa, kill, kill, he cries,
Filling with blood the earth, with scrikes the skies.

[79]

Wraths fierce fore-runner is Timeritie,
And after Wrath Repentance shortly followes:
The first rides gallop into miserie,
The last procures sadnes, despayre, and sorrow.
Who therefore doe desire to liue at rest,
Let them not harbour wrath within their brest.

[80]

Wraths contrarie is Lady Patience,
Who conquers most when she is conquered,
She teacheth beasts that they by common sence
Might teach to vanquish, being vanquished.
Rammes running back with greater force returne,
And Lime most hot, in most cold springs doth burne.

[81]

Patience, a cosin hath calde Sufferance, [p. 34]
Neerely akind, because she is so kinde;
She is most like a Doue in countenance,
And like an Angell in her humble minde;
All Phænix-like she is but rarely found,—
Would God she might be seene on English ground,—

[82]

Then naked swords themselues would neuer cloath
With wounded skinnes of men whom men did maime;
Then quarrellers would, after quaffing, loath
With stabs and strokes to kill or make men lame.
Then, then I say, swords might in scabberts sleepe,
And some might laugh which are constrainde to weepe.

[83]

As thus my pen, writing of Vice, spares none,
It brings into my sight a lazie Gill,
A sleeping sluggard and a drowsie drone,
Which snorts and snores, and euer sitteth still:
Some call her Sloth, some call her Idlenesse,
A friend to neede, a foe to wealthinesse.

[84]

They tearme her Mother of all other vices, [p. 35]
Bearing a spawne of many new-bred sinnes:
Many she lures, and many she entices,
Whereof most part is trapped in her ginnes:
She is the But at which foule Lust doth shoote,
And where she toucheth, there she taketh roote.

[85]

I once did heare of one *Lipotopo*
(Whose pace was equall with the shell-housde snaile)
That to a fig-tree lasily did go,
Whose broad-leau'd branches made a shady vaile:
Thither this lusking lubber softly creeped,
And there this lazie lizard soundly sleeped.

[86]

But as one *Goffo* by the fig-tree went,
He wakened him from out his drowsie sleepe,
And earnestly did aske him what he ment,
Vnder that fig-tree all alone to keepe.
As thus he did *Lipotopo* awake,
Yawning and gaping, thus he idly spake:

[87]

Good friend, it is a paine for me to speake, [p. 36]
Because I vse nothing but only sleeping:
Yet vnto thee my minde Ile shortly breake,
And shew the cause of my here daily keeping:
The cause is this, that when these ripe figges fall,
My gaping mouth might then receiue them all.

[88]

As thus he spake, *Goffo* from off the tree
Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it;
Which when he gan to feele, my friend (quoth he),
I pray thee stirre my iawes that I may glut it.
Goffo, admiring this his lazinesse,
Left him as he him found, in idlenesse.

[89]

O would my pen were now a pensill made,
And I, a Poet, might a Painter bee,
That picture-like this patterne might be laide
Before mens eyes, that it their eyes might see;
By which they, seeing Sloths deformitie,
Might flie from sloth, and follow industrie.

[90]

Now doth appeare dame niggard Auarice, [p. 37] 535
Who, being loden with gold, gapes for gold:
She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,
And in Cheapside makes nothing chaepe be sold, 538
Which coyne, her chests fild full, fulfill her eye,
Whilst poore folkes perish in great miserie. 540

[91]

She hath been troubled long with one disease, 541
Which some a Dropsie call, or drouth of gaine;
She drinkes and drinkes againe, yet cannot ease
Her thirstie sicknesse and her greedie paine: 544
Still is she sicke, yet is she neuer dead,
Because her sicknesse still is nourished. 546

[92]

Her bodie grosse, engrosseth all the corne, 547
And of the grossest wares makes greatest gaine:
Yea, Grocers now adaies, as men forlorne,
Auerre that they gainst her haue cause to plaine: 550
Yet doth she liue, yet doth she tyrannize,
Because her coyne her works doth wantantize. 552

[93]

This Auarice a cosin-germane hath, [p. 38] 553
Which many Londoners call Vsurie,
Which like a braue comptroller boldly saith,
She will bring England into miserie, 556
Who, vnder colour of a friendly lending,
Seemes of her bad trade to make iust defending. 558

[94]

They hand in hand doe walke in euery streete, 559
Making the proudest Caualiers to stoope:
If with their debtors they doe chaunce to meete,
They pen them vp within the *Poultries* coope. 562
And if for gold lent, men would counters pay,
In Woodstreets Counter there them fast they lay. 564

[95]

Now Charitie, which is the band of peace,
Is turned to a Scriueners scribling-band,
To *Indentura facta*, or a lease,
To racking houses, tenements and land:
All this can gold, all this can siluer do,
And more then this, if neede require thereto

[96]

From whence comes gold, but from the earth below? [p. 39]
Whereof, if not of earth, are all men made?
Like will to like, and like with like will grow;
Growing they florish, florishing they fade.
But where are gold and men? in hell; wher's hell?
On earth, where gold and men with gold do dwell.

[97]

The prouerbe old I doe approue most true,
Better to fill the bellie then the eye:
For whilst rich misers feedes on monies view,
Sparing they liue in wilfull penurie:
Yea, more then this, they liue vpon a crust,
Whilst in their heaped bags their gold doth rust.

[98]

Come, plaintife pen, and whip them with thy rod,
And plainly tell them their Idolatrie,
Which make their gold their loue, their life, their god,
Which with their gold desire to liue and die.
Tell them, if to no better vse they turne
Their gold, they with their gold in hell shall burne.

[99]

Thus leauing Vsurie and Auarice, [p. 40]
As Sathans limmes, or fire-brands of hell,
As rauening wolues that liue by preiudice,
Or greedie hogs that on mens grounds do dwell:
I post to that which I had almost past,
But nowe haue ouertaken at the last.

[100]

The name of her whom heere I meete withall
Is Gluttonie, the mother of excesse,
Which, making daintie feasts, doth many call
To eate with her the meate that she did dresse:
Who being set to eate her toothsome meat,
Eating doth eate and neuer cease to eate.

[101]

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie
In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
To spend their substance vpon whorish mates:
That by their lauish prodigalitie
She may maintaine her fleshly vanitie.

[102]

With gobs she fils and stuffes her greedie gorge, [p. 41]
And neuer is her gaping stomacke fed,
Bits vnchaw'de in her bulke, as in a forge,
Kindle the coales whereof foule lust is bred:
Thus doe we see how lazie gluttonie
Comforts her selfe with Ladie Lecherie.

[103]

One other mate she hath, call'd Dronkennesse,
A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,
Which neuer drinks but with excessiuenesse,
And drinkes so long vntill her paunch is full;
She drinkes as much as she can well containe,
Which being voyded, then she drinkes againe.

[104]

But when the drinke doth worke within her head,
She rowles and reekes, and pimpers with the eyes;
She stamps, she stares, she thinks white black, black red,
She teares and sweares, she geeres, she laughes and cries;
And as her giddie head thinks all turnes round,
She belching fals, and vomits on the ground.

[105]

Some men are drunke, and being drunke will fight; [p. 42] 625
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are merrie;
Some men are drunke, and secrets bring to light;
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are sorie: 628
Thus may we see that drunken men haue passions,
And drunkennesse hath many foolish fashions. 630

[106]

Fishes that in the seas doe drinke their fill, 631
Teach men by nature to shun drunkennesse.
What bird is there, that with his chirping bill
Of any liquour euer tooke excesse? 634
Thus beastes on earth, fish in seas, birds in skie,
Teach men to shun all superfluitie. 636

[107]

Would any heare the discommodities 637
That doe arise from our excesse of drinke?
It duls the braine, it hurts the memorie,
It blinds the sight, it makes men bleare-eyd blinke; 640
It kils the bodie, and it wounds the soule;
Leaue, therefore, leaue, O leaue this vice so foule! 642

[108]

Now, last of all, though perhaps chiefe of all, [p. 43] 643
My pen hath hunted out lewde Lecherie,
Which many sinnes and many faults doth call
To bee pertakers to her trecherie: 646
Her loue is lust, her lust is sugred sower,
Her paine is long, her pleasure but a flower. 648

[109]

When chast *Adonis* came to mans estate, 649
Venus straight courted him with many a wile;
Lucrece once seene, straight *Tarquine* laid a baite,
With foule incest her bodie to defile: 652
Thus men by women, women wrongde by men,
Giue matter still vnto my plaintife pen. 654

[110]

Thousands of whores maintained by their wooers,
Entice by land, as Syrens doe by Seas,
Which, being like path-waies or open doores,
Infect mens bodies with the French disease:
  Thus women, woe of men, though wooed by men,
  Still adde new matter to my plaintife pen.

[111]

Whilome by nature men and women loued, [p. 44]
And prone enough they were to loue thereby;
But when they *Ouids ars amandi* proued,
Both men and women fell to lecherie:
  By nature sinning, art of sinne was found
  To make mans sinne still more and more abound.

[112]

If that I could paint out foule lecherie
In her deformed shape and loathsome plight,
Or if I could paint spotlesse Chastitie
In her true portraiture and colours bright,
  I thinke no maid would euer proue an whore,
  But euerie maid would chastitie adore.

[113]

Then maried men might vild reproaches scorne,
And shunne the Harts crest to their hearts content,
With *cornucopia*, Cornewall, and the horne,
Which their bad wiues bid from their bed be sent:
  Then should no olde-Cocks, nor no cocke-olds crow,
  But euerie man might in his owne ground sow.

[114]

Then light-taylde hufwiues, which like *Syrens* sing, [p. 45]
And like to *Circes* with their drugs enchant,
Would not vnto the Banke-sides round-house fling,
In open sight, themselues to show and vaunt:
  Then, then, I say, they would not masked goe,
  Though vnseene, to see those they faine would know.

[115]

But in this Labyrinth I list not tread,
Nor combate with the minotaure-like lust;
Hence therefore will I wend by methods thread,
And wend I will, because needs wend I must:
Farewell, nay fare-ill, filthie lecherie,
And welcome vndefiled chastitie.

[116]

Vesta, I do adore thy puritie,
And in thy Temples will I tapers beare;
Thou, O *Diana*, for virginitie,
Shalt be the matrone of my modest feare,
That both in one, both beeing Goddesses,
May of my maden-head be witnesses.

[117]

O may my flesh, like to the Ermiline, [p. 46]
Vnspotted liue, and so vnspotted die,
That when I come before the sacred shrine,
My vntoucht corps themselues may guiltlesse trie;
Then shall I glorie that I haue bin taught
To shun the snare wherein most folkes are caught.

[118]

Thus hath my pen described, and descry'd,
Sinne with his seuen heads of seauen deadly vices,
And now my plaintife pen hath verified
That sinne, from vertue, mortall men entices:
If any wicked *Momus* carpe the same,
In blaming this, I passe not for his blame.

[119]

Dictator-like I must confesse I write,
And like a *Nomothetes* criticall,
Pernaps my pen doth crabedly endite
In plaintife humors meerely Cinicall:
But sooth to say, *Tom-teltroth* will not lie,
We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

[120]

And for because my pen doth liquour want, [p. 47] 715
Heere (being drie) he willing is to rest,
Not for that he doth further matter want,
For so to thinke, were but a simple iest: 718
And if (as he hath not) he haue offended,
He hopes (as you) so he wilbe amended. 720

Finis.

TOM of All Trades.

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-VVAY TO PREFERMENT.

BEING

A Discovery of a passage to Promotion in all Professions, Trades, Arts, and *Mysteries.*

Found out by an old Travailer in the sea of Experience, amongst the inchanted Islands of ill Fortune.

Now published for Common good.

By

THOMAS POVVELL.

Summum hominis bonum bonus ex hac vita exitus.

LONDON.
Printed by *B. Alsop* and *T. Fawcet*, for *Benjamen Fisher*,
and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the
Talbot in *Aldersgate*-street. 1631.

[*Bodleian Press-marks*:—4: T. 34. Art, and Douce PP. 202.]

[1]

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

POore TOM *was set on shore in* Kent,
And to the next good Towne hee went;
At whose approach the Bosseldir
Kept a most lamentable stirre,
That TOM *would offer to returne*
Through the good Towne of Syttingborne.
Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe?
And told him what the Statute was;
And like a Reverend Vestry wit
Swore hee would not allow of it,
But did advise him to resort
To fetch his Passe at Tonstall *Court.*
Our TOM *of all Trades hereupon*
Askt what was his condition
Who was the Owner of that place,
So farre in all the Countries grace?
For whom (as hee walkt on the way)
He heard the poore so much to pray,
The Rich to praise; And both contend,
To whom hee was the greater friend.
Didst never meete his name there spread
Where thou thy selfe didst vse to tread?
[2]*No? not Sir* EDVVARD HALES? *Quoth he;*
What TOM *of* Odcombe *may'st thou be?*
Hee is a man scarce spends a minute
But hath his Countries service in it;

[1] page iii. [2] page iv.

Spends more to make them all accord,
Then other Knights doe at their boord.
Hee call'd him Knight and Barronet,
Both wise and Iust; And what more yet?
He swore that if hee were but mist,
The Countrey could not so subsist.
With that our TOM *repaired thither,*
Conferr'd Report and Proofe together;
And found Report had wrong'd him much
In giving but an out-side touch,—
A tincture of a Painters trade,
Where all was substance and in-layd.
Then TOM *resolv'd to walke no farther*
To finde a Father or a Mother;
No other Patron would hee seeke,
But tender all at this Knights feete:
If hee accept what's well intended,
Our TOM *of all Trades travaile's ended.*
Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateq*ue* ferens.

THO: POVVELL.

[This text, though copied from the *Douce* copy in the Bodleian, has now been collated with 4: *T.* 34. *Art.* Variations in the *Douce* copy:—

p. 137, l. 4, It it true
p. 143, l. 3 *from the bottom*, gift
,, *last line*, incumbent (with small *i*).
p. 144, l. 2, Dilecct
,, l. 14, Alchermi
,, l. 16, Parsonadge
,, *last line but* 2, inmediately
p. 146, *last line but* 2, Cantiocluerum
,, *last line but* 1, Yf
p. 147, l. 4, Person
,, l. 10, for Induction.
,, l. 12, peculiar.]

[1]

TOM *of all Trades:*

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PREFERMENT.

(·.·)

TRINITY Terme was now ended[2]; For by description of the time it could bee no other parcell of the yeare. In that the Scriveners at *Temple-barre* had no imployment, but writing of blanke Bonds and texting of Bills for letting of Chambers in *Chancery-lane*. The Vintners of *Fleetstreet* discharged theyr Iourneymen; A generall humility more then usuall possest the Cookery of *Ram-Alley*. The Ostlers of *Holborne* had more than ordinary care to lay up theyr Ghuests bootes, rather for feare of theyr slipping out of Towne than for any good observance towards them. And your Countrey Attorneys would no longer by any [3]meanes endure the vnwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinarie. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his Horse out of the stable, strove who should first be gone. And amongst the rest, my selfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse *Overcount* mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of *Highgate* hill I overtooke a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, riding homeward, whom I well knew; Him I saluted cheerefully, and he received me lovingly. But in travayling together (Me thought) he was not Master of that mirthfull disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his

[1] page 1. [2] In June. [3] page 2.

house and *London*. I gave him to vnderstand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; And withall desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartible to a freind of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from *London* (It is true), from the Terme (It is certaine true), from *London* and Terme. True and certaine in nothing but expences in all things; yet I would have you know that it is neither the Thunderclap of dissolving an *Iniunction*, nor the Doomesday of a *Decree*, nor Counsaylors *Fees*, nor Attornies *Bylls*, in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my deare friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me vp into the very Spheare, where *Ioue* himselfe sits to bid all his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember mee of Children, sixe Soones and [1] three daughters, of whom I am the vnhappy Father. In that, besides the scars which my vnthriftines hath dinted vpon their fortunes, the wounds of vnequall times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all hope of outliuing the low water ebbe of the evill day; all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study, or industry are bereft them. The common vpon which industry should depasture is overlayd; Numerousnes spoiles all, And poverty sells all at an vnder value.

In this case (Sir) what can be aduisd? Wherevnto I thus replyed.

Sir, I haue heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true and even levell of the declention of arts, the distent of trades & trading, the poverty of all professions, and the destemper, not of ours only, but of all Christian clymates at this present, tending rather to a more contagion in the generall ayre then a calmer temparament (for ought that yet appeareth): as for the stormynesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domestick, let vs leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it vnto the proper Pylates, Masters, and Marryners, who have the charge to attend the line or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure our selues to partake in their boone voyage, if they suc[c]eed well,—as they may be certaine to suffer in the same Shipwracke with vs, if wee miscarry.

[1] page 3.

I addresse me to give you the best advise I can, touching the preferment of every of your [1]six sonnes and three daughters, in manner following.

It is true in most Gentlemen, and very likely in you, as in others, living onely vpon the revenew of lands, That the height of their Husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, That their credit may hold vp and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest Sonne claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your life time to make the rest of your Children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, It is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire, commonly striving to vphold the reputation of his Ancestors, He abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much vpon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To bee a *Minister* (with them) is to be but a *Pedant;* A *Lawyer*, a *mercenarie* fellow; A Shop-keeper, a man most subject to the most wonderfull Cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much vpon his Wives well bearing and faire carriage. What is, then, to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst [2]able to shift, should bee by you provided for in the first place, while your Land is of virgin reputation, while it is chast, and vndishonested by committing of single fornication with Countrie Creditors, that trade without sheets (that is) by *Pole deed*, only for saving of costs; or, at least, before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a Citie Scrivener. But especially, before it grow so impudent as to lie downe in the Market place, and to suffer everie pettie Clarke to bring its good name vpon Record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets,—As in this Statute, or in that

[1] page 4. [2] page 5.

Iudgment: Take heed of that by any meanes. And bee sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed vp to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his blood begin to feele the heate of any affections kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a blacke wrought Wastcoate with a white apron, & a loose bodied gowne without an apron. Put him of in his best clothes, (I meane) in the assurance of your lands; sell him at *the* highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children. Not share and share like, but to every each one, the more, according to their defects: Let impotencie, decreptnes, ilfavourdnes, and incapacitie, rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comlinesse, activitie, beautie, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living according to any prescript order or method of your [1] owne election, But according to their inclination and addition, seeing that everyone, by instinct of nature, delighteth in that wherein he is like to bee most excellent. And delight and pride in any thing undertaken, makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the *Ministerie*, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized, betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no, not so much as Hospitably by any meanes.

In the first place, take your direction for the SCHOLLER.

His Education.
His Maintenance.
His Advancement.

FOr his Education. The Free-Schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.

[1] page 6.

So many of them also afford some reasonable meanes in ayde of young Schollers, for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the Founders or Benefactors of such Schooles.

[1]Some of them be of the foundation of some Kings and Queenes of this Land; and they are commonly in the gift of the King, or his Provost, or Substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some Bodies or Societies incorporate; And they are commonly in the gift of such Masters, Wardens, Presidents, and their Senior fellowes; such chiefe officers of any other title, or such Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or such Opposers, Visitants, or Committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: And they are, for the most part, in the gift of the Executor, Heire, or Feoffees of such Donor, according to the purport of his Will, or Grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.
Westminster.
Winchester.
The Merchantaylors Schoole, London.
The Skynners at Tunbridge.
Sutton's *Hospitall.*
St. Bartholomews.
And very many other the like.

Briefly, few or no Counties of this Kingdome are unfurnisht of such Scholes. And some have so many, that it is disputable whether the Vniversities, with the Innes of Court and Chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free-Schooles, againe, have *Schol*[2]*lerships* appendant unto them, in the one of the Vniversities, or both.

To which, upon Election yearely, they are removeable, As

From Eaton to Kings Colledge, Cambridge.
From Westminster to Trinity Colledge, Cambridge, or Christchurch, Oxon.
From Winchester to New Colledge, Oxon.

[1] page 7. [2] page 8.

From the Merchantaylors to St. Iohn's, *Oxon.*
And the like, from many the like.

Some other Free-Schooles have pensions for preferment of their Schollers, and for their maintenance in the Vniversitie.

Some Companies Incorporate (especially of *London*, having no such pensions in certaine) doe usually out of the Stocke of their Hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons (upon my knowledge) who doe voluntarily allow yearely exhibition of this nature.

Now if you would know how to finde what is given to any such Free-Schooles, and in whose disposing they now be,

Search

In the Tower of London, *till the end of Rich. the 3.* — *For* Grants *and for License of Mortmaine,* inde.

And in the Chappell of the Rolles.
From thence till the present. — *And for the like.*

[1] *In the Register of the Prerogative Court, for such things devised by Will, by King, Queene, or Subiect.* — *For such* Grants *given by Will.*

And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the *Tower* and the *Prerogative*, and in the *Rolls* and *Prerogative* respectively.

For the time since our reformed Church of *England* began here,

Search *Doctor* Willets *Synopsis.* — *For all from the King, or from any other.*

Search

In divers of our Chronicles. — *For the like.*

Next, adde certaine helpes for discovery and attayning thereof.

FIrst (if it may be) procure a sight of the Liedger Bookes, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keepe for their owne use.

[1] page 9.

Next, be acquainted with some of the Disposers themselves.

Next, take the directions of the Master or Teacher of such Free-Schooles.

Especially to be interessed in the Clarkes or *Registers* of such *Societies* as have the disposing of any such things.

Also to use means by Letters of persons powerfull and usefull to such disposers.

[1]For (indeed) it is not the sound of a great mans name to a Letter in these dayes, wherein they are growne so common and familiar to our Societies (of *London* especially), can prevaile so soone as the Letter subscribed by the *Lord Maior*, or other eminent Officer of the Citie, to whose commandement they be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, For discoverie and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose, as I take it.

Now suppose your sonne is brought to the Vniversitie by Election or as Pensioner.

THe first thing you must take to your care is: In case he come not by election, but as a Pensioner to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a Schollership in the Colledge where you bestow him.

Or in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a Schollership, place him with a Senior fellow of the house (as Tutor), though you allow to some Iunior fellow somewhat yearely for reading unto him.

This Senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest, as, with the speaking merit of your sonne, may worke your desire.

[2]Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out, being eyther in the gift of some

[1] page 10. [2] page 11.

body Incorporate, Or of some private person, Wherein the discovery is to bee made (as aforesaid).

If you sue to a Company consisting of many persons Tradesmen, you must enquire who bee the most potent Patritians, and best reputed Vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an *Assistance* of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to speake sensibly to these two or three is no Mysterie; You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; And, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes. Onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and Armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter. Doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you, this, with a Bucke at the Renter Wardens feast, may come somewhat neere to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend Divine, as he doth most respect and frequent. For other, let[1]ters can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charitie are equally and temporately mingled in him; And be sure, withall, that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde. For a Fooles pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his Schollership, seeing the Schollership keepes him company no farther than to the degree of Master of Arts, and a quarter of a yeare after, in those Colledges, where Schollerships are longest lived, And in some not so long.

In some Colledges The Fellowship followes the Schollership of course; and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But

[1] page 12.

in the most it is not so, but comes by Election. Which Election passeth by the Master and Senior Fellowes, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be Elected will beare it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the Master hath a double voyce, and in some places hee hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea, if there be but one at sometimes.

In Colledges, the letters of great persons, especi[ally] of the Lords grace of *Canterburie*, and the Vniversitie Chancellor, have beene of great prevailance; But it is not so now in these dayes.

[1]There bee beneficiall gradations of preferment likewise, for Fellowes in their Colledges; as *Lecturer*, *Deane*, *Bowser*, *Vice-master*, and *Master*. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they find themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such who live cloystered like Votaries; who have Sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keepe out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their bookes, and have an excellent activity in handling the fox tayle, such as hold no honour like to *Supplicat reverentijs vestris;* And to be head *Bowsier* of the Colledge, as good as to be Chiefe Butler of *England*.

These preferments of the Colledge, all but that of the Master, comes of course by order and antiquity. Therefore, no meanes but patient abiding, needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the Cloyster into the Commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of Advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministrie.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther then next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong [2]to their owne Colledge, and are in the guift of their Master and Senior fellowes (as most Colledges have divers such); and amongst them, which are void at the present, or whose Incumbent is not like to live long. And if he

[1] page 13. [2] page 14.

find out any such, than, if he know not, after so long continuance among them, to speake in his Seniors owne *Dilect*, let him never travaile beyond *Trumpington*[1] for me.

More indigitly, For attaining of such a Benefice, let him enquire where the Mattens are read with Spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted vp into the pulpit, or the like, and make a way for Succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a Benefice together with his fellowship, or a Pension, for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony, whereby they are so wedded to the Colledge.

Next, he must clime vp to the maine top of *Speculation*, and there looke about him to discover what Benefices are emptie abroad, where the Incumbent lives only vpon the Almes of *Confectio Alchermis*; Or where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage and a Prebendarie into a *Deanarie* and a *Donative*, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case, by any meanes.

[2] *For Benefices abroad.*

Benefices a broad are in the gift of

The King imediately,
Or the Lord Keeper for the King:
Some Lord Bishop:
Some Deane and Chapter:
Some Bodie incorporate:
Some Parish:
Some Private Patron.

You shall find in the Tower a collection of the Patent Rolls gathered of all Presentations made by the King in those dayes to any Church Prebendarie or Chappell, In right of the Crowne, or otherwayes, from i. of *Edward* the first, till the midst of *Edward* the third.

The King himselfe, only and immediately presenteth in his owne right to such Benefices as belong to him, and are aboue twenty pounds value in the *first Fruits* Bookes.

[1] Near Cambridge.

[2] page 15.

For attayning of any which, I can advice you of no better course, than to learne the way to the backe stayres.

The Lord Keeper presents for the King to all such benefices as belong to his Majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookes.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are Incumbents in any of these,

Search

The first Fruits Office.
The Clarke, who hath the writing of the Presentations.
[1]*The Lord Keepers Secretarie being.*

Where note, that the King hath used very seldome to grant any such living in Reversion.

And the Lord Keeper now being, His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good to provide for mans merit, and cherish industrie in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a request[2] of this kinde without trespasse to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning Benefices in the Presentation of any of the Lords Bishops.

Note, that most Bishopricks in *England* have presentation to divers Benefices belonging to their Seas.

For the number and present estate of these

Search

Their owne Leidgers.
Their Registers.

Enquire of

Their Auditors.
Their Stewards of their Courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of theyr bookes of this kind, in the hands of the heyres or Executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is Chaplaine to such a Lord Bishop hath, for the most part, the best meanes, accesse, and opportunity, to ataine to such a Benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this

[1] page 16. [2] *orig.* repuest

Patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in Court, may doe some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes [1]of attaining any Benefice in the Presentation of any *Deane* and *Chapter*, are to be used with them respectively, as with the Bishops.

With every *Deane* and *Chapter* are likewise divers *Prebendaries*, to be obtained of their gift after the same manner, and by the same meanes also.

The other bodies Incorporate, besides those of *Colledges* and *Deanes* and *Chapters*, have many of them (especially of London and some subordinate Societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers Benefices.

Also some Parishes, by prescription, doe present to their owne perochiall Benefices. And many Patrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the Parishioners, upon their hearing, and allowing, and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such suitors, and no otherwise; divers governors, and gradations of the lands of divers Hospitals, and *Mesons de dieu*, have like right of presentation to Benefices, as have other bodies Incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the like.

In Parishes and Companies of Tradesmen Incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your Alderman of the Ward, his Deputie, your Common Councell-man, Yea, sometime that petty Epitomie of Wardemote Enquerst, that little busie morsell of Iustice (the *Beadle* of the Ward), will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The Probotory Sermon, that must be made upon such tryall before such an *Auditorie*, would be according to the capacitie in generall, But more [2]especially according to the humor and addiction of those whose wits the rest have in singular reverence, As Mr. *Francis Fiat*, a good vnderstanding Fishmonger (I assure you); you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a Wine Cooper, and his iudgement better in *Claret* then in *Contioclerum* a great deale.

If your sonne vpon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, In regard that they are so hallow mouthed,

[1] page 17. [2] page 18.

let him be sure, though he misse the Benefice for want of preperation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselues to bring him in as a *Lecturer*, which is a thing they reverence farre beyond the Parson of the Parish, by many degrees.

Lastly, for private *Patrons* and the Benefices in their guifts,

Search,

The Bishops Register:

for Institution and Presentation.

The Archdeacons Register:

for the Induction.

The Archbishops Register:

if it be a Peculiar.

It was my chaunce lately to see a booke of all the Benefices within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, with the manner of their tything in every each one respectiuely. In which I find that there are, or should be, with the *Register* of every Lord Bishop, seaven Bookes kept for Entrie of the matters and busines of their Diocesse, of which this of Benefices is[1] the cheife.

[2]The like I saw formerly of the Diocesse of St. *Davids*, which confirmes mee in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other Diocesse.

And seing that severall private[3] patrons are of severall dispositions; some more Lucrative and Covetous, Others more charitable and religious; I can give you no other rule of attaining the Benefice than this, *viz.*

That your sonne bring with him abilitie of learning, Integritie of life, and conformitie of behaviour, according to the order of the Church establisht amongst vs; and these shall make his way with[4] the good and generous Patron. But for the other patron, it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very litle for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truely he is indifferent; for his part, very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe thus (if he meane to be presented), according to present necessitie: He must

[1] in *in orig.* [2] page 19. [3] privare *in orig.* [4] whith *in orig.*

both speake and prove himselfe a man indued with good gifts, For he shall have to deale with a Patron of a quick Capacitie, more dexterous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in deliverie.

Be this Patron what he will, your comfort is, the Benefice must be fild, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case, (For seldome doth the Clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accostomed houre.)

[1]Lapse by reason of *Simony*, and Lapse for not presenting in due time; Both offer advancement to learning; But the first is as hard to discover as a witch, And the second as rare to find out as a faithfull fiduciarie or a fast Freind.

The degrees of rising in the Ministrie are not easier knowne then practized by the industrious man.

Breifly, if all Church livings in *England* were equally[2] distributed, There is noe one of the Ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good Livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God, That it might please the right reuerend Fathers of the Church the Lord Bishops, That they would once in every of their times cause a true Catalogue of all the Benefices within their severall Diocesse, with the names of the Patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the *first fruits*, for the better information of all such as deserue, and would gladly attaine to, some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by hauing recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit downe in their wants, having good meanes to many private Patrons, onely for lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note that it is an vsuall thing in private Patrons[3] to graunt reversion and Advowson of such livings.

My selfe intended heretofore to collect all such Benefices, with their Patrons, into a certaine Cal[4]lender, for such direction (as aforesayd), and made some passage into it. But the farther I went, the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved, that without the Bishops assistance it cannot be done.

And so much for the Ministerie.

[1] page 20. [2] epually *in orig.* [3] Parons *in orig.* [4] page 21.

The Lawes promotions follow.

By
Civill Law
and
Common Law.

FOr breeding of your youth in the Civill Law, there are two Colledges of especiall note in our Vniversities: the one is *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*; the other is *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*.[1]

I remember me not of any Free-Schoole in *England* that have any place appendant in *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*. But in new Colledge of *Oxford*, the Free-Schoole of *Winchester* hath claime both of Schollerships and Fellowships, the whole Colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confest, the charge of breeding a man to the Civill Law is more expensive, and the way more painefull, and the bookes of greater number and price, than the Common Law requireth. But [2] after the Civill Lawyer is once growne to Maturity, His way of Advancement is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the Common Lawyers; and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no Sollicitors to trample betweene them and the Clyent. So that the Fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The Preferments at which they may arrive are these:

Chancellor to the Byshop.
Archdeacon.
Commissarie, where they have Commissarie Officiall.
Iudge, and Surrogate.
Advocate for the King.
Mr. of the Chancerie.
The Kings Proctor.
Advocate, and Proctor at large.

[1] *MS. note in the Art copy,* rather Alsoules by farre. [2] page 22.

In these Courts, *viz.*

The High Commission.
The Delegates.
The Prerogative.
The Consistorie.
The Arches.
The Bishops Courts.
The Archdeacons Courts.
Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials Court.
The Admiraltie Courts.
The Court of the Kings Requests.

In times past

The countenance of some Byshop, especially of the [1]Lord *Archbyshop*, upon a *Civilian*, will much advance his practice as an Advocate, and give him promotion[2] as a Iudge.

There are under the greater officers aforenamed divers other inferiour Officers: as

Register.
Arctuarie.
Examiner.

The number of the Doctors, (though I finde them never to have beene limited,) Yet it is certaine that the time was within memory of man when the house of their *Commons* did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and dyet. And as for the number of *Proctors*, they were of late times limited. How it is now, I know not.

For the Common Law.

FOr breeding of *Students* at the *Common Law*, take directions for their *method* of studie out of that *Tractate* which Mr. *Iustice Dodridge* did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely (for my part) I doe much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger Students. First, in the Innes of *Chancery*; there to be the better prepared[3] for the Innes of Court. And this must needs be the

[1] page 23. [2] promorion *in orig.* [3] preparded *in orig.*

better way, seeing too much liberty at the first prooves very fatall to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commend also the breeding of some Com[1]mon Lawyers in this kinde, *viz.*

That when they have beene admitted first into an Inne of the *Chancerie*, they have beene withall entred as *Clarkes* in the office of some *Prothonotarie* of the *Common-Pleas*, to adde the skill of the Practicke to their speculation. And if a Student be thus bred, by his foundation in the one, and his experience in the other, he shall with more facilitie than others, who step into the Inne of Court at first, attaine to an abilitie of practise.

Besides other ordinary requisite parts and Arts in a Common Lawyer, Skill in the *Records* of all Courts of *Record*, and in other *antiquities* of President, With some Reading in the Civill Law, also will much inable him.

The Common Lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse. The charge most at the first. For after he hath spent some few yeares effectually, He may attaine to the imployment of some private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater Counsalle, whereby he shall adde both to his meanes and knowledge.

It is true, that I have knowne some Attorneyes and Sollicitors put on a Counsailors gowne without treading the same usuall path to the barre (as aforesaid). But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast suites had thrust himselfe in amongst the *Nobilitie* at a Court Maske, where, pulling out his Handkercher, hee let fall his Thimble, and was so discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foote, till the Guard [2]delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cryed, "farewell, good feeble!"

If the Common Lawyer be sufficiently able in his profession, he shall want no practice; if no practice, no profit.

The time was that the younger Counsaile had some such helpe, as

To be a Favourite,
A Kindred,
To marry a Neece, Cosin, or a Chamber-maide.

But those dayes be past, and better supply their roomes.

[1] page 24; pages 24, 25 *misnumbered in orig.* [2] page 25.

As fellowes of Colledges in the Vniversities get pensions or Benefices to adde to their livelyhood, So Barresters and Counsailors of the Innes of Court advance their meanes by keeping of

Courts of Mannors,
Leets and Barrons,
Swanimootes of Forrests,
Stannaries,
Cinque Ports, &c.

By places of

Iudges of Inferiour Courts. As
London, and other like Corporations.
The Virdge.
The Tower of London.
St. Katherines, *neare the Tower.*
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clinke.
Wentworth, and like Liberties.

[1] By office of

Recorder of some Co[r]porate Towne.
Feodarie of some Counties.
The Kings Counsayle in the Marches of Wales, or at Yorke, or Iudge, or Counsayle of some Countie Pallatine.

The greater places of preferment for Common Lawyers are

The Iudges at Westminster and elsewhere.
The next are all the severall Officers of the Courts of Westminster, and elsewhere.

All which you shall finde set forth breifly in *Smiths Commonwealth* of *England,* and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together, afford suffic[i]ent maintenance for thousands of persons, who may bee here well prouided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of yonger brothers, shew what meniall *Clarkeships* of large exhibition are vnder the great Officers of the Land, the Iudges, the *Kings Counsayle,* and other Officers which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it

[1] page 26.

would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment, especially vnder the *Lord Keeper*, as *Secretaries for Chancerie* busynesse, and Spirituall promotions, the *Comm[i]ssion* of the *Peace, Iniunctions*, the *Dockquetts*. And other the like vnder the *Lord Treasurer, as Secretaries* for the businesse of the *Realme* and the *Custome-house;* besides the Inlets to so many preferments about the Customes and Escheators; places vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, vnder the *Chauncellor* of the *Exchequer, Duchie* and *Principalitie* of *Wales*, and *Duchie of* [1] *Cornewall, as Seale keeper, Secretary, &c.*

Vnder the Master of the Court of *Wardes, as Secretarie;* vnder the *Iudges, as Marshall; Clarke of the Bailes, &c.;* Vnder the *Barrons of the Exchequer, as Examiner; Clarke of the Bailes*, and other Clarkes.

Vnder the *Kings Attourney Generall, as Clarke of the Pattens, Clarke of the Confessions and entries, Clarke of the References*, Booke bearer. Vnder the *Sollicitor Generall: Clarke of the Patents*, Booke bearer. Besides many other Clarkes vnder the white staues of the Court, and in the Counting house, and many seuerall offices.[2] All which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for feare that what I well intend for generall good, would be taken in offence for priuate preiudice. But for the *Clarkeships* of the *Kings* houshold, examine farther the Blacke booke in the *Exchequer.*

The Phisition followes.

ANd heere I remember me of an old tale following, *viz.*

At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene *Elizabeth*, diuers Commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace, all such of the *Clergie* as would not conforme to the reformed *Church*, one amongst others was Conuented before them, who being asked whether[3] he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so conse[4]quently was adiudged to lose his benefice and to be deprived his function; wherevpon, in his impatience, he said,

[1] page 27. [2] offices *in orig.* [3] whehter *in orig.* [4] page 28.

'That if they (meaning the Commissioners) held this course it would cost many a mans life.' For which the Commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words,[1] tending to the raysing of a rebellion or some tumult in the Land; for which he should receiue the reward of a Traytor. And being asked whether hee spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and tooke vpon him the Iustification thereof; 'for, said he, yee have taken from me my liuing and profession of the Ministrie; Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turne *Phisition*; and before I shalbe absolute Master of that Misterie, (God he knowes) how many mens lives it will cost. For few *Phisitions* vse to try experiments[2] vpon their owne bodies.'

With vs, it is a Profession can maintaine but a few. And diuers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing their travailes than in discerning their patients malladies For it is growne to be a very huswiues trade, where fortune prevailes more then skill. Their best benefactors,[3] the *Neapolitan*, Their *grand Seignieur*. The *Sorpego*, their *Gonfollinere*; The *Sciaticke*, Their great *Marshall*, that calls the Muster Rolle of them all together at every *Spring* and fall,—are all as familier to her as the *Cuckow* at *Canck-wood* in *May*; And the cure of [4]them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as good practize as the best of them for those kind of diseases.

Marry, for Womens griefes[5] amongst *Phisitions*, the *Masculine* is more worthy then the *Feminine*.

Secrecie is the cheife skill, and virilitie the best learning, that is required in a Womans Phisition. But I never read of many of those to be long liued, or honestly wiued hitherto, in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of *Phisitions*, who are to be had in singular reverence, and be vsefull to mankind next to the Divine. Indeed, I rather pitty them; and pittying, smile to see how pretily these young game-

[1] wrods *in the* Douce *copy*. [2] axperiments *in the* Douce *copy*.
[3] benefactor *in the* Art *copy*. [4] page 29. [5] greifes *in the* Douce *copy*.

sters, *Male* and *Female*, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of *Patientrie* in all places wheresoeuer.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens liues this abused *opinion* had of such *Gamesters*, costs; Because they be not Masters of that Mysterie, and that science which requires the *Greeke* tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of *Philosophie*, *Historie* of all sorts (especially naturall), knowledge of all vegetatives and Minerals, and whatsoever dwels within the foure elements; Also Skill in *Astronomy*, *Astrologie*. And so much of the *Iudicialls* [1]vpon all manner of *Calculations* as may be well warranted; with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young travailing Phisition and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their meanes of Advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be *Phisition of some Colledge in one of the Vniuersities*, (as diuers *Colledges* have such places).

Phisition to the King or Queenes person.

Phisition to either of their housholds,

Or to some Hospitall, (as most have such).

Or to some great persons who may preferre them hereafter, and be somewhat helpefull in the meane time.

To a good old Vsurer, or one that hath got his great estate together vnconscionably: For they feare nothing but death, and will buy life at any rate. There is no coward to an ill Conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with Gallants given to deepe drinking and surfeyting; For they are patients at all times of the yeare.

Or a Gentlewoman that would faine vse the meanes to bee pregnant.

Or your Lascivious Lady, and your man in the Perriwigge, will helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

[2]A Citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it.

And if all faile, And the *Bathe* will affoord no roome; Let them finde out some strange water, some unheard-of Spring. It is an easie matter to discolour or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it

[1] page 30. [2] page 31.

makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a Superstitious opinion in it, Goodfellowship shall uphold it, And the Neighbouring Townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice followes.

THe first question is, to what Trade you will put your Son, and which is most worthy of choice. For the Merchant, it requireth great stocke, great experience in Forraine estates, And great hazard and adventure, at the best.

And this is not all: For it depends upon the Peace of our State with forraine Princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique; Or, who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our Trade abroad. Besides that, in time of Warre, they can hold no certainty of dealing, or supplying their Factorie in parts beyond the Seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to bee stayed, Marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times; Besides the burthen of Custome and Imposition which all [1]States impose more or lesse; So that unlesse wee have peace with such Neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinarie and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some Merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the streame of State is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing; they that gaine then (Sir), if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as Merchants, but as men of Warre, which occupation a man may learne without serving seaven yeares Apprentiship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as Merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a Society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power in the most dangerous times; And if such Societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. How they be otherwise allowable, I leave to consideration.

For the Shopkeeper, his welfare, for the most part, depends upon the prosperity of the Merchant, For if the Merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes; Little Skill, Art, or Mystery, shall a man learne in Shopkeeping. A man shall never

[1] page 32.

in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his owne Meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit betweene the Mart and the Market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judiciall of the falling and rising of commodities, And the casualties that they are subject vnto, (especially) [1]in time of Warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those Trades which aske most with an Apprentice, are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stockes of setting up. Amongst Trades, give me those that have in them some Art, Craft, or Science, by which a man may live and be a welcome ghuest to all Countries abroad, and have imployment in the most stormy times at home, when Merchants and Shopkeepers are out of use, (as)—

An Apothecarie.
A Druggist.
A Chirurgion.
A Lapidarie.
A Ieweller.
A Printer.
An Ingraver in Stones and Mettall.
One that hath skill in seasoning of Shipwood.
A Carpenter of all sorts, especially of Shipping.
A Smith of all sorts, especially of Clockes, Watches, Guns, &c.
A Planter, and Gardner of all sorts.
An Enginere for making of Patars, and the like Engines of Warre. And
Hot Presses for Cloth, &c. And
Engines to weigh any Ship, or Guns that are drowned, &c. Skrues, &c.
A maker of all sorts of Instruments for Navigation, Compasses, Globes, Astrolabes.
A Drainer of grounds Surmounded.
A Sale-maker, and
[2] *A maker of Cordage, Tackle, &c.*
A Lymner.
A Clothier, a Clothworker, and a Dyer.

[1] page 33. [2] page 34.

A Taylor, Shooe-maker, Glover, Perfumer, and Trimmer of Gloves.

An Imbroiderer.

A Feltmaker, a Glasier, and one that can paint in Glasse.

Briefly, any Manufacture or trade, wherein is any Science or Craft.

Onely those Trades are of least use and benefit, which are called Huswives Trades (as *Brewer, Baker, Cooke,* and the like), Because they be the skill of Women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the Maker was before the Retaylor; and most Shopkeepers are but of a sublimated Trade, and retayle but as Attorneyes to the maker. But if the Maker (without dispute of Freedome in any Corporation) might set up Shop and sell his commoditie immediately, it would be a great deale better for the Commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficultie, burthen, or disgrace, for a Shopkeeper, yea, a Merchant, or a Gentleman, to have the skill, of some one of these Manufactures, besides his Revenew, or profession, to accompany him what fortune soever may carry him into Countries unknowne.

To my knowledge, a great *Earle* lately of this Land, did thinke it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the Craft and trade of a Farrior, wherein he grew excellent.

[1]And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a Treatie wherein our Embassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our King and Kingdome with the Native commodities thereof, The *Dutch* (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our King was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the Merchant Royall that comes to his Profession by travaile and Factory, full fraught, and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking. But not the hedge-creeper, that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop with a Cryll under his arme, That leapes from his Shop-boord to the Exchange, and after he is fame-falne and credit crackt in two or three other professions, shall wrigle

[1] page 35.

into this and that when he comes upon the Exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing, whether is the more profitable house-keeping, either with powder Beefe,[1] & brewes, or with fresh Beefe and Porridge; though (God wot) the blacke Pot at home be guilty of neyther: And so he departs when the Bell rings, and his guts rumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The Merchant Royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poore patching interloping Lapwings that have an adventure of two Chaldron of Coles at New-castle; As much oyle in the *Greene-land* fishing as will serve two Coblers for [2] the whole yeare ensuing. And an other at *Rowsie*, for as many Fox-skins as will furre his Long-lane gowne, when he is called to the Livorie.

The Shopkeeper is a cleanly Trade, especially your Linnen-Draper; which company hath the greatest Commonalty, and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by Charter, for (indeed) they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better incouragement of men of Trade, Know that in most Companies of Tradesmen incorporate (especially in *London*), there is provision made by divers benefactors of their Societies deceased for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stockes of money remaining in the hands of some few of the chiefe of their Company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their owne consideration,) But surely the poorer sort complaine much of the misimployment of it generally

There is but one little Crevis to peepe in at their dealings, And that is betweene their Masters conscience & the Clarks connivence, which is so narrow, that you may sooner discern the South Pole through the maine Center, than discover their mysterie.

Indeed, in times past, the Clearkship of the Company hath beene bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the Company for his livelyhood. But the Attorney and Scrivener, and some petty Clarkes of the Citie, by the Letters of, &c. pre-occupy those places.

[3]And here I could wish, for righting of the dead, and releeving

[1] Salt beef. [2] page 36 [3] page 37.

of the poorer members of such Companies who are kept in ignorance, That some paines were taken in the *Prerogative* Office, for the collating of all guifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their Grand Masters to account, if they abuse the trust in them reposited in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined, And (God knowes) how poore a remaine of life is left in my Glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search (*Gratis*) for all Grants and guifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my Lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity. Provided alwayes, that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come

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The Navigator

NExt to the man of Trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the *Navigator* his due, for that his profession is as full of science, as usefull to the Common wealth, and as profitable to himselfe, as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing, and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his Compasse; the knowledge of languages, and dispositions of forreigne Nations where [1] he travailes and trades, he may rise from a Squabler to a Master, from a Master to be a Generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The Nauigator his way of Advancement
and imployment is, by

The Lords of his Maiesties priwie Councell,
The High Admirall,
Commissioners for the Kings Navy,
Chiefe Officers of the Navyes of Societies,
incorporate,
Private Merchants and the like,
With the *Trinitie* house.

But if he get to be an Owner, he may trade as free as bird in ayre,

[1] Page 38.

as a man of warre, or a man of trade and Commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not vpon the incorporated Companies, especially the *minotaur*. He cannot do amisse (with Gods assistance[1]). He may liue merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere Carryer of home commodities, Imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

THe Husbandman may likewise for the happie content of the life, and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to inuite a right good mans sonne to vndergoe the profession.

Your sonne whom you intend for a *Husbandman*,[2] must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together. For if the Gentleman be predominant, his running Nagge will out run the *Constable*. His extraordinary strong Beere will be too headstrong in office of *Church-Warden*. And his well mouthed dogges will make him out-mouth all the Vestrie. But if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlicke. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the vnhealthfullest corners of the Kingdome are the moſt profitable for Fermors. He must especially aime at a Tenancie vnder the *Crowne*, or some *Bishops Sea*, *Deane*, and *Chapter*, some *Colledge*, some *Companie*, some *Hospitall*, or some other bodie incorporate. Wherein the *Auditor* or *Receiver* must be his best Intelligencer and Director. Young vnthrifts acquaintance, when they first arriue at the age of one and twentie, And good old conscionable Landlords, that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their Grandfathers, or hope to be deliuered out of Purgatorie by their Tenants prayers, will doe well.

These professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receiue all fixed starrs, and such dispositions as may be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition.

Fit it with the profession of a *Courtier*.

For an overflowing, and Ranker disposition, make him a *Souldier*.

[1] assistnace *in orig*.

[2] page 39.

But, beyond this, he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or prouidence.

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[1] *The Courtiers wayes of advancement be these:*

BY the generall and most ancient rule of Court, if you would have him to be preferred unto the Kings service in the end, And, in the meane time, to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, Place him with one of the *White Staves* of the Houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can), put him unto the Lord High Steward his Service (who, amongst the white Staves), hath the chiefest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayres.

If the High Steward be full, seeke to the Lord Chamberlaine, who hath the chiefe power to preferre to the places above stayres, and to the Wardrobe.

And, if there be no entrance there, then seek to the Treasurer of the Houshold, and next to the Controllor. The Master of the Houshold. The Coferer, and the rest of the greene Cloth.

The Master of the Horse preferres to the Avenanarie and other Clarkeships offices, and places about the Stable.

The principall Secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the Clarkeships in the office of the *Signet*, and the Lord privie Seale into the privie Seale office.

The Master of the great Wardrobe into the Clarkeships and offices there. The Master of the Robes. The Master of the Jewell-house. The Keeper of the privie Purse. The Master of the Toyles [2] and Tents, with some other the like, have whilome beene the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the King, in divers beneficiall places and Clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The Lord *Treasurer* without the house, preferres to his Majesties service, in most places in, or about the Custome-houses, in all the parts of *England*.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old, for preferment into the Kings service, for these kind of places.

[1] page 40. [2] page 41.

The yeomen of the Guard were wont to come in, for their personage, and activitie, by their Captaines allowance.

And the Bed-chamber mens servants, ever were in way to be preferred for Pages of the privie Chamber, or Groomes, or placed at the back staires, not of right, but of custome.

For the Clarkes of the Houshold, they were wont anciently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the *Black Booke;* but how it is now, I know not.

For your better satisfaction of Court Offices, their order and Fee, *Search* the *Blacke Booke* in the *Exchequer,* and in the Court; And for all Offices whatsoever under the King throughout the whole Kingdome, Either in *Castle, Parke, Chase, Court,* or *house* of the Kings royalty or place soever, with the then Fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, Whereof many hundred Copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord *Treasurer Burleigh,* and [1]by him delivered to the late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie. And so much for the *Courtier.*

The Souldier followes.

AND the question is first.

Whether the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, or a Land Soldier?

Questionlesse, the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, In this Kingdome of *England,* being an Island, for that he is more vsefull to his Country. More learning is required to be a Sea Soldier than to be a Land Soldier. A Sea Soldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the Land Soldiers pay will hardly find him sustenance. A Sea Soldier may now and than chaunce to haue a snapp at a bootie or a price, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever, where the Land Soldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher Towne at the most.

More valour is required in a Sea Soldier than in a Land Soldier; because the extremitie of the place requires it. The Sea Captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest

[1] page 42.

man in the Ship; where the land Captaine vseth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and than retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at Sea, is by the *Admiralls* Countenance, and the *Vice Admiralls* in the Kings seruice, or in other service by the favour of great traded Merchants, and especially of your [1]bodies incorporate, and their chiefe Officers: and more especially their President and Treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth.

If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect Nauigator, able to direct the Sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every Sayler to his charge. He should know what number of Saylors, what Ordinance, and what munition, should be requisite for a Ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull *Caneere*, and able to direct the *Gunner*[2], to say what quantity of powder a *Peece* of such bore and[3] depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is vsed, whether the *Peece* be sound or hony-combed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, And what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to ouersee and direct the *Purser* and *Steward* in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse, or too much percemonie.

Likewise skilfull in all manner of Fire-workes, and fitting Engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat, as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and he skilfull to controle every other in their places. He should be courteous and louing to his men; Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God. See that the divine service be duely read on board Evening and Morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A Sea Captaine is not a place for a young [4]man to leape into instantly, and imediately out of a Ladies Vshership, a Great mans bed chamber, or a *Littletons* discipleship.

It is not your feathered Gallant of the Court, nor your Tauerne Roarer of the Citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I find not any *Meson de dieu* for relieving of mayned Marriners

[1] page 43. [2] Gnnner *in orig.* [3] ond *in orig.* [4] page 44.

only, but that erected at *Chattam* by Sir *Iohn Hawkins* Knight, Treasurer of the Navie of the late Q. *Elizabeth*, wherein it was provided that there should be a deduction of Sixpence by the Moneth, out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same, Which I could wish were aswell imployed as collected.

The Land-Souldier followes.

IF the Land-Souldier thinke to thrive and rise by degrees of service, from a Common Souldier to a Captaine, in this age, (alas) hee is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete, and growne out of use. Doe what he can doe in Land-service, hee shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and Satiate himselfe upon a Pay day.

But if hee be of Kinne, or a favourite to some great Officer, hee may carry the Colours the first day, bee a *Lieutenant* the second, and a Captaine before he knowes how many dayes goe to the weeke in their Regiment.

The Land-service, where a man may learne most experience of Warre discipline, is in the *Low-Countries*, [1]by reason of the long exercise of Warres and variety of Stratagems there.

Beyond that, Northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your Sonne turnes his face to the South, the more profitable the Land-service is.

Lastly, if hee have no friend or kindred to raise him in the Land-service, I assure you that there is no Law against buying and selling of Offices in the *Low-Countries*, for ought that I have read; Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the Souldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds hee can reckon about him.

All the wayes of reliefe for him that I can number are these:

A poore Knights place of *Windsor*; If the Herald report him a Gentleman, And the Knights of the Honourable Order of the *Garter* will accept him.

[1] page 45.

A Brother of *Suttons* Hospital; If the Feoffees have not Servants of their owne to preferre before him.

A Pensioner of the County; If the *Iustices* find him worthy, And that hee was prest forth of the same County.

Saint *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, and St. *Bartholmews*, *Smithfield*, onely till their wounds or diseases be cured, and no longer; And that if the Masters of the sayd Hospitals please to receive them.

For the *Savoy*, where Souldiers had a foundation, I know none now.

[1]And other Houses appropriated for reliefe of Souldiers, now in use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished, The *Templarij* are gone, The Knights of St. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* forgotten, That famous House upon *Lincolne greene* is rac'd to the ground, And many the like, now better knowne by the *Records* than the remaines of their ruines, with their Revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first foundation to private and peculiar Inheritances, which I pity more than the dissolution of all the Monasteries that ever were.

Heere, you see, is preferment enough for your sixe Sonnes, though you bestow every one upon a severall Profession; Onely take this generall Rule for all, *viz.*

To what course soever your sonnes shall betake them, Bee sure that they all have *Grammar* learning at the least, So shall they bee able to receive and reteyne the impression of any the said Professions. And otherwise, shall scarce possibly become Masters in the same, or any one of them; Or if they doe, It will bee with more than ordinary paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next place.

FOr theyr Portions I shewed you before, how and when to raise them; That is, by the Marriage of your eldest Sonne, or out of that part of your personall estate which you may spare without prejudice of your selfe.

[1] page 46.

[1]*For their breeding.*

I would have their breeding like to the *Dutch Womans* clothing, tending to profit onely and comelinesse.

Though she never have a dancing Schoole-Master, A French Tutor, nor a Scotch Taylor to make her shoulders of the breadth of *Bristow* Cowsway, It makes no matter, For working in curious *Italian* purles, or *French* borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. In stead of Song and Musicke, let them learne Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir *Philip Sidneys Arcadia,* let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female Poetresse at any hand. Let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnesse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arreigning of mens affections at their flattering faces: This is not the way to breed a private Gentlemans Daughter.

If the mother of them be a good Huswife, and Religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two forth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good Merchant, or Citizen of civill and Religious government, The other in the house of some Lawyer, some Iudge, or well reported Iustice or Gentleman of the Country, where the Servingman is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement, for *Sempstrie,* for Confectionary, and all requisits of Huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company and unfitting libertie, which [2]are the overthrow of too many of their Sexe.

There is a pretty way of breeding young Maides in an Exchange shop, or St. *Martins le grand ;* But many of them get such a foolish Crick with carrying the Bandbox under their Apron to Gentlemens Chambers, that in the end it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their bandbox makes such a goodly show.

And in a trade where a woman is sole Chapman, she claimes such a preheminence over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, eyther in retaile, or whole saile at any rate.

[1] page 47. [2] page 48.

The Merchants Factor and Citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your Daughters with their Societie.

And the *Iudges, Lawyers,* and *Iustices* followers, are not ordinary Servingmen, but men of good breed, and their education for the most part *Clarkely,* whose service promiseth their farther and future advancement.

Your Daughter at home will make a good wife for some good Yeomans eldest Sonne, whose father will be glad to crowne his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of Gentry.

The youngmans fingers will itch to be handling of Taffata; and to be placed at the Table, and to be carved unto by *Mistris Dorothie,* it will make him and the good plaine old *Ione* his Mother to passe over all respect of Portion or Patrimony.

For your Daughter at the Merchants, and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the City affords them varietie.

[1]The young Factor being fancy-caught in his dayes of Innocency, & before he travaile so farre into experience as into forreigne Countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome, as no alteration of Climate can alter.

So likewise may *Thomas* the fore-man of the Shop, when beard comes to him, as Apprentiship goes from him, be intangled and belymed with the like springs, For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of your *Clarkly* men complaine the moysture of their palmes; Others the *Sorpego* in their wrists: both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light upom some Counsailor at Law, who may be willing to take the young Wench, in hope of favour with the old *Iudge.* An Attorney will be glad to give all his profits of a *Michaelmas Terme,* Fees and all, but to wooe her through a Crevice. And the Parson of the Parish, being her Ladies Chaplaine, will forsweare eating of Tithe Pig for a whole yeare, for such a parcell of *Glebe* Land at all times.

And so much for your Sonnes and Daughters.

I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in *Saint Albans,* standing at his doore upon his left leg, like to the old Drummer of Parish[2]-garden, ready to entertaine us.

[1] page 49. [2] *for* Paris (*MS. note*).

Therefore I will here conclude with that of the Poet,

——————*Navibus atq*ue
Quadragis petimus benevivere, quod petis hic est,
Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

FINIS.

[1] LONDON,
Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET for
Ben: Fisher, and are to bee sold at his Shop
at the signe of the *Talbot* in *Alders-*
gate-street. 1631.

[Cuttings from Booksellers' Catalogues, in the *Douce* copy:
1629. Powell (Thomas), Tom of all Trades. *Rare and Extremely Curious, 2l. 2s.*
681. Do. *neat, very scarce, 10s. 6d.*
A copy of this uncommon Tract is priced *4l. 14s. 6d.* in Ford's Catalogue.]

[1] page 50.

THE GLASSE

of godly Loue.

Wherin all maried couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures:

Verye necessary for all maryed men and women, that feare the Lorde, & loue his lawes, to haue it in their Bedchambers, daily to looke in: whereby *they may know, and do their duties each vnto* others, and leade a godly, quiet, and louing life togeathers, to the glory of God, and the good example of their Christian Bretheren.

Iames .1. See that ye be not only hearers of the worde, but alſo doers, leaſt that therby yee deceaue your ſelues.

Coloſſians .3. Aboue all thinges put on Loue, which is the band of perfection.

[1]To all Chriſtian men and women *that are maryed.*

FOraſmuch *as the Diuel is moſt ready to make* ſtrife, where there ought to bee moſt loue; and hath, with heddy wilfulneſſe, concupiſcence, and ignorance, ſo blinded the hartes of thoſe which liue vnder the yoke of Matrimony, that (as I may iudge by their fruites) there be very few that leade their lyues therein according to the lawes of Chriſte :— Therfore, (my deare & welbeloued Chriſtians, which profeſſe the Goſpell) to the intent that you ſhould liue therin, according to your profeſſion and knowledge, I haue here breefely and plainely ſet forth what it is, and how you ought to leade your lyues therin, accordinge to the Rules of the holy Scriptures, ſo that your pure and godly lyfe may bee a good example, and alſo make ſuch aſhamed as would ſclaunder the holy Goſpell, and profeſſours of the ſame; yea, and that their wonted worde (which is, 'marke theſe new men by their lyuinge') may ſound to Gods glory, to the honour of his moſt holy worde, and praiſe of al them in Chriſt which do profeſſe the ſame. Farewell in the Lorde.

[1] page 76.

[*This* Glasse of Godly Love *forms pages* 75—87 *of my imperfect copy of a tract, stated by Mr W. C. Hazlitt to be unique, entitled* The Schoole of honest and vertuous lyfe: Profitable and necessary for all estates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P. [Thomas Pritchard]. *No date. The tract contains,* p. 47—74, Also, a laudable and learned Discourse, of the worthynesse of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their singuler instruction, to choose them vertuous and honest Husbandes: But (most specially) sent writte*n* as a Iewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By her approoued freend and kinseman, I. R. [John Rogers]. Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, and are to be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. [1569.] 4*to, black Letter, A.—L. in fours.* Hazlitt.]

[1]*What Wedlocke is.*

YOu ſhall firſt vnderſtande, that Wedlocke is an hie and bleſſed order, ordained of God in Paradiſe; which hath euer bin had in great honor and reuerence, wher[i]n one man and one woman are coupled and knit togeather in one fleſhe and body, in the feare and loue of God, by the free, louing, hartie, and good conſent of them both, to the intente that they two may dwel togeather, as one fleſh and bodye, of one will and minde, in all godlyneſſe, moſt louingly to helpe and comfort one another, to bring forth children, and to inſtruct them in the lawes of God. Alſo, to auoyde Fornication and all vncleaneneſſe, and ſo in all honeſty, vertue, and godlyneſſe, to ſpend their liues in the equall partakinge of all ſuch thinges as God ſhall ſend them, with thankes gyuinge.

And, becauſe that the Wife is in ſubiection to her Huſband, I will begin with her, & ſhortly declare what dutie and obedience ſhee oweth vnto him, by the commaundementes of the Scriptures.

Ephe. 5. The duetie of the Wife to her Huſband.

S*Aynct Pawle* ſayth: *Yee Wiues, ſubmit your ſelues to your owne Husbandes, as to the Lorde; for the Husband is the Wiues head, as Chriſt is the head of the Congregation: Therfore, as the Congregation is in ſubiection vnto Chriſte, likewiſe let Wiues be in ſubiection to their Husbandes in al thinges.* So that the wife muſt bee obediente vnto her huſband, as vnto Chriſt himſelfe; whereout it foloweth, that the ſaide obedience extendeth not vnto any wickedneſſe or euill, but vnto that which is good, honeſt, and cumly. In aſmuch as God delighteth onely in goodnes, & forbiddeth the euill euery where, it foloweth alſo, that the diſobedience that a wife ſhoweth to hir Huſband diſpleaſeth God no leſſe then when he is diſobeyed himſelf. For the wife ought to obey hir huſband in all pointes, as [2]the Congregation

[1] page 77. [2] page 78.

to Chriſte, which loueth Chriſt onely; and aboue all thinges, ſhee is glad and willinge to ſuffer for Chriſtes ſake, ſhee doth all for the loue of him; Chriſte only is her comfort, ioy, and all togeathers; vpon Chriſte is hir thought daye and night; ſhee longeth onely after Chriſt, for Chriſtes ſake (if it may ſerue to his glory) ſhee is hartely well contented to die, yee, ſhee giueth ouer her ſelfe wholly therto, for Chriſtes loue, knowing aſſuredly that hir ſoule, hir honour, body, lyfe, and all that ſhe hath, is Chriſtes owne. Thus alſo muſt euery honeſt Wife ſubmit hir ſelf, to pleaſe hir Huſband with all hir power, and giue hir ſelfe freely and willingly, to loue him and obey him, and neuer to forſake him till the houre of death.

And farther (ſayth *S. Peter:*) *Let the Wiues be in ſubiection to their Husbandes, that euen they which beleeue not the worde, may without the worde be wonne by the conuerſation of the Wiues; while they beholde your pure conuerſation coupled with feare; whoſe apparrell ſhall not bee outward with brodred haire, and hanging on of Golde, either in putting on of gorgious apparrell; but let the hid man of the harte bee vncorrupt, with a meeke and quiet ſpirit, which ſpirit is before God much ſet by, for after this manner in the olde time did the holy Women which truſted in God tire themſelues, and were obedient to their Husbandes; euen as* Sara *obeyed* Abraham, *and called him hir Lorde; whoſe Daughters ye are as long as ye do well.*

And *Paule,* ſpeaking vnto *Tytus* (ſayth hee): *Let the elder Women be in ſuch apparrell as becommeth holineſſe, not beeing falſe accuſers; not giuen to much Wine, but that they teache honeſt thinges to make the young Women ſober minded, to loue their Husbandes, to loue their Children, to be diſcrete, chaſte, huſwifely, good, obedient vnto their Husbandes, that the worde of God be not euill ſpoken of.*

VVhat a Wife ought to bee.

HEre may you learne, that a Wife ought to be diſcret, chaſte, huſwifely, ſhamefaſt, good, meeke, pacient, and [1]ſober; not light in countenance, nor gariſhe in apparrell, with dyed or curled haire, painted nor paſted, but with a cumly grauitie and a ſad behauiour of a conſtant minde, true tongued, and of few wordes, with ſuch obedience in all godlyneſſe to her Huſbande and head, as it beſeemes

[1] page 79.

a Chriſtian to haue vnto Chriſt; and to the intente that the Huſband in like caſe may learne his duetie, let him harken what *Sainct Pawle* ſayth, and take heede that hee turne not his authoritie to tyranny.

The dutie of the Husband to his Wyfe.

H*Vſbandes, loue your Wiues* (ſayth hee), *as Chriſt loued the Congregation, and gaue him ſelfe to ſanctifie it.*

Now muſt you vnderſtande, that the Huſbande is the Wiues head, as Chriſte is the head of the congregation; and Chriſt ſhoweth to the congregation the ſame thinge that *the* head ſhoweth to the bodye; for like as the head ſeeth and heareth for the whole body, ſtudieth and deuiſeth for to preſerue it in ſtrength and life, euen ſo doth Chriſte defend, teach, and preſerue his congregation. For hee is the eye, hart, wiſedome, and guide therof; ſo ought Huſbands (then) to loue their wiues, & be their heads in like manner to ſhow them like kindeneſſe, and after the ſame faſhion to guide them and rule them with diſcretion; for their preſeruacion, & not with force or wilfulneſſe to intreat them. And *S. Pawle* ſaith farther: *So ought men to loue their wiues, as their owne bodies; he that loueth his wife loueth himſelf. For no man hath at any time hated his owne flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it, euen as the Lorde doth the Congregation.* Therfore ought euery man moſt feruently to loue his wife, equally with himſelfe in al pointes; for this is the meaſure of mutuall loue Matrimoniall, that either partie haue nothing ſo deare that they can not be contented to beſtow one vpon another; ye, and if neede ſhould be, they ſhould alſo not ſpare their owne liues one for another, no more then chriſt did for his congregation.

[1]And like as when we repent and beleeue in the promiſe of God in Chriſt, (though we were neuer ſo poore ſinners), are as ritch as Chriſt, & al merites ours; ſo is a Woman (though ſhe were neuer ſo poore afore ſhe was maried) as ritch as hir huſband, for all *that* he hath is hirs, ye, his owne bodye, and [ſhe] hath power ouer it, as ſaith *Sainct Pawle.*

And if it ſo chaunce *that* you finde not your wife ſo perfect in al pointes as you would, or as your ſelfe; yet muſt you not diſpiſe hir, nor bee bitteer nor cruell vnto hir for hir faultes, but gently and

[1] page 80.

louingly ſeeke to amend and win hir. For, like as Chriſte thought no ſcorne of his church, diſpiſed hir not, neither forſooke hir for hir vncleanenes and ſinnes; ſo ſhould no chriſtian man ſpurne at his wife, nor ſet light by hir, becauſe that ſometime ſhe falleth, offendeth, or goeth not right; but euen as Chriſt nouriſheth and teacheth his church, ſo ought euery honeſt huſbande (alſo) louingly and gently to informe & inſtruct his wife.

For in many things (ſaith *S. Peter*) God hath made the men ſtronger then the women, not to rage vpon them & to be tirantes vnto them, but to helpe them & beare their weakeneſſe. Bee curteous therfore, (ſaith hee,) and win them to Chriſt, and ouercome them with kindeneſſe, that of loue they may obey the ordinance that God made beetweene man and Wife.

Oh how aſhamed be thoſe men to loke vpon this texte, which with violence in their furye will intreate their wiues; no beaſt ſo beaſtly, for in the moſt cruelſt way is not mete, as when the wife is ſad and diſquieted, then with ſpiteful wordes and wanton faſhions, ſo prouoking hir to anger. Where it is not the dutie of the huſband, but rather aſhamed to his owne head; likewiſe it is worſhip for a man to haue the feare of the Lorde before his eyes, that he prouoke not the plague of vengeance.

Let vs therfore haue humilitie in our hartes; For, as a wiſe man loketh well to his owne goinges, euen ſo pleaſant are the wordes ſpoken in due ſeaſon, which moueth the woman in hir wrath vnto patience, whereof *Salamon* [1] ſayth: *Faire wordes are an Hony Combe, a refreshinge of the minde, and a health of the bones.* For it is ſeldome ſeene *that* any beaſt is found in the cruelſt rage, that *the* Male doth euer hurte his Female; and how vnnatural a thing is it for a man to hurt his owne fleſh and body! Who will violently reuenge himſelfe, yea, on his foote, if it chaunce to ſtumble, but wil not rather, if hee haue an yll bodye, cheriſh it to make it better?

The ſtrong (ſaith *S. Pawle*) *ought to beare the fraileneſſe of the weake; let one ſuffer with another; beare ye one an others burden, and ſo ſhall ye fulfill the lawes of Chriſt: and aboue all thinge* (ſayth *S. Peter*), *Haue feruent loue amongſt you, for loue couereth the multitude of faultes.* So that loue in all things and at all times ought to bee the

[1] page 81.

whole doore and only inſtrument to worke and frame all things betweene man and wife.

VVhat the Husband ought to bee.

BY all this may yee geather and learne that the man is the head, gouernour, ruler, & inſtructer (with gentil wordes and good example), the prouyder, defender, and whole comforte of the woman, and oweth vnto hyr moſt feruent loue and affection, all gentle behauiour, all faythfulnes and helpe, all comforte and kindeneſſe, as to him ſelfe, his owne fleſh and body; ſo that vnder God there is no loue, no affection, no freendſhip, no nerenes of kin, to be compared vnto this, nor any one thing vnder the Sun, that pleaſeth God more then man and wife that agree well togeathers, which liue in the feare of God. And how can that bee more liuely expreſſed, then in that, that Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, and the holy chriſtian Church, and the holy body of them both, are ſet forth for an example or Mirror of the ſtate of Wedlocke, or coniugall loue? a more holy, a more godly and purer example could not be ſhewed. Undoubtedly this doth plainely ſhow, that loue Matrimoniall is moſt highly accepted afore God; and the [1]contrary muſt needes folow, *that* vnquietnes, hatred, ſtrife, brawling, chiding, and frowardnes in Mariage, doth exceedingly diſpleaſe God, & is clearely forbidden by *Sainct Pawle*, where hee ſayth: *Let all bitterneſſe, fierceneſſe, and wrath, roaringe, and curſed ſpeaking, be put away from you: be ye curteous and louinge one to another, and merciful, forgeuing one another, euen as God for Chriſtes ſake forgaue you.* Surely it is an highe and pure loue, perfecte and conſtant, that God requireth to be betweene maryed couples, and therfore ought they by all wayes, meanes, and labour to get, maintaine, and increaſe this exceding loue, and to eſchue, forbeare, and cut of all things, that might occaſion any parte of the contrary.

What maintaineth loue and quietneſſe in Mariage.

AND vndoubtedly there is nothing that longer maintaineth concorde and quietnes, nor more increaſeth perfecte loue in Maryage, then ſweet and faire wordes, gentle and freendly deedes, and with a louing patience to take all things to the beſt. Freely to breake

[1] page 82.

their mindes togeathers, and al things to be kept ſecret, both[1] glad and willing to amend that is amiſſe, and aboue all thinge, not once one to heare yl of another, for *S. Pawle* warneth you that ye giue no place to the backebiters, but take them as yll willers to you both, though that they be neuer ſo nere freendes or kin. And God ſayth, *A man ſhall forſake Father and Mother, and cleaue vnto his Wife, and they two ſhalbe one flesh, which in like caſe is mente to the Woman.* Therfore ought no creature aliue to be in ſuch eſteemation, credit, fauour, and loue, as each of you with others. Alſo, to bee of a ſober and temperate dyet, doth much farther a good agreement; and where the contrary is, there is much vnquietneſſe. For *Salomon* aſkinge where is woe? where is ſtrife? where is brawling? euen amongſt thoſe (ſaith hee) that bee euer at the Wine; therfore it is moſt cumly for chriſtians to be temperate in dyet, tempe[2]rate in wordes, temperate in deedes, and temperate in all things, ſo that at all times ye eſchue al exceſſe and ſurfet, rage and fury, which makes no difference betwixt man and beaſt, and all other things which may breed any part of vnquietneſſe. For *Salomon* ſayth: *Better is a dry morſell with quietneſſe, then a full houſe, and many fat cattell with ſtrife.* Therfore ought yee to exteeme and imbrace this concord and quietneſſe, as the maintainer and onely vpholder of the whole felicitie in Mariage, which is engendred of feruent loue, faithfulneſſe, and kindeneſſe, and maintained by the ſame, wherin ye ought continually to walke in all chaſtenes and purenes of liuing, which (aſſuredly) ſhineth as a moſt precious thinge in the ſight of God, and in the commendacion of the ſame, ſayth:

The commendacion of Chaſtitie.

S*Alomon* in the Booke of *Wiſedome:* O faire is a chaſt generacion with vertue, for it is with good men, where it is preſent, men take example therat, and if it go away, yet they deſire it; it is alwayes crowned and holden in honour, and winneth the reward of the vndefiled Battel; but the multitude of vngodly Children are vnprofitable, and the things that are planted in whoredome ſhall take no deepe roote, nor lay any faſt foundacion; though they be greene in the braunches for a time, yet ſhall they be ſhaken with the winde, for they ſtand not faſt, and through the vehemency of the winde they

[1] *orig.* doth [2] page 83.

ſhal bee rooted out, for the vnprofitable braunches ſhall bee broken, their fruite ſhalbe vnprofitable & ſower to eate, yee, meet for nothing; and why? all the children of the wicked muſt beare recorde of the wickedneſſe of their Fathers and Mothers, when they be aſked, but t[h]o the rightuous bee ouer taken with death, yet ſhall hee be in reſt.

Here may you ſee how vile, filthye, and abhominable, Adultery, Fornication, and Baſterdy is, and how high in eſtemacion a chaſte life is amongſt all good and godly [1]folke, and eſpecially in the ſight of God, to whom no ſecreat ſinne is hid.

That maryed folke ought to haue chaſte manners and communication.

AND as a chaſt louinge life in Mariage is moſt commended, ſo ought ye to be of chaſt manners, to haue chaſt talke, and to eſchue all wanton faſhions, vnclenly communication, filthy handling, and all vnſeemelyneſſe, and to be the ſpeakers and very doores of all vertue and godlineſſe, for *Sainct Pawle* ſayth: *Be ye folowers of God as deare Children, and walke in loue, euen as Chriſt loued you, and gaue himſelfe for vs an offering, and a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauour to God, ſo that fornication and all vncleaneneſſe, or couetouſneſſe, bee not once named amongeſt you, as becommeth Saincts, neither filthy nor fooliſh talke, neither ieſting, which are not cumly, but rather giuinge of thankes: for this ye know, that whoremongers, eyther vncleane perſons, or couetous perſons, which is the worshippers of Images, ſhall haue any entrance in the kingdome of God and of Chriſte.*

Of temperance in Maryage.

ALſo, there ought to be a temperance betweene man & wife, for God hath ordained mariage for a remedy or medecine, to aſſwage the heate of the burninge fleſh, and for procreation, and not beaſtly for to fulfill the whole luſtes of the diueliſh minde and wicked fleſh; for, though ye haue a promiſe that the acte in mariage is no ſinne, if the man receaue his Wife as a guifte giuen to him of God, and the Wife her Huſbande in like caſe, as ye haue a promiſe that yee ſinne not when yee eate and drinke meaſurably with thankes giuinge,

[1] page 84.

yet if yee take exceſſe, or vſe it beaſtly, vilely, or inordinately, your miſtemperance make[s] that yll which is good, (beeinge rightly vſed, and that which is cleane, yee defile through your abuſinge [1]of it: *God hath not called you to vncleaneneſſe, but vnto holyneſſe*, ſayth *S. Pawle*): and farther (ſayth hee), *It is the will of God, euen that you should bee holye, and that euery one of you should know how to keepe his veſſell in holynes and honour, and not in the luſtes of concupiſcence, as do the Heathen which know not God.*

Alſo, *Sainct Pawle* willeth you that yee withdraw not your ſelues, nor departe not one from another, except it bee with the good conſente of bothe, for a time to faſte and to pray; which faſtinge and prayer, I would to God were more vſed then it is, not as Hipocrites were wont, but as Chriſtians ought, and are commaunded (almoſt) in euery parte of the Scriptures; for they that in eating and drinkinge fulfill the whole luſtes of the fleſhe, cannot worke after the ſpirite; and as wee daylie and hourely continually ſinne, ſo ought wee continually to praye and call for grace. And in all the whole Byble, you ſhal not finde a more godly example of maryage (which I would to God all maryed folkes would reade), then that of *Tobiach* and *Sara*, the Daughter of *Raguell*, which were knit togeather in faſtinge and prayer, and oft vſed the ſame, lyuinge a godly, pure, and cleane lyfe; for the which they obtayned the bleſſinge of God, and ſaw their Childerns Children to the fifte generacion.

The commendacion of Children.

CHildren (vndoubtedly) is the higheſt guift, and greateſt treaſure of this worlde, and maintenaunce of the ſame. For Children is the very ſure band and laſt knot of loue Matrimonial; by the which the parents can neuer be clearely ſeperated a ſunder; In aſmuch as that which is of them both cannot be deuided, ſeeing both haue parte in euery one. And children are their Parents cheefe ioy, comfort, and felicitie next vnto God; their ſtay and ſtaffe & vpholders of their age; and in their children do the Parents liue (in a manner) after their death. For they dye not all togethers, *that* leaue collops of their owne fleſh aliue [2]behinde them; and by their children (if they be vertuouſly and godly brought vp) then is God honoured, & the common

[1] page 85. [2] page 86.

wealth aduaunced, ſo that the parents and all men fare the better by them. Your children (moſt aſſuredly) is the very bleſſing of god, for the which ye ought to giue him moſt hartie thankes, and be contented, and with ſuch as hee doth ſende you, bee they many or few, Sonnes or Daughters. For if they be many, he wil prouide for them if they be faithful. If they be few, he may ſend you more, and giue you more ioy of one daughter then of ten ſonnes. Therfore, be content with his will, for hee doth all things for the beſt, and knoweth what is beſte for you; giue him moſt hartie thankes for ſuch as you haue, and be diligent to ſee them vertuouſly and godly brought vp; and in any caſe, ſuffer them not to bee ydell.

How children ought to bee brought vp.

For they that wil not worke (ſaith *S. Pawle*), *let them not eate; therfore put them to learne ſome honeſt Science or Craſte, wherunto of nature they be moſt apt. For in that ſhal they moſt profite; in the which they may get their owne lyuinge, and ſerue the common wealth.* And aboue al thing, let them firſt learne to know God & his moſt holy worde, which is the right pathe and highe way to all vertue and godlineſſe, the ſure Shielde and ſtronge Buckler to defende vs from the Diuell and all his cruell and craftie aſſaultes; giue them daily godly and louinge exhortacions, ſuffer no vice to take roote in them, but rebuke them for their yll, and commend them in their well dooinge.

Prouide honeſtly afore hand for all neceſſary thinges, both for them and all your houſehold. For, ſaith *S. Pawle* to *Timothie: If there bee any that prouideth not for his owne, and, namely, for them of his houſeholde, the ſame denyeth the fayth, and is worſe then an Infidell.*

[1] *The order of your houſe.*

OF the Sparrowes may yee learne the order of your houſehold: for as the Cocke flyeth too and fro to bring all thinge to the neaſt, and as the dam keepeth the neaſt, hatcheth and bringeth foorth hir yonge, ſo all prouiſion, and whatſoeuer is to bee doone without the houſe, belongeth to the man; and the woman to take charge within, to ſee all thinges conueniently ſaued, or ſpent as it ought, to bring

[1] page 87.

forth and nouriſh hir children, and to haue al the whole dooing of hir Daughters and women.

Alſo be louing vnto your children, and be not fierce nor cruell vnto them. For *S. Pawle* ſaith: *Fathers, rate not your children, leaſt they be of a deſperate minde, but with diſcrete admonitions, and with your pure and good example of liuinge (which is the cheefeſt perſwaſion), lead them to all vertue and godlyneſſe.*

If all Parentes would vertuouſly bringe vp their children in the knowledge and feare of God, in the practice & exerciſe of ſome honeſt Science or Craft, Then ſhould we not ſee ſo many ydell as bee; ſo many Vacabondes, Theeues, and Murderers, ſo many vicious perſons of all degrees, nor ſuch vngodlynes raigne. But then ſhould wee ſee euery man honeſtly get his lyuing, preferring his Neighbours proffite as his owne; then ſhould wee ſee all men rightly do their duties; then ſhould loue and charity ſpring, and all godlyneſſe raigne; then ſhould the Lawes and Magiſtrates be willingly obeyed, the common wealth flouriſh, and God rightly honoured, for in this point only, through the grace of God, conſiſtes the amendment of all the whole worlde.

Therfore, (my deare and welbeloued Chriſtians) ſeeing that in this bleſſed ſtate of Matrimony, and godly houſeholde of huſband, wife, and children, conſiſtes (next vnder God) the cheefeſt and higheſt felicitie of this worlde, and maintenance of the ſame, wherein the common wealth is wholly aduaunced, and God moſt highly honoured, I [1]exhort you in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of the liuinge God, that you walke worthely therin, accordinge to the will of Chriſt, which you profeſſe without faining, and that you eſchue all woorkes and deedes of the fleſhe, which bee theſe, ſaith *S. Pawle: Adultery, Fornication, vncleaneneſſe, wantonneſſe, Idolatry, Witchcrafte, hatred, varyance, wrath, ſtriſe, ſedition, ſectes, enuyinge, murther, drunkenneſſe, gluttony, and ſuch like; of the which I tell you before, as I haue tolde you*[2] *in times paſt, that they which commit ſuch thinges shall not inherite the kingdome of God.* Therfore, follow yee the ſpirit and workes of the ſame, which bee, (ſayth *S. Pawle*): *Loue, ioy, peace, longe ſuffering, gentilneſſe, goodneſſe, faithfulneſſe, meekeneſſe, temperance, and ſuch like.* And yet once agayne I exhort you with the exhorta-

[1] page 88. [2] *orig.* you you

cion of *S. Pawle: If there be amongſt you any conſolation in Chriſt, if there be any comfortable loue, if there be any felowship of the ſpirit, if there be any compaſſion of mercy, fulfill you my ioy, that ye draw one way, hauing one loue, beeing of one accorde, and of one minde, that nothing bee done through ſtrife or vaine glory, but that in meekeneſſe of minde, euery one eſteeme other better then them ſelfe, and ſo shal you leade a ioyfull, quiet, and godly life in this world, and after, through Ieſus Chriſt, come to the life euerlaſting, with God the Father, to whom bee all honour and glory. Amen.*

Rom. 10. *If the roote bee whole, the braunches ſhall bee whole alſo.*

FINIS.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

IN THE

GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE.

Title page, p. 177, *Jam.* i. 22 ; *Col.* iii. 14.

p. 179, Yee Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 22-4.

p. 180, Let the Wives, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 1—6 ; Let the elder Women, &c., *Titus* ii. 3—5.

p. 181, Husbandes, love your Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 25 ; So ought men, &c., *Idem.* 28-9 ; his owne bodye, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 4.

p. 182, For in many things, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 7, 8 ? Faire wordes, &c., *Prov.* xvi. 24 ; the strong, &c., *Rom.* xv. 1 ; let one suffer, &c., 1 *Cor.* xii. 26 ? beare ye, &c., *Gal.* vi. 2 ; and above all thinge, &c., 1 *Pet.* iv. 8.

p. 183, Let all bitternesse, &c., *Eph.* iv. 31.

p. 184, A man shall forsake, &c., *Gen.* ii. 24 ; For Salomon askinge, &c., *Prov.* xxiii. 29, 30 ; Better is a dry morsell, &c., *Prov.* xvii. 1 ; Salomon in the Booke of Wisdome, *Wisdom* iv. 1—7.

p. 185, Be ye folowers, &c., *Eph.* v. 1—5.

p. 186, God hath not called you, &c., 1 *Thess.* iv. 7 ; It is the will of God, &c., *Idem.* 3—5 ; Also, Sainct Pawle, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 5.

p. 187, For they that wil not worke, &c., 2 *Thess.* iii. 10 ; If there bee any, &c., 1 *Tim.* v. 8.

p. 188, Fathers, rate not your children, &c., *Eph.* vi. 4 ; Adultery, &c., *Gal.* v. 19—21 ; Love, &c., *Idem.* 22.

p. 189, If there be amongst you, &c., *Philipp.* ii. 1—3 ; If the roote, &c., *Rom.* xi. 16.

NOTES.

p. xiii. *John Lane and Milton's father.* "Besides these, there remains, as evidence of Lane's perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the Museum [Royal MS., 17. B. xv.], dated 1621, and entitled *Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized.* In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is—specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

> Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
> Those sweet parts Meltonus did compose,
> As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
> Which in a counter-point maintaining *hielo*
> 'Gan all sum up thus ÷ *Alleluiah Deo.*"

But, more interesting still, another of Lane's manuscripts—that of "Guy of Warwick"—furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed "*Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico, in poesis laudem;*" that is, "John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend in praise of his poetry." The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. So here it is:—

> "If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick!
> For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
> Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
> Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light;
> Heralds' records, and each sound antiquary,
> For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
> To satisfy those which *prævaricari;*
> Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought;
> Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments,
> Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
> With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents,
> To exemplify the flower of chivalry:
> From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
> For Christian imitation all are here."[1]

[1] "Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet; and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in connexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally."—1859. D. Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 42-3.

p. xiii. John Lane's *Triton's Trumpet.* "Phillips . . omits '*Triton's Trumpet*,' undoubtedly by Lane, and dated 1620, in which the death of Spenser in 1599 is mentioned, with all the particulars of his sufferings and poverty, and the vain wish of the Earl of Essex to relieve them. ('Life of Spenser,' edit. 1862, p. cli)."—J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 448.—F.

p. xvii. note 1. Powell's *Welch Bayte.*

5to Decembris

Valentine Symms YT IS ORDERED that he shall presently bring into the hall, to be used according to the ordonance in *th*at behalf. Thirtie bookes of *the welsh-bate.* and all the ballades that he hath printed of *the Traytours lately Arrayned at Winchester.*

Valentine Symms also YT IS ORDERED that he shall pay xliis iiijd for a fine for printing the same book and ballad without Licence. And not to meddle with printing or selling any of the same bookes or ballads hereafter.

Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 249. See also ii. 837.

p. xxiii. T. Powell's *Mysterie of Lending and Borrowing.* Here is

"The Authors Inuocation.

THou spirit of old *Gybbs*, a quondam Cooke,
Thy hungry Poet doth thee now inuoke,
T-infuse in him the iuyce of Rumpe or Kidney,
And he shall sing as sweet as ere did *Sidney :*
I am not so ambitious as to wish
For black spic'keale, or such a pretious dish,
As Dottrels caught by pretty imitation,
Nor any thing so hot in operation,
As may inflame the Liuer of mine Host,
To sweare I chalke too much vpon the post :
My selfe a damn'd Promethian I should thinke,
If with the Gods Scotch-Ale, or Meth, a drinke,
The vulgar to prophane, Metheglin call,
Or drops which from my Ladies Lembick fall,
In seuerall spirits of a fifth transcendence,
No, no, the hungry belly calls my mind thence :
I wish not for Castalian cups, not I,
But with the petty-Canons being dry,
And but inspir'd with one bare Qu : let any
Compare with vs for singing (O *Sydany.*)
Thy Pot-herbs, prithy, *Robbin*, now afford,
Perfume the Altar of thy Dresser-boord,
And couer it with *Hecatombes* of Mutton,
As fat and faire as euer knife did cut on :
Then will I sing the Lender and the Debter,
The martiall Mace, the Serieant and the Setter,
Ruines and reparations of lost wealth,
Still, Where you see me, Trust vnto your selfe."

p. 4, l. 11. *Lelaps.* A dog of surpassing swiftness given by Diana to Procris, and by her presented to her husband Cephalus. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, ll. 771-93, for an account of Laelaps.—S.

p. 5, l. 15. *daughters of twentye . . to rich cormorants of threescore.* Compare Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* of January and May.—F.

p. 6, l. 2. *Durum pati meminisse dulce.* Cf. *Æn.*, I. 203. Daniello

in a note to the Inferno, xvi. 84, attributes this quotation to Seneca, but does not give a precise reference. See Lombardi's *Dante*, I. 351, ed. 1830.—S.

p. 6, l. 7. *Thinges farre fetchte and deere boughte.* See Notes to Stafford's *Examination*, p. 103.—F.

p. 7, l. 3, *for:* from, against: 'now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth *for* swallowing the treasure of the realm,' 2 *Hen. VI*, IV. i. 74; 'and advise thee to desist *for* going on death's net,' *Pericles*, I. i. 40.—Schmidt.—F.

p. 7, l. 6. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.* Juvenal, S. vi. 223. The usual reading is "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit, &c."—S.

p. 8, l. 4. *women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes.* Compare Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale;* Andrew Boorde's *Brevyary*, chap. 242, in my edition of his *Introduction*, &c. (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 68, and note there.—F.

p. 10, l. 9. *had I wist is a slender remedy to remove repentaunce.* "I write not here a tale of had I wist: But you shall heare of travels &c."—J. Taylor (Water Poet), *Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 132, ll. 2-3. "A wise man saith not, had I wist."—Uncertain author in Tottel's *Miscellany*, Arber's ed. p. 244.—P. A. D. "When dede is doun, hit ys to lat; be ware of hady-wyst."—The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgremage: *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, E. E. T. S., p. 42, ll. 119-20.—S.

p. 26, l. 8 from foot. '*Knight of the Post.* Properly, a man who gained his living by giving false evidence on trials, or false bail; in a secondary sense, a sharper in general. "A *knight of the post*, quoth he, for so I am tearmed; a fellow that will sweare you any thing for twelve pence."—*Nash, Pierce Penilesse*, 1592.

"But is his resolution any way infracted, for that some refractaries are (like *knights of the post*) hired to witnesse against him?"—*Ford*'s Line of Life, 1620.'—(Additions to) Nares.—F.

p. 26, l. 24. "*A supplication from Pierce Pennilesse.*" An allusion to a satire written by Thomas Nash, entitled "Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Divell; describing the over-spreading of Vice, and the suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofes," Lond. 1592; Watts, *Bib. Brit.*—S.

p. 29, l. 12-13. Three instances of the genitive *it* in two lines: *it* delighte, *it* ioy, *it* beginning. See too p. 90, l. 9 from foot.—F.

p. 30, l. 9-10. This proverb of the Pitcher going long to the water, but getting broken at last, is in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, A.D. 1340: "Zuo longe geþ þet pot to the wetere, þet hit comþ tobroke hom," p. 165, l. 7 from foot, ed. Stevenson, for Roxburghe Club.—F.

p. 32, l. 13 from foot. *it was the parte of Mad Men*, &c. A free expansion of "Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestati quavis ratione sapientis."—Cic. *Off.*, I. xxiv. 5.—S.

p. 33, l. 17. *a tooting head:* one with horns, through which men toot or blow, the mark of a cuckold.—F.

p. 33, l. 30. *where Christes crosse standes:* that is, at the head of the alphabet. '*La croix de par dieu.* The Christs-crosse-row; or Horne-booke wherein a child learnes it.'—*Cotgrave.*—F.

p. 36, l. 3. *mistrisse her necke.* This absurd form of the possessive case came in from the mistake in the masculine, 'Robin good-fellow *his* newes,' p. 49, &c., as if the genitive *-s*, *-es* was contracted from *hi-s*. In the second text of Layamon's *Brut* are many of these genitives in *his*, some of them to feminine nouns. They arose from the scribe of that MS. being very fond of *h*'s, and putting *h* on to the genitives in *-is*, which *-is* was often written apart from the crude form of its noun.—F.

p. 36, l. 11. *nor so many yeeld uppe the possession of their garmentes to the hangman.* "There was a curst page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his cloaths; and when his master bad him, 'take them you, for they are the hangman's fees.'"—Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 69, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, 1802.—S.

p. 39, l. 3. *Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori.*—Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 69.—S.

p. 39, l. 12. *that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies.* The reflected images of himself seen by a lover in the pupils of his mistress's eyes, or *vice versâ*.

Cf. "So when thou [Love] sawst in natures cabinet Stella, thou straight lookst *babies in her eyes*."—Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet xi. ll. 9-10.

In Massinger's *Renegado*, II. iv, p. 129, col. 1, ed. Gifford, 1840, Donusa says to Vitelli, "When a young lady wrings you by the hand, thus, Or with an amorous touch presses your foot, Looks *babies in your eyes*, plays with your locks, Do not you find without a tutor's help, What 'tis she looks for?"—S.

p. 43, l. 14. 'Thirteen Pence Halfpenny was considered as the hangman's wages very early in the 17th century. How much sooner, I have not noticed. "'Sfoot, what a witty rogue was this to leave this fair *thirteen pence halfpenny*, and this old halter, intimating aptly,

> Had the hangman met us there, by these presages,
> Here had been his work, and here *his wages*."
> *Match at Midnight*, Old Plays, vii. 357.

"If I shold, he could not hang me for't; 'tis not worth thirteen pence halfpenny."—J. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, sign. F. 3.'—Nares.—F.

p. 55, l. 22. *Greenes Cunnyberries*, Robert Greene's Coney-burrows, alluding to his four Coneycatching tracts: I. A Notable Discouery of Cosnage, 1591; II. The Second Part of Conny-catching, 1591; III. The Third and last part of Conny-catching, With the new deuised knavish arte of Foole-taking, 1592. IV. A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conney-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whorer is

most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth. Discouering the Secret Villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed this present yeare 1592.—*Hazlitt.*—F.

p. 55, last line. *then on goes her pantoples.* "Such is the Nature of these nouises that think to haue learning without labour, ... that for the most parte they *stande so on their pantuffles*, that they be secure of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintance without cause, and to condemne them without colour."—*Euphues*, p. 47, ed. Arber.

Sander. . . "Why looke you now, ile scarce put up plain Sander now at any of their hands; for and any body have any thing to do with my master, straight they come crouching upon me,—'I beseech you good M. Sander speake a good word for me,'—and then I am so stowt and take it upon me, and *stand upon my pantoffles* to them, out of all crie, why I have a life like a giant now."—*Taming of a Shrew*, p. 174, ed. Nichols, Six old Plays.

"Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet."—*Euphues*, p. 117.—P. A. DANIEL.

p. 68, l. 7 from foot. *willing her, . . . either then or never to consent to the saving of all their lives.* Abduction was punishable with death. By statute 39 Eliz. c. 9, principals, procurers, or accessories before the fact, were deprived of benefit of clergy. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, ed. Kerr, 1862, iv. 231.—S.

The preamble of the Act of Elizabeth, passt in 1597, illustrates the story in the text, and runs thus :—

"Whereas of late times diuers women, as well maydens as widowes, and wiues hauing substance, some in goods moueable, and some in lands and tenements, and some being heires apparent to their Ancestours, for the lucre of such substance bene oftentimes taken by misdoers, contrary to their will, and after maried to such misdoers, or to others by their assent, or defiled, to the great displeasure of God, and contrary to your Hig[h]nesses Lawes, and disparagement of the said women, and great heauinesse and discomfort of their friends, and ill example of others; which offences, albeit the same be made felonie by a certaine act of Parliament made in the third yeere of King Henrie the seuenth: Yet forasmuch as Clergie hath been heretofore allowed to such Offenders, diuers persons haue attempted and committed the said offences in hope of life by the benefit of Clergie[1]:—Be it therefore enacted &c." Christopher Barker's edition of 1597, sign. E. This edition contains two acts more than the Record Office one, namely, "26 An Act for confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergie. 27 An Act for the grant of three entire Subsidies, and sixe Fifteenes and Tenths granted by the Temporalitie." Chap. 7, 'An Act for the more speedie payment of the Queenes Maiesties debts', looks as if Q. Elizabeth was insolvent: but

[1] Education the excuse for crime! The doctrine sounds odd now.

'the Queen's debts' were debts due to her, like 'the Queen's traitors' were traitors against her.—F.

p. 69, l. 8. *the counsell Table.* The concilium ordinarium, commonly known as the court of star chamber, a branch of the privy council which assumed jurisdiction over many offences cognizable in the ordinary law courts. See Hallam's *History of England*, vol. I. chap. i.—S.

p. 69, l. 8. *she tolde so good a tale for him*, &c. If a woman was married by her abductor, she was allowed to give evidence against him of the abduction, contrary to the then general rule that a wife's evidence could not be received against her husband. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 231.—S.

p. 71, l. 10 from foot. *cooling carde.* So Suffolk in 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 83: "There all is marr'd; there lies a *cooling card.*" Not Shakspere's.—F.

A letter from Euphues to Philautus is entitled, "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers."—*Euphues*, Arber's ed. p. 106. "Card. (2) A chart. Harrison, p. 39."—Halliwell's *Dict.*—S.

p. 75, l. 3 from foot. *a tantinie pigge.* St Anthony's. See Brand's *Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 200, note *a*, col. 2. And "St. Anthony's church in Threadneedle street, belonging to an hospital of that Saint, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Vienna as early as Henry III. The foundation was for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. . . The proctors of this house used to collect alms, and take from the market people lean or ill-conditioned pigs, which they turned abroad with bells about their necks to live upon the public,—whence the saying *an Anthony's pig*, and when fat, they killed them for the use of the hospital."—Stowe's Lond. p. 190, in Nichols's ed. of E. Perlin, *Descr. d'Angleterre* 1558, repr. 1775, p. 13. See the Index below, p. 209.—F.

p. 82. To compare small things with great, set this page beside Julia's description of her lovers in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii., and Portia's of hers in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii.—F.

p. 83, l. 7. Smithfield (or smooth-field, an etymology sanctioned by Fitz Stephen, who describes it as *campus planus*) was celebrated for many centuries as a market, and the cheating carried on there, more especially in the sale of horses, was long notorious. A 'Smithfield horse' was the cant name for a particularly bad bargain. Falstaff tells us that his horse was bought at Smithfield (2nd part of *Henry IV.*, act I. sc. ii. ll. 56-7), and Pepys speaks "of the craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses," *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1668. And see under Dec. 11, 1668.—H. B. W.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *a Smithfeelde horse.* Smithfield was noted for its horse-fairs (p. 87, l. 2 from foot); and at them, as at all other fairs, the buyer takes his chance.

"The Londiners pronounce woe to him that buyes a horse in Smythfield, that takes a servant in Pauls Church, that marries a wife out of Westminster" [noted for its stews].—Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Pt. 3, p. 53. On the Fair in Smithfield, see *Bartholomew Fair*, 1641.—F.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or jadish.* "heere [to Smithfield] comes many Horses, (like *Frenchmen*) rotten in the joynts, which by tricks are made to leape, though they can scarce go ; he that light upon a Horse in this place, from an olde Horse-courser, sound both in wind and limbe, may light of an honest Wife in the Stews : here's many an olde Jade, that trots hard for't, that uses his legs sore against his will, for he had rather have a Stable then a Market, or a Race."—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton, 1632, pp. 36-7.—S.

p. 85, l. 3. *let them have their willes ; or they will, whether you will or no.* Compare Andrew Boorde's *Breuiary*, Fol. lxxxii. back, "therfore, *Vt homo not cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay," p. 68 of my edition, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.—F.

p. 91, l. 2. *Kemps head.* An account of William Kemp will be found in Variorum Shakspere, ed. 1821, vol. III. p. 197.—P. A. D.

p. 91, l. 9. *Knackes to knowe knaves by.* "A knack how to knowe a knave," one of Kempe's works ?—P. A. D.

p. 113, l. 73. *Ovid could testify*, &c. Ultima cœlestum, terras Astræa reliquit.—Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I. 150.—S.

p. 113, l. 84. *carnall vice . . in the Popes great hall.* On the lechery and sodomy seen in Rome by Andrew Boorde, see my edition of A. B., p. 77, with the extract from Thomas's *History of Italye* in the note there.—F.

p. 118, l. 216, *gigge*, jig. Cp. in Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 49, 50, "A pretie newe *Jigge* betwene Francis the gentleman, Richard the farmer, and theire wyves," Oct. 14, 1595 ; and on Oct. 21, "a ballad called Kemps newe *Jygge* betwixt a souldiour and a Miser, and Sym the clown." "The word '*jig*' is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon ; and in old English literature its application extended, beyond the tune itself, to any jigging rhymes that might be sung to such tunes. The songs sung by clowns after plays (which like those of Tarleton, were often extempore,) and any other merry ditties, were called *jigs*. 'Nay, sit down by my side, and I will *sing* thee one of my countrey *jigges* to make thee merry,' says Deloney, in his *Thomas of Reading*."—Chappell's *Popular Music*, ii. 495.—F.

p. 118, l. 230. Seven Deadly Sins. Compare 'The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London : Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, Bringing the Plague with them. Opus septem Dierum. Tho : Dekker. At London Printed by E. A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be solde at his shop neere Saint Austens gate. 1606. 4to, black letter, 31 leaves.'—*Hazlitt.* Also Dekker's 'Belman of London,' 1608 ; 'Lanthorne and Candlelight,' 1609 ; 'O per se O,' 1612 ; 'Villanies discovered,' 1616 ; and the successive versions of his 'English Villanies,' 1632-48.—F.

p. 121, l. 304. *Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach the heel.* "In the time of Queene *Mary*, and the beginning of the Raigne

of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for many yeeres before, it was not lawfull for any man either servant or others, to weare their Gowns lower than to the calves of their legges, except they were above threescore yeares of age, but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shoes . . . ."—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, pp. 1039-40.—S.

p. 121, ll. 307-10. *Bold Bettresse*, &c.; p. 122, l. 333. *fannes by truls are borne.* "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffes, Fanns, Periwigs and Bodkins, were first devised, and used in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris" [1572].—*Idem*, p. 1038, col. 2.—S.

p. 126, l. 451. *Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete.*

"This field commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in use.

"When every Serving-man from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which hung before him.

"This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeare of Queene *Elizabeth* [1577-8], for untill then it was usuall to have Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, upon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance.

"Especially from the midst of Aprill, untill the end of October, by reason, Smithfield was then free from durte and plashes. And in the Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourely frayes of sword and buckler men who tooke pleasure in that bragging fight; and although they made great shew of much furie and fought often, Yet seldome any man hurt for thrusting was not then in use: neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler."—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024, col. 1 and 2.—S.

p. 127, l. 497. *Idlenesse.* See Andrew Boorde's amusing 151st Chapter of his *Breuiary*, on 'an euyl Feuer, the whiche dothe cumber yonge persons, named the Feuer lurden.' His remedy is: "There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is *Vnguentum baculinum*, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wand of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anoynt the bake and the shulders well, mornynge and euenynge, and do this .xxi. dayes," &c.: see my edition, p. 83-4, and the Index to my *Babees Book*.—F.

p. 129, ll. 562, 564. There were two Compters or prisons for debtors

in the city of London ; each being under the superintendence of one of the Sheriffs. The Poultry Compter stood a few doors from St Mildred's church until 1817, when it was taken down. Stow wrote of it, "this hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof." Wood Street Compter stood on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was first established there in 1555, when the prisoners were removed from the old Compter in Bread Street to the new one in Wood Street. The latter was burnt down in the Great Fire, but rebuilt afterwards. The prison was removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. T. Middleton introduced a reference to the two Compters in his *Phœnix*—"for as in that notable city called London stand two most famous Universities, Poultry and Wood street, where some are of twenty years' standing and have took all their degrees." Quoted in Cunningham's Handbook of London.—H. B. W. Thomas Nash also praisd the Compter ironically in his '*Strange Newes*,' 1592, (sign. I.) :—

"Heare what I say : a gentleman is never throughly entred into credit till he hath been there ; and that Poet or novice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authenticall, till it hath beene seene and allowed in unthrifts consistory. *Grande doloris ingenium !* Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their fathers built them, but I protest I should never have writ passion well, or beene a piece of a poet, if I had not arriv'd in those quarters. Trace the gallantest youthes, and bravest revellers about towne, in all the by-paths of their expence, and you shall infallibly finde, that once in their life-time they have visited that melancholy habitation. Come, come, if you goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stand under 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 Chancery." (in Collier's Bibl. Catal. i. 277.)

p. 133, l. 679. *light-taylde huswives*. Compare 'A Dialogue bytwene the commune secretary and Jalowsye, Touchynge the vnstablenesse of Harlottes,' John Kynge [1550-61], Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 400.

> "She that is fayre, lusty and yonge,
> And can comon in termes with fyled tonge,
> And wyll abyde whysperynge in the eare,
> Thynke ye her *tayle is not lyght of the seare?*"

This is Hamlet's 'tickle o' the sere,' the sear being the catch of a gunlock, which when stiff, makes you pull the trigger very hard, but when light, turns it into a 'hair-trigger,' one that'll go at the touch of a hair.—F.

William Goddard's *Neaste of Waspes*, 1615, gives the theatres a bad character too (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 314) :—

> "Goe to your plaie-howse, you shall actors have,
> Your baude, your gull, your whore, your pander knave,

Goe to your bawdie house, y'ave actors too,
As bawdes, and whores, and gulls, pandars also,
Besides, in either howse (yf you enquire)
A place there is for men themselves to tire.
Since th' are so like, to choose theres not a pinn,
Whether bawdye-house, or plaie-howse you goe in."

As to the round house, compare *The Cries of London* (ib. p. 163, time of Jas. I.)

"The Players on the Banckeside,
The *round Globe* and the Swan,
Will search you idle tricks of love,
But the Bull will play the man."

The Bull was 'The Red Bull' theatre in Clerkenwell. The Rose theatre on or near Bankside was also round. See Norden's Map, 1593.—F.

p. 139, l. 7. *Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe*, &c. "Any two *Justices* of Peace may licence such as be delivered out of *Gaoles*, to begge for their fees, or to travell to their Countrey, or friends: and may give licence for fourtie dayes to a *Rogue*, that is marked [branded?]: and may make testimonial to a Servingman, that is turned away from his master, or whose master is dead: 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 18 Eliz. cap. 3; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11.

... And they may *Licence* diseased persons (living of almes) to travel to *Bathe*, or to *Buckstone*, for remedies of their griefe, 14 Eliz. cap. 5, and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 321-2.

"Two such *Justices* may give licence to *Fencers*, *Bearewards*, *Common players* in Enterludes, *Minstrels*, *Juglers*, *Pedlers*, *Tinkers*, and *Petite-chapmen*, to goe abroad, so as they shall not be taken as Rogues. 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—*Idem*, pp. 341-2.—S.

p. 140, l. 45. *Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.* A reminiscence of Horace, *Od.* IV. i. 16.?—S.

p. 141, l. 1. *folk leaving town after Term.* Compare Lord Campbell's note on p. 23-4 of his *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered*, 1859:

"Even so late as Queen Anne's reign there seems to have been a prodigious influx of all ranks from the provinces into the metropolis in term time. During the preceding century, Parliament sometimes did not meet at all for a considerable number of years; and being summoned rarely and capriciously, the 'London season' seems to have been regulated, not by the session of Parliament, but by the law terms,—

'. . . . and prints before Term ends.'—*Pope.*

While term lasted, Westminster Hall was crowded all the morning, not only by lawyers, but by idlers and politicians in quest of news. *Term having ended, there seems to have been a general dispersion.* Even the Judges spent their vacations in the country, having when in town resided in their chambers in the Temple or Inns of Court. The Chiefs were obliged to remain in town a day or two after term, for Nisi Prius sittings; but the Puisnes were entirely liberated when proclamation was made at the rising of the court on the last day of term, in the form still preserved,

that "all manner of persons may take their ease, and give their attendance here again on the first day of the ensuing term. . . . ."

See Thomas Dekker's 'The Dead Terme. Or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Tearmes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes of London and Westminster. London, Printed and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets. 1608. 4to, black letter, 27 leaves.'—F.

p. 156, l. 19. "Actuary, (*Actuarius*) Is the Clerk or Scribe, that registers the Canons and Constitutions of the Convocation: Also an Officer in the Court Christian, who is in Nature of a Register."—Cowel's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727.

p. 158, l. 6. *Swainmootes of Forrests.* "From the *Sax.* swan, a *swain*, as *Country-swain*, *Boot-swain*, and gemote, a Court or Convention. The *Swanemote* was a Court held twice a year [Spelman and Cowel say thrice.—S.] by the forest officers, fifteen days before *Midsummer*, and three weeks before *Michaelmass*, for enquiry of the trespasses committed within the bounds of the forest."—Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1695, Glossary, s.v. Swanemotum.—S.

p. 158, l. 12. *The Virdge.* "Verge, Virgata, may seem to come from the French *Verger*, *viridarium*, and is used here in *England* for the Compass of the King's Court, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward of the King's Houshold, and of the Coroner of the King's House, and that seems to have been Twelve Miles Compass."—Cowel's *Law Dict.* ed. 1727.—S.

p. 158, l. 16. *The Clinke.* "Then next is the *Clinke*, a Goal or Prison for the Trespassers in those Parts, namely, in old time for such as should Brabble, Fray, or break the Peace on the said Bank [the Bankside, Southwark] or in the *Brothel* Houses, they were by the Inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this Goal, when they were straitly Imprisoned."—Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, II. book iv. p. 8, col. 1.—S.

p. 159, l. 9 from foot. *And here I remember me of an old tale.* This story will be found in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 34, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, ed. 1802, p. 12.—S.

p. 163, l. 12 from foot. *An Enginere for making of Patars.* Grose (*Military Antiquities*, I. p. 402) gives an engraving of "Pierriers, vulgarly called Pattereros," and says, "Chamber'd pieces for throwing stones, called cannon perriers . . . were about this time [Edward VI. reign] much used in small forts, and on shipboard."—S.

p. 171, l. 1. *Sir John Hawkins' hospital at Chatham.* An hospital for decayed mariners and shipwrights was founded by Sir John Hawkins, in 1592, in which twelve pensioners have each a separate house, an allowance of eight shillings per week, and an annual supply of coal: the management is vested in 26 governors, of which number five are elective.—Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary.*—S.

p. 175, l. 2. *Navibus atque.* &c. Hor. *Epp.* I. xi. 28—30.—S.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

PRESENTED

To his fellow Members

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

BY

THE RT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or briefe

Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints

of diuers of our Countrymen

in these our Dayes,

A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLD

"*A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.*")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

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[This treatise by "W. S." is assignd to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, 1767, "I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet."—*Variorum Shakspere*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

FOREWORDS.

OF the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspere's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing[1] was Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583—95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique[2] *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tel-troths Message, and his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's[3] unique[2] *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspere Society's *Shakspere's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series plannd for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspere Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

"The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

"A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

[1] Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspere Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Coneycatching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

[2] Believd so to be.

[3] Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.[1]

[1] The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspere's time :—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4*s*. 1865.

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10*s*. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq, with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13*s*. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (describing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7*s*. 6*d*. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babees Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6*s*. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4*s*. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works) :—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18*s*. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time : a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12*s*. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplycacyon of the Beggers, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. ; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde ; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6*s*. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12*s*. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10*s*. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness[1] of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth[2] in any year near 1581, is

certen wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9*s*. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England:—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspere's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

[1] This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

[2] The chief dearth in Shakspere's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposd allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposd to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition) —but the rise in prices was only for a short time :[1]

An. reg. 16. 1574.

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price; all kinde of salt fish very deere,

Dearth without scarcitie

as fiue herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape: bay salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell: at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or fall-

Bay salt deare

ing) all the yeare after; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fiue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class —a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspere's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.[2] As Mr Matthew has

[1] Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587 :—

1587. Proclamation for graine.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall *dearth* of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonablenesse of *the* yeares past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10.s., 12.s. 13 s. &c.

[2] Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in :—

(A.D. 1544.) (36 Hen. VIII.) Base money coined.

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King *Edward* the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence : and in the seconde yeere of Queene *Elizabeth* called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

1551. First fall of the base money

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King *Henry* the eight, and king *Edward* the sixt) was proclaimed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence : which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

Second fall of base monies.

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—*ib.*[1]

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 *note*, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature :

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is ; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne : another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought ; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

[1] On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says :

1 Mary. New Coines.

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer : a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

The third and last fall of base money.

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoyned for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoyned or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoeuer, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

1561. *An. reg.* 4. New Coines.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation[1] for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekely brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspere (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thankt her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspere's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

[1] See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*[1] (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent:' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name:

"Stafford had been concerned *at that time*, and was indeed afterward, as Camden[2] and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his *unduetifull behaviour*."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.[3]

[1] In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &c. Lond.* 1581."

[2] Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says: "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

[3] Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons. Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsyngham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to the plot.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followd Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Conceipt of English Pollicy*. But he offerd no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who baggd every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford[1], when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is,

1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

[1] Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his[1] *Briefe Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaner.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court[2]; and his elder brother Edward,

[1] Why his? Where is the evidence?

[2] What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?

P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton*, 25 *July*, 1876, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his ackowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your *brother's* favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works[1]: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantiæ Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and '*The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr*' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90 *l.* Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in* 1598, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., *s. p.* in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

[1] Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Conceipt* in 1581?

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders: firstly to her younger son John, and his issue; then to her Son William, and his issue male; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt., her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 *Eliz.* p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., *s. p.*, who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton.*"

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically; for surely, only as a parson could he have there utterd what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace[1] of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold!

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 *St George's Sq., N.W., July* 10, 1876.

[1] I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrenderd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2 :

Great raynes

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. *James* day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which **dearth** happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonablenesse of the weather passed.

Bridges at Cambridge and at Ware borne downe.

Price of graine greate, when God sends plenty.

1595. Dearth of corn & other victual.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoeuer was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other yoong people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed*, tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd yoong men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment . . . . . .

Disordered youths punished.

Dearth of victuals.

In this time of **dearth** and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three egs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.[1]

[1] The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1 :—

An. reg. 40. Pepper 8.s. the pound.

This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shillings the pounde, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare solde for six pence the pounde: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

ib. p. 782, col. 1. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell. A Dearth of corne.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price. Great prizes of bred Corne.

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p. xi. *William Stafford* (2), *Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.* The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause, I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if *you* wold vndertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due vnto *your* personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. Willi*am* Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. p*r*isonn*er*s one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

In all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.[1] Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Corne good cheape inough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

[1] Compare Harrison's *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain: thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.[1] This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

[1] Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.[1] Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage; "one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do." It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, "we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre," &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

[1] Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures[1] to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

[1] It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint:* "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."[1] What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

[1] Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.

A COMPENDI-

ous or briefe examination of certayne ordinary com=plaints, *of diuers of our country men* in theſe our dayes: which although they are in some part vniust & friuolous, yet are they all by vvay of dialogues throughly debated & discussed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstreate, *neere vnto Saincte Dun*-stones Church, by Thomas Marſhe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

[☞ *On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon :* "*Quarterly,* 1*st and* 4*th, France, viz.* Azure, *three fleurs de lis,* or; 2*nd and* 3*rd, England, viz.* Gules, *three lions passant guardant, in pale,* or; *the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England.*" *The letters* 'E. R.' *are placed underneath.*

I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde *for the Early English Text Society.*—F. J. F.]

[1]TO THE MOST VER-

[1 This page is registered **]

tuous and learned Lady, my most
deare and Soueraigne Princesse *ELI-*
ZABETH, by the Grace of God,
Queene of England, Fraunce, **and**
Ireland: Defendreſſe of the
Fayth. &c.

Hereas there was neuer anye thinge hearde of in any age paſt hetherunto, ſo perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at ſome time, for ſome forged and ſurmyſed matter, ſuſtayned the reprehenſion of ſome enuious perſons or other: I doe not much meruayle, moſt mighty Princeſſe, that in this your ſo noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe ſithence ſcattered and ſpread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithſtanding, certayne euill-diſpoſed people, ſo blinded with malice, and ſubdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the ſame. But for theſe men, as they are (no doubt) ſufficiently refuted by the teſtimonies of their owne conſciences: ſo are they moſt certainely condempned by the common conſent of all ſuch as are wyſe or indifferent. And although this be of itſelfe ſo cleare and manyfeſt that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbeare (moſt renowmed ſoueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maieſties late & ſingular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull miſdemeanour, but ſeeke to acknowledge your gracious goodneſſe and bounty towardes me by exhibiting vnto you this ſmall and ſimple preſent: wherein as I haue in[2]deuoured in fewe wordes to aunſwere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of ſundry men, ſo doe I moſt humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[2 leaf **, back]

thereof: proteſtinge alſo with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the diſcourſe of theſe matters heere diſputed, to define ought which may in any wiſe ſounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge ſuch probability as I coulde, to ſtop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected perſons, which of their curioſity require farther ſatiſfaction in theſe matters, then can well ſtand with good modeſty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your eſtate, I was earneſtly moued to vndertake this enterpriſe, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to ſhewe myſelfe vnſkilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: ſo preſuminge of your auncient accuſtomed clemency, I was ſo bould to commit the ſame to your gracious protection, fully perſwading and aſſuring myſelf, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maieſties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a moſt rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the ſame. God preſerue your Maieſty with infinit increaſe of all his bleſſings beſtowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary courſe of Nature: that as you haue already ſufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to laſt withall poſterities: ſo you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may ſo be) of vs your louing ſubiects, and to the perfect eſtabliſhing of this floriſhing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

YOVR MAIESTIES
moſt faythfull and
louing Subiect
W. S.

[1]A Table of thynges

most notable contained

in this Booke.

[1 This leaf is registerd **iij]

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The complaint of dearth of victuall by artificers. 3.b [p. 16]

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FINIS.

A Briefe conceipte touching

[Fol. 1]

THE COMMON WEALE *OF THIS REALME* OF ENGLAND.

CONSIDERING THE diuerſe and ſundry complaints of our countreimen in theſe our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compaſſe of theſe few yeres lately paſt, I thought good at this time to ſet downe ſuch probable diſcourſe for the occaſion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of ſounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the conſideration and reformation of the ſame doth eſpecially belong; yet, knowing my ſelfe to bee a Member of the ſame Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that poſſibly I may, I cannot recken and account my ſelfe a meere ſtraunger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might ſay, that becauſe he is not (percaſe) the maiſter or Pylate of the ſame, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe ſuffycient leaſure from other buſineſſe, mee thought I coulde not apply my ſtudy to a better end then to publiſhe & make relation of ſuch matters as I haue hearde throughly diſputed herein.

No man is straunger to the commonweale he is in.

Firſt, what thinges men are moſt grieued with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that [1]haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

[1 Fol. 1, back]

perceaue, another doth diſcouer; the giftes of wits be ſo diuerſe, that ſome excelles in Memory, ſome in Inuention, ſome in Iudgement, ſome at *the* firſt ſight ready, & ſome after long conſideration; & though each of theſe by them ſelues do not ſeuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all theſe (the beſt of euery mans deuiſe being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleaſaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whoſe Iudgements I would wyſhe to bee cheyfly eſteemed herein; but alſo Marchaunt men, Huſbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyſe, freely ſuffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyſes in this matter. For ſome poynctes in their feates they may diſcloſe, that the wyſeſt in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is moſt exercyſed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, conſider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee ſeene of euery man *that* paſt by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myſſe in his worke, whoſe Cenſures hee allowed, ſo longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle w*ith* an other mans Arte; ſo, percaſe, I may be aunſwered as hee was, yet I refuſe not that, if I paſſe [1]my compaſſe; but, for as much as moſt of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philoſophy moral, wherein I haue ſomewhat ſtudyed, I ſhall bee ſo bolde with my countreymen, who I doubt not will conſtrue euery thinge to the beſt, as to vtter my poore and ſimple co*n*ceipt herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and ſundry notable men that I haue hearde reaſon on this matter; and though I ſhould herein, percaſe, moue ſome thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in ſuch caſes of diſceptacion is requiſite, yet, hauinge reſpect to what ende they bee ſpoken, I truſt they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a ſoare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Phyſition, nor yet a ſurfet that a man woulde not declare the occaſion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vppon boldneſſe of your good acceptation, that kinde of reaſoning ſeemeth to mee beſt for boultinge out of the

Of many heades is gathered a perfect cou*n*ſell.

That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.

[1 Fol 2]

Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.

truth, which is vſed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reaſons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynſt it. I thought beſt to take that way in the diſcourſe of this matter, which is, firſt in recounting the common and vniuerſall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; ſecondly, in boulting out the verye cauſes and occaſions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuiſinge of remedies for all the ſame. Th refore, I will declare vnto you what co*m*munication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other perſons of late, about this matter, which, becauſe it happened betwene ſuch perſons as were Members of euery ſtate *tha*t finde themſelues grieued now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderſtand that *th*e perſons were theſe: A Knight, as I ſayde firſt, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Huſba*n*dman, and a Craftes man. And firſt, the Knight rehearſed *th*e communication in this manner enſuinge:—

The su*m*me of the whole Booke.

[Fol. 2, back]

THE FIRST DIALOGVE.

Knighte. AFter I and my Fellowes, the Iuſtices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commiſſion touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enqueſt; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyſe of the ſame, thought to ſteale to a friendes houſe of myne in the towne, which ſelles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morſell of meate, for I was then faſting, taking with me an honeſt huſbandman, whom, for his honeſt and good diſcretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comne, & had but ſkant ſit downe in a cloſe Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of eſtimation and ſubſtaunce, and requires the ſayde Huſbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I truſt, now forſake my company, though he ſhould fare better with you.

Marchaunt. Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will ſend home for a paſty of Veniſon that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee ſhalbe ſo bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; & as for my gueſt, hee is no ſtraunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I truſt wilbe the gladder.

Knight. Who is it?

Marchaunt. Doctor *Pandotheus*.

Knight. Is he ſo? on my fayth, he ſhalbe hartely welcome, for of him we ſhal haue ſome good communication and wiſe, for he is noted a learned and a wiſe man. And immediately *the* Marchaunt ſendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn[1]geth wyth him an honeſt man, a Capper of the ſame towne, who came to ſpeake with the ſayd Marchaunt; than, after ſalutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maiſter Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[1 Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we ſat all downe; and when we had eate ſomewhat to ſatiſſie the ſharpneſſe of our ſtomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, you that be Iuſtices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in ſitting vpon Commiſſions almoſt weekely, and in cauſinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr huſbandry vnlookte to at home. Doctor.

Surely it is ſo. Yet the prince muſt be ſerued, and the commonweale, for God and *the* prince haue not ſent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe ſeruice therefore abrode amonges our Neyghbours. Knight.

It is well if yee take it ſo, for nature hath grafted that perſwaſion in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, ſaying, we be not borne onely to our ſelues, but partely to the vſe of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinſfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whoſe effects be to doe good to other, wherein we ſhewe forth *the* Image of God and man, whoſe property is euer to doe good to other, and to diſtribute his goodneſſe abrode, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they reſemble nothing of that godly Image, ſo they ſtudy no common vtility of other, but onely the conſeruation of them ſelues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned moſt vnlyke them, being moſt vyle, and lykeſt to God, being moſt excellent, let vs ſtudy to doe good to other, not preferring the eaſe of this Carkaſſe, which is like the Brute beaſtes, but rather the vertues of *the* minde, wherein we be lyke God him ſelfe. Doctor. Plato. Cicero. That men are not borne to themselues onely.

[1]Then, (ſayd *the* Huſbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by me) & all oures alſo, I would yee had neuer worſe Commiſſions in hand then this is. So wee had loſt more dayes workes at our Huſbandry then this. Husband. [1 Fol. 3, back]

Why ſo? Knight.

Mary, for theſe Incloſures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & cauſes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Paſture; for Paſture eyther for Sheepe, or for Graſinge of Cattell; in ſo much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within leſſe compaſſe then ſixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this ſeuen Husband. Complaynt of Inclosures by Husbandmen.

yeares; and where three ſcore perſons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the leaſt cauſe of former vprores; for, by theſe Incloſures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very neceſſity they are deſirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to ſomewhat, and well aſſured that howe ſo euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are ſo deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of dearth of vittayle by Artificers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they ſay they cannot ſufficiently liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the beſt huſbande of them can ſaue but litle at the yeares end; and by reaſon of ſuch dearth as yee ſpeake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and deſolation.

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 4]

So bee the moſt part of all *the* townes of England, Lon[1]don onely except; and not onely the good townes are ſore decayed in there Howſes, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but alſo the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for ſuch pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue ſo much to ſpare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of ſuch wayes, brydges, and other common eaſements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occaſions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at ſhooting, wreſtling, running, and throwing the ſtone or barre, & beſides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offrings, and many ſuch other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is ſuch a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but alſo of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fuſtians, Worſteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearſes, & Tapeſtry, Spyces of all ſort; and al Haberdaſher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glaſſes, aſwell drinckinge and looking, as for glaſinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

Complaynt of tovvnes by Marchaunt men & of all other common easementes.

Many superfluous charges layde dovvne and yet neuer the more plenty.

Dearth of out vvarde Marchaundize.

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all theſe doe coſt nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Victayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cauſe of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer ſawe more plenty of Corne, graſſe, and Cattell of all ſortes, than wee haue at this preſent, and haue had (as yee know) all theſe twenty yeares paſſed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if theſe Incloſures were cauſe thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth of all kinde of vittayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat[1]tell, (as yee ſay) then it ſhould not ſeeme this dearth ſhould be longe of theſe Incloſures, for it is not for ſcarceneſſe of Corne *that* yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and ſo hath bene theſe many yeares paſt continually. Than it cannot bee the occaſion of the dearth of Cattell, for Incloſure is the thing that nouriſheth moſt of any other; yet I confeſſe there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my ſorte, feele moſt greife in, which haue no way to ſell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the huſbandman, you, maiſter Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, *with* other Artificers,—may ſaue your ſelues meetely well. Foraſmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, ſo much doe you aryſe in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee ſell agayne. But we haue nothing to ſell, whereby we might aduaunce *the* pryce thereof to counterualue thoſe things that we muſt buy agayne.

Knighte.

[1 Fol. 4, back]

That inclosures be not the cause of this dearth.

That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this dearth.

Yes, yee rayſe the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes alſo and paſtures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, ſuch as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

Husband.

On my ſoule, yee ſay truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper alſo ſayd no leſſe; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men ſince Gentlemen became Graſiers; for they cannot now a dayes (ſayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and ſeruauntes meate and drynke, but it coſt them almoſt double aſmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leaue honeſtly

[Capper]

The complaynt of craftes men against Gentlemen for taking of Farmes.

behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and beſides *that*, leaue ſome notable bequeſtes for ſome good deede, as to *the* making of Brydges, & repayring of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Alſo, ſome were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners [1]of th'occupations, yea, ſome time they had ſuch ſuperfluity as they could ouer ſuch bequeſtes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryſte, or to founde a Chauntry in ſome pariſhe Church; and now we are ſkant able to liue without debt, or to keepe few ſeruaunts, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are *the* moſt parte of theſe rude people that maketh theſe vprores abrode, to the great diſquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but alſo of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

[1 Fol. 5]

The craftesmans complaynt that he cannot set men a vvork for the Dearth of victayle.

Marchaunt. It is true, yee knowe likewiſe what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hoſpitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, ſuppoſing therby *that* the city ſhould be much releaued, which then was in ſome decay; and yet it decayeth ſtill euery day more and more; whereof it ſhould be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight. Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not *with*out cauſe, ſo it is as true that I and my ſorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cauſe to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I ſayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are ſo ryſen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayſe the pryce of your wares, as the priſes of vittayles, & other your neceſſaries doe ryſe; and ſo cannot we ſo much, for though it bee true that of ſuch landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchaſe, or by determination, and ending of ſuch termes of yeares, or other Eſtates, that I or mine aunceſtors had graunted them in time paſt: I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vſed; or enhaunſe the rent thereof, being forced thereto for *the* charge of my houſholde that is ſo encreaſed ouer that it was; yet in all my [2]life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande ſhall come to my diſpoſition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the ſame, but it ſhalbe in mens holding, either by leaſes, or by copy graunted before my time,

The Gentlemans complaynt hovv he cannot keepe lyke countenaunce as he vvas vvont to doe.

[2 Fol. 5, back]

and ſtill continuing, and yet like to continue in the ſame ſtate for the moſt part during my life, and percaſe my Sonnes; ſo as we cannot rayſe all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reaſon we did; and by reaſon that we cannot, ſo many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of *the* coun*t*rey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our houſhoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a ſcore of cleane men in his houſe, and xx. or xxiiii. other perſons beſides, euery day in the weeke; and ſuch of vs as doe abide in the countrey ſtill, cannot with two hundreth li. a yeare keepe that houſe *tha*t we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares paſt. And thearefore we are forced, either to miniſhe the third part of our houſehoulde, or to raiſe the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot ſo doe of our owne landes, that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne poſſeſſion, or to purchaſe ſome Farme of other mens landes, and to ſtore it with ſheepe, or ſome other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde eſtate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Why Gentlemen doe geue ouer their housholdes.

Why Gentlemen doth take Farmes into their handes

Yea, thoſe ſheepe is the cauſe of all theſe miſchieues, for they haue driuen huſbandry out of the coun*t*rey, by *the* which was increaſed before all kinde of victuals; & now all togeether, ſheepe, ſheepe, ſheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely ſheepe ynough, but allſo Oxen, Kine, ſwyn, Pig, Gooſe, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheeſe; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, beſides, reared alltogether vpon the ſame lande.

Husband.

Complaint against sheepe.

Then the Doctor, *tha*t had leaned on his Elbowe all this [1]while muſing, ſat vp and ſayd, I perceaue by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iuſt cauſe to complaine.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 6]

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Capper.

Yee ſay troth in dede, we haue leaſt cauſe to co*m*plaine: yet yee know well, we be not ſo ple*n*tious as we haue bene, the firſt fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the reſt we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conſcience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee ſay,) yet yee

Doctor.

The Doctors complaynt for men of his calling.

know we labour with our mindes, more to the weaking of the ſame then by any other bodily exerciſe we ſhould do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and ſickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exerciſe.

Capper. Mary, I woulde if I were of the Queenes counſell, prouide for you well a fine, ſo as you ſhould neede take no diſeaſe for lacke of exerciſe; I woulde ſet you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your ſtudies, but ſet men together by the Eares, ſome with this opinion, & ſome with that, ſome holding this way, & ſome an other; and that ſo ſtifly, as though the troth muſt be as they ſay, that haue the vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not alſo the leaſt cauſe of former vprores of the people, ſome holding of the one learning, & ſome of the other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Complaynt againſt learned men.

Knight. God forbid, neighbour, that it ſhould be ſo; how ſhould the Prynce haue counſailers then; how ſhould we haue chriſtian religion taught vs; how ſhoul[d] we know the eſtats of other realmes, & haue[1] conferenc[e] with them of al contryes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by the benefit of Letters?

[1 *orig.* houe]

Doctor. Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee ſhall haue few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on.

Capper. I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne the languages vſed in countreies about vs, that we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs; yea, and that[2] wee might reade the holy ſcriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuerſity thereof cometh theſe diuerſities of opinions.

[2 Fol. 6, back]

Doctor. Then yee care for no other ſciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and ſo it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men ſendes their ſonnes to the Uniuerſities, they ſuffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take them away, & beſtow them to be Clarkes with ſome man of Lawe, or ſome Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with ſome great man or other, and ſo to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuerſities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occaſion that this Realme within a ſhorte ſpace will be made as empty of wiſe and pollitique

Why learning ſhould be like to decay hereafter.

men, and conſequently barbarous, and at the laſt thrall and ſubiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen ſhoulde not with our pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in ſubiection of any other nation; and the ſtoutneſſe of Englyſhe heartes will neuer ſuffer that, thoughe there were no learned men in the Realme at all. Knight.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not ſo muche won or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wiſedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee ſee in all kindes of gouernaunce, for the moſt parte, the wyſer ſorte haue the ſoueraygnty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery houſe the moſt expert, in euery City *the* wiſeſt & moſt ſage, and in euery common weale the moſt learned, are moſte commonly placed to gouerne the reſt; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayſter the reſt, thoughe their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines [1] doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wiſedome was moſt eſteemed, ſo the Empyres were ſpread wideſt, and longeſt did continue of all other. And, why ſhould you thinke it ſtraung, that you might more be vanquiſhed than the other were before time, that reckened themſelues as ſtoute men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as *the* Saxons laſt were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Brytons by *the* Romaines fyrſt of all. Doctor.

Whether a common vveale may be vvell gouerned vvithout learning.

[1 Fol. 7]

That the learned haue alvvay the soueraignty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyſe men ynough, though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerſe men very wiſe & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wiſe, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had. Knighte.

I deny not that, but I ſay that if ſuch wyſe men as yee ſpeake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other, that yee call ſo ſimple, had bene foolyſhe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyſe in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer ſo longe; nor there is no other ſo apt for the warre, but with experience and vſe he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wiſe than the younger ſorte, but their greater experience? Doctor.

Whether a man may be vvyse vvithout learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confeſſe. But what doth learning thereto` Knight.

Doctor.

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth alſo help much to the increaſe of wiſedome; let *that*, then, be ſet for a ſure grounde that experience doth further wiſdome, & take it as it were *the* father of wiſedome, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wiſdome as a father, ſo memory nouriſheth it as a mother; for in vaine ſhoulde experience be had, if *the* ſame were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can ſhew you that both expe[1]rience and alſo memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee muſt needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaſeth it; yee co*n*feſſe the experience of an olde man maketh him wiſer than the younge, becauſe hee ſawe mo things then the other. But an olde man ſeeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man ſeeth not onely his owne times experience, but alſo that befell in a great many of his aunceſtors, yea, ſince the worlde began. Wherefore, he muſt needes haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age ſo euer he be, the*n* ſo many caſes as he ſeeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not ſo well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee ſawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee ſhould els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares muſt needes haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty[2], ſo hee that ſeeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thouſand yeres, muſt needes haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Alſo he that trauaileth many farre Countryes, hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natiue countrey. So he that is learned, ſeeth by Coſmography[3], hyſtories, and other learnings, the right maner & vſage of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is poſſible for one man to trauayle through, and of theſe *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by ſmall taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and conſequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to conſider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning ſupplyeth vn[4]to man the greateſt lack *that* ſome Wryters haue complayned of, to be

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wysedome.

[1 Fol. 7, back]

[2 *orig.* fifty]

[3 *orig.* Cosmogragraphy]

[4 Fol. 8.]

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the groſſeneſſe & wayght of body: where in the firſt, diuerſe beaſtes, as Hartes and many other, and in the laſt all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditye of the life of a thowſand yeares; yea, two or three thowſandes, by reaſon hee ſeeth *the* euents and occurrents of all that time by Bookes. And if he ſhould haue liued him ſelfe by all that ſpace, then coulde he haue had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the reſt had bene but trauayle; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him ſelfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that ſpace. As to the other poynte, that wee be not ſo agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might ſturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee ſhould purchaſe by ſuch Peregrinations, as well as wee ſhould if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leſſe trauayle and daunger. May wee not through Coſmography ſee the ſituation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with leſſe trauayle then if wee might flee ouer them our ſelues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with eaſe & pleaſure. Can wee not[1] allſo throughe the ſcience of Aſtronomy knowe the courſe of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aſpectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, ſurely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumſtances? (yes in deede), ſo *that* out of their writings we learned it; [2]and to the knowledge whereof by ſight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or neceſſary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life? no not ſo much as your Feate in warre, ſir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Huſbandman, but that either of them are ſo exactly taught and ſet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer ſo perfect in the ſaid Feates but might learne many poyntes

The vvonderfull gyftes that vve haue by learning.

[1 *orig.* non]

[2 Fol. 8, back]

That there is no faculty but is made more perfect by learning.

moe than euer yee ſaw before, by experience in either of them, as you, ſir Knight, in *Vigetius*, and you, good Huſbandman, in *Columella*.

Knight. I ſay agayne, might wee not haue that in our Engliſh tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to ſchole?

Doctor. Yea, well ynough, and yet ſhoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderſtanding of them, except yee had the help of other ſciences, that is to ſay, of Arithmetique, in diſpoſinge and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuiſing of Engines to winne Townes and Fortraſſes, & of Brydges to paſſe ouer, in the which *Cæſar* excelled other by reaſon of the learning that hee had in thoſe ſciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coaſtes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other ſtarres? and you, good huſband, for the perfection of the knoweledge of huſba*n*dry, had neede of ſome knowledge in Aſtronomy, as vnder what aſpect of *the* Planets, and in the entry of what ſigne by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dou*n*ge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to haue ſome iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graſſe, and houſeinge of your [1]Cattell; yea, of ſome part of Phiſick, called *Veterinaria*,[2] where by yee might knowe the diſeaſes of your Beaſtes, & heale the*m*. Then, for true meaſuringe of lande, had yee not neede of ſome knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit huſband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Maſon is ſo cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruuius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to ſay, the ſcyence of building? and to paſſe ouer *the* ſciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof *the* firſt trauayleth about *the* diſcuſcio*n* of the true reaſon from *the* falſe, the other aboute *the* perſwaſion of *that* is to be ſet forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counſaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what cou*n*ſayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counſaylors haue ſtudied any Philoſophy, ſpecially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Phyloſophy I paſſe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called phyſicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Phyloſophy morall? doth it not teache,

Hovv Cæsar excelled all other captaines by reason of his great learning ioyned vvith his provvesse.

[1 Fol. 9]

[2 orig. *Veterimaria*]

That knovvledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for Counsailor.

firſt, how euery man ſhoulde gouerne him ſelfe honeſtly; Secondly, how he ſhould guide his family wiſely and profitably? And thirdly, it ſheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale ſhould bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and alſo warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counſaylors, that ſhoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [if] men experte in this Science were conſulted and followed, the commen weale ſhoulde bee ordered, as fewe ſhould haue cauſe to complayne; therefore ſayd *Plato*, that diuine Philoſopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either *the* Prince is a Phyloſopher, or where a Philoſopher is the Prince. Plato.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other lear[1]ninge in the world, but that theſe men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phiſicke; whereof the firſt had all his cunning in Preaching, the ſecond in matters of the ſpirituall lawe, and the third in phiſicke, & in looking on diſeaſed mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other ſciences, very neceſſary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of theſe Doctors that can ſkill of them, or els they diſcloſe but litle of their cunning. Knight. [1 Fol. 9, back]

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can ſkill of theſe ſciences now a dayes, and of thoſe there be too fewe of them that are eſteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counſell. And therefore others, ſeeing theſe Sciences nothing eſteemed or ſet by, they fall to thoſe ſciences that they ſee in ſome pryce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phiſicke; though they cannot bee perfit in any of theſe, without the knowledge of the ſciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuerſities, that firſt men ſhould bee Bachelers and Maſters of Artes, ere they ſhould come to Diuinity; and theſe Artes bee the ſeuen liberall ſciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Muſicke, and Aſtronomy; and now they ſkip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchaſed them any iudgment through the foreſayd ſciences, which maketh *them* to fall to theſe diuerſities of Opinions that ye ſpeake of; for all beginners in euery ſcience be very quicke and ouer-haſty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe Doctor. What maketh learned men to be ſo fevve. Younge ſtudients bee allvvaies ouer hasty in vttering their iudgments.

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgmentes & opinions, they will ſee nothing that will ſounde contrary to the ſame, but eyther they will conſtrue it to their owne phantaſy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his ſcholers *that* came to learne his prophane ſciences, commaunded filence for ſeuen yeares, that by all *that* ſpace they ſhould be hearers onely, and no reaſoners: and [1]in this Diuine ſcience, euery Boye that hath not red ſcripture paſt halfe a yeare, ſhalbe ſuffered, not onely to reaſon and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and ſtraunge interpretacions vpon the ſame, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is ſuffered? Alſo *Plato* forbad any man to come to his ſchoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe ſchoole of Dyuinity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much leſſe any other ſcience, ſhall be admitted at the firſt; I ſay not to learne, for that might bee ſuffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the ſame *Plato* ſayeth to bee an onely cauſe ſufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vſed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, ſeruaunts ouer their maiſters, and priuate men ouer their Maieſtrates; what Ship can bee longe ſafe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what houſe well gouerned, where euery ſeruaunt will bee a maiſter and a teacher? I ſpeake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely becauſe I heard my freind heere (the Capper) ſet litle by learninge, but alſo that I ſee many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne *the* tongues; whom I can reſemble well to thoſe men that eſteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they ſeeme to take the bright Sunne from *the* Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for the ſame is no more neceſſary for the increaſe of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increaſe of Ciuility, Wiſedome, and Policy amonge men. And aſmuch as reaſonable men doe excell all other creatures by *the* gyft of Reaſon, ſo much excelleth a learned man [2]any other, through the poliſhing and adorning of Reaſon by theſe Scyences

Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.

[1 Fol. 10]

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geometry should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffered to iudge in things to Whom it doth not appertayne.

That it is not learninge sufficient, to knovv the tongues, & to vvryte.

[2 Fol. 10, back]

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wiſe man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee ſayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee ſhould haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the* world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what ſhould be *the* cauſe thereof? Knight.

I ſhewed you all ready one great cauſe of the ſame; that was, where I ſhewed you that moſt men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade; another cauſe is, *that* they ſee no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or eſtimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time paſt. But rather the contrary, *the* more learned, the more troubles, loſſes, & vexations they come vnto. Doctor.

Why learning should decay.

God forbid! How ſo? Knight.

Mary! haue you not ſeene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue ryſen in controuerſie? haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene ſet forth, and who ſo euer ſayd againſt that were put to trouble; and ſhortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and ſet forth, were not the other *that* proſpered before, put to trouble, for ſaying their mindes againſt this latter opinion? & ſo neither of both parties eſcaped, but eyther firſt or laſt hee came to bee hit, of whether ſide ſoeuer hee were, except it were ſome weatherwiſe fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as *the* more & ſtronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they that came to theſe troubles? the ſingulareſt fellowes of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of theſe things, but ſuch, who ſeeing in ſteede of honour and preferment, diſhonour and hinderaunce, recompenſed for a reward of [1]learning; will any either put his childe to that ſcience that may bring him no better fruite than this? or, what ſcholer ſhall haue any courrage to[2] ſtudy to come to that ende? the rarity of ſcholers and ſolitude of the Uniuerſities doe declare this to be truer then any man *with* ſpeach can declare. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 11]

[2 *orig.* co]

Then, I perceaue euery man findeth himſelfe greeued at this time, & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceaue. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; the Artifficers cannot ſet ſo many a worke, by reaſon all maner of Marchaunt.

That euery state findeth himselfe greeued.

victayle is ſo deere; the Huſbandman, by reaſon his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer ſea; which great derth (I ſpeake in compariſon of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a ſtay, euer after that baſeneſſe of our Engliſh Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

[Debasing of our coin.]

Doctor. I doubt not, but if any ſorte of men haue licked themſelues whole, yee bee the ſame; for what oddes ſo euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can eſpy it ſtraight; for example, becauſe yee touched ſomewhat of *that* Coyne, as ſoone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunſed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde ſea; raked all the olde Coyne for *the* moſt parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, ſo as litle was lefte beehinde within this Realme of ſuch olde Coyne in a very ſhorte ſpace, which, in my Opynion,[1] is a great cauſe of this dearth *that* hath bene ſince of all things.

That Marchauntes best saue themselues in euery alteration.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

[1 *orig.* Oppnion]

Knight. How can *that* be? what maketh it to the matter what ſorte of Coyne we haue among our ſelues, ſo it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Doctor. Yea, ſo men commonly ſay, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reaſon, but alſo *the* [2]proofe & experience hath already declared the ſame; but nowe wee doe not reaſon of the cauſes of theſe griefes, but what ſtates of men bee grieued in deede by this dearth of things; and albeit I heare euery man finde him ſelfe grieued by it in one thinge or other, yet, conſidering *that* as many of them as haue wares to ſell, doe enhaunſe as much in *the* pryce of thinges that they ſell, as was enhaunſed before in the prices of things that they muſt buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will ſell deere againe; ſo theſe Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue reſpect large ynough in ſellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue ſene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. ſhillings ſixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryſen. Now, a payre of ſhooes coſt twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for ſixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horſe ſhooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue alſo ſeene the common pryce was ſixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderſtande that theſe men haue greateſt

[2 Fol. 11, back]

Whether it make any matter of vvhat mettall the Coyne bee made of.

[Rise in prices: Cap, 14*d.* to 30*d.*; shoes, 6*d.* to 1*s*; horse shod, 6*d.* to 10*d.* or 12*d.*]

greife by this common and vniuerſall dearth, but rather ſuch as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, ſeruing men to forty ſhilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whoſe landes are ſet out by them and their Aunceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, ſo as they cannot enhaunce *the* rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee ſpeake nothing of all this while, as ſhe hath moſt of yearely Reuenewes, and that certayne, ſo ſhould ſhee haue moſte loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of ſeruaunts vnder him, if he would graun*t* that they ſhould pay him pinnes weekely, where before they payde him pence, [1]I thinke he ſhould be moſt looſer himſelfe; ſo wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes co*m*meth, for the moſt part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettinges in this baſe Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *tha*t will go as farre as good Money in *the* Prouiſion of neceſſaries for her ſelfe and the Realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maieſties ſubiects; yea, ſince her Maieſty muſt haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges neceſſary, not onely for her graces houſhold, and Ornaments aſwel of her perſon and family as of her horſes, which percaſe might bee by her Grace ſomewhat moderated; but alſo for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be ſpared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) ſome Handgunnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can recken, which her Grace ſometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the ſtraungers will ſet them at. I paſſe ouer the enhaunſment of *the* charges of her Graces houſhoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I ſay,) her Maieſtie ſhould haue moſt loſſe by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loſſe, but daunger to the Realme and all her ſubiects, if her Grace ſhould want Treaſure to purchaſe the ſaide prouiſion and neceſſaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men are moste pinched by this co*m*mon Dearth.

That the Prince hath moste losse by this common Dearth.

[1 Fol. 12]

What daunger should it be to the Realme if the Prince should vvant Treasure in time of neede.

in time of neede, which paſſeth all the other priuate loſſes that wee ſpeake of.

Capper. Wee heare ſay that the Queenes Maieſtyes mint maketh vp her loſſes that way, by the gaines which ſhe hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to ſhorte, ſhee ſupplieth that lacke by Subſidies and impoſitions of her [1]Subiects, ſo as her Grace can haue no lacke, ſo longe as her Subiects haue it.

[1Fol. 12, back]

Doctor. Yee ſay well there, 'ſo long as the Subiects haue it,' ſo it is meete the Queene ſhoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treaſure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to loſe *the* profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull *the* wooll of his ſheepe by the roote. And as for the Subſidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treaſure is not allwayes moſt ſafe for the Prynces ſuerty; and wee ſee many times the profits of ſuch Subſidies ſpent in the appeaſing of the people that are mooued to ſedition, partely by occaſion of the ſame.

Hovve the Queenes Maiesty cannot haue Treasure When her subiects haue none.

To vvhat profit the nevv Mint is like.

Knighte. Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with ſo wiſe a man as yee be, Maiſter Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with *the* whole diſcourſe of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue enſearched the very ſores and grieues that euery man feeleth, ſo to try out the cauſes of them; and *the* cauſes once knowne, the remedy of them might be ſoone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percaſe ſome of vs may come in place where wee may aduertiſe other of the ſame that might further and helpe forward the redreſſe of theſe thinges.

Doctor. A Gods name, I am content to beſtowe this day to ſatiſſie your pleaſurs, & though this [2]*com*munication (percaſe) ſhould doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I truſt, nor offend no man, ſith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

[2*orig.* cõumnication]

Knight. No, what man ſhould be angry with him that were in an houſe, and eſpied ſome faulte in the Beames or Raf[3]ters of the ſame, and would enſearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the houſe thereof, or ſome other dwelling therein, aſwell for his owne ſauegarde as for others? but, foraſmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

[3Fol. 13]

A recapitulation of the common griefes.

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceaue, ſtandeth in theſe poynćts, (that is to ſay) dearth of all things in compariſon of the former age, (though there be ſcarſenes of nothinge), deſolation of Countryes by Incloſures, deſolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuiſion of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one againſt another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freſhe, and coole ſitting for vs in the ſhadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leaſure. And I will beſpeake our Supper here with myne hoſt, that wee may all ſuppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the reſt of the company), for wee are weary of ſitting here ſo long. And ſo wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: dearth, enclosures, lack of work, divisions in religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the cauſes or

occaſions of the ſayd griefes are en-

creaſed

Knight. WHen we had walked vp and downe in the ſayd Garden a prety whyle, I thought long till I had heard more of the ſayde Doctors communication; for hee ſeemed to mee a very wiſe man, not after *the* common ſort of theſe Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they profeſſe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phiſitions, of phiſicke onely; this man ſpake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man vniuerſally ſeene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I deſired him and the reſt of our ſaide companions, to reſorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and firſt to diſcourſe & ſearch out what ſhould be *the* cauſes of the ſaide common and vniuerſall dearth of all thinges (in co*m*pariſon of the former age), ſaying to *the* Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maiſter Doctor, what ſhould be the cauſe of this dearth, ſeeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) ſo ple*n*tifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell the*n* there is nowe of all ſortes; and yet there is ſcarſity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in ſuch plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a maruaylous Dearth that commeth in time of plenty.

Doctor. Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be muſed vpon, and worthy of Inquiſition; let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee ſhall heare myne.

Husband. I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth [1]groweth, by reaſon yee enhaunſe your lands to ſuch a height, as men that liue thereon muſt needes ſell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

[1 Fol. 14] The occasion of this dearth is layde to the Gentleman

Knight. And I ſay it is long of you Huſbandmen, that wee are forced to rayſe our Rents, by reaſon wee muſt buy ſo deare all thinges that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Gooſe, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter and Egges. What thinge is there of all theſe but that yee ſell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within theſe xxx. yeares? Cannot you, Neighbour, remember, that within theſe xxx. yeres, I could in this towne buy the beſt Pigge or Gooſe that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now coſteth twelue pence; a good Capon for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which now coſteth mee double & triple the money? it is likewiſe in greater ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

From the Gentlemen it is layde to the Husbandmen.

[Great rise in prices lately.]

Husband. I graunt that: but I ſay you & your ſorte, men of landes, are the firſt cauſe heereof, by reaſon you rayſe your landes.

Knighte. Well, if yee and your ſorte will agree thereto, that ſhalbee holpen; vndertake that you & your ſorte will ſell all thinges at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares paſt; and that the fault is more in you that bee Huſbandmen, then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunſed, for ſome haue takings therein, as Leaſes, or Copies not yet expyred, which cannot bee enhaunſed though the owners would; and ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their diſpoſition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, ſo as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme ſtand yet at the olde rent; and yet neuertheleſſe there is none of your ſorte at all, but ſelleth all things they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet theſe Gentlemen that doe enhaunſe their rentes, doe not enhaunſe it generally to the [1]double; though I confeſſe that ſome of vs that had landes either gieuen vs by the Kings highneſſe, that belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer ſurueyed to the vttermoſt before, or otherwiſe deſcended to vs, haue enhaunſed any of them aboue the old rent, yet all that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

The Gentelemens excuse and resonable offer.

[1 Fol. 14, back]

Doctor. How ſay yee? hee ſayeth well to you nowe; will yee ſell your wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accuſtomed to haue it. When the huſbandman had pawſed a while, hee ſayd:

Husband. If I had the price of euery thing that I muſt pay for beſides likewiſe brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee thoſe?

Husband. Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our ſheepe; ſhooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I ſhould buy, neuertheleſſe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforeſayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

The husbandman refuseth, and putteth ouer the faulte to Iron Mongers, and clothiers.

Doctor. Then I perceaue yee muſt haue *the* pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but ſir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one aſſent agree, that theyr landes ſhould bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee ſayd afore yee coulde not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayſed in other thinges that yee muſt buy; and if ye would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be driuen againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they [1]be compelled to doe ſo? they be ſtraungers, and not within obedience of our ſoueraigne Lady, that doe ſell ſuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then conſider mee, if yee cannot ſo compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to ſuffer ſtraungers to ſell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were ſo, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impoueriſhinge of our owne; for they ſhould haue much Treaſure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuiſe to make one pryce of our commodities among our ſelues, and another outwardes, which I cannot ſee how it may bee?

[1 Fol. 15] If all Landes vvere abated in their rent, vvhether this dearth vvoulde be remedied.

That it vvere not expedient that straungers should sel deere and vvee ours good cheape.

Knight. Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reaſonable offer, if hee refuſe this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increaſed as your payment is increaſed after the rate, and yet I am contented.

A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

Knighte. I meane this: yee ſell that yee were wont to ſell a foretime for

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increaſed after that proportion and rate, that is, for euery xx. groates of olde rente, x. ſhillinges, and ſo as the pryce of your wares riſeth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde ſtent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. ſhillinges iiii.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee. Husband.

I cannot much ſay agaynſt that; but yet I perceaue I ſhallbe ſtill a loſer by that bargayne, though I cannot tell *the* reaſon why; but I perceiue yee ſell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayſter Doctor, I pray you, for the Huſbandman driueth mee to the Wall. Knight.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reaſon of, you draue him to his ſhiftes; that is, to confeſſe that this dearth riſeth not at your hand. And, though hee doe de[1]fend him ſelfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee ſeemeth to co*n*feſſe thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to reſtrayne him, but hee may ſell his wares as deere as he liſteth. It is enough for your purpoſe, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth roſe not firſt at your hande; but, whether (the pryces of thinges increaſing as they doe) it were reaſon yee did rayſe your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did ſette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouiſion after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let *tha*t bee conſidered of other wiſe men; but now let vs ſee, if the Huſbandman were forced to ſell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges ſhould bee well then. Our Engliſhe Coyne being ſuppoſed to be baſe, and of no ſuch eſtimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the moſt parte it hath beene) before that it was reſtored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the caſe this, *tha*t this huſbandman ſhould bee co*m*maunded to ſell his wheate at viii.d. the buſhell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iiii.d., his pig and gooſe at iiii.d., his capon at iiii.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time paſt haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time paſt; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the ſame when the price is ſo ſet, will goe as far for the

[1] Fol. 15, back]

Whether if the Husbandman vvere forced to abate the prices of his stuffe, this dea[r]th should be then mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were orderd to sell at old prices and the Landlord to take his old rent,

ſayd wares, whereof *the* pryces be thus ſet as ſo much of olde Coine, paide after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieued; well, let us goe farther: The Huſbandman muſt buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and ſuppoſe hee ſhould bee alſo forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were ſet after the rate.

[1 Fol. 16] The Gentleman muſt buy Wynes, Spyces, Sil[l]kes, Armour, Glaſſe to glaze his houſe withall; Iron alſo for Tooles, Weapones, and other Inſtruments neceſſary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerſe thinges, more then I can recken without ſu*m*me; whereof they may in no wiſe want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the* realme of both, is not halfe ſufficient for the ſame; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without ſome other of the ſaid commodities wee could liue but groſly and Barbarouſly, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, theſe muſt be brought from beyonde the Seas; ſhall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when ſtraungers ſhould ſee that with leſſe money then they were wont to take for theſe wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leſſe money when it goeth as farre as *the* more went before, and ſo ſell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they ſell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to ſell their Veluet at a marke a yard, ſo they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

could foreign wines, glass for windows, &c.'

be bought at like low prices?]

Knighte. I would thinke ſo, for thereby hee ſhould be at no more loſſe then hee is now. And ſo the like reaſon may ſerue for Iro*n*, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor. If I ſhould aſke you this queſtion, whether they ſhould bee compelled by a lawe to ſell theyr wares ſo or no, what could yee ſay?

Knight. It maketh no matter whether it were ſo or no; & I think they cannot, becauſe they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but ſeeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they ſell for leſſe money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and ſell them ſo.

[1]Thereof I doubt, vpon the former ſuppoſition of our baſe Coyne; for I thinke they would ſell ſtill at the higheſt as they doe now; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee muſt vnderſtand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but ſometimes to ſell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be beſt vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities, where the ſame is beſt cheape; and ſome times to ſell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there moſt deſired, and to goe to ſome other parte of the realme, for the commodities that be there moſt abundaunt and beſt cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another; and for *that* purpoſe Coyne vniuerſally currant is moſt commodious, ſpecially if they entend to beſtowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not ſo alowed in other places as it is heere, *the* ſtraunger ſhould be at greater loſſes if he ſhould take our coyne for his wares, ſo as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might beſtowe when and where he liſt. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not ſtudy to bring vs ſuch wares or ſtuffe as ſhould be beſt cheape with them and moſt deare with vs. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 16, back]

The straungers vvill take but money currant euery Where for thir vvare that they haue on their charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts. Knight.

What ſtuffe is that, trowe you? Doctor.

Mary, Glaſſes of all ſortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orenges, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and ſuch like tryfles. Knighte.

Yee ſay well, they will percaſe attempt vs with ſuch & ſuch thinges as are good cheape with them; it coſteth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els ſhould be idle; yet theſe thinges be ſome what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, and ſuch other, ſuch light wares as yee ſpeake of will not be deſired heere, [2]but reiected, and theſe other looked for. what other things els will they bring, trowe you? Doctor.

That straungers and all Marchauntes bring thinges that bee best chape to them, and deerest vvith vs.

[2 Fol. 17]

Percaſe yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spyces? Knight.

No, not that, for thoſe bee in good price els where. Doctor.

What, then, ſhould they haue to vtter to vs, that is beſt cheape with them and deereſt with vs? Knight.

Braſſe, for it ſhould go *with* them but for Braſſe in dede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for Doctor.

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight. How? in braſſe Pots, Panes, and other Veſſel of Braſſe?

Doctor. Not ſo; no man would take ſuch Stuffe but for Braſſe in deede.

Knighte. How then? [1]Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde ſea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they ſee that eſteemed heere as ſiluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Cheſe, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to ſell for the moſt they can get; and beinge offered of ſtraungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will ſell them to ſtraungers rather then vs, with whom the price is ſet; then ſtraungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them ſelues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and ſo they will geeue thereof for our ſayde co*m*modities, as much as yee will aſke. Then, though they made not ſuch Coyne them-ſelues, yet, ſeeing they muſt pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the ſtraungers muſt needes haue a conſideration of that in the price of *the* ſayd outwarde marchau*n*dize that they ſell, & alſo holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauſte our cheife commodities, and gieue vs braſſe for them, where with wee cannot buy ſuch [2]other like neceſſary commodities againe as wee ſhoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchaunge that *Homer* ſayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harneſſe for Braſen. But *the* other way they muſt needes bee brought to ſell theire wares deerer to vs, and then, if this huſbandeman and Gentleman, and ſo all other within this realme, ſhould be compelled to ſell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot ſee how they ſhould longe proſper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and ſould good cheape, and vſe it any long ſpace, to thriue.

[1] Doctor.

[Base coin made abroad, and exchangd for English goods.]

[2 Fol. 17, back. *Catch word* like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thriue.

Knight. There may be ſearchers made for ſuch Coyners as yee ſpeake of, comming in, and puniſhments deuiſed therefore; and for goinge forth of Victayles alſo, that none ſhall paſſe this Realme.

Doctor. There may be no deuiſe imagined ſo ſtronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both thoſe points, as well in ſuch coyne ſrought in as in

victaîles caried forth; for many heades will deuiſe many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Poſterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maiſter. Whoſoeuer hath but a prety houſe, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maiſter of *the* houſe neuer ſo attentiue, yet ſomewhat ſhalbe purloined forth; much more out of ſuch a large Realme as this is, hauinge ſo many wayes and Poſterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if ſtraungers ſhoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what ſhoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of theire wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then ſhall wee be ſtill loſers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they ſell deere and buy good cheape, and conſequently enrych themſelues and impoueriſhe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaun*c*e our [1] wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughe ſome bee looſers thereby; but yet not ſo many as ſhould bee the other waye. And yet, what buſineſſe ſhoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for ſo it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by co*m*maundemente; and therfore I cannot perceaue that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good huſbandman); for if it roſe at either of your hands, ſo it might be remedied likewiſe at the ſame, by releaſing the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cauſe of this dearth. But if either you ſhould releaſe your rente, or you the price of your Victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell ſtraungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue ſayde; and ſo longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuiſe a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impoſſible, or elſe to vſe exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and alſo the Ciuile lawe doth affirme *the* ſame, which were very comberſome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by thoſe tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possible to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation else vvhere.

[1 Fol. 18]

That the d[e]arth lose neither at the Gentleman nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of thinges before Coyne.

Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at woſe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but firſt let vs boulte out *the* cauſe of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing ſhould be the cauſe thereof.

Capper. Mary! theſe Inc[l]oſures and great Paſtures are a great cauſe of the ſame, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, [1]beinge a liuing for diuerſe poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all ſorte, and alſo cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely ſheepe. And in ſteede of C. or CC. perſons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Sheepherds, and the Maiſter onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

[1 Fol. 18, back]

Complaynt against sheepemaisters.

Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be conſidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the* cauſe of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of incloſing doe aſmuch increaſe in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares paſt, it may come to *the* great deſolation and weaking of the ſtrenght of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the* moſt occaſion of any thinge yee ſpake yet, of theſe wilde & vnhappy vprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reaſon of theſe Incloſures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes ſet a worke all a like, and therefore the people ſtill increaſinge, and their liuings diminiſhing, it muſt nedes come to paſſe that a great part of *the* people ſhalbe idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they muſt needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and ſo ſtirre theſe tumultes.

That Inclosures is the occasion of desolation & vveaking the povver of the Realme.

Knighte. Experience ſhould ſeeme to proue playnely, that Incloſures ſhould bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we ſee *the* countryes where moſt Incloſiers be, are moſt wealthy, as Eſſex, Kent, Northhamptonſhyre, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once ſay, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this ſaying), 'that which is poſſeſſed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience ſheweth that Tenaunts in common be not ſo good huſbandes as when euery man hath his parte in ſeueralty; alſo, I haue heard ſay, that in the moſt countreyes beyonde *the* Sea, they [2]knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.

Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.

Reasons to defend Inclosures

[2 Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Incloſures, nor yet all commins, but onely of ſuch Incloſures as turneth co*m*mon & erable fields into paſture, and violent Incloſures of commins without iuſt recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if lande were ſeuerally encloſed, to the intent to continewe huſbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* ſame to himſelfe incloſed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, ſhould come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be ſodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and ſome refreſhing vppon the ſayde co*m*mens, which if they were ſodaynely thruſt out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a diſorder in the commonweale; and percaſe alſo, if men were ſuffred to incloſe their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it ſtill in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Paſture, as wee ſee they doe nowe, too faſt. Doctor. What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull. [Poor, without land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwiſe, why ſhould they not? Knighte.

I can tel why they ſhould not, wel ynough, for they may not purchaſe the*m*ſelues profit by *tha*t which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them *tha*t they would not ſo doe, is al the matter; for ſo long as they finde more profit by paſture then by tillage, they will ſtill incloſe and turne erable land to paſtures. (q*uoth* the *Knight*) That well may be reſtrained by lawes, if it were thought moſt profitable for *the* common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte. Doctor. Whether that vvhich is profitable to one may be profitable to all other if they vse the same feate. Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein, ſo many as haue profit by that matter reſiſting it. And if ſuch a lawe were made, yet men, ſtudying ſtill of there moſt profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other. Doctor.

[1] I haue heard oftentymes much reaſoning in this matter, and ſome, in maintenaunce of theſe Incloſures, would make this reaſon: euery m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exerciſe the ſame feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & ſo to another, may be profitable to all, and ſo to *the* whole co*m*monweale. as a greate Maſſe of Treaſure conſiſteth of many pence, and one peney added to another, and ſo to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a Knight. [1 Fol. 19, back]

greate ſomme; ſo doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor. That reaſon is good, adding ſome what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himſelfe, ſo it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwiſe; or elſe ſtealing or robbing, which percaſe is profitable to ſome men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of incloſinge is ſo, *tha*t where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudiciall to many; therefore I thinke that reaſon ſufficiently aunſwered.

[Enclosures profit one man, hurt many.]

Knight. Alſo, they will laye forth another Reaſon, ſaying, that *tha*t which is our owne co*m*moditye ſhould bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and theſe ſheepes profit is one of the greateſt commodities wee haue; therfore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor. I coulde aunſwere that argument with the like reaſon as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, ſo it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or elſe, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and ſuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee ſhoulde turne all our erable grounde to nouriſhe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Euery commodity muſte bee aduaunced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greater commodities.

Knight. [1 Fol. 20] [1]They will ſay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for ſheepe.

Doctor. It is a very ill Grounde, but either it ſerueth to breed ſheepe or to feede them vppon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where ſhall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte. All cannot doe ſo, though ſome doe.

*D*octor. What ſhould let them all to do *tha*t wicn they ſee ſome do? yea, what ſhould better encourage them thereto, then to ſe them that do it be come notable riche men in ſhort time by *th*e doing thereof? And then if euery man ſhould do ſo, one following the example of another, what ſhould enſew thereof, but a meere ſolitude and vtter deſolation of the whole realme, furniſhed onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in ſteed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes *tha*t firſt would ſet vpon it? for then *th*e ſheepe Mayſters & theire Sheepherds could make no reſiſtaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew Sheep instead of good Men, England would be the prey of her foes.]

Who can let them to make their moſt aduauntage of *that* which is their owne? Knight.

Yes, mary! men may not vſe their owne thinges to the damage of the commonweale; yet for all this that I ſee, it is a thinge moſt neceſſary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it ſhoulde bee the only cauſe of this dearth, for this Incloſinge and greate grafinge, if it were occaſion of that dearth of any thing, it muſte bee of Corne cheifly, and nowe theſe many yeares paſt we had Corne good cheape inough. And the dearth *that* was then moſt, was of cattell, as Biefes and Muttons; and the broode of theſe are rather increaſed then diminiſhed by Paſtures and incloſinges. Doctor. No man may abuse his ovvn things to the preiudice of the common vveale.

Why ſhould men be then ſo much offended with theſe Incloſures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great cauſe, for thoughe theſe many yeares paſt, through the great bounty of God, we haue had [1]much plenty of Corne whereby it hath beene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two moſt commonly were wont to do,—yet if theſe yeares had chaunſed to be but meanely fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we ſhould haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if hereafter there ſhoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee ſhould bee aſſuered to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And ſpecially if wee haue not ynough to ſerue within *the* Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time paſt, by reaſon that there is much lande ſince turned to paſture; for euery man will ſeeke where moſt aduauntage is, & they ſee there is moſt aduaun*t*age in grafing and breeding then in huſbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And ſo longe as it is ſo, the Paſture ſhall euer incroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary. Doctor. [1 Fol. 20, back] [The late large harvests have alone stopt the undoing of the poor.]

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafier and ſheepe maiſter is. Doctor.

How coulde that be done? Knighte.

Mary, I conie*c*ture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuiſes ſhall ſeeme at the firſt bluſh ſo diſpleaſaunt vnto you, ere yee conſider it throughly, that yee will reie*c*t them ere yee examyne them; for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I ſhould Doctor. Hovv Inclosiers may be remedied vvithout constraint of lavvss.

mencion a meane *that* ſhould make ſome thinges deerer for the time, I ſhoulde bee anon reiected, as a man *that* ſpake againſt euery mans purpoſe.

Knighte. Yet, ſay your minde and ſpare not, and though your reaſon at the firſt ſeeme vnreaſonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reaſonable ende.

Doctor. Remember what we haue in hand to treate of, not how the prices [1 Fol. 21] of thinges onely may bee broughte downe; but [1]how theſe Incloſures may bee broken vp, and huſbandry more vſed; of the prices of thinges

Knight. we ſhall ſpeake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Doctor. What maketh men to multiply paſtures & Incloſures gladly?

Knighte. Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

*D*octor. It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of theſe two thynges that I ſhall tell you, And yee ſhall make them as glad to exerciſe tillage as they doe nowe Paſtures.

Knight. What be thoſe two thinges?

Doctor. Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by *the* Paſtures as [Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.] there groweth by *the* tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Paſtures, and then I doubt not but tillage ſhall be aſwell cheriſhed of euery man as Paſture.

Knight. And how may that be done?

Doctor. Mary, the firſt way is to make *the* wooll to be of as baſe pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* ſhallbe, if yee make a like reſtraint of it for paſſing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increaſe *the* cuſtome of Wooll that paſſeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it ſhalbe abated to the breeders, and yet *the* price ouer Sea ſhal be neuer the leſſe; but, that which is increaſed in the price thereof on ſtraungers, ſhall come to the Queenes highneſſe, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other ſubſidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunſinge of the price of corne, to be as good to *the* huſbandman as wooll ſhould be; and that might be brought to paſſe if yee wil let it haue as free paſſage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

That a like restraint of vvool shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wool.]

Marchaunt. By the firſt two wayes, men woulde ſend leſſe wooll ouer ſea then

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes [1]cuſtome ſhould be dyminiſhed; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne ſhould be much enhaunſed, wherewith men would be much grieued. [1 Fol. 21, back]

I wot wel it would bee deere at the firſt, but if I can perſwade you that it were reaſonable, it were ſo; and that the ſame could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuerſally, but greater profit to the ſame, then I thinke ye would be content it ſhoulde be ſo; and as touchinge the Queenes cuſtome, I will ſpeake afterwarde. Doctor.

I graunt, if yee could ſhewe me that. Marchaunt.

I will aſſay it, albeit the matter be ſomewhat intricate; and, as I ſhewed you before, at the firſt vew would diſpleaſe many; for they would ſay, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and ſuch other like reaſons would bee ſayd. But now let the huſbandman anſwere ſuch againe: 'Haue not you Graſiers rayſed the price of your Woolles and Felles? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayſed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double? Is it not as good reaſon, then, that wee ſhould raiſe the price of our Corne? what reaſon is it you ſhould bee at large, and we ſhould be reſtrayned? Eyther let vs all be reſtrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may ſell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheeſe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryſeth all by graſing) at your pleaſure, and for *the* deereſt peny yee can get for it; and wee ſhall not ſell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the buſhel, or vnder, that is as much to ſay, as wee that be huſband men ſhall not ſell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for ſo litle as wee ſhall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the huſbandman here had ſpoke theſe wordes, that he did not ſpeake them ſomewhat [2]reaſonable? Doctor

Reasons vvhy the Husbandman should be at like liberty as other to sell his vvares.

[2 Fol. 22]

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue ſpoken in *the* matter more then I could doe my ſelfe, and yet nothing but that is moſt true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wiſt not what was the cauſe therof; many of vs ſawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but ſmall by the Plough, & therefore diuerſe of my Neighbours, that had in time paſt ſome two, ſome three, ſome four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe, ſome of them part, and ſome of them all their Teemes; Husband.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Paſture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euery day ſome of vs incloſeth ſome part of his ground to Paſture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke alſo our fieldes had bene encloſed, of common agreement of all the towneſhip, longe or this time. And to ſay *the* very truth, I, that haue encloſed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, ſheepe, ſwyne, geeſe, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde; Whereof, becauſe *the* price is ſomewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reaſon that many thinges doe belong to huſbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time paſt.

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

Capper. Though this reaſon of maiſter Doctors here doth pleaſe you well that be huſbandmen, yet it pleaſeth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy moſt both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maiſter doctor, ſay, that it were as good reaſon that the Huſbandman ſhould reyſe the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the ſame ouer ſea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greately deny; but that yet I ſay that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not ſo much of other wares.

[1 Fol. 22, back] Doctor. [1]Therefore, the more neceſſary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearifhed that reareth it; for if they ſee there bee not ſo much profit in vſinge the plough as they ſee in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another *that* they ſee more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honeſt mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to paſture, becauſe they ſee more profit by paſture then by tillage. Is it not an old ſaying in Latin, *Honos alit artes?* that is to ſay, profit or aduauncement nouriſheth euery facultie; which ſayng is ſo true, that it is alowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee muſt vnderſtand alſo, that all thinges that ſhould bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be conſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo, and ſome either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be induſtrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or ſtudious to learne any ſcience or knowledge of the mynde? to theſe thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

That profit aduauanceth all faculties.

Honos alit Artes.

if they that be induſtrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee ſuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and ſo likewyſe they that be learned, be aduaunced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then ſtudy, either to bee induſtrious in bodely labour, or ſtudious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take theſe rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg the ground, or exerciſe any manuall art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer ſeaes for any Marchaundiſe, or vſe any facultie wherein any perill or daunger ſhould be, ſeing his reward ſhalbe no more then his that ſits ſtill? But yee wil percaſe aunſwere me, that all their reward ſhal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee muſt graunt me, that as if all theſe rewardes were taken from them, all theſe faculties muſt [1]decaie; ſo if part of that reward be miniſhed, the vſe of theſe faculties ſhall miniſh withall after the rate, and ſo they ſhal be the leſſe occupied, the leſſe they be rewarded & eſteemed. But now to our purpoſe: I thinke it more neceſſary to deuiſe a meane how huſbandry may be more occupied rather then leſſe; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to paſſe, but as men do ſe the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that ſome things in a common weale muſt be forced with paines, and ſome by rewards allured) may appeare by that which the wiſe and politique ſenatour *Tully* wryteth: ſaying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the ſeuen wyſe men of *Greece*, and of thoſe ſeuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefely, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men ſhould be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abſtaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if huſband men be not better chearyſhed or prouoked then they be to exerciſe the plough, but that in proceſſe of time, ſo many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare ſhall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in ſeuen yeares, we ſhould then not onely haue dearth, but alſo ſkarcenes of corne, that we ſhould be driuen to ſeeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

That some thinges are to be allured by revvardes, and some other vvith straighte paynes forced, in a common-Weale.

[1 Fol. 23]

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte, the lesse it shalbe frequented.

Tullius in Ep. ad att

How would yee haue them better chearifhed to vſe the plough? Knight.

To let them haue more profit by it then they haue, & liberty to Doctor.

[Free Trade in Corn needed.]

ſell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would riſe, ſpecially at the firſt, more then at length; yet that price would prouoke euerie man to ſet the plough in the grounde, to Till waſte grounds, yea, & to turne the lands that is now encloſed for paſture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow [1] that, wherein they ſee the more gaines; and thereby muſt nedes enſue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and alſo much treaſure ſhould be brought into the realme by reaſon thereof; And, beſides that, plenty of all other victuall encreaſed amonge vs.

[1 Fol. 23, back]

Knight. That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor. Ye haue heard that by this free vent and ſale of corne, the huſbandmans profit is aduaunced; then it is ſhewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he ſees profit enſue; therefore men wil the gladder occupy huſbandry; & the more doe occupie huſbandry, the more plenty of Corne muſt nedes be; And the more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And alſo the more will be ſpared ouer that which ſhall ſuffice for the realme. And then, that may bee ſpared in a good yeare, ſhall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis neceſſary for vs. Then the more huſbandry there is occupied, the more vniuerſall breede ſhould be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geeſe, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al theſe are reared much on corne.

Profit vvill make husband men more occupied, & there by more profit, and consequently better cheape of corne.

Knight. If men ſhoulde ſell, when a good ſeaſonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is ſerued, what ſhoulde wee doe if a barren yeare ſhoulde happen, when no ſtore of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor. Fyrſt, ye muſte conſider that men will bee ſure they will keepe inoughe to finde themſelues within the realme, ere they ſell any forth of the ſame; and hauing libertie to ſell at their pleaſure, doubte yee not but they had leuer ſell their corne two pence or three pence in a buſhell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in ſending it ouer, and ſell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby muſt needes be great ſtore; [2] and though they did not ſo, but ſhould ſell ouer ſea all that they might ſpare ouer that

[Husbandmen sure to keep a stock of corn in hand.]

[2 Fol. 24]

ſerues the realme when *the* yere is plentifull; yet, by reaſon that through the meanes aforeſaid moe Ploughes are ſet aworke then would ſuffice the Realme in a plentifull yeare; if a ſcarce yeare ſhould fal after, the corne of ſo many ploughes as in a good yeare would be more then enough in an vnfruitefull yeare, at the leaſte would be ſufficient to finde the Realme; & ſo ſhould *the* Realme be ſerued *with* enough of corne in a ſcarce yeare, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be ſold ouer for great treaſure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeare we ſeeke to haue but aſmuch as may ſuffice *the* Realme. Then if a ſcarſe yeare ſhould happen, we muſt needes lacke of our owne to ſerue, and ſhould be dryuen to buy from beyond the ſea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they ſay, when we requyred any corne of them, (that ſeing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why ſhould they let vs haue any corne when wee haue ſcarſitie? Surely common reaſon would that one region ſhould helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey ſhould haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that* one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the ſame yeare, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and ſocietie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our ſelues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee liſt our ſelues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & ſends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue [1] not the thirde parte to ſuffice the Realme, and that can in no wiſe be ſpared if yee wil occupy huſbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and ſteele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, ſpyces, lynnen cloth, ſilkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility ſhould it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere ſufficiently that wee buy now from beyond ſea, and many things wee might ſpare wholly; whereof, if time will ſerue, I ſhall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the firſt poynte I ſpake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring huſbandry vp, that is, by baſing *the*

[Free Trade in Corn would so increase the growth of corn, that we should have plenty even in a scarce year.

[God has ordaind that one country should help another.]

[We can't live without other countries' products,

[1 Fol. 24, back]

and we ought to exchange with them freely]

eſtimacion of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may baſe any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunſing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunſed together, as by the laſt deuiſe I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuertheleſſe, where as you (brother Mercer) ſhewed afore, that either by reſtraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunſing the cuſtome of wooll and other the ſayd commodities, till the price beſide the cuſtome of the ſayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes cuſtome ſhoulde bee diminiſhed; I thinke not ſo, for the one way, as much as ſhe ſhoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle cuſtome ventred ouer, ſo much ſhould we haue for the leſſe wooll at a greater cuſtome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace ſhould loſe by her cuſtome of wooll, ſo much or more ſhould her grace winne by *the* cuſtome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuiſe, what, if they ſhould take place, we muſt doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee muſt ſpare many other things that we haue now from beyonde ſea, for wee muſt alwayes take heede that wee buy no more [1] of ſtraungers then we do ſell them, for ſo we ſhould impoueriſh our ſelues and enrich them. For hee were no good huſband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his huſbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he ſelles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might ſaue much by our treaſure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number firſt of trifles comes hether from beyond the ſea that wee might either cleane ſpare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay ineſtimable treaſure euery yere, or els exchaunge ſubſtantiall wares and neceſſary for them, for the which we might receaue great treaſure. Of *the* which ſort I meane as well looking glaſſes as drinking, and alſo to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of ſilke & ſiluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thouſand like thinges that might either be cleane ſpared, or els made within the

Whether the Quee custome should be diminished by restraint of vvoll vnvvrought.

[We must keep the balance of trade with foreigners equal.]

[1 Fol. 25]

Hovve straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles.

[Foreign knicknacks that we could well do without, or make here.]

realme ſufficient for vs; and as for ſome thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and ſend it vs againe, whereby they ſet their people a worke, and doe exhauſte much treaſure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerſeis; of our felles they make Spaniſh ſkins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Salt-ſellers, Spoones, and Diſhes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges; Paper both white and browne. What Treaſure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of Theſe thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne eſtimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne;* nor Kerſie, but it muſt bee of *Flaunders* die; nor Cloth, but *French* or Fryſeadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, [1]Knife or Gyrdle, but of ſpaniſh making, or ſome outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within theſe xl. yeares, when there were not of theſe Haberdaſhers that ſelles french or Millen Cappes, Glaſſes, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and ſuch thinges, not a doſen in all London; & now from the tower to Weſtminſter alonge, euery ſtreate is full of them, and their ſhoppes glitter and ſhyne of Glaſſes as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of veſſell of the ſame ſtuffe,—paynted Cruſes, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels; that it is able to make any temperate man to gaſe on them and to buy ſomewhat, though it ſerue to no purpoſe neceſſarie. What neede they beyonde ſea to trauaile to *Perowe*, or ſuch farre countreies, or to trie out the ſandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *pactolus* in *Aſia*, and *Ganges* in *India*, to get amonge them after much labour ſmall ſparkes of gold; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre ſought for, and of pryple[2] ſtones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not ſo litle as a hundreth thouſand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treaſure for thinges of no valure of themſelues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the ſame, which are ſet a worke all on our charges. What groſnes of wits be we of, that ſe it, and ſuffer ſuch a continual ſpoyl to be made of our good and treaſure by ſuch meanes! and ſpecially that will ſuffer our owne commodities to goe and ſet ſtraungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy in requiring straungers Wares.

[Foreign goods that are the fashion in England.]

[1 Fol. 25, back]

The encrease of haberdashers & mileners ouer they vvere vvont to be.

[Glittering glasses, &c., tempt buyers.]

Hovv the straungers finde an easyer vvay to get treasure by thinges of no value, then by any mynes of gould or siluer.

[2 pybble, pebble.]

[What asses we are, to spend £100,000 a year in foreign nonsenses!]

Hovv straungers finde their nation vvith our commodities, and on our costes.

to buy them againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kerſies, Friſeadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde ſea, & bryng them hether to bee ſolde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne ſtuffe againe. Yea, for the ſtraungers cuſtome, for their worke[1] manſhippe and colours, and laſtely for the ſecond cuſtome in the retourne of the wares into the realme againe; where as, by working the ſame within the realme, our owne now ſhould be ſet a worke at the charges of ſtraungers, the cuſtome ſhould be borne all by ſtraungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

[1 Fol. 26]

[Why don't we make up our own materials?]

Knight.

If yee ponder ſuch thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the ſame, yee ſpeake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though ſtraungers buy their woll deare, & pay twiſe cuſtome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the ſame ſhalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that ſhould come, I would faine knowe.

[Foreign work, tho' doubly taxt, sells cheaper than ours does.]

Doctor.

Whether it come of our ſloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Engliſhmen vſe, percaſe, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for theſe wares, then to ſtraungers leſſe; for how litle gaines ſo euer goeth ouer, it is loſt to vs cleare; but how much ſo euer the gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all ſaued with in the Realme; and a like reaſon as you make now heere, Once a Booke-ſeller made mee, when I aſked him why we had not white and browne paper made within the realme, aſwell as they had made beyond the ſea? Then he aunſwered mee that there was paper made a while within the realme. At the laſt the man perceiued that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond the ſea, and ſo he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper becauſe it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper ſtaied from comming in, or ſo burdened with cuſtome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then ſtraungers might do [2] theires, the cuſtomes conſidered.

Why straungers may aforde vvares better cheape made by them, then vve may the same made here, & yet that it vvere better for vs to buy our ovvne though they vvere dearer.

[An English Paper-maker undersold by foreign paper imported.]

The latter should have been heavily customd.]

[2 Fol. 26, back]

Knight.

There, ye ſpeake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agree vnto; for if ſuch ware were made within the realme, then the

Queenes cuſtome ſhould be leſſe, by reaſon that litle or no ſuch wares ſhould come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that ſhould come after, as that which is preſent afore *the* eyes, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, ineſtimable treaſure ſhould be ſaued within *the* realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the ſubiects; but it muſt needes growe alſo to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the ſubiectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beſte prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a preſente commoditie, but rather that commodity that may longeſt endure without griefe of her ſubiects. Doctor

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no ſuch ware ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſoulde heere, of ſuch things as could be made heere as wel as there. Knight.

Yea, forſooth! ſo would I wiſhe. Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when ſuch a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond ſea ſhould bee ſould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunſwered by a greate wiſe man, that it was to bee feared leaſt it touched the league made betwene *the* Princes highneſſe & ſome forraigne Prince; what thinke you, then, would haue bene ſaid, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond ſea, ſhould haue bene ſould heere? Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I cannot tell, whether that ſhould touch the league or no, nor whether any ſuch league be: but I ſay to you, *that* I think it a maruaylous league that ſhoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne ſubiects, that might be profitable to them; [1] and if there were any ſuch league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, ſhoulde doe vs good, & being kept, ſhould doe vs harme; and I ſuppoſe, that when wee enter any league, the ſame is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be eſteemed *that* might hinder our common weale. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 27]

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonvveale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the ſea, that wares made within this realme ſhould not bee ſoulde there, as they made of late, when wee deuiſed a lawe that no Wynes ſhoulde bee caried hether in ſtraungers bottomes. Knighte.

Yet, ſhould they be enforced rather to diſſolue their law then we Doctor.

[English exports and imports.] ours; for our ſtuffe is neceſſary for them *that* is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheeſe, pewter veſſel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to ſerue pleaſure then neceſſity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glaſſes, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenges, Pippens, and Cheries; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better ſpared of vs *then* retayned of them: as wynes, ſilkes, ſpices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in *the* Marches of Walles, called *Carmarthen*, when there came a certayne Veſſell thether out of *England*, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne ſhoulde buy the ſayd Appells vpon a great payne, and ſo the Bote ſtoode ſo long in the Hauen without ſale or vent, till *the* Appells were putrified and loſt. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had ſtayed his ſale and vent? the Bayliffe aunſwered againe, that the ſayd veſſell came thether to fetch the beſt wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll; and in ſteede thereof hee ſhould leaue the*m* in their countrey but appells, that ſhould be ſpent & waſted in leſſe then a weeke. And ſayd, 'bring vnto [1]vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof *the* countrey hath need, and yee ſhall be welcome at all times, & yee ſhall haue free vent and ſale thereof in our Porte': thinke yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Briſtowe, Cheſter, and other moe, might they not learne a good leſſon of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they ſay, when ſhippes full of Orrenges, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plu*m*mes, Damozins, and ſtrawberries for them, they ſhoulde haue free exchaunge? and when they bring in Glaſſes, Puppets, Rattles, and ſuch like thinges, they ſhould haue like trifles for them, if any ſuch were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerſeyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and ſiluer, and ſuch ſubſtantiall and neceſſary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyſhe, & ſuch like. And not to vſe them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the beſt Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empoueriſhed of our treaſure & chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceaue it; ſuch is the fineneſſe of ſtraungers wits and the groſnes of ours; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

[English exports and imports.] A vvorthy example to be followved in vsing of straungers. [The Caermarthen Bayliff who refused to let English apples be exchang'd for Welsh friezes and wool.] [1 Fol. 27, back] [Why don't we imitate the Welshmen, and refuse to change our cloths and metals for foreign rattles, &c., but consent to do so for good flax, fish, &c.?]

no more but chearifhe their deuifes *that* be ſtraungers; but we haue in times paſt deuiſed our ſelues many other wayes, to our owne impoueriſhment, and to exhauſt our treaſure. And now I muſt come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe cauſe of all this dearth of thinges (in compariſon of former times) and of the manif[e]ſt impoueriſhinge of the Realme, and might in ſhort time haue ben *that* deſtruction of the ſame, if it had not bene *the* rather remedied, that is, the baſing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treaſure; whereby we deuiſed a way for the ſtraungers, not only to buy our Gold and ſiluer for braſſe, and to exhauſt this realme of treaſure; but alſo to buy our chiefe commodities [1]in maner for naught; yet it was thought this ſhould haue beene a meane, not onely to bryng our treaſure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, ſo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Of the coyne, vvhat harme might haue grovvne of the alteration of it.

[The chief cause of all our evils is the debasing of our coin.]

[1 Fol. 28]

Forſooth, and ſuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceaue what hinderance it ſhould be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), ſeeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is ſtricken with *the* Princes ſeale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper?

Knight.

[Coin may well be any metal, leather, or paper.]

You ſay but as moſt ſort of men doe ſay, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not *con*ſider the thinge groundly; for by that reaſon God would neuer ſend dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickely remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a buſhell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him ſelfe, and alſo his ſubiects, made of braſſe, to pay for the ſame; and ſo to make it as eaſy for him and his ſubiectes to pay a Crowne of ſuch mettall for a buſhell, as it ſhould be for them now to pay a penny for the ſame; and as the pryce of Corne doth riſe, the Prince might raiſe the eſtimation of his coyne after the rate, and ſo keepe the coyne alwayes at one eſtate in deede, though in name it ſhould ſeeme to riſe. As for example, ſuppoſe Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a buſhell, & the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might cauſe the grote to be called viii.d.; and if the buſhel roſe to xii.d. the buſhel, he might raiſe the eſtate of the grote to xii.d.; and ſo whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Doctor.

[Argument against a currency not based on gold or silver.]

by enhaunſing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of eſtimation, the Prince might, if your reaſon were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but alſo all other victualls and neceſſaries for [1] mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they ſhould vary; but yee may ſee dayly by experience *the* co*n*trary hereunto, for whe*n* God ſendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne eaſe as for their ſubiectes; and might ſoone doe it, if your reaſon afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what eſtimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what ſu*m*me they would. Yet a man at the firſt bluſh woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this eaſily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what eſtimation it pleaſed him; but he that ſo thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderſtanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of ſiluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the firſt ſorte, the ſixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other ſorte is the twelfth part of an ownce of ſiluer vnderſtanded; and ſo there muſt be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we muſt conſider, though gould & ſiluer be the mettals co*m*monly wherein the coyne is ſtricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are neceſſary for mans vſe, that are exchaunged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of ſuch wares that makes the price thereof hier or baſer. And becauſe it were very combrous and chargeable to cary ſo much of the wares that we haue aboundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and alſo for that they could not be ca[2]ried ſo farre without periſhing of the ſame, nor proporcioned ſo eue*n*, as there ſhould be always neither more or leſſe brought of our wares the*n* were equiuale*n*t w*i*th other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & ſiluer deuiſed as wares of litle weight, moſt in value, & leaſt combrous to cary, and leaſt ſubiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

[1 Fol. 28, back]

The substau*n*ce and quantity is esteemed in coyne, & not the name

[Wares are the subject of exchange, tho' under the name of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5 Eth.

And may be cut and deuided in moſte pieces and portions, without any loſſe, to bee as *the* mean in Wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuiſed, neceſſity would cauſe vs to deuiſe *the* ſame way againe. For, put *the* caſe there were no vſe of money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares, as ſomtimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue ſuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for exa*m*ple, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheeſe & Butter, and ſuch other co*m*modities, as were ſufficient for vs; and there ſhoulde remaine with vs ſuch great ſtore that wee could not ſpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without periſhing. Would not we be glad to exchaunge that abu*n*dance of thinges *tha*t could not abyde the longe keeping, for ſuch wares *tha*t woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchaunge againe for ſuch wares as I rehearſed, or any other as neceſſary, whe*n* ſcarſity of the ſame ſhould happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee ſhoulde ſtudy to haue in that exchaunge ſuch wares as would go in leaſt romth, and continue longeſt without periſhing, and be caried to and fro with leaſt charge, & be moſt currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer[1] the thinges that be moſt of that ſorte, I meane moſt of value, moſt light to be caried, longeſt able to abide the keping, apteſt to receiue any forme, marke, & moſte currant in all places, & moſt eaſely deuided into many pieces without loſſe of the ſtuffe? In ſome of theſe poynts I confeſſe precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightneſſe of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided [2]without periſhing of the ſubſtaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide ſo many daungers without periſhing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or ſtampe eaſely, nor be ſo vniuerſally eſtemed; therefore they be not ſo meete for Inſtruments of Exchaunge as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtneſſe of cariage might be. And, becauſe Gold and Siluer haue all theſe commodities in them, they are choſen by common aſſent of the whole world, that is knowe*n* to be of any ciuility, to be inſtruments of exchaunge to meaſure all things by, moſt apte to be either caried far or kepte in ſtore to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchaſe by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue moſt neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchaunge of thinges, as I

That the neceſsity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchau*n*g made Coyne to bee deuised.

Hom. F. de emptione & vendicatione. Li. 1.

[1 *orig.* Silt uer]

Why Gold & siluer vvere the stuffe most meete for coine to bee stricken in.

[Precious stones not so fit.]

[2 Fol. 29, back]

Publica me*n*sura. Aristo. Eth.

ſayd ſometime there was; ſet this caſe, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well ſpend in hys houſe in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it ſo longe, or till a deare or ſkarſe yeare ſhoulde come; and if he did, much of it ſhoulde periſh, or all; were it not wiſedome for him then to exchaunge the ouerplus of that corne, for ſome other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of waſt, or deminiſhing, for *the* which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or ſome other neceſſarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vſe of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, braſſe, or Leadde, or ſuch other like thing that would abide the keeping with leaſt detriment, and would deſire to haue that thinge moſt that were in leaſt weight, moſt in value, and in leaſte daunger of wearing or periſhing, & moſte vniuerſally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer exceſſes all other mettalles.

[Convenience of a metallic currency.]

Knight. What makes theſe Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor. No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both [1]in pleaſure and vſe; partly the rarity of them.

[1 Fol. 30]

Knight. What be theſe qualities? If yee prayſe the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in theſe pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgementes (whoſe colour reſembleth *the* day lyght for his clereneſſe) paſſeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, becauſe it is furtheſt of ſeene in *the* Fielde, nor neuer ſeemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer ſo farre of; where all other ſhall ſeeme blacke farre of, and ſo looſe the ſtrengthe of theyr owne.

[The merits of Silver]

Doctor. As much as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point—I ſpeake of weight and pliablenes—it is caſt behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either paſſeth Siluer, by ſome other mens iudgementes, becauſe it reſembles the colour of the celeſtiall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the moſt excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodely ſences of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is eſteemed; well I wote Prynces blaſe their armes moſt with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the ſame, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of ſo wel, I cannot tel. But now to eſteeme theyr other qualityes: Golde is neuer waſted nor conſumed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can ſay of none other mettalles. Then it weares not leſſe by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

Why Golde, & Syluer are eſtemed afore al other mettalles.

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the ſtuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it ſhould draw ſo black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it ſelf. Then there is no ruſt nor ſcurfe that diminiſheth the goodnes or waſteth the ſubſtaunce of Gold; it abides the freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar without damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as ſoone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll,[1] as it were Woll; it is eaſily ſpred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is alſo nothinge inferiour in commodity of making veſſels or other Inſtrumentes to ſiluer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more ſweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, ſweetenes, and lightnes. And it ſerues not onely to make veſſels and other inſtruments, but it is alſo ſponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Veſtures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being ſpon with ſilke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde exceſſe of clothe of Golde and tyſſue. Now to ſpeake of other mettalls, yee ſee what vſes they ſerue for, whych if theſe were away ſhould bee more eſteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the ſayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, ſo Dame nature ſeemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to ſhew vs that all fayre things be rare, and that the fayreſt thinges, as they be hardeſt to be attained, ſo they be moſt to be eſteemed. If a Glaſſe (as *Eraſmus* ſayth wel) were as rare as ſiluer, it ſhould be as deare as ſiluer, and not without cauſe; who could glaſe a Window with ſiluer ſo as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuertheleſſe receiue the commodity of the light through the ſame to his houſe, as with glaſſe he might? And ſo I might commend other things for their vſe afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & ſteele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many neceſſary vſes then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vſes that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I paſſe ouer that matter. Thus I haue ſhewed ſome reaſon why theſe mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in eſtimation aboue other.

[The merits of Gold over Silver.]

[1 Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of Silver.

It is now spun into Church vestments.]

[The scarceness of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.

Were Glass as scarce as silver, it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.

[1 Fol. 31]

[1]Why doe Kynges and Princes ſtricke theſe mettalles and other with a Coyne? but becauſe they would haue that coyne, of what value ſo euer it be, to beare the eſtate that *the* coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worſe in eſtimation. Then I had as liefe haue ſmal gadds or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge.

Why Golde & Siluer vvere coined.

Doctor.

Surely the time was ſo, (euen amonge the *Romaynes*, when neither braſſe, ſiluer, nor golde was coined;) but were eſteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth theſe vocables of coynes, as *Libra, Pondo, Dipondius*, as *Solidus, Denarius*, wordes of waightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending *the* ſame weights. Alſo the common officers that waighed theſe rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in *the* Ciuile lawe; but, becauſe in great traffique & aſſembly of buyers, & ſuch, it was tedious to tary for *the* weighing of theſe Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes ſhould ſtrike thoſe mettals with ſeueral markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to aſſure *the* Receiuor the ſame to be no leſſe then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they ſtrake *the* pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, and ſo after the variety of *the* weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, ſo that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge aſſured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was ſignified by the marke ſet on euery one; the Prynces credite was then ſuch amonge their ſubiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As ſoone as they attempted to doe otherwiſe, that is, to marke the halfe pound with *the* marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, [2]a while their credite made thoſe coynes currant. As I read among *the Romaynes* practized more then once, but aſſoone as it was eſpied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the* one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the firſt, they loſt at the laſt in payment of their rentes, cuſtomes, and duties. And ſo the nearer Eaſt, the further from Weſt. And they conſequently loſt their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

Plini lib. 33 Cap. 3.

Sometime braſſe, ſiluer & Gold vvere vveighed before Coyne made.

Inſt. de teſt. ord. §. 1.

[Coin markt to guarantee its weight.]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why losse commeth of credence.

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to ſet their ſeales to the ſame; while they kept the rate truly, ſtraungers did but looke on the ſeale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby theſe townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and conſequently proſpered very well. Afterward, ſome in theſe townes, not contented with reaſonable gaines contynuall, and deſiering more, Deuiſed clothes of leſſe lengthe, bredth, and goodneſſe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the ſeale to haue as much Money for the ſame as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and ſo abaſed the credite of theyr Predeceſſors to theyr ſinguler Luker, which was recompenced with the loſſe of theyr Poſterity. For after theſe Clothes were founde faulty, for all their ſeales, they were not onely neuer the better truſted, but much leſſe for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth and falſhoode was eſpied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enſearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the ſeale; and yet becauſe they founde them vntrue in ſome parte, they miſtruſted them in other; and ſo would geue leſſe for thoſe clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the ſame, whereby the credite of the ſaid townes was loſt, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not ſee that our Coyne was diſcredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King *Henry* [1]the eyghte, ſpecially among Straungers, whych euer before deſiered to ſerue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheeſe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the ſame, either good Golde or ſiluer, or els as neceſſary commodities agayne; then they ſent vs eyther ſuch trifles as I ſpake of before: as Glaſſes, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and ſuch light ware that ſtandeth them in no charge or vſe, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they ſent vs Braſſe for our Treaſure of Golde and ſiluer, and for our ſayd commodities; I warrant you, yee ſawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vſed, & no maruayle; to what purpoſe ſhould they bring ſiluer or Golde thither, whereas the ſame was not eſteemed? Therefore, I haue heard ſay for a truth, and I beleeue it the rather to

[Some English towns stampt their full-measure cloths with a seal; and buyers bought by the seal only.]

[Then some scamps put the seal on short-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the seal discredited even good cloths.]

[1 Fol. 32]

[So our base coin was soon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe strangers send vs for our Treasure & chiefe commodities?

[Debasd English coin imported from abroad.]

bee true, becauſe it is likely, that after that our Coyne was baſed and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Maſſes of that tranſported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and ſiluer, as alſo for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were ſuffered, in a ſmall compaſſe of time?

Knight. There be ſearchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for ſtaying of ſuch falſe Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor. I ſayd ſo to the man that tolde mee the ſame tale that I tolde you euen now. And he anſwered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer ſo true, as by putting of the ſayde Coyne in their ſhippes balaſt, or in ſome veſſelles of Wyne or other Lyquor, tranſpor[1]ted either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not ſearchers; And if they had, they bee not ſuch ſaintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Beſides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, ſpecially of Golde, ſhould not be currant here aboue ſuch a pryce? was not that the redieſt way to driue away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is moſt eſteemed, and therefore our treaſure went ouer in heapes.

Hovv our olde coyne may bee transported, & the Prince or her officers not knovving of it.

[1 Fol. 32, back]

We deuise the rediest vvay to driue avvay our treasure.

Knight. I belieue well, that theſe were meanes to exhauſt *the* olde treaſure fro*m* vs, which yee haue reiected; but how it ſhould make euery thing ſo deare among our ſelues, ſince *the* time (as yee ſayd it doth), I cannot yet perceaue the reaſon.

Doctor. Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reaſon hereof wee payde dearer preſently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight. That cannot be denied.

Doctor. By howe much, thinke you?

Knight. By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor. Muſt not they that buy deare, ſell deare agayne theyr wares?

Knight. That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that ſelleth good cheape & buyeth deare, ſhall neuer thriue.

Doctor. You haue your ſelfe declared the reaſon why things wi*th*in the Realme proued after *tha*t time ſo deare; for wee muſt buy deare all

things bought from beyond the ſea, & therefore wee muſt ſell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our ſelues. And though that reaſon maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the* thing maketh it playner; for where yee ſay that euery thing bought beyond the ſea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do yee not ſee *the* ſame proportion rayſed in our wares, if it be not more?

Why thinges vvithin the realme should be so deare.

What loſſe haue wee by this, when wee ſell our commodities as deare as wee buy others? Knight.

[1] I graunte to one ſorte of men, I accompt it no loſſe; yea, to ſome other a Gayne more then any loſſe, and yet to ſome other ſort a greater loſſe then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter impoueriſhing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maieſties power exceedingly. Doctor. [1 Fol. 33]

I pray you, what be thoſe ſorts that yee meane? And firſt of thoſe that yee thinke ſhould haue loſſe thereby? Knight.

I meane al theſe that liues by buying and ſelling; for, as they buy deare, they ſell thereafter. Doctor

What is the next ſort that yee ſay would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all ſuch as haue takinges or Fearmes in theyr owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they ſell after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and ſell all things growing thereof deare. Doctor.

Some had gaynes by the alteration of the coyne.

What ſorte is that which yee ſayde ſhould haue greater loſſe hereby, then theſe men had profit? Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a ſtented rent or ſtypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or ſelling. Doctor.

I pray you peruſe theſe ſortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by courſe. Knight.

I will gladly: firſte, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the moſt part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may ſpend now by ſuch reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could ſpend but nigh CC.li.; and ſo yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore Doctor.

Who had losse by the alteration of Coine.

gentlemen doe ſtudy ſo much the increaſe of their Lands and enhaunſing of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and paſtures to their owne handes as yee ſee they doe, and all to ſeeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predeceſ[1]ſors did, and yet they came ſhorte there in. Some other, ſeeing the charges of houſeholde encreaſe ſo much, as by no prouiſion they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houſholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there ſpend their time, ſome of them with a ſeruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty perſons daily in his houſe, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other ſorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde ſtented wages, cannot finde them ſelues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or ſpoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go ſo far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men ſo euill willing to ſerue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Alſo, where xl. ſhillinges a yere was honeſt wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was ſufficient, nowe double as much will ſkante beare their charge.

That is longe of theyr exceſſe, aſwell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more coſtely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maiſters were wont to doe in times paſt.

No doubt that is one great cauſe of the greater charge of houſeholde. For I know when a Seruingman was *con*tent to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a friſe coate in winter, and with a plaine white hoſe made meete for his body, And with a piece of biefe, or ſome other diſhe of ſodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the leaſt, for ſommer, a coate of the fineſt cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hoſen of the fineſt Kerſey, and that of ſome ſtraung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates ſhalbe garded, cut, & ſtitched; and the breches of their hoſe ſo drawen with ſilke, that *the* work[2]manſhip ſhall farre paſſe the pryce of the ſtuffe. And thys thing is not reſtrained as it ſhould be, but rather cheriſhed of the Maiſters, on ſtriuing with the other who may bee moſt proude, and whoſe retinue may goe moſt lauiſh & gay for a time of ſhowe; whereas through ſuch

[1 Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their country-houses, and get chambers in London.]

[12*d.* now won't go so far as 8*d.* of old.]

[Yeomen's wages, —40*s.* a year, and 20*d.* a week boardwages,— are doubled.]

Knight.

[Servingmen.]

Doctor.

[Servingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

[Servingmen's gay dress now.]

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

exceſſe they are fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes aſwell in apparell as in fare were vſed in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, ſo as wyſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes; and for that, through the inſolencie of ſome that maintained the contrary, *the* ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride, diuiſion; and through deuiſion, vtter deſolation of the co*m*mon weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, ſpecially London, the head of the empyre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be moſt vſed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in ſted of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in theyr ha*n*ds, in ſtede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

[Excess in food now.]

[London goes to the greatest excess in dress and food.]

[Light swords for heavy, and white rods for spears, are now carri'd: men are so effeminate.]

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the* realm, that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous [1] world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 34, back]

What can you tell what time or how ſone ſuch a world may come again? Wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men muſt looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no ma*n* to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that *the* iniquitie of men is ſuch as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we recken heere in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace, ſomwhat wyth ſuch apparell, ſare, and hardenes, as they muſte needes ſuſtayne in time of warre,

Doctor.

In peace, looke for vvarre.

[The strength of England is in Servingmen and Yeomen.]

then the ſame ſhall bee no nouelty to them when they come to it; and theyr bodies ſhall bee ſtrong, and harder to beare that that they were ſomewhat accuſtomed withall afore. Let this that I ſay be of no credite, if delicacie[1] and tendernes was not the moſt occaſion of the ſubduing of the greateſt Empyres that were.

[1 *orig.* deticacie]

Knight.

[Men can only bear light armour now.]

Surely, ye ſay very wel, and that which ſoundeth to good reaſon. I muſt needes alowe *that* I haue found true my ſelfe, for my men are ſo tenderly vſed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either ſhirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a[2] ſhotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what ſaye you by our buildinges, that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more exceſſiue then at any time heretofore? Doth not that impoueriſh the Realme, & cauſe men to keepe leſſe Houſes?

[2 *orig.* a a]

[New fine houses.]

Doctor.

I ſay that all theſe thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubte is cauſe of leſſe Houſholdes, ſith the buildings and trimming of thoſe houſes ſpendes away that that ſhould be otherwiſe ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empoueriſh the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the moſt part, is ſpent amonges our ſelues & [3]amonges our neighbours[4] and Countreymen: As amongs Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peinting of theſe Houſes. For in that much treaſure may be ſpent, and to no vſe. Alſo the Areſes, Verderers, and Tapiſtry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into *Flaunders* & other ſtraunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treaſure.

[Building good for the realm.]

[3 Fol. 35: *misnumberd* 36]

[4 *orig.* neighbouos]

Of excesse in building.

Knight.

Syr, yet I muſt remember you of one thing more, which men do ſuppoſe to be a great occaſion of the ſpendinge of the treaſure abroade; & it is where there is comen to *the* crown of late yeares much lands, by reaſon of Monaſteries, colleges, and Chauntres diſſolued, which men ſuppoſe hath bene the cauſe two maner of waies, that there is leſſe treaſure abroade in the Realme. One is, becauſe the reuenues of the ſayd places, diſſolued heretofore, were ſpent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of *the* countrey. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the ſame, to buy perſelles of the ſayd diſſolued landes, lying commodities for them; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the countrey is ſweeped away.

[Did not the taking of the Church Revenues by the Crown send much money abroad?]

Truth it is, alſo, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it ſo ſtill if the Kynges Maieſtye had not diſperſed the ſame lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after *that* his highnes departed with a great deale of thoſe poſſeſſions, part by gift and part by ſale, treaſure hath and will encreaſe againe, abroad, aſmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; ſo that I take *that* to be no great cauſe of the dearth that we haue, for the ſoyle is not taken away, but the poſſeſſion thereof is onely tranſferred from one kinde of perſons to another.

Doctor.

[No, it only transferrd the possession of the land from one man here to another.]

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee [1][l]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did ſome Men no harme, as Buyers and ſellers: ſome other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and ſome other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, ſeruaunts, and all other lyuing by any rated or ſtented rent or ſtipend, were great loſers by it. But I heard you ſay it was ſo much withall to the loſſe of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proceſſe of time. I meruayle how it ſhoulde bee ſo, for I hearde wiſe men ſay, that the Queenes higneſſe Father did winne ineſtimable great ſummes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to ſuch as men haue when they ſell away their Lands, to haue the greater ſome at one time, and euer after to looſe the contynuall increaſe what ſhould grow therof. For you knowe al the treaſure of this Realme muſt once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it ſhould goe abrode againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the *Ocean* Sea, & out of it are they ſpred abroad againe; then, as they came into *the* kings coffers at the firſt in good mettall, they came forth in ſuch as you haue heretofore ſeene. And, albeit it ſeemeth at *the* firſt viewe to empoueriſhe but the ſubiects only, at length it empoueriſheth alſo the Prynce; and then, if the Prince ſhould want in time of warre, ſpecially ſufficient treaſure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of ſhippes, gunnes, and other artillary, neceſſary for *the* warre, and could by no meanes haue of the ſubiectes wherewith to buy *the* ſame, what cauſe ſhould the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore theſe Coynes and Treaſure be not without cauſe called of wyſe men, *Nerui bellorum*, (*that* is to ſay)

Doctor.

Hovv the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armour and artillery from abroad, with base coin?]

[Coin the Sinews of War.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greateſt daunger that I doe conſider ſhoulde growe for want of treaſure to the Prince and the Realme; [1]for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the ſtraungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themſelues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuiſe what coyne we woulde; but ſince wee muſt haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee muſt frame our things, not after our owne phantaſies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not ſet the price of things at our pleaſure, but follow the price of the vniuerſall Market of the World. I graunt, alſo, that Braſſe hath bene coyned ere this; yea, & Leather in ſome places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eſchewed as longe as poſſible may be. And if our treaſure be farre ſpent and exhauſt, (as it happened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wiſh that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then *the* deprauing of our coines, which ſerueth the Prince but a litle while, for ſome preſent ſhifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perſwaded that within our Realme treaſure might bee ſoone recouered by theſe two meanes: firſt, if we forbad the bringing in and ſelling of ſo many trifles as I before reherſed to be brought vs from beyond the ſea, & that nothing made beyond the ſea of our owne co*m*modities ſhould be ſould heere. And ſecondly, if we forbad that none of our co*m*modities ſhoulde paſſe vnwrought ouer ſea, which being wrought here, and ſoulde ouer, ſhould bring in infinite treaſure in ſhorte time.

[1 Fol. 36]

[We can't have base or fancy coin, so long as we want to buy foreign goods.]

[Stafford's two remedies:

1. stop the importation of trifles;

2. forbid the export of raw, unwrought, materials.]

Knight. Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wiſe man, which thinke it better *tha*t all our wooll were ſould ouer ſo vnwrought, then any Clothiers ſhoulde be ſet a worke withall within this realme.

[No Clothiers wanted here.]

Doctor. That were a ſtraunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man ſhoulde thinke ſo; and what ſhould mooue them to be [2]of that opynion, I pray you?

[2 Fol. 36, back]

Knight. I will tell you. They take it, that all inſurrections & vproares, for the moſt parte, do riſe by occaſion of theſe clothiers; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer ſea, then is a great multitude of theſe clothiers

[Unemployd Clothiers the cause of all insurrections.]

idle; And, when they be idle, then they aſſemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and ſo picke one quarrell or other to ſtirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, ſometimes by occaſion of warres, there muſt needes bee ſome ſtay of Clothes, ſo as they cannot haue alwayes lyke ſale or vent; at euery which time, if the ſayd Clothiers ſhould take occaſion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and conſequently, that *the* woll were vttered vnwrought ouer ſea then to haue it wrought here.

Whether all our Woll vvere expedient to be sould ouer vnvvrought.

So it may ſeeme to them that conſidereth one inconuenience and not another. Surely, whoſoeuer hath many Perſons vnder his Gouernaunce ſhall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietneſſe; and hee that hath a greate family, ſhall haue ſometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminiſhe hys number, for a Maiſter of a Houſe to put away hys Seruaunts, becauſe he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would ſo doe might be well reſembled to a man that ſhould ſell his land becauſe he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encreaſe *the* feate of clothing, but alſo intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee ſet a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; ſpecially ſuch as clothinge is, that ſettes ſo many thouſandes a woorke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupyed in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that brynges in [1]any newe Arte or miſterye, whereby the people might be ſet a worke, with ſuch thinges as ſhoulde both finde their workemen, and alſo bring ſome treaſure or other commodity into the Countrey. And ſhall we contrarywiſe labour to deſtroy our beſt and moſt profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treaſure from ſtraunge parties, or wherewith ſhoulde ſo many of our people be ſet a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Doctor.

[We want our cloth-making trade increast, and more trades brought in.]

[1 Fol. 37]

Mysteries are to be encrease[d] rather than diminished.

Mary! wee might haue treaſure ynough from outward Parties for our Woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to ſet our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee ſet to the Plough and huſbandry, and that ſhould make huſbandry to

Knighte.

[Set Clothiers to ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & grafing leſſe, when all theſe people that nowe doe occupy clothing ſhould fall to huſbandry.

Doctor. As to the firſt that yee ſayd, that Wooll is ſufficient to bring in treaſure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuaunce of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede ſheepe, and to increaſe Wooll, and ſo at length all other occupations ſhould bee ſet a ſide, and breedinge of ſheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe ſheepe maiſters would ſerue for a whole Shyre; & ſo in proceſſe of time the multitude of the ſubiects ſhould be worne away, and none lefte but a fewe Sheepherds, which were no number ſufficient to ſerue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that theſe Clothiers ſhoulde fall from that occupation to huſbandry; how coulde ſo many added to them that occupy huſbandry already, get their lyuinge by the ſame, when they that bee huſbandmen nowe haue but a ſmall Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde ſay to mee that they ſhoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of [1]their corne ouer ſea, then commeth the ſame inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For ſome yeres it ſhould happen either for warres, or by reaſon of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they ſhould haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and conſequently for lacke of liuing to aſſemble together, and make like vproares as ye ſpake of before.

[If every one bred sheep, we should have no men to defend the realm. And if Clothiers turnd Husbandmen, they'd starve.]

[1 Fol. 37, back]

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale; and for all that they haue made many greate ſturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not deſtroy Artificers; for, they know *that* the higheſt Prynces of them all, without ſuch artificers, could not maintaine their eſtate. Doe not all theyr toules, cuſtomes, taxes, tallages, and ſubſidies, chiefely growe by ſuch artificers? What king can maineteine his eſtate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many ſeruaunts in a houſe, well ſet a worke, gaines euery man ſomewhat to their maiſter: So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine ſomewhat; and altogether, a great maſſe to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

[In France are many trades, and the artisans make rows, but no one wants to destroy the men, who are the riches of the land.]

Knight. And now, becauſe we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuiſion of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe ſpend againe in the countrey. And the third ſorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treaſure into the countrey. Of the firſt ſort, I recken all mercers, Grocers, Viptners, Haberdaſhers, Milleners, and ſuch as doe ſell wares growing beyond the ſea, and do fetch out our treaſure for the ſame, which kinde of artificers, as I recken them tollerable, yet not ſo neceſſary in a common Weale but they might be beſt ſpared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treaſure as they doe [1]cary forth, we ſhould be greate looſers by them. Of the ſecond ſorte bee theſe Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Maſons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Victailers of all ſortes, which, like as they get their liuing in *the* countrey, ſo they ſpend it; but they bring in no treaſure vnto vs. Therefore, we muſt chearifh well the third ſort. And thoſe be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worſtedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their miſteries & faculties) do bring in any treaſure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheeſe, theſe be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the induſtrye of a fewe perſons; and if wee ſhoulde onely truſt to ſuch, and deuyſe nothing els to occupy our ſelues with, a few perſons would ſerue for the rearing of ſuch thinges, and few alſo it would finde; and ſo ſhould our realme be but like a grange, better furniſhed with beaſtes then with men, whereby it mighte be ſubiecte to the ſpoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eſchued, becauſe the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth ſuch thinges as bee for encreaſe of cattell, then for ſuch thinges as be for *the* nouriſhment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleeued, which, deſcrybing thys Ilande, ſayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: ſed eorum, que pecora, quàm homines benignius alant;* That is to ſay, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of theſe things that nouriſheth Beaſtes more kindely then men.' So many Foreſtes, Chaſes, Parkes, Marſhes, and waſte groundes being more here then moſt commonly elſwhere, declare the ſame not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not ſo much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and ſuch as bee both moſt neceſſary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, ſo they finde moſt perſons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerſe other Countries haue.

Three sortes of Artificers.

[1. Middlemen importers.]

One bringeth out our Treasure.

[1 Fol. 38, *misnumberd* 34]

A nother spend that they get in the same countrey agayne.

The thrid sort bring in Treasure, and therefore must be cherished.

[Our land brings forth food for beasts rather than men.]

Pomp. Me.

[1 Fol 38, back] Therefore, as much grou*n*de [1] as is here apte for theſe things, would be tourned as much as may be to ſuch vſes as may finde moſte perſons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be repleniſhed wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glaſiers, Paynters, Golde-ſmithes, blacke-ſmithes of al ſortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and ſuch other; ſo as we ſhould not onely haue inough of ſuch thinges to ſerue our Realme, and ſaue an infinyte treaſure that goeth now ouer for many of the ſame; but alſo might ſpare of ſuch things ready wrought to be ſolde ouer, whereby we ſhould fetch againe other neceſſary commodities or treaſure. And this ſhoulde both repleniſh the Realme of People able to defende it, and alſo ſaue & winne much treaſure to the ſame. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them ſelues.

[New trades wanted in England.]

Mysteries doe enrich countries that be els barren.

And what riches they bringe to the Countries where they be well vſed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through ſuch occupations, it hath ſo many & eke ſo wealthy Cities *tha*t it were almoſt incredible ſo litle grounde to ſuſtaine ſo much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right conſideration, *tha*t would haue either none or els leſſe clothing w*i*th*i*n this Realme, becauſe it is ſome time occaſion of buſines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way ſo co*m*modious or neceſſary for mans vſe, but it is ſometimes, by ill handling, occaſion of ſome diſpleaſure, no, not fier and water that be ſo neceſſary, as nothing can be more.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enricht by their manufactures.]

Knight. Yea, maſter Doctor, we ſtand not in like caſe as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee ſpeake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, [2] to whoſe Countreyes they may ſende theyr commodities to ſell.

[2 Fol. 39]

Doctor. So may wee bee, if wee were ſo wyſe to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee ſo mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be ſure to doe ſo? Let wyſe men conſider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time paſt. And if they bee nowe loſt or intercepted another way ſince, let vs purchaſe other for them; or els geue as litle occaſion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

Aliaunce vvith straungers are to be purchased and kept.

The Wyſe man, as I remember, ſayth in *Eccleſiaſtes: Non eſt bonum homini eſſe ſolum.*

Alſo, in Fraunce they haue diuerſe Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerſe places of the Realme, to repreſſe ſuch Tumults quickely if any ſhould ariſe. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to haue as many Artificers as they haue. Knight. Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

GOD ſworbote[1] that euer wee ſhoulde haue any ſuch Tyrauntes come among vs; for, as they ſay, ſuch will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouiſion, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauiſhe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner ſayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occaſion of Commotions to bee ſtirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee ſayd) the Stomaks of Engliſhe men woulde neuer beare to ſuffer ſuch Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that ſuch vſed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Peſaunts. Husband.. [1 Gods forbode, God's forbidding. p. 74.] [Tyranny over the poor in France.] Marchaunt. [French 'Peasants.']

Mary, the Prynce might reſtrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes. Knight.

What if it were ſkant in his power to do? the *Romaines* had ſometimes ſuch men of armes in diuerſe places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer[2]threwe the ſame. *Iulius Cæſar* doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lyſted, ſometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate* of *Rome*, being chiefe Counſaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane deſtroyed; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce alſo keepeth ſuch, but the ſtate and neceſſity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither ſea nor wall betwene them, againſt whoſe Inrodes and inuaſion they mayntayne thoſe men of warr of neceſſity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durſt, for feare of their neighbours. And ſome wyſe men among them haue ſayd and written, that the ſame men of Armes may bee the deſtruction of their Kingdome at length. And beſide that the largeneſſe of our Dominion, or Situation of the ſame towarde other Countreyes, doth not require ſuch men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp *the* like number with Fraunce. And then if we ſhould make a leſſe number, wee ſhould declare our ſelues in- Doctor. [2 Fol. 39, back] [France must keep troops; and yet they may destroy the country.]

feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in ſucceſſes, through the ſtouteneſſe of our Engliſhe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a ſmall ſore cured by a greater griefe, nor for auoydinge of populer ſedition, which happeneth very ſeldome and ſoone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse griefe vvould not be holpen vvith a greater sore.

Knighte. You ſay well, and ſo as I can ſay no more againſt your ſentence, but yet I would wiſhe your ſaying coulde ſatiſfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor. Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. I could be content to be troubled longer of that ſorte.

Marchaunt & Capper. And ſo coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your ſelfe, gentle maiſter Doctor.

Knighte. [1 Fol. 40, *misnumberd* 36] [1]Yet the moſt neceſſary poynte which we ſpake of is yet behinde, that is, how theſe thinges may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor. A Gods name, I will ſhewe my phantaſie in that part; But let vs firſt goe to ſupper. And ſo wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoſte had prepared honeſtly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote.* Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood*, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, *gods forbott*" said the Sheriffe,
"that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forebedynge (or *forbode*, or forefendynge). *Prohibicio, inhibicio.*"—Promptorium, ab. 1440 A.D.]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuiſed

ſome remedies for the ſame griefes.

AFter wee had well refreſhed our ſelues at ſupper, I thought long til I had knowne *the* iudgement of mayſter Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue rem*em*bred, how he thought they might bee beſt redreſſed, and with leaſt dau*n*ger or alteration of things. (And therefore I ſayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maiſter Doctor) our diſeaſes, and alſo the occaſions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not deſtitute of conuenient remedies for the ſame. You haue perſwaded vs full, and wee perceaue it well our ſelues, that wee are not now in ſo good ſtate as wee haue bene in times paſt. And you haue ſhewed vs probable occaſions that hath brought vs to that caſe, therefore now wee praye you ſhewe vnto vs what mighte remedye theſe our griefes.

Knight.

[Pray, Doctor, tell us the remedies for our country's ills.]

When a man doth perceaue his griefe, and the occaſion alſo of the ſame, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occaſion of the griefe, a man may ſoone auoide the ſame occaſion; and that being auoyded, the griefe is alſo taken away. For as the Phyloſopher ſayth: *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* But, let vs briefly recount *the* griefes and then the occaſions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquiſition of the remedies for the ſame. Firſt, this vniuerſall [1]dearth, in compariſon of *that* former age, is *the* chiefeſt griefe *that* all men complaines moſt on. Secondly, Incloſures, & turnyng of erable Grounde to paſture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Towneſhippes, and Villages; and laſt, deuiſion & diuerſitie of opinions in religion. The occaſions or cauſes of theſe, although I haue before diuerſely

Doctor.

[The ills are,

1. Dearth.

[1 Fol. 41]

2. Inclosures, and turning Arable into Pasture.

3. Decay of Towns.

4. Religious Differences.]

[The Doctor's Prologue.]

declared after the diuerſitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the ſame; But only ſuch as I thinke verely to be the very iuſt occaſions in deede. For, as I ſhewed you before, diuers men diuerſly iudge this or that to be the cauſe or occaſion of thys or that gryefe; and becauſe there may be diuers cauſes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cauſe that bryngeth forth the thinge to paſſe: Let vs ſeeke oute *the* cauſe, omitting all the meane cauſes, whych are driuen forward by the leaſt oryginall cauſe. As in a preſſe going in at a ſtraight, the formoſt is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by ſome violent and ſtronge thinge that dryues hym forwarde, which is the firſt and pryncipall cauſe of the puttynge forwarde of the reſt afore him. If he were kept backe and ſtaied, al they that goe afore would ſtay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the firſt wheele being ſtyrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the laſt that moues the Inſtrument that ſtryckes the clock; So in making of an houſe, there is the Mayſter that would haue the houſe made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the ſtuffe to make the houſe with al; *the* ſtuffe neuer ſtirres till the Workeman do ſet it forward; the workeman neuer trauailes but as *the* maiſter prouoketh him *with* good wages: and ſo he is the pryncipall cauſe of thys houſe making. And this cauſe is of *the* learned called 'efficient'; as that *that* bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perſwade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the houſe ſhall neuer come to paſſe, yet the houſe can not bee made wythout the ſtuffe, and worke[1]men; and therefore they be called of ſome *cauſæ ſine quibus non*, and of ſome other *Materiales & Formales;* but all commeth to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, *that* is, the pryncipall cauſe, without remouing of which cauſe *the* thing that cannot be remedied. And becauſe that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that* the cauſe of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall; Therefore Men tooke the cauſes of theſe thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not diſcerning the pryncipall cauſe from the meane cauſes, that by taking away of theſe cauſes that bee but ſecondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Aiax* that loſt her huſband in *the* ſhippe called *Argos*, wiſhed *that* thoſe Firre beames had neuer

The originall cause in euery thing is to be searched.

[Analogies of, 1. a crowd at a narrow passage;

2. a clock; and

3. the building of a house.]

[The original cause calld 'efficient.']

[1 Fol. 41, back]

Diuerse sortes of causes there bee.

[The primary cause to be distinguisht from secondary causes.]

Cic. top. Lib. 5.

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the ſayd ſhippe was made, when that was not the efficient cauſe of the looſing of her huſbande, but *the* wild fire caſt in the ſaid ſhippe, which did ſet it a fyre. Such cauſes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; ſo they bee alſo idle and of no operation of themſelues, without ſome other to ſet them a worke. And percaſe, I (whyle I degreſſe ſo farre from my matter) ſhalbe thought to goe as far from the purpoſe; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue ſayde to the ſame. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in ſelling his wares ſo deare; & ſome other by the Lord, in reyſing his land ſo high. And ſome by theſe incloſures. And ſome other by the reyſing of our coine, or [1]alteration of the ſame. Therefore, ſome by taking ſome one of theſe things away, (as theyr opinion ſerued them to be the pryncipall cauſe of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng ſhewed, they touched not the cauſe efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuiſe tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cauſe, that as ſoone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued alſo. [2]Yet I confeſſe al theſe thinges rayſeth together with this dearth, that euery of them ſhould ſeeme to be the cauſe of it; neuertheleſſe, that is no good proofe that they ſhould bee the cauſes of it, no more then was the ſteeple made at *Douer*[3] the cauſe of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, becauſe the Hauen began to decay the ſame time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though ſome of theſe becauſe of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient cauſes of this dearth. But as I haue ſayd before, of men thruſting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one firſt of al, that was the chiefe cauſe of that force; So in this matter that we talke of, there is ſome one thing that is the orygin-all cauſe of theſe cauſes; that be, as it were, ſecondary, and makes them to be the cauſes of other. As I take *the* reyſing of al priſes of victuals at *the* huſb*a*ndmans hand, is cauſe of the rayſing of *the* rent of his land. And *that* Gentlemen fall ſo much to take fearmes to theyr hands, leaſt they bee driuen to buy theyr p[r]ouiſion ſo deare, that is a great cauſe againe that Incloſure is the more vſed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & ſee it manured in huſbandry, which requyreth the induſtry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of perſons, doe conuerte

[Remote causes need not be considerd.]

Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.

[1 *orig.* atteration]

[The principal or efficient cause of the Dearth has not yet been toucht.]

[2 Fol. 42]

[Tenterden steeple and Dover harbour.]

[3 ? Tenterden.]

Hovv one thing is cause of another, & that of the third.

moſte of that Laude to Paſtures, wherein is requyred both leſſe charge of Perſons, and of the which neuertheleſſe commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and ſets forwarde one another, but one firſt of all is *the* chiefe cauſe of all this circuler motion & impulſion. I ſhewed, ere while, that *the* chiefe cauſe was not in the huſbandman, nor yet in *the* Gentleman. Let vs ſee whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reaſon that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the huſbandman is dryuen to ſel his co*m*modities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maiſter marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cauſe from being in you?

[Is the chief cause of the Dearth in the Merchant?]

Marchaunt. [1 Fol. 42, back]

[1] Sir, eaſily ynough; for as wee ſell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of ſtraungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will diſburden our ſelues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunſwere; if they were, I woulde aſke them why they ſell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunſwere ere this (when they were aſked that queſtion) two manner of wayes. One was, they ſelled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; ſaying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our co*m*modities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue aſmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for ſo much. Yea, for an ounce of our ſiluer or golde, as much ſtuffe as euer was geuen for *the* ſame. And their other anſwere was, *that* if we reckened they did ſell their wares dearer becauſe they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the ſame then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they ſaide, but oures, that made our pieces leſſe, or leſſe worth then they were in times paſt. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: ſaying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would conſider *the* quantity & right value of it, that they were eſteemed at euery where through *the* world.

The straungers aunsvvere touching this dearth.

[That because our coin was debasd, they wanted more of it for their goods.]

Knight.

Then I would haue anſwered the*m* there of this ſorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the* matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If ſo, they might haue

as much of our commodities for *the* ſame as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our ſiluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they ſhould haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cauſe why they ſhould ſell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let foreigners take our goods, and let our coin alone.]

[1]Then he might haue aunſwered againe, that it chaunſed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al thoſe wares *that* they looked for. And therefore they, hauinge percaſe more wares neceſſary for vs then we had of ſuch wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs ſuch ſtuffe currant in moſt places as might buy that they looked for elſe where at their pleaſure; And that they will ſay was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not tranſporting ouer ſea any Gold or ſiluer, they paſſed not thereof, ſo they mighte haue the ſame once conueyed the*m*; As they had many waies to haue it ſo, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might ſay that we had not in deede our coyne in that eſtate our ſelues, that by the name they pretended, but eſteemed both the value & qua*n*tity of the ſtuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of ſiluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs braſſe mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it ſo at their handes, why ſhoulde they take it otherwiſe at ours? Then they ſaw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of ſiluer the*n* of braſſe, no, not the maiſter of our mints, though they would otherwiſe perſwade the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, ſeing vs eſteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beſide, why ſhould they not eſteeme our coine after *the* quantity and value of the ſubſtaunce thereof, both after the rate it was eſteemed amonge vs, & alſo euery other where? And ſo as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in ſubſtaunce that they were wont to demau*n*d for their wares. Now let vs ſee whether now goeth the cauſe of this matter? from the ſtraungers; For me thinkes he hath reſonably excuſed himſelfe & put it from him.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 43]

[But suppose they don't want so much goods of us as we do of them,

why should they, for the balance, take our debasd coin as pure?]

[2]By your tale it muſt bee in the coyne, and conſequently in the Kinges highnes, by whoſe commaundement *the* ſame was altered.

Knight.
[2 Fol. 43, back]

Doctor. Yea, percaſe it goes further yet; yea, to ſuch as were the firſt counſailours of that deede, pretending it ſhould bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditye, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall loſſe both to his highnes and alſo his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben eaſly reuoked againe from *the* practiſe of that ſimple deuiſe. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwiſe, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maieſty in any wyſe, (in whoſe time this was don, which is not to be ſuppoſed to haue intended thereby any loſſe, but rather commoditye to himſelfe and his ſubiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing ſucceeded beſide the purpoſe.

[Henry VIII. debasd our coin, thinking that it 'ud be a benefit to the realm; but it's been a great loss.]

Knight. Then yee thinke plainely *that* this alteration of *the* coine was the chiefe and principall cauſe of this vniuerſall dearth?

Doctor. Yea, no doubt, and of many of *the* ſayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beſide the reaſon of the thing being plaine inough of it ſelf, alſo experience & proofe doth make it more playne. For euen with *the* alteration of *the* coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, ſo roſe the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, *the* few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did teſtefie; for yee ſhould haue for any of *that* ſame coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the ſame. For as the meaſure is made leſſe, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and becauſe this rayſed not together at all mens handes, therefore ſome hath greate loſſes, and ſome other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made ſuch a generall grudge for the thinge at the firſte time. And thus to conclude, [1]I thinke this alteration of *the* Coine to haue ben *the* firſt originall cauſe that ſtraungers firſt ſould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to ſell *the* ſame dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayſe their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouiſion, and conſequently to incloſe more Groundes.

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, euer since that time.

[1 Fol. 44]

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

Knight. If this were the chiefeſt cauſe of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maiſter Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it ſhould ſeeme to be; how commeth it to paſſe (where as you ſay, if the cauſe be re-

moued, the effect is alſo taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long ſithence our engliſh coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeſſe which now raigneth) hath bene again throughly reſtored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz. has restord our Coin to its original purity.]

In deede, ſir, I muſt needes confeſſe vnto you (although it may ſeeme at the firſt ſighte to diſcredite my former ſayinges in ſome parte) that, notwithſtanding that our Coyne at this preſent day, yea, and many yeares paſt, hath recouered his aunciente goodneſſe, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue ſtill amongſt vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to *the* purpoſe, is well worthy the conſideration, ſo doe I accompte it of ſuch difficulty, *that* perhaps it would not be thought to ſtande wyth modeſty to vndertake without farther ſtudy preſently to diſſolue the ſame.

Doctor.

[True. And the Dearth still continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modeſty. I vnderſtand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of ſufficient ſtore (without farther deliberation) to ſatiſfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then theſe.

Knight.

Well[1], I am content (becauſe you wyll haue it ſo) to [2]yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder proteſtation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewiſe with mee your owne Phantaſies and Iudgementes in the ſame. I fynde therefore two ſpeciall cauſes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, not*with*ſtanding *that* reſtitution made in our coin, the aforeſayd dearth of things (in reſpect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The firſt is, that whereas immediately after the baſeneſſe of our Coyne in the time of kyng *Henry* the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al ſorts of people roſe; it muſt needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon *the* reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the ſmarte hereof then any other, of what order or eſtate ſo euer. Thys therefore being take*n* as moſt true, the Gentlemen, deſirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predeceſſors, were driuen of neceſſity as often as whenſoeuer any Leaſes deuiſed for terme of yeares by them*ſ*elues or their Aunceſtors were throughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[[1] *orig.* Wwell]

[[2] Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of the dearth of thinges.]

[1. The debasing of our coin by Henry VIII. This raisd prices.]

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the moſt part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyſſing vp of Rentes hath continued euer ſince *that* tyme, vntill this preſent day. Hereupon the huſbandman was neceſſarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and ſo continueth vnto this day), to ſel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them; and likewiſe other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrſt time (as I ſaid before) ſprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firſte and chiefeſt efficient cauſe, ſo doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and ſo forwarde, partely to the racked and ſtretched rentes, which haue laſted, yea, and increaſed euer ſince that time hetherunto, & ſo are like to continue I [1]know not how long. Now if we would in theſe our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally reſtored among vs agayne, The reſtoring of our good Coine, which allredy is paſt, (& before *the* improued rentes would only of it ſelfe haue been ſufficient to haue brought this matter to paſſe,) will not ſerue in theſe our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poſſibly can not be without the common conſent of our landed men throughout *the* whole realme. Another reaſon I conceiue in this matter to be *the* great ſtore & plenty of treaſure, which is walking in theſe parts of *the* world far more in theſe our dayes then euer our forefathers haue ſene in times paſt. Who doth not vnderſtand of *the* infinite ſummes of gold & ſiluer, which are gathered from *the* *Indies* & other countries, and ſo yearely tranſported into theſe coſtes? As this is otherwiſe moſt certaine, ſo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in theſe daies. It is their conſtant report, *that* in times paſt, & within *the* memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe houſe among his neighbors, which, all things diſcharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in theſe our daies *the* man of *that* eſtimation is ſo farre in the common opinion from a good houſe-keeper, or man of wealth, *that* he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore theſe ii. reaſons ſeemed vnto me to contain in them ſufficient probability for cauſes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

[The raising of prices raisd Rents on Lease

This raisd the price of food, and all other articles.]

[1 Fol. 45]

[If we want our old pen'orths or prices, we must get Rents lowerd.]

[2. The great increase of money in our days, from India, &c.]

[Some years ago a man with £30 or £40 a year was thought rich. Now he's considerd next door to a beggar.]

Knight. Yea, but (ſir) if the increaſ of treaſure be partly the occaſion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like ſorte, rayſed according to the increaſe of their treaſure.

It is euen ſo; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En[1]gliſh wares vnto their old prices, ſo doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wiſhe that our commodities ſhould bee vttered good cheape to ſtraungers, and theirs, on *the* other ſide, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impoueriſhing of the Common weale in a very ſhorte time. Doctor. [1 Fol. 45. back]

Now that you haue ſo well touched the occaſion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wiſhed of *the* ſame, ſo fully that I am well ſatiſfied withall, I pray you ſhewe me the remedies of theſe great Incloſures, whereof al the realme complaineth of ſo much, and hath complayned long vpon. For you haue well perſwaded how it is a meane of greate deſolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by paſture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne ſo much to paſture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reaſoned vpon aſwell in Parliament as in Counſayles, & yet ſmall remedy found therefore that tooke effect. Knighte. [Pray tell me the remedies for the Enclosures of Common lands.]

If I then, after ſo many wiſe heades as were in thoſe Parliaments and Counſayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they ſay) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant. Doctor.

Yet tell your phantaſie therein; for though you miſſe of the right meane to reforme that, it ſhall bee no more ſhame for you to doe ſo, then it was for ſo many wiſe men as yee ſpeake of to miſſe. Knight.

You ſay truth, and ſince I ſpeak nothing in this part *that* I would haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wiſe men to conſider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reaſon ſhall ſeeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already *with* your patience to ſay thus farre, I will not ſpare to declare my minde in [2]this. But ſtill I muſt keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to try out the effectuall cauſe of theſe incloſures, and then, by taking away of the cauſe, to redreſſe the thinge. Doctor. [2 Fol. 46]

Knight. I pray you doe ſo; for to mee it ſeemes very reaſonable that ye ſay, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phiſition tell mee once, when I was ſicke of an ague: when I aſked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, ſaying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that ſhould make me ſtronger; Then he anſwered me that choler was *the* cauſe of my ſicknes, and that hee gaue me thoſe purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cauſe of my diſeaſe once taken away, the ſicknes ſhould bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vſe your accuſtomed order in this matter, and tel the cauſe of theſe Incloſures.

Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

Doctor. I ſhewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cauſe thereof, and partly the remedy of the ſame.

Knighte. So did other men among vs tell theyr fanſie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all thoſe cauſes ye take for the neceſſary and efficient cauſe of this matter.

Doctor. To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for *the* principall cauſe thereof; but can we deuiſe *that* all couetouſnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be *with*out wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we muſt take away from men the occaſion of their couetouſnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they ſe grow by theſe incloſures more then by their huſbandry. And that may be done by any of theſe two meanes that I will tell you: Either by *the* miniſhing of the luker that men haue by graſing; Or els by aduaun*c*ing of the profite of huſbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as graſing is; for euery man (as *Plato* ſaith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they ſee [1] moſt luker, they will moſt gladly exerciſe. I ſhewed you before, that there is more luker by graſing of x. Acres to *the* occupier alone, then is in *the* tillage of xx. And *the* cauſes thereof be many: one is, *that* graſing requires ſmall charge & ſmall labor, which in tillage con*ſ*umes much of *the* men*s* gai*n*es; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maiſter & all his mainy, then the graſing of xx. acres. Another great cauſe is, that whatſoeuer thing is rered vpon graſing, hath free vente both ouer this ſide & alſo beyond the ſea, to

Hovv Inclosures may be remedied.

[1. Lessen the profit of grazing, or 2. greaten that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[1 Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

be ſold at the higheſt penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of ſeruaunts & of labor. And alſo if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth ſcant for the charge of *the* tillage. And then if the market doe ariſe, either within *the* Realme or without, the poore huſband ſhalbe ſo reſtrained from ſelling his corn, *that* he neuer after ſhall haue any ioy to ſet his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forſake tillage and fall to graſing, which bringeth in all theſe Incloſures. [Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that? Knighte.

Mary! as for *the* firſt poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and graſing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reaſon the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, paſture, *pratum*, that is as much to ſay as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the huſbandman might haue aſmuch liberty at all times to ſel his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the graſier hath to ſell his; which would make the huſbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other, ſeeing them thriue, would turn theyr paſture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunſe the market for the time, yet woulde it cauſe much more tillage to be vſed, and conſequently more Corne, which in time of plentye within this Realme might bringe in much treaſure; & in time of ſcarſity would ſuffice for *the* realme, as I ſhew[1]ed you before. And thus with luker they ſhould bee entyſed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red *that* in this realme ſometime there was ſuch a lawe, as a man that had treſpaſſed the lawe of miſaduenture, mought haue taken the Plough tayle for his ſainctuary. Alſo *that* occupation was had ſo honourable amonge the *Romains*, *that* one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Conſull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no ſcorne to reſort to *the* ſame feate againe. What occupation is ſo neceſſary or ſo profitable for mans life as this is? Or what miſtery is ſo voyd of all craft as the ſame is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it deſpiſed, that many in theſe daies repute them but as villains, peſaunts, or ſlaues, by whome *the* proudeſt of them haue their liuings. So *that* I maruaile much there is any (ſeing ſuch a vility & contempt of *the* thing) will occupy the feat of huſbandry at all; For as honour nouriſheth all ſciences, ſo diſhonor muſt needes decay them. And there-

Pratum quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[1 Fol. 47]

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

fore if ye will haue huſbandry encreaſed, ye muſt honor & cheriſh it; *that* is, to let the*m* haue honeſt gaines thereby; & ſince *that* gains ſhall come into youre countrey, why ſhould you be offended there*with*? Another way is to abate the co*m*modity of graſing, as when any taxe is requiſite to be graunted to *the* Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of paſture aſmuch as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & ſuch things as are reared by graſing, *that* paſſe to *the* partes beyond *the* ſea vnwrought, w*ith* double tallage ouer any corn tra*n*ſported; and by enhaunſing the profite of tillage, and abaſing of the profite of graſing, I doubt not but huſbandry would be more occupied and graſing much leſſe; And therby theſe incloſures to be broken vp. Alſo there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto alſo; that is, where men are enter co*m*miners in *the* co*m*mon fields, & alſo haue their portio*n*s ſo e*n*termedled one with another, that though they would, they could not encloſe any part of *the* ſayd fields ſo long as it is ſo. [1]But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by graſing then by huſbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them ſo many acres in this place for ſo many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and ſo incloſe it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was ſo of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, ſo as here ſhould bee three acres, and then his neighbour ſhould haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii., and ſo after the like rate be *the* moſt partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this cou*n*trey; which I thinke good were ſtill ſo continued, for auoyding of the ſayd encloſures. And thus farre as touching *that* matter.

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[1 Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchau*n*t. Now that you haue well declared your opinion in theſe matters of the common dearth and encloſures, I pray you tell vs your minde what ſhould be the occaſion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hoſpitalles; and how the ſame may be remedied and releeued againe. For that theſe huſbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not ſo great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but Citizens and Burgeſes finde as much within theyr walles.

Of Tovvnes decayed.

Doctor. Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phanſie in all theſe

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the* good occupations heretofore vſed in the ſayd Townes were occaſion of theyr wealth in times paſt, and the laying down of thoſe occupations againe is the cauſe of the decay of the ſame townes. Wherefore, if ſuch occupations may be reuyued againe in the ſame, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

I beleeue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of theſe townes; but what, I pray you, was [1]the occaſion of ſuch decay of the occupations?

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 48]

I will tell you: while men were contented with ſuch as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well ſet a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and ſet a worke, and yet the money payd for the ſame ſtuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the pooreſt younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And ſpecially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hoſe, or ſhyrte, in his countrey, but they muſt haue this geare come fro*m* Lo*n*don; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyo*n*d the ſea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and ſpecially of the townes beyond the ſeaes, are well ſet a worke, euen vpon our coſtes. Therefore I would wiſh ſome ſtay were deuiſed for comming of ſo many trifles from beyond the Sea, and ſpecially of ſuch things as might be made here among our ſelues; or els might bee either all ſpared, or els leſſe vſed amonge vs; as theſe drinking and looking glaſſes, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thouſande other thinges of like ſorte. As for ſilkes, wines, and ſpice: if there came leſſe ouer, it made no matter. But ſpecially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſolde here, but *tha*t all thoſe ſhould be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs *tha*t our owne people were ſet a worke with ſuch thinges then ſtraungers? I am ſure xx. thouſand perſons might be ſet a worke within this realme, that are ſet a worke beyond ſea with thoſe thinges that now

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our Tovvnes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made girdles, &c.; now no poor man is so, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) should be imported.]

[This would set 20,000 people to work.]

[1 Fol. 48, back] be made beyond the Sea, and [1]might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. perſons through the whole yeare, and burden his treaſures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think theſe things might be wrought here, not onely ſufficient to ſet ſo many a worke and ſerue the realme, but alſo to ſerue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kerſey, Worſteds, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapeſtry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hoſen, Peticotes, and Hattes; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, ſkins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of veſſell, and alſo all kinde of glaſſes, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and cheſſes, ſince we will neede haue ſuch things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, ſawes, cheſells, axes, & ſuch things made of yron. might not wee bee aſhamed to take all theſe things at ſtraungers hands, & ſet ſuch a multitude of their people a worke as I ſpake of now, whoſe finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee ſaued within the Realme, where it ſhould not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in ſettinge vp of theſe occupations, I would haue them moſt preferred and cheriſhed, that bring moſt commodity and treaſure into the country; as yee muſt conſider three ſortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treaſure; the ſecond ſort, that as it carrieth none forth of the country, ſo it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it ſpendeth in the country; the third bringeth in treaſure to the country. Of the firſt ſorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdaſhers; theſe galley men, Mercers, Fuſtian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries that ſelleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhauſt the treaſure of the Realme. Of the ſecond ſort are Victaylers, Inhoulders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Maſons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and [2]Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of *the* cou*n*trey, ſo they bringe none in; but where as they get it they ſpend it. Of the thyrd ſort bee theſe clothiers, cappers, worſted-makers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe recken, that brings into the realme any treaſure. Therefore theſe artes are to bee chearifhed, whereas they be vſed, and where they bee not, they would be ſet vp; and alſo other ſcie*n*ces moe, as making of glaſſes, making of Swords, Daggers,

[We might make all kinds of cloth and clothes here,

also paper,

all leather goods, glass, cards, chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money for these now goes abroad.]

['Three sorts of traders.]

[1. Importers send our money away.

2. Other tradesmen spend their earnings in the country.]

[2 Fol. 49]

[3.] That arte is to be most chearished in a tovvne that bringes most to the tovvne.

Kniues, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; alſo making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard ſay that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewiſe. So Briſtow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe miſterie that was exerciſed in the towne. And albeit theſe be but two of the lighteſt faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly mainteined by theſe two faculties aboue rehearſed. I heard ſay in *Venice* (that moſt floriſhing citie at theſe daies of al *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye; for it is a wonder to ſee what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himſelfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditye but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one Worſtedmaker bringes into *the* towne where he dwelles, and how many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to *the* towne where he dwels, truly I can not ſufficiently declare, for by a few worſtedmakers *the* ſame townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell [1]them out; as I haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come[2] from ſtraunge parties to ſome Cityes within this Realme, entending to ſet vp theyr craftes, and becauſe they were not free there (but ſpecially becauſe they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee ſuffered to worke there. Such incorporations had thoſe Miſteries in thoſe Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them firſt.

[Fresh trades to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of points.]

Townes are enriched with some one trade.

[Venice entices skilld workmen to it.]

[See what money one Worstedmaker brings to a town!]

[1 Fol. 49, back]

[2 *orig.* comemon]

[We foolishly drive strange skilld workmen out of our towns.]

And doe you thinke it reaſonable that a ſtraunger ſhould bee as free in a City or Towne as they that were prentiſes there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were ſo. Capper.

I ſayde not that they ſhall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunchiſe; but as one craſte makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, ſo I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchiſe of one craft or miſterry; Doctor.

for, though commonly none ſhould be admitted there to worke but ſuch as are free, yet when a ſinguler good workeman in any miſtery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enſtructe them of the Towne being of the ſame faculty, and alſo bringe into the Towne much commodity beſide, I woulde in that caſe haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges gieue place to a publique weale; and ſuch a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the ſame Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his firſt entry or ſetting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furniſh the Towne with ſuch craftes as were either ſometimes exerciſed well there, or might bee by reaſon of the ſituation and commodity of the ſame Towne, I woulde haue ſuch craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to thoſe Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr houſe rente [1]free, or ſome ſtocke lent them of the common ſtocke of ſuch townes; and when the towne is wel furniſhed of ſuch Artificers, then to ſtay the comming in of Foreners. But while *the* towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the reſtauration of the towne to keepe of[2] any ſtraunge artificers; for the moſt parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all ſortes, but ſpecially by thoſe *that* make any wares to ſell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treaſure into the ſame: As clothiers, cappers, worſted-makers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, ſmythes of all ſortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourſers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, baſket makers, and many other ſuch. As for the mercers and haberdaſhers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot ſee what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houſholdes, and in ſteade thereof empoueriſh ten times as many. But ſince men wil needes haue ſilkes, wine, and ſpice, it is as good that men do ſpend theyr money vpon ſuch in their owne towne as to be dryuen to ſeeke the ſame further. As for *the* reſt of *the* artificers, like as I ſaid before, euen as they take no money out of *the* Countrey, ſo they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Maſons, Bouchers, vittailers, & ſuch like. Alſo an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decaied; if they would take order that al *the* wares made there ſhould haue a ſpeciall marke, and that marke to be ſet to none but to ſuch

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decaying town, should be given house-rent, and lent money.]

[1 Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

as be truely wrought. And alſo that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (ſuch as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) ſhould bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to ſell no ware but ſuch as are firſt approued and ſealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by theſe two meanes, that is to ſay, fy[r]ſte [1] by ſtaying of wares wrought beyond ſea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be ſold; Secondly, by reſtraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, & other commodityes from paſſing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be ſol[d]e outward, & theſe wares to be viewed and ſealed by the towne ſeale before they ſhoulde bee ſolde;—I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be ſoone reſtored to theyr auncyent wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artisans to be affiliated to some town.]

[1 Fol. 50, back]

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the laſt matter ye ſpake of: how theſe diuerſities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very ſore, and makes great ſedition and deuiſion among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, the Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the foreſayd loſſes of wordly [2] goods. For if wee were neuer ſo poore, and did neuertheleſſe agree amonge our ſelues, wee ſhoulde lycke our ſelues hoale againe in ſhort ſpace.

Knight.

[What's the remedy for our Religious Differences?]

[2 worldly]

Yee ſay truth: with concord, weake things do encreaſe & waxe big; And contrarywiſe, with diſcorde ſtrong thinges waxe weake. And it muſt needes be true that truth it ſelfe ſayth: 'Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe ſhal bee deſolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbeare to ſhewe you my poore opinion, how ſo great a miſchiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & ſtil I will vſe one trade, as in ſeeking out the oryginall cauſe, and by takinge awaye of that to ſhew the remedye. I take the chiefe cauſe hereof, aſwel the ſinnes of them that be the miniſters of Chriſts holy word and miſteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And firſt, of ours, that haue ſwarued altogether from their due courſe, order, and profeſſion, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to [3] the baſenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetouſnes, and ſuch. Wherefore yee lay men, ſeeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Doctor

Concordia que res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[3 Fol. 51]

[While Ministers livd up to what they preacht, all men obeyd them.]

to bee your Leaders and Paſtors, or to whoſe doctryne yee ſhoulde gieue credence, whome yee ſee in lyuing far diſcrepant from the ſame. And therefore ye take vpon you *the* iudgment of ſpirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for ſo long as the miniſters of the church were of thoſe maners & conuerſation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long all men, yea, the greateſt prynces of the worlde, and the wyſeſt men, wer content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that* ſoule; and ſince we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryſt ſuffered ſlaunder by our ſinfull liuing. So we haue gieuen the fyrſte occaſion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an inſtrument to worke this ſcyſme withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this miſchief, which I take to bee in the miniſters & paſtors ſpirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to diſſemble oure owne faultes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our ſelues fyrſt, I can haue no great truſt to ſee this generall ſcyſme and deuiſion in religion vtterly taken away; it may, percaſe, wyth authority be for a time appeaſed, but neuer ſo as it ſprynge not againe, except wee reforme oure ſelues fyrſt.

The occasion of the scysme in matters of religion. [is the sin of Ministers; and unless they reform, schism 'll not cease.]

Knight. Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel diſciplined & corrected already, ſo as yee had good cauſe to bee reformed, as by taking much of your poſſeſſions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with ſubſidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more?

Doctor. Yea, no doubte wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue ſerued, but ſome maiſters *with* litle beating will [1]teach theyr ſchollers better then other with more ſtrypes can doe; and agayne, ſome ſchollers will be reformed with leſſe beating then other. So you and we doe now: you in beating inough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne, little regarding *the* ſtrypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithſtanding theſe puniſhments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and opening of our faultes, ſee how many of vs haue reformed our ſelues, yea, ſo much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how many moe of vs haue reſorted to our benefices to be reſident thereon, which not onely by the ſayd lawes, but alſo vpon greate penalties wee

[1 Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy have been beaten; but with little good result.

How many more of us live in our parishes now?]

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many leſſe now then before haue ſtudied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee ſcante able to diſcharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittyng of miniſters of the church? What more exacte ſearche is made by our Biſhops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of ſoules? What better execution of our cannons and decrees doe our Biſhoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their viſitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hoſpitality, reſidence, or miniſtration eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byſhops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in theyr manſions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and ſcant once a yeare will ſee their principall church, where they ought to be continually reſident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all theſe plagues that God ſendes to them? But they are ſo blynded, that they cannot ſee wherefore they be thus puniſhed, & conſtrue it to be for other cauſes, as by the couetouſnes of lay men in deſiringe theyr Poſſeſſions by a hatred conceiued agaynſte them, for not obteyning theyr purpoſe [2]at men of the Chur[1]ches hand[2]. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or ſuch other cauſes as they immagine with themſelues; And thinke that the indignation againſt them ſhortly will ſlake of it ſelfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encreaſe, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay *the* tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr ſore labour and ſweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghoſtly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing ſcrupulous to keepe thoſe tythes in his owne handes, when hee ſees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they ſee ſo light in lyuing? what reuerence will they gieue our perſonnes, in whoſe manners they ſee no grauity? But to paſſe from theſe matters to others. There be moſt godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counſayles generally, that all Archdeacons ſhould viſite in perſon yearely theyr precinctes. The Biſhop euery three yeares to ſee *the* whole Dioceſſe, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they haue

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence, Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.

Bishops lurk in mansions, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.]

[1 Fol. 52]

[2—2? at churchmen's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tithes, when we do nothing for 'em?]

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.

theyr procurations. Vifite they doe not in perſon, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is ſurely gathered, but the cauſe wherefore it was geuen, nothinge kept; the ſtipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndo*n*. Then is there another good ordenau*n*ce and godly, abſolued after the like ſorte; where euery biſhop ſhould yerely keepe a ſinode in his dioceſſe of all euangelicall perſo*n*s, and euery archbiſhop a ſinod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the dioceſſe worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall co*n*gregation, if it were either doubtfull to the biſhop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Biſhoppes alone. [1]Where bee theſe ſinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire ſinodals of *the* poore prieſts; of ſuch good ordena*n*ce & godly there is nothing kept, but *tha*t which is their owne priuat co*m*modity, which be *the* procuratio*n*s & ſinodals; *the* other part wherefore *tha*t charge was laid is omitted; the burde*n* remaineth, & the duty is take*n* away; yet better it were *tha*t both *the* one & *the* other were take*n* away, the*n* to haue *the* good parte taken & the worſe to remaine. If they will ſay *tha*t there needeth nowe a daies no ſuch viſitation nor ſynods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more neceſſary. But our prelats would ſay they dare make no lawes in ſuch ſinods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what ſhould let them to put theſe in execution that be already made, ſpecially ſince they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not ſtatutes made in parliament for reſide*n*ce, and for reſtrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our ſelues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuerſation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profeſſion, and that the religion of them ſuffereth ſlaunder, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults ſhalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this ſciſme take*n* away fro*m* chriſtes church, let vs firſt reform our ſelues & put our lawes in executio*n*, as in reſorting to our benefices to keepe reſidence, and in contentyng our ſelues wyth one

They take money too for holding Synods, but never hold 'em.]

[1 Fol. 52, back. *Catchword* Whereby]

[And yet reformation was never more needed than now.]

[Good laws we have; but we won't keep 'em.

Then laymen should make us.]

[If we Clergy want schism to cease, let us reform ourselves.]

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our miniſtration, without deuiſing of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reaſon, then a man to ſpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath *the* benefite of? [1]And ſeeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reaſon is it that one man ſhould haue two mens liuinges, & two mens charge, where he is able to diſcharge but one? Then to haue moe, & diſcharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynſt reaſon. But ſome, percaſe, will ſay, there be ſome of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for ſuch a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forſooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of ſundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the firſt and take *the* better, for the meaneſt Benefice is a ſufficient liuinge for ſome man, which ſhould be deſtitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like ſhould be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue ſuch meane benefices be more commonly reſident, and keepe better hoſpitality on the ſame, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, '*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*' Nowe looke throughe a whole Dioceſſe, you ſhall not finde xx. perſons reſident that may diſpende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Dioceſſe, the fourth perſon reſident ouer the ſame. What temperal office is ſo far abuſed as theſe be that be ſpirituall and of greater charge? I pray God ſend our Prelats Eyes to ſee theſe Enormities; for it ſhoulde ſeeme that they are ſo blinded that they cannot ſee them. And then I doubt not but all delayes ſet a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God ſend our Maieſtrats temperall the minde to reforme theſe thinges with their ſeculer power. And to ſtudy for the reformation [2]of them, rather then for theyr poſſeſſions, Chriſtian Princes beare not their ſwords in vayne; nor yet is it ſo ſtraunge a thing to ſee Chriſtian princes reforme the Prelates that ſwarue from their duties. Thus far be it ſpoken

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[1 Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We have benefices from 1000 to 20 marks a year, for men according to their capacity.]

[The poor clergy live at home more than the rich.]

[We haven't 20 resident Parsons with £40 a year.

Not 1 Parson in 4 is resident.

If the Bishops won't reform this, I hope to God the laity will.]

[2 Fol. 53, back]

touching the reformation of them *that* be mynifters of *the* Church. Now to ſpeake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee muſt vnderſtand, that al *that* geue the*m* ſelues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly ſubiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the* one is to take theſe things *that* we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good ſpace and great diligence in conſideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the ſame; the other vice, to beſtowe too great a ſtudy and labour about obſcure and hard thinges nothing neceſſary. Let vs now conſider, and thoſe faults be not among you at theſe dayes, ye be all now ſtudious to knowe the vnderſtanding of holy ſcripture. And well, for there can be no better deſire, more honeſt, nor more neceſſary for any chriſtia*n* ma*n*; but yet doe yee not ſee many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the conſideration or ſtudy of ſcripture, take vpon the*m* to iudge of high matters being in controuerſie, geeuing to quicke aſſent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue co*n*ſidered what might be ſayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely ſeene in men ſtudious of the knowledge of ſcripture, but alſo in younge ſtudents of all other ſciences: ſhall ye not finde a ſtudent in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the ſtudy of *the* lawe not paſt iii. yeares, more ready to aſſoyle you a doubtfull cauſe of the lawe, then either he himſelfe or another, after *that* he hath ſtudied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, ſo it is in a young Gra*m*marian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & ſo of al other ſciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to [1] ſpeake the firſte v. yeares *that* they came to him, which leſſon I would to God yee would be co*n*tent to obſerue, before yee gaue any iudgement in matters of holy ſcripture. And the*n* I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of ſcripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more ſcrupulouſe to geue an au*n*ſwere in high thinges then yee be now; and this harme co*m*meth of raſhe iudgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vttred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great ſhame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what ſo euer he readeth after, he conſtrueth for the mayntenaunce of his

[The presumption of ill-informd laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in the part of the laitye. [*orig.* dutye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[1 Fol. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

opinion; yea, and wil force that ſide, not onely with his wordes and perſwaſions, but alſo with that powre and authority *that* he hath, and will labour to bring other to the ſame opinion, as many as he can, as though his Opinion ſhoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of *the* ſame. By ſuch meanes, if we ſeeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the beſt ſide *that* getteth *the* ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the diſceptacion & inquiſition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wreſtling; for he that hath the ouer hand in theſe thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is ſometimes put to ſilence, or otherwiſe vanquiſhed in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conqueſt of truth on his ſide. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what ſhoulde wee deuide our ſelues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly diſcuſſed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of ſuch things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vſe any vyolence agaynſt the other to bringe them by force to this or that ſide, vntill the whole or moſt part of them, to whom *the* diſcuſcion of ſuch things appertayneth vnto, [1]doe freely conſent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to deſcide ſuch controuerſies; and ſince this contencion muſt once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percaſe more harme ſhal haue enſued of this daungerous Sciſme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene ſeene, of ſuch ſort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what loſſe of Chriſtian men, what diminiſhing of the Chriſtian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occaſion of? did it not ſeperate and ſeuer at length all *Aſia* and *Affricke* from the Chriſtian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked ſuperſticion, of the *Turke* graffed ouer this *Arrian* Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuiſion more daungerous then that which groweth of matters in Religion, ſo it were moſt expedient and neceſſary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counſel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apoſtles, who firſt tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appeaſe all controuerſies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghoſt, as his promiſe is,

[Truth doesn't always get the most votes.]

[Why should seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

As Constantyne the great did in the time of Arius.

[1 Fol. 54, back]

[Let all questions be discusst by experts, and the majority decide.]

[The only way to stop divisions is to have a General Council.]

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome (or Pope) is a difficulty.]

wilbe preſente in euery ſuch aſſembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will ſay, thoughe wee would for our partes ſet a ſide parciality, and be indifferent and vſe no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that ſhoulde fauour our partes, who can promiſe that the Byſhoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe *the* ſame? Surely, if yee did ſay ſo, yee ſayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more ſubiect to affections then yee be. But I ſhalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aſwell as in other thinges. I take all theſe matters that be now a dayes in controuerſie to be of one of theſe ſortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Myniſters [1]of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching thoſe articles that concerne religion, I would wiſhe *that* they had onely the diſcuſcion thereof, which ought and haue vſed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the ſame; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, I would haue theſe left to the diſcuſcion of the ſeculer powers, becauſe it concerneth ſeculer thinges onely; where no man neede miſtruſt, but that *the* Maieſtrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ſerueth ſo honorable a roume as *the* miniſtration of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wiſhe in thinges touching *the* byſhop of *Rome*, & his iuriſdi[c]tion, *that* he ſhould be ſet a part, & ſome other indifferent perſons choſen, by chriſtian Princes, to direct or be Preſidentes in the Counſayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it pleaſe Chriſtian Princes to houlde a counſayle with that Whore of *Babylon*,) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cauſe. Here I haue but briefly touched *the* ſummes of things after my ſimple phantaſie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or ſome of them to your better iudgement.

Hovv this scisme might be remedied.

[1 Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on (1.) the pay of the clergy, or (2.) points of Religion.

Let the Clergy settle (2), and the secular powers (1).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight. I am ſorry that it is ſo late that wee muſt needes depart nowe.

Marchaunt, Husband, & Capper. And ſo bee wee, in good fayth; but wee truſt ere you departe the towne, to haue ſome communication wyth you agayne.

Doctor. I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I ſhall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing *that* my ſimple iudgement will reach vnto you) you ſhall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you ſo to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue ſpoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man that can ſhew how all theſe griefes, or the more part of them, [1] may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thouſande in this lande I may worſte ſpeake in ſuch a wayghty matter. And ſo here for this preſente I take my leaue of you all.

[The Doctor's willing to yield to any wiser Doctor of the Social Evils of his day.]

[1 Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when I knewe maiſter Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication ſhould bee loſt, but remembred at the leaſt in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity ſhoulde ſerue, I might brynge forth ſome of his Reaſons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunſwered otherwiſe then I could. And therefore I haue noted the ſayd communication briefly of this ſorte, as you ſee.

Knight.

[I've set down shortly the Doctor's reasons.]

* * *

FINIS.

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APPENDIX.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS.* 1148, *leaf* 395.]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneys, for sōme convenyent tyme, and with sōme kynde of moderation therein: Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses newely happened, moved and induced, thoughe to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thoroughe the realme of rvmors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decryed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyed, by reason the same rvmors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furdering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as thoughe the moneys were allredy decryed. And nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decrye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rvmors, so constantly and depely setled in mens heades; and thereaftre the prices of all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneys be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiors and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenaunce; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessitie ought to haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, aftre this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standerd that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvjth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne gold	The	Souerayne	That was curraunt for	xxx s.	Shalbe curraunt for	xx s.		
		Royall		xv s.		x s.		
		Angell		x s.		vj s. viij d.		
		half Angell		v s.		ij s. iiij d.		
Crowne gold	The	Souerayne	That was curraunt for	xx s.	Shalbe curraunt for	xiij s. iiij d.		
		half souerayne		x s.		vj s. viij d.		
		Crowne		v s.		v s.		
		half crowne		ij s. vjd.		xx d.		
Straunge gold	The	ffrenche crowne	That was curraunt for	vj s.	Shalbe curraunt for	iiij s.		
		Burgundion crowne		vj s.		iiij s.		

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne sterling Siluer	The	Shilling	That was curraunt for	xij d.	Shalbe curraunt for	viij d.		
		half shilling		vj d.		iiij d.		
		Quarter shilling		iij d.		ij d.		
		Three half pence		jd. ob.		j d.		
		Three farthinges		ob. q.		ob.		

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekoning one by one, Hir maiestie meanyng that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, thoughe it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneys as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auncyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignoraunce or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the
Abassing of Coynes

NOTES.[1]

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587. . . . .

"The *Briefe Conceipt* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares) ; p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing) ; p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .) ; p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.) ; p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547) ; p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, *and many yeares past*, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse') ; p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Forewords, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91 ; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

[1] The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot.* Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Conceipt*:—

"The difference between us as to the author of the '*Compendium*' is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lady of the Bedchamber.

"Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

"William, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham's. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council 'knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.' Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

"January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association '*against popish conspirators*,' which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth's hold over the Scottish Queen's liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth's signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary's life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

"Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham's, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in.*" This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspere over and over again: *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher"; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company"; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . that they had.*" Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. compleat*e*. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in *-e* common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, upright*e*, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear.* Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth.* "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in *-eth* was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot: *any.* Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some?

p. 34. *Meany:* cp. Chaucer, meyné, *Knts. Ta.* l. 400; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:—

Old English in Weisford and Fingall.

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke,[1] a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the houshold or folks, *meanie;* sharpe,

[1] Sillybauk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire.*—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth[1] or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have obserued : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

Bater.

The pronuntiation of the Irish women.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

> *French Soldier.* Est il impossible d'echapper la force de ton bras?
> *Pistol.* Brass, cur !
> Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,
> Offer'st me brass ?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. "*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*" This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's Village Communities, Lect. III.

p. 49. "*Surely common . . men the more.*" Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . ."

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

[1] A.S. *eaðe, eðe.*

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener:* the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses:* on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.

p. 51. *vile claie*, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple (pebble) stones and Ferne rootes.* Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselues with *such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone.*"—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad.* Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare.* Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance,*" fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in *countenance.*"

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . truth on his side.*" There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

A, to, p. 27.
A doe, to do, p. 15.
Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. *avis*.
Afore, before, p. 22.
Agayne, *prep.* against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot.
Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50.
Appayred, grew worse, p. 80.
Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66.
Assay, p. 45, try.
Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96.
Assuered, p. 43, sure.
Away, *for* do away, p. 66.

Basing, p. 49, cowering.
Ben, p. 80, been.
Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen.
Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424.
Bouchers, p. 71, butchers.
Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46.
Broode, *sb.* breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10.
But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," p. 22.
By, during, "lived *by* all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.
By, on, "lived *by* their day wages," p. 16.
By course, in order, p. 63.
By likelihood, p. 82, probably.
By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.

Can, know, p. 25.
Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.
Chargeable, p. 46, expensive.
Cheape, *sb.* p. 35, bargain, price.
Chearished, p. 47. Fr. *cherer*, to cheere, to cherish, &c.
Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law.
Civile, p. 21, civilized.
Civility, p. 26, civilization.
Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed.
Close, p. 14, private.
Come in place, p. 30.
Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot.
Competently, p. 49, enough.
Compleate, p. 23, completely.
Conceipt, conception, idea, p. 67.
Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison.
Conjunct, p. 23.
Conservation, p. 15, preservation.
Considered *of*, for *by*, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34.
Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note.
Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

Damozins, p. 54, damsons.
Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot.
Declination, decline, p. 65.
Devise, p. 12. Fr. "*Devis:* m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." — Cotgrave.
Disceptation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "*Diceptation* . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter."—Cotgr.

Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
Dispend, p. 95, spend.
Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot, displeasing.

Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
Eke, p. 72, also.
Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.
Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.
Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-commoners.
Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.
Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot, ploughable, arable.
Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the gospel.
Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.

Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "*faict:* m. A fact, act, motion, . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." —Cotgrave.
Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69, l. 19.
Fetched at, p. 51.
For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider.*
Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine cloth.
Furniture of her warres, equipment for them, p. 24.

Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.
Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
Goeth clear, is free from blame, p. 27.
Good, better, best, used as a term of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
Graffe, graft, p. 24.
Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.

Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
Handy labour, p. 41.
Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
Have in charge, p. 11.
Him, it, p. 82.
His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
Holpen, p. 33, helped.
Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.

Image, p. 12, picture.
Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p. 15; maner, welt: "well maner of things."
Inning, p. 24, getting in.
Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.

Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
Least, p. 77, lest.
Leaver, p. 37, rather.
Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
Licked themselves whole, p. 28, 91.
Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.
Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.

Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.
Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.
Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328: "sterile with idleness or *manured* with industry."
Meane, p. 41, means.
Meany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
Minish, p. 19.
Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
Moe, more, p. 22.
More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
Mought, p. 80, might.
Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
Myne, p. 68, my.

Neare, p. 76, nearer.
Non, not, p. 23.
Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.

Occasion, take, p. 69.
Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
Occupier, p. 89.
Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p 18, *for* on.
On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
Other, for others, p. 15.
Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.

Paines, punishments, p. 47.
Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-case.
Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
Peruse, p. 63, examine.
Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
Prety while, a, p. 32.
Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.
Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot. 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "*Chiáro scuro*, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glossary.
Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
Purchased, procured, p. 25.
Pylate, p. 26.

Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
Remember, remind, p. 66.
Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
Resemble, compare, p. 26.
Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
Respect, to have, to, p. 28.
Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
Romth, space, p. 57.

Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escripture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.
Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
Selled, p. 78, sold.
Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.
Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
Should, p. 22, 37, would.
Sith, p. 30, since.
Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
Slake, p. 93.
Smarte, p. 81.
Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke.
Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
Stent, *sb.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
Stricke, strike, p. 60.
Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
Such who, p. 27.
Suerty, p. 30, safety.
Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

Taken, p. 12, considered.
Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "*taille:* f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
That, *for* those, p. 23; *for* that which, p. 22; *for* what, p. 12.
This, *adv.* thus, p. 35. l. 7 from foot.
Thorough, p. 30, through.
To, in addition to, p. 23.
Trade, p. 91.
Travaile, p. 21.
Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

Understanded, understood, p. 56.
Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49.
to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
in hope to come, p. 16; ground to sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . confess . . that, . . yet the dearth . . *to remain and continue*," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle.

have given over to live, p. 17; heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in *-en.*

are growen, p. 59.
is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in *-eth.*

Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
Conueieth, p. 66.
Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:

some excelles, p. 12; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15; inclosures . . . causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.
Vente, p. 84, last line; course.
Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.
Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.
Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.
Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.
What, p. 18, which.
Whether, p. 79, where, whither.
Which, p. 14, who.
Whom, p. 21, those with whom.
Wist, p. 45, knew.
Would, p. 41, should.

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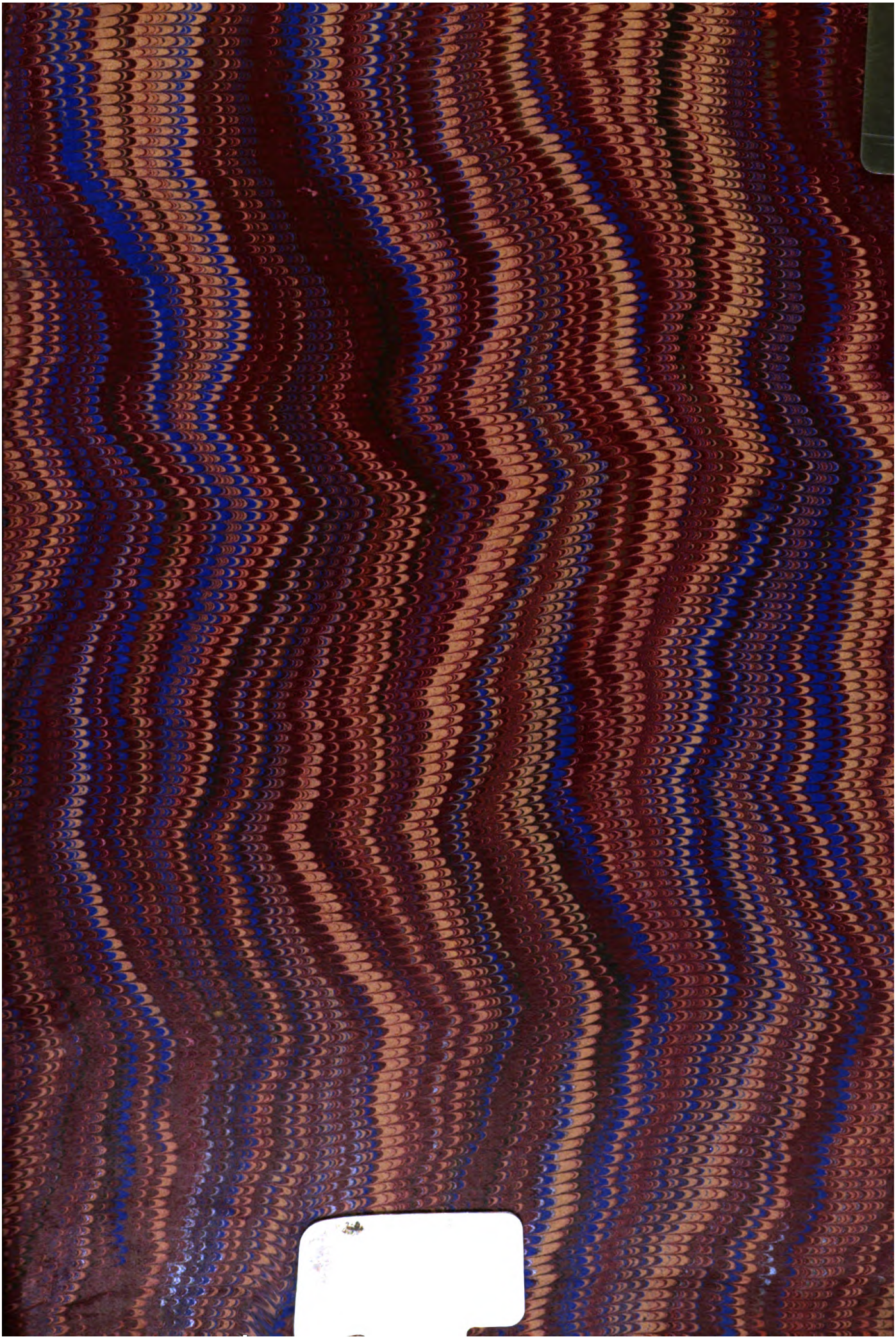
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