WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE
VOLUME I
Seven hundred and fifty copies printed.

No. 87
THE WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE
EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS
BY RONALD B. MCKERROW

TEXT: Vol. I

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PREFACE

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

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

It more particularly belongs to this volume that I should offer my sincere thanks to Mrs. Christie-Miller, of Britwell Court, for her kindness in allowing me the use of her copy.
of the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell* for the purpose of collation, and that of *The Terrors of the Night* for reproduction of the title-page. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. R. E. Graves for his kindness in connexion with the loan of these two books.

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

R. B. McK.

*London, August, 1903.*
## CONTENTS

**Note on the Treatment of the Text Adopted in this Edition**  xi

**The Anatomie of Absurditie**  1  
Title-page from Bodleian, Malone, 566.

**A Countervffe Given to Martin Ivnior**  51  
Title-page from British Museum, C. 37. d. 48.

**The Retvrne of Pasqvill**  65  
Title-page from British Museum, 96. b. 15. (8).

**The First Parte of Pasqivils Apologie**  105  
Title-page from British Museum, C. 37. d. 51. (1).

**Pierce Penilesse his Svppllication to the Divell**  137  
Title-page of the first edition from the copy in the Library of Mrs. Christie-Miller at Britwell Court.

**Strange Newes, of the Intercepting Certaine Letters**  247  
Title-page from British Museum, 96. b. 16. (3).

**The Terrors of the Night**  337  
Title-page from the copy in the Library of Mrs. Christie-Miller at Britwell Court.
NOTE ON THE TREATMENT OF THE TEXT ADOPTED IN THIS EDITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

VV and vv are replaced by W and w.

In the case of ligatures the modern usage is followed. In printing from a black-letter original, éé has been replaced by ee.
Black-letter texts are printed in Roman. Short passages in black letter in a Roman text are however kept in black letter when this was originally used in order to differentiate them from the context.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following abbreviations are used:—

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

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

&c. indicates the agreement of all the early editions collated, after the one to which it is affixed. Thus, in the notes on Pierce Penilesse, 32b &c. indicates a reading found in the second and third editions of 1592 and the editions of 1593 and 1595. The use of &c. does not imply the agreement of the modern editions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Leaves are always referred to as A 1, A 2, &c., in Roman type, even when signed in black letter or Italic in the original. But when a signature is quoted in the contents list under 'Collation' it is, except for the substitution of Roman for black letter, given in the original form.
THE
ANATOMIE OF ABSVRedditIE

Entry in the Stationers' Register:
19 Septembris [1588]
Master hacket Entred for his copie, The Anatomie of absurdityes: Authorised vnder Doctor NASHE. Stallers hand. and Master Coldokes beinge to yt as warrant for this entrance. . . . . . . . . vjd

(S. R., ed. Arber, II. 499.)
The word NASHE is written in what is apparently an indifferent imitation of the original handwriting, and may be an interpolation (as above, p. 30).

Editions: (1) Early:
1589. The Anatomie of | Absurditie: | Contayning a breve confusion of the flender | imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short | description of the feueral practifes of youth, and | sundry follies of our licentious | times. | No lesse plesaunt to be read, then profitable to be re- membred, | especially of those, who liue more licentioufly, or addic|ted to a more nyce stoycall autteritie. | Compiled by T. Nashe. | Ita diligendi sunt homines, ut eorum non | diligamus errores. | [ornament] | AT LONDON, | Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho|mas Hacket, and are to be folde at his shop | in Lumberd street, vnder the signe of | the Popes heade. | Anno. Dom. 1589. |

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: T⁴, A–E⁴. T wanting, probably blank.
(T 2) Title, v. blank. T. iii. ‣ To the right worshipfull Charles Blunt . . . ? Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Epistle. A. i. ‣ THE I B
THE ANATOMIE OF ABSVRDITIE


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

Catch-words: ¶ 3. poy-(son) ¶ 4. since  A i. (a-)boue,  B i. nay,  C i. He  D i. except  E i. learne  (Those of ¶ in Rom., C i in Ital., others in Black Letter.)

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


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

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

(2) Modern Editions:


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


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

Note on the issues:

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

Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the seuerall practises of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times.

No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred, especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-te to a more nyce stoycall austeritie.

Compiled by T. Nashe.

Ita diligentis sunt homines, ut eorum non diligamus errores.

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

Anno Dom. 1589,
To the right worshipfull Charles

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

(* *)

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

Gentlemen that know what it is to encounter with
ingratitude in the forme of Cupid will soone ayme at the
efficient of my armed phrase: for others that cannot
discerne Venus through a clowde, they will measure each
deformed fury by the Queene of Fayries, all birds by one
Phænix, all beasts by one Lyon. For my part, as I haue
no portion in any mans opinion, so am I the Prorex of my
priuate thought: which makes me terme poysone poysone, as
cas well in a siluer peece, as in an earthen dish, and Proæus
Protxus, though girt in the apparrell of Pactolus. Howe
euer the Syren change her shape, yet is she inseperable
from deceit, and how euer the deuill alter his shaddowe, yet
will he be found in the end to be a she Saint. I dare not
prefixe a Nigrum theta to all of that sexe, least immortalitie
might seeme to haue beene taxt by my slander, and the
puritie of heauen bepled by my vnhallowed speeche.
Onely this shall my arguments inferre, and my anger
auerre, that constancie will sooner inhabite the body of
a Camelion, a Tyger or a Wolfe, then the hart of a woman;
who predestinated by the father of eternitie, euen in the
nonage of nature, to be the Iliads of euils to all Nations
haue neuer inuerted their creation in any Countrey but
ours.
Whose heauenborne Elizabeth, hath made maiestie herselfe mazed, and the worlds eye sight astonied. Time,
wel maist thou exult, that in the euening of thy age, thou
coceseiedst such a subiect of wonder, & Peace, sing io Paxan,
for that in despiht of dissention, she hath patroniz'd thee
vnder her wings. Felicitie saw her inuested with royaltie,
and became young againe in the beholding. Fortune
ashamed each sorrowe shoulde smile, and her face alone
be wrapt with wrinkles, suted poore Flauders and Fraunce
in her frownes, & saluted England's soule with a smoothed
forehead. Plenty and Abundance, that long had liued as
exiles with the utmost Indians, were no sooner aduertised
of her aduauncement, but they made their passage through
ten thousand perrils, to spende their prosperitie in her
presence. Why seekes my penne to breake into the build-
ings of Fame, and Eccho my amazed thoughts to her
brasen Towres, when as my tongue is too to base a Tryton
to eternise her praise, that thus vpholdeth our happy daies?
Wherefore since my wordes impouerish her worths, my
feruent zeale shall be the vncessant attendant on her weale.
I feare right worshipfull, least the affection of my phrase,
present mee as a foe to your important affaires, whose
hart exalted with the eye sight of such soueraigntie, as
soares aboue humane sight, coulde not but methodize this admiration in this digression of | distinction. But frō such entercourse of excuse, let my unschooled indignities, concert themselues to your courtesie, and acquaint you with the counsaile of my rude dedication.

So it was, that not long since lighting in company with manie extraordinarie Gentlemen, of most excellent parts, it was my chance (amongst other talke which was generally trauersed amongst vs) to mooue diuers Questions, as touching the seuerall qualities required in Castalions Courtier: one came in with that of Quid, Semper amabilis esto, another stood more stricktly on the necessitie of that affabilitie, which our Latinists entitle facetus, & we more familiarlie describe by the name of discoursing: the third came in with his carpet deuises and tolde what it was to tickle a Citterne, or haue a sweete stroke on the Lute, to daunce more delicatlie, and reuell it brauelie. The fourth as an enemie to their faction, confuted all these as effeminate follies, and would needes maintaine, that the onely adiuncts of a Courtier were schollership and courage, returning picked curiositie to poultry Scriueners and such like, affabilitie to Aristippus and his crue, Citterning and Luting, to the birthright of euerie sixe pennie slaue, and to conclude, dauncing & reuelling, to euerie Taylors holie day humour. But as for those two branches of honor before mentioned, they distinguish a Gentleman from a broking Jacke, and a Courtier from a clubheaded companion. This discourse thus continued, at length they fell by a iarring gradation, to the particular demonstrations of their generall assertions. One woulde haue one thing preferred, because some one man was thereby aduaunced, another, another thing; because some noble man loues it; euery man shotte his bolte, but this was the vpshot, that England afforded many mediocrities, but neuer saw any thing more singuler then worthy Sir Phillip Sidney, of whom it might truely be saide, Arma virumque cano. In this heate of 13 facetius Q. Perhaps the English word 'facetious' is meant.
opinions, many hopes of Nobility were brought in question, but nothing so generally applauded in every man's comparisons as your worshippes most absolute perfections: whose effectuell judicall of your vertues, made such deepe impression in my attentive imagination, as euer since there hath not any pleasure mixt it selfe so much with my secret vowes, as the vndefinite desire to be suppliant vnto you in some subject of witte. From which, howsoever this my vndigested endeuour declineth, yet more earnestly I beseeche you, by that entire loue which you beare vnto Artes, to accept of it in good part. And as the foolish Painter in Plutarch, hauing blurred a ragged Table, with the rude picture of a dunghill Cocke, willed his boy in any case to drive away all lyue Cocks, from that his worthles workmanship, least by the comparison he might be convinced of ignorance: so I am to request your worship, whiles you are perusing my Pamphlet, to lay aside out of your sight, whatsoever learned inuention hath heretofore bredde your delight, least their singularitie reflect my simplicitie, their excellence conuince mee of innocence. Thus hoping you will euery way censure of me in fauour, as one that dooth partake some parts of a Scholler, I commit you to the care of that soueraigne content, which your soule desireth.

Your most affectionate
in all,

Vsqe aras,

T. Nashe.
THE ANATOMIE
OF ABSURDITIE.

Euxes beeing about to drawe the counterfet of Iuno, assembled all the Agrigentine Maydes, who after he pausing had viewed, he chose out fiue of umbnailayrest, that in their beautie, he might imitate what was most excellent: euen so it fareth with mee, who beeing about to anatomize Absurditie, am urged to take a view of sundry mens vanitie, a survey of their follie, a briefe of their barbarisme, to runne through Authors of the absurder sort, assembled in the Stacioners shop, sucking and selecting out of these vpstart antiquaries, somewhat of their vnsauery duncerie, meaning to note it with a Nigrum theta, that each one at the first sight may eschew it as infectious, to shewe it to the worlde that all men may shunne it. And euen as Macedon Phillip hauing finished his warres builde
d a Cittie for the worst sorte of men, which hee called πονερόπολις, malorum Civitas, so I, hauing laide aside my grauer studies for a season, determined with my selfe beeing idle in the Countrey, to beginne in this vacation, the foundation of a trifling subject, which might shroude in his leaues, the abusiue enormities of these our times. It fareth nowe a daies with vnlearned Idiots as it doth with she Asses, who bring forth all their life long; euen so these brainlesse Bussards, are euer quarter bigge wyth one Pamphlet or other. But as an Egge that is full, beeing put into water sinketh to the bottome, whereas that which is emptye floateth a-boue, so those that are more exquisitely furnished with learning shroude themselues in

2 Agrigentins Q.  16 πονερόπολις Q.  25 in to Q.
obscuritie, whereas they that are voide of all knowledge, 
endeavour continually to publish theyr follie.

Such and the very same are they that obtrude them-

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

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

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

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

But perhaps Women assembling their senate, will seek to stop my mouth by most voices, and as though there were more better then bad in the bunch, will object vnto me Atlanta, Architumna, Hippo, Sophronia, Lexna: to these I will oppose proude Antigone, Niobe, Circe, Flora, Rhodope, the despigftfull daughters of Danaus, Biblis and Canace who fell in loue with their owne Brothers, Mirrha with her owne Father, Semiramis with her own sonne, Phaedra with Hippolitus, Venus inconstancie, Iunos iealousie,
the riotous wantonnesse of Pasiphae, with whō I wil knit vp this packet of Paramours. To this might be added A Mantuans inuictiue against them, but that pittie makes me refraine from renewing his wore out complaints, the wounds wherof the former forepast feminine sexe hath felt. I, but here the Homer of Women hath forestalled an obiection, saying that Mantuans house holding of our Ladie, he was enforced by melancholie into such vehemencie of speech, and that there be amongst them as amongst men, some good, some badde: but then let vs heare what was the opinion of ancient Philosophers, as touching the Femall sexe.

One of the beeing asked what estate that was, which made wise men fooles, and fooles wisemen, answered marriage. Aristotle doth counsell vs, rather to gette a little wife then a great, because alwaies a little euill is better then a great, so that hee counted all women without exception, euill and vngratious. Another of them beeing asked what was the greatest miracle in the world, saide, a chaste woman. One requiring Diogenes judgment when it was best time to take a wife, answered, for the young man not yet, and the olde man neuer. Pythagoras sayd, that there were three euils not to be suffered, fire, water, and a woman. And the forenamed Cinick deemed them the wisest lyers in the world, which tell folke they will be married, and yet remaine single, accounting it the lesse inconuenience of two extremities to choose the lesse. The selfe same man affirmeth it to be the only means to escape all euils, to eschew womens counsaile and not to square our actions by their direction. The olde Sages did admonish young men, if euer they matcht wyth any wife, not to take a rich Wife, because if she be rich, shee wyll not be content to be a wife, but will be a Maister or Mistresse, in commaunding, chiding, correcting & controlling. Another Philosopher compared a woman richly appareled, to a dunghill couered with grasse. Socrates deemed it the desperatest enterprise that one can take in hand, to gourene a womans will.
What shall I say of him that being askt, from what women a man should keepe himselfe, answered, from the quick & from the deade, adding moreouer, that one euill ioynes with another when a woman is sicke. Demostenes saide, that it was the greatest torment, that a man could inuent to his enemies vexation, to giue him his daughter in marriage, as a domestical Furie to disquiet him night and day. Democritus accounted a faire chaste woman a miracle of miracles, a degree of immortality, a crowne of tryumph, because shee is so harde to be founde. Another beeing asked, who was he that coulde not at any time be without a wife, answered, hee that was alwaies accurst: and what dooth thyg common prouerbe, he that marrieth late marrieth euill, insinuate vnto vs, but that if a man meane to marry, he were as good begin betimes as tarry long, and beeing about to make a vertue of necessitie and an arte of patience, they are to beginne in theyr young and tender age. Moreover, amongst the thinges which change the nature and conditions of men, women and wine are sette in the forefront, as the chiefe causes of their calamitie.

Plutarch in his precepts of wedlocke, alleageth a reason why men faile so often in choosing of a good wife, because saith hee, the number of them is so small. There be two especiall troubles in this worlde saith Seneca, a wife and ignoraunce. Marcus Aurelius compared women to shyps, because to keepe them wel and in order, there is alwayes somewhat wanting: and Plautus saith, that women decke themselves so gorgiously and lace themselues so nicely, because foule deformed things seeke to sette out them- selues sooner, then those creatures that are for beauty far more amiable. For my part I meane to suspende my sentence, and to let an Author of late memorie be my speaker, who affyrmeth that they carrie Angels in their faces to entangle men and deuils in their deuices. Valerius in Epist. ad Ruf. hath these words of womens trecherous works, Amice ne longo dispendio te suspendam, lege aureolum
Theophrasti, & Medeam Iasonis, & vix paucæ inuenies impossibilia mulieri: Amice det tibi Deus omnipotens fæminæ fallacia non falli. My friend, least I should holde thee too long with too tedious a circumstauence, reade but the golden Booke of Theophrastus, and Iasons Medea, and thou shalt finde fewe things impossible for a woman: My sweet friend, GOD Almighty graunt that thou beest not entrap't by womens trecherie. Furthermore, in the same place he saith, Quis muliebri garrulitati aliquid committit, quæ illud solum potest tacere quod nescit: who will commit any thing to a womans tailing trust, who conceales nothing but that shee knowes not? I omit to tell with what phrases of disgrace the ancient fathers haue defaced them, wherof one of the saith: Quid aliud est mulier nisi amicitiae inimica, &c. What is a woman but an enemie to friendship, an uneuitable paine, a necessary euil, a naturall temptation, a desired calamitie, a domesticall danger, a delectable detriment, the nature of the which is euill shadowed with the colore of goodnes. Therefore if to put her away be a sinne, to keepe her still must needes be a torment. Another sayth: Illud aduerte quod extra paradisum vir factus est, &c. Consider this, that man was made without Paradise, woman within Paradise, that thereby we may learne, that euery one winneth not credit by the nobilitie of the place, or of his stock, but by his vertue. Finally, man made better is foild without Paradise in a place inferior, and contrariwise, she which was created in a better place, namely Paradise, is founde to be worser. Another hath these words: Diligit mulier vt capiat, decipit vt rapiat: amat quod habes, non quod es. A woman loves that she may entrappe, shee deceiues that she may spoyle, she loves that thou hast, not that thou art. Another writeth after thys manner: Nulla est vxoris electio, &c. There is no chose to be had of a wife, but even as she comes so we must take her: if teatish, if foolish, if deformed, if proude, if stinking breathed, or 20 a way Q.
whatsoever other fault she hath, we know not till we be married. A Horse, an Oxe, or an Asse, or a dogge, or what soever other vile merchandise, are first prooued, and then bought, a mans wife alone is neuer throughly seene before, least shee dysplease, before she be married. Viros ad vnumquodque maleficium singulx cupiditates impellunt (saith Tully) mulieres ad omnia maleficia cupiditas vna ducit: muliebrium enim vitiorum omniū fundamentum est avaritia. Mens seuerall desires doe egge them to each kind of euill, but one onely affection leades women to all kind of wickednes: for couetousnesse is the foundation of all women's euill inclinations. Seneca also saith thus in his A4 Prouerbs: Aut amat, aut odiit mulier, nil tertium est, dediscere flere feminam, mendacium est, &c. A woman either loves, or hates, there is no third thing: it is an vntruth to say, that a woman can learne to forget to weepe: two kinde of teares are common in their eyes, the one of true sorrowe, the other of deceipt: a Woman meditates euill when she is musing alone.

Thus you see howe farre their wickednes hath made Authors to wade with inuictuies in their dispraise: wherefore I shall not need to vrge their inconstancie more vehemently, resembling them to Battus, who was wonne with a Cowe, and lost with a Bull: nor stand to repeate that of Plato, who doubted whether he shold put women among reasonable or vnreasonable creatures, who also gaue thanks to Nature especiallie for three things, whereof the first and cheefest was, that shee had made him a man and not a woman. I omitte that of Aristotle, who allenging the inconueniencie of too timely marriages, expresseth this as the especial incommoditie, that it is the Author of superfluities, & good for nothing but to fill the world with women. Reade ouer all Homer, and you shall neuer almost see him bring in Iuno, but brawling and iarring with Jupiter, noting therby what an yrkesome kind of people they are. In some Countries therefore, the Bride at the day of her mariagement, is crowned by the Matrons
with a Garland of prickles, and so deliuered to her husband, that he may know he hath tyed himselfe to a thornie pleasure. The Massagets told Pompey they lay with their wiues but once a weeke, because they wold not heare their scoldings in the day, nor their pulings in the night.

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

18 Aegius Q. Mnemosyue Q.
made, that neuer woman after shoulde openly pleade her owne cause in Courtes of judgment.

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

Did they imagine that beautie to be most commendable, which is least coloured, and that face most faire, which seldommest comes into the open ayre, they would neuer set out them selues to be scene, ne yet woulde they couet to leaue impressions of their beauties in other mens bodies, nor the forme of their faces in other mens fancies. But women through want of wisedome are growne to such wantonnesse, that vppon no occasion they will crosse the streete, to haue a glaunce of some Gallant, deeming that men by one looke of them, shoulde be in loue with them, and will not stick to make an errant ouer the way, to purchase a Paramour to helpe at a pinche, who vnder her husbands, that hoddy-peekes nose, must haue all the destilling dew of his delicate Rose, leauing him onely a sweet sent, good inough for such a sencelesse sotte.

It was a custome in Greece, that euery married woman, as soone as she was betrothed to her husbande, shoulde touche fire and water, that as the fire purgeth & purisfeth al things, and the water is cleane, and of nature fitte to clarifie euerie part of the body, and to sette the face free from any spot, except it be an Ethiopian blot, so she would reserue herselue chaste and vndefiled to her husband, her head. In Boetia they will not suffer a new married wife at first to goe ouer the threshold, because she should seeme vnwilling to enter in there, where shee should leave and lay aside her chastitie. In the same place also they...
burne the Axletree of a Cart before the doore of the bryde, after she is married, signifying that she ought not to gadde abroade, as though that were remoued which might mooue her to make any errants vnto any other place.

In Rome the bride was wont to come in with her spyndle and her distaffe at her side, at the day of her mariage, and her husband crowned and copassed the Gates with her yarne, but now adaies Towe is either too deere or too daintie, so that if hee will maintaine the custome, hee must crowne his Gates with their Scarfes, Periwigs, Bracelets, and Oouches; which imports thus much vnto vs, that Maides and Matrons now adaies be more charie of their store, so that they will be sure they will not spend too much spittle with spynning, yea theyr needles are nettles, for they lay the aside as needlesse, for feare of pricking their fingers, when they are painting theyr faces, | nay, they will abandon that trifling which may stay them at home, but if the temperature of the wether will not permitte them to pop into the open ayre, a payre of cardes better pleaseth her the a piece of cloth, her beades then her booke, a bowle full of wine then a handfull of wooll, delighting more in a daunce then in Davids Psalms, to play with her dogge then to pray to her God: setting more by a loue Letter, then the lawe of the Lord, by one Pearle then twenty Pater nosters. Shee had rather view her face a whole morning in a looking Glasse then worke by the howre Glasse, shee is more sparing of her Spanish needle then her Spanish gloues, occupies oftner her setting sticke then sheeres, and ioyes more in her Jewels, then in her Iesus.

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

But now craftie Cupid practising the wonted sleights and
shuffling his shafts, meditates new shifts, which each amorous
Courtier by his veneriall experience may conjecturallie
conceiue. Menelaus hospitalitie moowed young Paris to
adulterie. I say no more, you knowe the rest, the wiser
can apply it. Well woorthy are the Essenians to be ex-
tolled for their wysem-dome, who abhorre the company of Women and detest the possession of gold and siluer, and
they to be deemed as soothing flatterers, who spende so
much paper about a proposition of praise, sette apart from
any apperance of probabilitie. Peraduenture they thinke,
that as the Poets inuent that Atlas vpholds the Heauens
with his shoulders, because by an excellent imagination he
found out the course of the stars, euens so they by compiling
of Pamphlets in their Mistresse praises, to be called the
restorers of womankind. But idle heads are usally occu-
pied about such trifling texts, wanton wits are combred
with those wonted fittes, such busie braines sowe where
they reape small gains. When witte giues place to will,
and reason to affection, then follie with full saile launcheth
foorth most desperatlie into the deepe. Did they consider
that that prayse is onely pruiledged in wise mens opinion,
which onely proceedes from the penne of the prayed, they
would haue paused a while vpon the worthlesse imputation
of such prodigall commendation, and consulted for their
credit in the composition of some other more profitable
contrary subiect.

I leaue these in their follie, and hasten to other mens
furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, whē as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who wrest-5ing places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousness, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuectiuies so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remainse not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid some body should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousnes, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes: of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with 15 bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr | cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such 20 men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting forth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont, euyn so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much 25 wyth inueighing against vice, to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euyn as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon (PATH) which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heeretofore by the censures of the learned hath not beene 30 sharply condemned, but teare that psecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out of their forepassed paines, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectiuies. Good God, that those that never tasted of any thing saue the excrements 35 of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge beeing bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced,
through translaters rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their fluttered sutes before other mens glittering gorious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who haue wine to sell. At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this know-ledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians used money to no other ende but to tell it, euem so these men make no other vse of learning but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, who with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I know not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in another mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbiall checke, Ne sutor ultra crepidam, or that oratoricall taunt, Quam quisque norit artem in ea se exercet; with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuier; to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter; to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinitie consists in twopennie Catichismes: and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curiouslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of y Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by their medling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie, see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small
ship in a shallow River, seems a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessel, even so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subject, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

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

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

Another sort of men there are, who though not addicted to such counterfet curiositie, yet are they infected with a farther improbabilitie; challenging knowledge vnto the-
selues of deeper misteries, whē as with Thales Milesius they see not what is vnder their feete; searching more curiouslie into the secrets of nature, when as in respect of deeper knowledge, they seeme meere naturals; coueting with the Phœnix to approche so nye to the sunne, that they are scorcht with his beames, and confounded with his brightnes. Who made them so priuie to the secrets of the Almighty, that they should foretell the tokens of his wrath, or terminate the time of his vengeaunce? But lightly some newes attends the ende of euery Tearme, some Monsters are booke, though not bred against vacation times, | which B 4 are straight waie diuersly disppearst into euerie quarter, so that at length they become the Alehouse talke of euery Carter: yea, the Country Plowman seareth a Calabrian floodde in the midst of a furrowe, and the sillie Sheephearde committing his wandering sheepe to the custodie of his wappe, in his field naps dreameth of flying Dragons, which for feare least he should see to the losse of his sight, he falleth a sleepe; no star he seeth in the night but seemeth a Comet; hee lighteth no sooner on a quagmyre, but he thinketh this is the foretold Earthquake, wherof his boy hath the Ballet.

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

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

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

vnprofitable, contenting themselues with a little Countrey Grammer knowledge, god wote, thanking God with that abscedarie Priest in Lincolneshire, that he never knewe what that Romish popish Latine meant. Verie requisite were it, that such blockheads had some Albadamensis Appollonius, to send them to some other mechanicall Arte, that they might not thus be the staine of Arte. Such kind of Poets were they that Plato excluded from his Common wealth, and Augustine banished ex civitate Dei, which the Romans derided, and the Lacedemonians scorned, who wold not suffer one of Archilocus bookees to remaine in their Countrey: and amisse it were not, if these which meddle with the Arte they knowe not, were bequethed to Bridwell, there to learne a new occupation: for as the Basiliske with his hisse, driueth all other Serpents from y place of his aboad, so these rude Rithmours with their iarving verse, allienate all mens mindes from delighting in numbers excellence, which they haue so defaced that wee may well exclaime with the Poet, Quantum mutatus ab illo.

But least I should be mistaken as an enemie to Poetrie, or at least not taken as a friend to that studie, I haue thought good to make them priuie to my mind, by expressing my meaning. I account of Poetrie, as of a more hidden & diuine kinde | of Philosophy, enwrapped in blinde C

Fables and darke stories, wherein the principles of more excellent Arts and morrarll precepts of manners, illustrated with diuers examples of other Kingdomes and Countries, are contained: for amongst the Grecians there were Poets, before there were any Philosophers, who embraced entirely the studie of wisedome, as Cicero testifieth in his Tusculanes, whereas he saith, that of all sorts of men, Poets are most ancient, who to the intent they might allure men with a greater longing to learning, haue folowed two things, sweetnes of verse, and variety of inuention, knowing that delight doth pricke men forward to the attaining of knowledge, and that true things are rather admirde if they be included in some wittie fiction, like to Pearles that delight more if they
be deeper sette in gold. 'Wherefore seeing Poetry is the very same with Philosophy, the fables of Poets must of necessitie be fraught with wisedome & knowledge, as framed of those men, which haue spent all their time and studies in the one and in the other. For euen as in Vines, the 5 Grapes that are fayrest and sweetest, are couched vnder the branches that are broadest and biggest, euen so in Poems, the thinges that are most profitable, are shrouded vnder the Fables that are most obscure: neither is there almost any poeticall fygment, wherein there is not some thing comprehended, taken out either of Histories, or out of the Phisicks or Ethicks; wher vpon Erasmus Roterdamus very wittilie termes Poetry, a daintie dish seasoned with delights of euery kind of discipline. Nowe whether ryming be Poetry, I referre to the iudgment of the learned: yea, let the indifferent Reader diuine, what deepe misterie can be placed vnder plodding meeter. Who is it, that reading Beuis of Hampton, can forbeare laughing, if he marke what scambling shyft he makes to ende his verses a like? I will propound three or foure payre by the way for the Readers recreation.

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

or this, |

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

or this,

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

or this,

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

But I let these passe as worn out absurdities, meaning not at this instant to vrge (as I might) the like instance of Authors of our time, least in laying foorth their nakednesse,
I might seeme to haue discovered my mallice, imitating Aias, who obiecting more irefully vnfo Vlysses flattery, detected him selfe of follie.

As these men offend in the impudent publishing of witles vanitie, so others ouershoote theseslues as much another waie, in senselesse stoicall austeritie, accounting Poetrie impietie, and witte follie. It is an old Question, and it hath beene often propounded, whether it were better to haue moderate affections, or no affections? The Stoicks said none. The Peripaticians answered, to haue temperate affections; and in this respect I am a professed Peripatician, mixing profit with pleasure, and precepts of doctrine with delightfull inuention. Yet these men condemne them of lasciuiousnes, vanitie, and curiositie, who vnder fayned Stories include many profitable morall precepts, describing the outrage of vnbridled youth, hauing the reine in their owne hands; the fruits of idlenes, the of-spring of lust, and how auaiable good educations are vnfo vertue. In which their preciser censure, they resemble the that cast away the nutte for mislike of the shell, & are like to those which loath the fruite for the leaues, accounting the one sower, because ye other is bitter. It may be some dreaming dunce whose bald affected eloquence making his function odious, better beseeming a priuie then a pulpit, a misterming Clowne in a Comedy, then a chosen man in the Ministerie, will cry out that it breedes a scabbe to the conscience, to peruse such Pamphlets; beeing indeed the display of their duncerie, and breeding a mislike of such tedious dolts barbarisme, by the view of their rethoricall inuention. Such trifling studies, say they, infect the minde and corrupt the manners, as though the minde were only conuersant in such toies, or shold continuallie stay where the thoughts by chaunce doo stray. The Sunne beames touching the earth, remaine still from whence they came, so a wyse mans mind, although sometimes by chance it wandereth here and there, yet it hath recourse in staied yeeres to that it ought. But graunt the matter to be fabulous, is it thersore friuolous? Is
there not vnder Fables, euen as vnder the shaddowe of greene and florishing leaues, most pleasant fruite hidden in secrete, and a further meaning closely comprised? Did not Virgill vnder the couert of a Fable, expresse that diuine misterie, which is the subiect of his sixt Eglogue.

Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

I could send you to Ouid, who expresseth the generall Deluge, which was the olde worldes ouerthrowe, in the Fable of Deucalion and Pirrha; vnder which, vndoubtedly it is manifest, (although diuers Authors are of cōtrarie opinion) he meaneth Noes floodde, in so much as there is a place in Lucian in his booke De Siria Dea, by the which it appearēth, that by Deucalions Deluge, is vnderstoode, not (as some will) that Enundation, whereby in times past, Greece and Italie was overflowne, and the Ile Atlanta destroyed, but that vniuersall flood which was in the time of Noe. For thus Lucian writeth in that place, that it was receiued for a cōmon opinion among the Grecians, that this generation of men that nowe is, hath not been from the beginning, but that it which first was, wholy perrished, and this second sort of men which now are, be of a newe creation, growing into such a multitude by Deucalion and Pirrhas meanes. As touching the men of the first worlde, thus much (saith he) is committed to memorie, that when as they began to be pufte uppe with pride of their pros-\peritie, they enterprised all iniquitie, priuiledged by im-punitie, neither re-\|garding the obseruation of oath, nor the violation of hospitalitie, neither fauouring the father-\lesse, nor succouring the helplesse: whereuppon in lieu of their crueltie, they were plagued with this calamitie, the springs brake foorth and ouerflowed their bounded banks, \wattrie clowdes with pashing showres vncessantlie sending down their vnreasonable moysture, augmented the rage of the Ocean, so that whole fieldes and mountaines could not satis-fie his vsurping furie, but Citties wyth their suburbs, Townes with their streetes, Churches with their porches,
were nowe the walke of the waues, the dennes of the Dolphin, and the sporting places of the huge Leuianthan: men might haue fisht where they sold fish, had they not by the suddaine breaking foorth of the showres been made a pray vnto fish: the child in the cradle could not be saued by the embracings of the dying mother, the aged Criple remouing his wearie steps by stilts, was faine to vse them in steed of Oares, till at length his dismaied gray haires despairing of the sight of any shoare, gaue place to death, and was swallowed vppe in the deepe, and so the bellie of the Whale became his graue.

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

Hetherto Lucian an Heathen Poet. Plutarch also re-recordeth in his Treatise De industria animalium, that a Doue beeing sent out of Deucalions Arke, shewed the waters ceasing. By these proofes it is euident, that by Deucalions Deluge is vnderstoode Noes flood, because the very like thinges are sette downe in Genesis, of brute Beastes receiued by Noe into the Arke, and the Doue sent forth by him also. I trust these probabilities beeing duly pondered, there is no man so distrustful to doubt that deeper diuinitie is included in Poets inuentiones, and therefore not to be reiected, as though they were voide of all learning and wisedome.

I woulde not haue any man imagine that in praysing of Poetry, I endeuour to approoue Virgils vnchast Priapus,
or Ovids obscenity; I commend their wit, not their wantonness, their learning, not their lust: yet even as the Bee out of the bitterest flowers and sharpest thistles gathers honey, so out of the filthiest Fables, may profitable knowledge be sucked and selected. Neuerthelesse tender youth ought to bee restrained for a time from the reading of such ribauldrie, least chewing over wantonlie the eares of this Summer Corne, they be choaked with the haune before they can come at the karnell.

Hunters beeing readie to goe to their Game, suffer not their dogges to taste or smell of any thing by the way, no carrion especially, but reserve the wholy to their approching disport; even so youth beeing ready to undertake more weightier studies, ought in no case be permitted to looke aside to lasciuious toyes, least the pleasure of the one, should breed a loathing of the profit of the other. I would there were not any, as there be many, who in Poets and Historiographers, reade no more then serueth to the feeding of their filthy lust, applying those things to the pampering of their priuate Venus, which were purposely published to the suppressing of that common wandering Cupid. These be the Spyders which sucke poyson out of the hony combe, and corruption out of the holiest thinges, herein resembling those that are troubled with a Feuer, in whome diuers things haue diuers effects, that is to say of hote things they waxe cold, of cold things hote; or of Tygers, which by the sound of melodious Instruments are driuen into madnesse, by which men are wont to expell melancholie.

He that wil seeke for a Pearle, must first learne to know it when he sees it, least he neglect it when hee findes it, or make a nought worth peeble his Iewell: and they that couet to picke more precious knowledge out of Poets amorous Elegies, must haue a discerning knowledge, before they can aspire to the perfectiō of their desired knowledge, least the obtaining of trifles be the repentant end of their trauell.

Who so snatcheth vp follies too greedilie, making an
OF ABSURDITIE

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

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

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

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

When the endeuor of youth shal proue naught els but the
exercise of all abuses, is it like that a mans after life shall
be without blemish?

35 There is almost no man now a daies, who doth not in
hys secrete thought estimate vice after his vilenes, yet
securitie hath so blinded many, that loosing the habit of
vertue, they couet to restraine wisedome onely to their wicked waies, concluding that in the imitation of their actions, consists the hygh way to happines, because their humor is such, condemning that state of life which is an enemie to their vicious appetites. It is impossible for these men, either by hearing or reading, to profit in integritie of life, whiles in the one and in the other, they will regarde no more then auailleth to their aduantage. The couetous careth for no more Scripture, then that which priuiledgeth him to prouide for his familie, the proude sort are conversant continually in this Text, They that are in Kingses Courts weare soft rayment: and Theeues reade with delight how the Egiptians in Egipt, were by 2 Israelites robbed of theyr Jewels. Thus every one maketh that sacred preseruatiue a pernicious poison vnto his sinfull soule, nourishing his vanitie with sacred verities, increasing his damnation by the ordeyned meanes to saluation.

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

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

4 with Q.
OF ABSVRDITIE

Good counsaile is never remembered nor respected, till men have given their farewell to felicity, and have beene overwhelmed in the extremity of aduersitie. Young men think it a disgrace to youth, to embrace the studies of age, counting their fathers fooles while they strive to make them wise, casting that away at a cast at dice, which cost their daddes a yeares toyle, spending that in their Veluets, which was rakt vppe in a Russette coate: so that their reenewes rackt, and their rents raised to the uttermost, is scarce inough to maintaine ones ruffling pride, which was wont to be manie poore mens reliefe. These young Gallants having leudly spent their patrimonie, fall to begging of poore mens houses over their heads, as the last refuge of their ryot, remoouing the auncient bounds of lands to support their decayed port, rather coueting to enclose that which was wont to be common, then they wold want to maintaine their private prodigalitie.

The Temple of Terminus Deus amongst the Romans, who was supposed to have the preheminence ouer the boundes of lands, had euuer a hole in the roffe, for as much as they thought it vnlawfull for the bounds of landes to be couered, and that rich men might learne to know their landes from poore mens grounds. A strange thing it is, that these men cannot learne to thriue before all be gone, and that they in the midst of their plentie, should be more needy, then those that sawing their day labour, are nought but pouerties. But as the Brooke Achelous carrieth whole trees and huge stones withoutious roaring noyse downe his streames, so the Courte is as it were a devouring Gulfe of gold, and the consumption of coyne. It fareth with the as it did with Calchas that cunning Soothsayer, who died for sorrowe because Mopsus surpaist him in science, so if they see any excelle them in brauerie, in whose steps at euery inche they are not able to treade, they hang the heade as they were halfe dead.

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

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

23 not \text{vestis Coll., Gro. Qy. read 'nō'?
29 gray} gay Coll.
lay before you the pence, being able to fetch their petigree from no ancient house, except it be from some olde Hog-stie, deriving their kindred frō the Coffer, not from the Conquest; neither can they vaunt any notable service of their auncitry in the field, but can tel you how their Grandsire vsed to sette his folde: neither doo I speak this to the disgracing derision of vertuous Nobilitie, which I reuerence in each respect, but onely endeuour summarilie to shewe, what goodlie buildings Fortune doth raise on vertues slender foundations. I am not ignoraunt, that many times the couetous ignorant scrapeth that from the tayle of the Plowe, which maketh all his after posteritie thinke scorne to looke on the plough, they overseeing that by a seruant, on which theyr father was as Tilsman attendant, beeing translated by his toyle from the Parrish, good man Webbe in the Countrey, to a pertly Gentleman in the Court, bestowing more at one time on the Herralde for Armes, then his Father all his life tyme gaue in almes. No matter though such vanting vpstarts, which haue as little vertue as antiquitie to honest their posterity, become the scoffe of a Scholler and the stale of a Courtier, which will make them if they faile heereafter in Nobilitie of byrth, to seeke it by learning.

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

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

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

How can we hope for anie further exhibition when as we see men repine at that we haue alreadie? It fareth with finer wits, as it doth with the pearle which is affirmed to be in the head of the Toade: the one beeing of exceeding vertue is inclosed with poison, the other of no lesse value, copast about with pouerty. Learning now adaies gets no living if it come empty handed. Promotion which was wont to be y free propounded palme of paines, is by many mens lamentable practise, become a purchase. When as wits of more towardnes shal haue spent some time in the Vniuersitie, and haue as it were tasted the elements of Arte, and laide the foundation of knowledge, if by the death of some friend they shoulde be withdrawne frō theyr studies, as yet altogether raw, and so consequently vnfitte for any calling in the Common wealth, where should they finde a friend to be vnto them in steed of a father, or one to perfitt that which their deceased parents begun: nay they may well betake theymselues to some trade of Husbandry, for any maintenance they gette in the way of almes at the Vniersitie, or els take vpon them to teach, beeing more fitte to be taught, and perch into the pulpit, their knowledge beeing yet vnperfitt, vere zealouslie preaching, beeing as yet scarce grounded in religious principles. How can those men call home the lost sheepe that are gone astray, comming into the Ministery before their wits be staid? This greene fruite, beeing gathered before it be ripe, is rotten before it be mellow, and infected with Scismes, before they haue learned to bridle their affections, affecting innovations as newfangled, and enterprising alterations wherby the Church is mangled.

But some may obiect, that I goe beyond my Anatomie, in touching these abusiue enormities. I answer, that I discourse of these matters as they are become the follies of
our time, and the faults of our age, wishing the redresse of such rashnes, and the suppression of the forenamed rauenous rable, these abuses beeing as intollerable as the worst, and therfore to be condemned with the first. I trust there is no man so simple, who can discerne wisedome from folly, and knowledge from ignorance, but his mother wit wil afford him so much understanding, that there is necessary vse of learning in euery calling, bringing praise to them that possesse it, and shame to them that want it, without the which no externall ornament is any whit auailable to aduancement, but seemeth rather a disgracing deformitie, hauing dislike his attendant. Reiect then pride, to embrace it to your profit, neglect vaine-glory, and striue to attaine to the knowledge of Arts, the pathway to honor. Let the liues of the Philosophers be the direction of youthes imitation, who ware no more clothes then wold keepe away cold, and eate no more meate then would expell hunger; yea, many of them the more to keepe downe their bodies, being placed in the midst of plentie, haue contented themselues with a thin hungry diet, the cōpanion of scarsitie. Diogenes chose rather to lick dishes at Athens, then to liue daintily with Alexander. Plato had rather bid Dyonisius adiew, then he would be driuen from his philosophicall dyet. Porus that peerelesse Indian Prince, contented himselfe with breade and water as his accustomed cheere. Agesilaus King of the Lacedæmonians, passing through ȳ Countrey of Thasius, being louingly met by the nobles, and entirely welcomed by the common sorte into the Countrey, with diuersitie of dainties and brauery of banquets, would not taste any thing saue Breade and Water, notwithstanding earnest entreatie to the contrarie; but their importunitie increasing, to put by all suspition of ingratitude, he willed his slaues and footmen to take their repast with their provision, saying, that abstinencie and temperancie, not varietie of viandes and delicacie, beseemeth him that is placed in Chayre of authoritie. Constantius kept himselfe so hungerly, that many times hee woulde craue a crust of breade of
a poore woman to expell hunger. The Priests of Ægipt abstained from flesh & wine. The Persians were satisfied with breade, salt, and water. In Rhodes he was reputed a grosse braind man, which fed on any thing but fishe. So warily in times past hath temperate moderation beene obserued in all Nations, that by Zaleucus law, he was put to death, which dranke wine without the Phisiti-advice. The Matrons and Ladies of Rome, were expressly prohibited the taste of it, in deed by this counsaile squaring their decrees, that wine is the efficient of heate, heate of lust, lust of murder. Eg. Mæcenius slew his owne Wife, (as Plinie recordeth) for that shee loued wine too much, and was by Romulus Law saued from death: in which place of Plinie it is also specified, that a certaine Matron of Rome was adiudged to die, because shee closelie kept the key of a Celler of wine. Censoriall Cato was so curious in observation of this ordinaunce, that hee customably caused certaine men to kysse the women, to know whether theyr breath smelled of wine: in whose time, no man whatsoever, whether he were Consul, Senator, Tribune, or Dictator, might drinke any Wine, before he was thirtie and five yeres of age. I ddo not alleage these examples, to the end I might condene the moderate vse of wine as vnlawfull, but to shew by the comparison, how farre we exceede them in excesse, whose banquets are furnisht with such wastfull superfluitie.

It is a common complaint, that more perrish with the surfet then with the sword, which many haue followed so farre, that to the recovering remedie of this surfeting maladie, they haue restrained a healthfull diet to two or three dishes; deeming our disgestion would be better, if our dishes were fewer. Which opinion, although Sir Thomas Eliot a man of famous memory, in his booke called the Castle of health, in some politique respects doth seeme to faavour, yet I ddo think in his priuate judgment, hee did acknowledge the diversitie of meates not to be so
incommodious as he there pretendes. But that I may aunswere what they vrge, first say they, what say you to brute Beastes, who beeing nourished but with one kinde of meate, and onely after one manner, are farre more healthfull and sounde of body then men, that diet themselues with sundry dishes? to this I answer, that either of these assertions are vntrue, for neither doo they vse onely one kind of nourishment, neither are diseases more distant from the, then from vs. The first is prooued by the choyse of Pastures wherein they graze, | where there is grasse both bitter and sauorie, soure & sweete, some nourishing colde, some nourishing hote iuyce. Is then the substance of their meate simple, who feede vpon boughes and weedes, besides so many sundry kinde of field hearbes, no lesse diuers in nutriment then in name? To prooue that diseases are no lesse incident to beastes then to men, I will sticke to Homers authoritie, who reporteth the pestilence to be begun by brute beastes. To shew how great the infirmitie are of other creatures, the short life of some of them may sufficientlie serue, except you haue recourse to those recorded Fables of Crowes and Rauens, who commonly sease vpon all kinde of carrion, picke vp each sort of new sowne seede, and are at hoste with euery kind of fruite in the Orchard. Secondly they adde, that there was neuer Phisition so confidentsly carelesse of his Patient, that he woulde prescribe the vse of diuers meates at once, to him that is distressed with a Feuer, wherby (say they) it may be gathered, that one kind of meate is more auailable to a speedie disgestion then many, because that Phisitions prescribe but one kinde of meate to them, whose disgestion is weakest.

This objection is thus taken away, first there is not the same proportion to be obserued in diet, in sicknes, & in health. Secondly, in as much as they are wont to set before them onely one sort of meate, it is not because it is more easie of disgestion, but least the sight of much meat should breede in y' weake stomachs a lothing of it. Thirdly
they object, that the nourishment of divers meates is no lesse noysome, then the drinking of divers kinds of Wines is daungerous. Every one knowes that he that washeth his braines with divers kinds of wines, is the next doore to a drunken man, and he like (say they) to be endagered by diseases, who affecteth variety in his diet. Here doe I denie the coherence of the coparison, for what is hee that by eating ouermuch, doth incurre the like inconuenience that he dooth, that drinketh much? hee that hath ouerloded his stomacke with sundry meates, is pained a little perhaps in his bellie, hee that hath ouercharged his braine with wyne, is no better then a mad man for the time; which the rather seemes to me, because the grosenes of meate remaining in one place, expecteth the administration of disgestion, and beeing thorowly consumed, is suddainly voided, but Wine beeing by nature lighter, ascendeth higher, and tickleth the braine placed in the top, with the inflamation of a hote fume, and therefore diuersitie of wines at once, is shunned of them that are wise, least the matter which is reade to possesse the head on a suddaine, in a moment ouerturne the seate of reason, which daunger in the diuersitie of meates, no reason can be rendred why we shoulde dread. But they will perhaps say, that the diuersitie of iuyce, framed of the diuersitie of meats, agrees not with our bodies, as though our bodies were not compounded of qualities, as of hote and cold, dry and moist; but he which feedeth onely on one kinde of meat, sendeth foorth but the iuyce of one qualitie: the Spring is hote and moist, the Sommer dry and hote, Autume dry and cold, Winter both moist and colde together, so also the elements which are our beginninges; what reason is it then that our bodies should be restrained to one kind of meat? Thus then we see that diuersitie is not so incômodious, but one kind of meate may be as daungerous, for gluttony may as well be committed by one dish as twentie. May not a man as soone surfet by eating a whole sheepe with Phago, or an Oxe with Milo, as by the sipping taste of sundry dainties?
But why stand I so long about meates, as though our life were nought but a banquet? or why am I so large in disputing of the diet of our bodies, as though thereby wee shoulde purchase quiet to our soules? what is this but to imitate the foolish tender mother, which had rather her childe should be well fed then well taught? Wherefore to make use of my Anatomie as well to my selfe as to others, I will prescribe as neere as I can, such a rule for Students, that therby squaring their actions, they shall not be easily attached of any notable absurditie.

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

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

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

Heed what *Chrisippus* saith in his proverbs, that which thou knowest not, peraduenture thy Asse can tell thee. If thou be desirous to attaine to the truth of a thing, first learn determinate conclusions before thou dealest with doubtful controversies: he shall neuer enter into the reason of the trueth, who beginneth to be taught by discussing of doubts. Thinke not common things vnworthy of thy knowledge, of which thou art ignorant: those things are not to be contemned as little, without the which great things cannot stand. Post not rashlie from one thing to another, least thou maist seeme to haue seene many things, and learned fewe. *Nil assequitur qui omnia sequitur.* I am not ignorant, that farre more ardent is the desire of knowing vnknowne things, then of repeating knowne things: this we see happen in Stageplayers, in Orators, in al things, men hast vnto nouelties, and runne to see new things, so that whatsoever is not vsuall, of the multitude is admired, yet must Students wisely prefer renowned antiquitie before newe found toyes, one line of *Alexanders* Maister, before the large inuectiue *Solia* of the *Parisian* Kings Professor.

Many there be that are out of loue with the obscuritie wherein they liue, that to win credit to their name, they care not by what discredit they encrease others shame, and
least by the contention, their vaunted victory might be destitute of all glorie, they encounter with them on whose shoulders al Artes doe leane, as on Atlas the heauens; thinking that men shoulde thus imagine, that none except he knewe himselfe sufficientlie furnished with the exquisite knowledge of all excellent Arts, durst vndertake such a taske, as though any were more readie to correct Appelles, then the rude Cobler, to contend with Appollo, then contemptible Pan. But these vpstart reformers of Arts respect not so much the indagation of the truth, as the ayme of their pride, and coueting to haue newe opinions passe vnder their names, they spende whole yeeres in shaping of sects. Which their pudled opinions are no sooner published, but straight way some proude spirited princocks, desirous to differ from the common sort, gets him a liuerie Coate of their cloth, | and slaues it in their seruile sutes, enlarging the wilful errors of their arrogancie. Nothing is so great an enemie to a sounde iudgment, as the pride of a peeuish conceit, which causeth a man both in life and believe, either to snatch vppe or hatch newfangles. This one thing also deceiueth many, forsooth they wyll seeme wise before their time, that nowe they both beginne to counterfet that which they are not, and to be ashamed of that which they are: and therein they are most distant from wisedome, wherein they thinke themselves to be thought wyse. Others there be that thinke so well of themselues, that no word can so much as scape by chaunce, but they thinke it worthy of a pen-mans paines, and striuung to speake nought but proverbs, they make their bald eloquence a common by word, cockering themselves in their owne conceits, till they be scorned as cockscombes. These they be that knowing not howe to speake, haue not learned to hold their peace, teaching manie times the thinges they vnderstand not, and perswading what they knowe not, becomming the Maisters of the ignorant before they be the Schollers of the learned. There is no such discredit of Arte, as an ignoraunt Artificer, men of meaner judgement, measuring
oft times the excellencie of the one, by the ignoraunce of the other. But as hee that censureth the dignitie of Poetry by Cherillus paultry paines, the maiestie of Rethorick by the rudenesse of a stutting Hortensius, the subtiltie of Logique by the rayling of Ramus, might judge the one a foole in writing he knewe not what, the other tipsie by his stammering, the thirde the sonne of Zantippe by his scolding; so he that estimats Artes by the insolence of Idiots; who professe that wherein they are Infants, may deeme the Vniuersitie nought but the Nurse of follie, and the knowledge of Artes, nought but the imitation of the Stage. This I speake to shew what an obloquie these impudent incipients in Arts are vnto Art.

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

17–8 whose oppunge Q: whose [opinion we] oppugne Gro.
I would wish them to learne to speake many things in few, neither to speake all things which to theyr purpose they may speake, least those things be lesse profitably spoken which they ought to speake: neither would I haue them ouershoote themselues with an imitation of breuitie, so that striuing to be very short, they should prooue very long, namelie, when as they endeuor to speake many things breefelie. Perswade one point throughlie, rather then teach many things scatteringly, that which we thinke let vs speake, and that which we speake let vs thinke; let our speche accorde with our life. Endeavour to adde vnto Arte Experience: experience is more profitable voide of arte, then arte which hath not experience. Of it selfe arte is vnprofitable without experience, and experience rashe without arte. In reading, thou must with warie regard learne as wel to discerne thy losse as thy gaine, thy hurt as good, least being wonne to haue a fauourable like of Poets wanton lines, thou be excited vnto the imitation of their lust. It is very vnseemely that nobler wits shoulde be discredited with baser studie, and those whō high and mightie callings doo expect, shold be hindered by the inticements of pleasure and vanitie. Young men are not so much delighted with solide substances, as with painted shadowes, following rather those thinges which are goodly to the viewe, then profitable to the vse, neither doo they loue so much those things that are doing, as those things that are sounding; reioycing more to be strowed with flowers then nourished with frute. How many be there that seeke truth, not in truth, but in vanitie, and find that they sought not according to trueth, but according to vanitie, and that which is most miserable, in the words of life, they toile for the merchandise of death. Hence commeth it to passe, that many make toyes their onely studie, storing of trifles, when as they neglect most precious treasures, and hauing left the Fountaines of truth, they folow the Riuers of opinions. I can but pittie their folly, who are so curious in fables, and excruciate themselues about impertinent ques-
tions, as about Homers Country, parentage, and sepulcher, whether Homer or Hesiodus were older, whether Achilles or Patroclus more ancient, in what apparrell Anacharsis the Scithian slept, whether Lucan is to be reckoned amongst the Poets or Historiographers, in what Moneth in the yere Virgill died, with infinite other, as touching the Letters of the Hiacinth, the Chestnut tree, the children of Niobe, the trees where Latona brought forth Diana, in all which idle interrogatories, they haue left vnto vs not things found, but things to be sought, and peraduenture they had founde necessary things, if they had not sought superfluous things. Innumerable such vnecessary questions, according to Philosophy, are made as touching the soule, as whence it is, what maner of one it is, when it doth begin to be, how long it may bee, whether it passeth not from his first mansion els where, and so alter his abiding, or shift into other formes of brute Beastes, whether one soule serueth no more but once and one, what it shall doo, when as by vs it shall cease to doe any thing, howe it shall vse his libertie, when as it is escaped out of this dungion, or whether it be forgetfull of former things? what do al these things auail vnto vertue? Wherefore, Socrates who reduced all Philosophy vnto the manners, sayd, that thys was the greatest wisedome, to distinguish good & euill things. Vnto which discerning distinction is required deliberative meditation, in so much as in it consists our liues vertuous direction. Neither is it to liue well one daies worke, but the continuall exercise of our whole life, beeing the best effect that euer knowledge did afford. When as wee duely consider, whether euery way leadeth, or
wisely ponder with our selues to what end we refer each one of our actions, and exact of our straying thoughts a more severe account of their wandering course, we shall find no victory so great as the subduing of vice, nothing so hard as to live well, no such unnestimable iewell, as an 5 honest conversation: let him that is inclined but to one extreme, secretly try by himselfe, with what facilitie or difficulty he may suppressse it in himselfe, and his owne practise will teache him, that he is led captive by his owne inclinations, and overcome by his wicked cogitations. If the so difficult a thing in accomplishment, seems one sins suppression, howe laborious woulde be the reformation of an altogether euill conversation. Since then the onely ende of knowledge ought to be to learne to live well, let vs propound this use and end vnto our selues, least after so 15 many yeres paines, we misse of the marke whereat our parents in our education aymd. Turning our Histories, and reading the liues of excellent Orators and famous Philosophers, let vs with Themistocles, set before our eyes one of the excellentest to imitate, in whose example insisting, our 20 industry may be doubled, to the adequation of his praise.

I know the learned wil laugh me to scorne, for setting down such Rams horne rules of direction, and euen nowe E 4 I begin to | bethinke me of Mulcasters Positions, which makes my penne heere pause as it were at a full point; 25 which pause hath changd my opinion, and makes me rather refer you to Aschame the antienter of the two; whose prayses, seeing Maister Grant hath so gloriously garnished, I will referre you to his workes, and more especially to his Schoolemaster, where he hath most learnedly censured 30 both our Latine and Greeke Authors. As for lighter studies, seeing they are but the exercise of youth to kepe them from idlenes, and the preparation of the minde to more weightie meditations, let vs take heede, least whiles we seeke to make them the furthering helps of our finall 35 profession, they proue not the hindering harmses of our 12 reformation Q
intended vocation, that we dwell not so long in Poetry that wee become Pagans, or that we make not such proceedinges in Aristotle that we prooue proficients in Atheisme. Let not learning, which ought to be the Leuell, whereby such as liue ill, ought to square their crooked waies, be the occasion vnto the of farther corrup-
tion, who haue already sucked infection; least their knowledge way them downe into hell, when as the ignorant goe the direct way to heauen.

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

FINIS.
A COVNTERCVFFE
GIVEN TO MARTIN IVNJOR

Entry in the Stationers' Register: None.

Editions: (1) Early:

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

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.


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

1589 (B). A | Countercuffe giuen to | Martin Iunior: by the venturous, | hardie, and renowned Pasquill of England,| Caualiero. | Not of olde Martins making, which newlie knighted | the Saints in Heauen, with rife vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule; | But latelie dubd for his seruice at home in the defence of his | Countrey, and for the cleane breaking of his | staffe vpon Martins face. | (♦) | [ornament] | ♦ Printed between the skye and the | grounde, wythin a myle of an
A COVNTERCVFFE


No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

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

Catch-words: A 2. hold A 2\textsuperscript{v}. Maugre A 3. grounded A 3\textsuperscript{v}. as A 4. In.

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

(2) Modern Editions:


From the copy in the British Museum.

(2) 1903. (The present edition.)

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

Note on the Editions:

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

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

In the first place the wording of the passage, 'From Grauesende Barge the eight [sixt] of August' shows that the date was meant as that of writing, not of printing; it seems therefore unlikely, though not, of course, impossible that it should have been altered by the printer.
Further, if we assume that these were the dates of two consecutive editions, we shall have to suppose that within two days a whole edition was printed off; the type distributed; so many of the copies sold that it seemed necessary to the printer to issue a second, and the type set up again. To me this seems in the highest degree improbable. The book is certainly but a small pamphlet, a single sheet in quarto, but printing was slow and there is every reason to suppose that a considerable sale would be anticipated, and a large first edition prepared; it must be remembered that the book appeared just when the Martinist controversy was at its height.

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

The printer's device which appeared in A is found also on the title-page of two tracts which followed this one, apparently from the same pen, *The Returne of Pasquill, 1589*, and *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie, 1590*; its absence in B is therefore worth attention. This seems to me to point to one of three conclusions, (1) that B was the earlier edition and that the printer, perhaps thinking it better to conceal his identity, did not at first intend to use any mark, but afterwards changed his mind, (2) that the device was at the time being used for *The Returne of Pasquill*, and was hence not available, (3) that it was being used in printing another, simultaneous, edition of the *Countercufe*.

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

The second alternative is by no means more probable.
The Returne was printed in October of the same year. It seems hardly likely that the printer, after waiting two months to produce a second edition of the Countercuffe, should choose for doing so precisely the time when the first sheet of The Returne was being worked off, and when naturally his office would be most busy. He might well have waited a few days longer and have issued the two books uniform in appearance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note on the Printer:

Though it does not properly belong here, I think it advisable to say a word or two as to the printer of this and the two following tracts. There seems to be strong reason for supposing them to have been the work of the same house, the printer's device, the type, and the general style of composition being identical in all three. It has however
been stated, on what evidence I have been unable to learn, that *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie* was printed by James Roberts for John Danter. As however the same device was used in *The Recantations as they were seuerallie pronounced by Wylliam Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell* ... *At London, Printed by John Charlewood and William Brome. Anno Domini. M.D.LXXXVIII.* and in Lyly's *Endimion*, ... *At London, Printed by I. Charlewood, for the widdowe Broome, 1591*, and as further the initial I on page A3 of the *Apologie* appears also in *Endimion*, we need feel little doubt in assuming them to be the work of Charlewood or Brome, or perhaps of the two in partnership.

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

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

The same device was also used in *Hypnerotomachia. The Strife of Loue in a Dreame* ... *Printed for William Holme ... 1592*¹, but no printer's name is given.

¹ Other copies have 'for Simon Waterson' and 'for John Busbie.'
A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Ju-
nior: by the venturous, hardie, and
renowned Pasquill of England,
Cavaliere.

Not of olde Martins making, which newlie knighted
the Saints in Heauen, with rise vp Sir Peter and Sir Paule; But
lately dubd for his service at home in the defence of his
Country, and for the cleane breaking of his
staffe vppon Martins
face.

PRINTED.
Betweene the skye and the grounde,
Within a myle of an Oake, and not many fieldes
of, from the vnpriviledged Preffe of the
All-ignes of Martin
Junior.

Anno. Dom. 1589.
Aliant Martin, if euer the earth carried anie Gyants, as fabulous antiquitie hath auouched, which entred into wars and conspiracies against GOD, thy father Mar-prelat was a whelpe of that race; who to reuie the memory of his auncestres almost forgotten, hath broken into heauen with his blasphemies. If the Monster be deade, I meruaile not, for hee was but an error of Nature, not long liued: hatched in the heat of the sinnes of England, and sent into these peaceable Seas of ours, to play like a Dolphin before a tempest. The heads this Hydra lost in a famous place of late, where euery newe Bugge no sooner puts out his hornes, but is beaten downe; The Anotamie latelie taken of him, the blood and the humors that were taken from him, by launcing and worm-ing him at London vpon the common Stage; The maine buffets that are giuen him in euery corner of this Realme, are euident tokens, that beeing thorow soust in so many showres, hee had no other refuge but to runne into a hole, and die as he liued, belching.

Turkie hath very good cause to bewaile his death, for theyr Religion like an ancient building, worn with extremitie of age, riues, & threatens ruine on euery side, if it be not supported by newe proppes. One of the best meanes the deuill inuented to holde that vppe, was the helpe of thy Father, to pull downe all other Religions vnder heauen. His Conclusions and thy Epilogue, are two as fitte swordes, as Mahomet himselfe could desire to kill
a Christian. But because thy Father wained with the | A 2v Moone for want of strength, when he left thee his Theses without life or limme, I woulde wishe thee to put them in Moode and Figure for his sake. Pasquill hath vnder-
taken to write a very famous worke, Entituled THE 5	OWLES ALMANACKE: wherein the night labours and byrth of your Religion is sette downe: the ascent and
descent of the Starres that fauour it, is truelie calculated:
the aspects of the Planets raigning ouer it, are expressed,
with a iollie coniecture drawne from the iudgment of the 10
Theame, what end your Religion is like to haue. Now
because hee hath reserued a blanke Paper at the end of
the worke, for the foure seasons of the yere (as commonly
Calculators doe) he is determined to keepe that in his
hand, till your Syllogisms be made, that he may fill vppe 15
his Booke with the diseases and remedies of your Argu-
ments, in what quarter of the yeere so euer they fall.
Pasquill hath taken vp your Gloue, and desires you to
charge your weapon at him like a Man. If you play with
him, as your father and your selfe haue doone with the 20
Bishops heretofore, if you barke like a Curre and bite
behind, he will haue a tricke with his heele to strike out
your teeth. Whilst you consult with your Topicks to
ground your reasons sure, Pasquill wyll come vppon you
with another venewe. For he came latelie ouer-sea into 25
Kent, frō thence he cut ouer into Essex at Grauesende,
and hearing some tidings of Hartford-shire, because hee
cannot ride far without a bayte, he made as much haste
as hee could to S. Albanes, where he staid one whole
Sabaoth at the Christopher, and hauing there pestered 30
a newe paire of Writing-tables with profitable Notes for
that quarter, he sette forarde the Munday following to
North-hampton-shire, smyling and glauncing as he turnd
his Horse about to bidde the Congregation of Saint
Michaels adiewe.
To be brefe with your worshipfultie, Pasquill hath
posted very dilligently ouer all the Realme, to gather some
fruitfull Volume of *THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS*, which Mauger your fiue hundred fauorites shall be printed. There shall you read of that reuerend Elder of your Church, who beeing credited with the stocke of the poore, A 3 pertaining to the Bride-well house of *Canterburie*, to sette men a work, was compelled to keepe it to himselfe, because no poore folkes of the houshold of Faith could be found in all that Cittie. There shall you see the life and learning of a Pastor of your Church, which expounding the Articles of our Beliefe in *Devon-shire*, when he came to handle the descending into Hell, wrote a Latine Letter to a neighbour Minister of his to craue his aduise, and rapt it out lustilie, *Si tu non vis venire mihi, ego volo venire tibi*: and so by the leaks that remaine in his Latine, made more worke for the Tinker, than euer your Father made for the Cooper. I will leape ouer one of your Brother Preachers in *North-hampton-shire*, which is as good a Hound for his sent to smell a feast as euer man sawe. *Pasquill* met him betweene *Bifield* and *Fawseley*, with a little Hatte like a Sawcer vpon hys crowne, a Filch-man in his hande, a swapping Ale-dagger at his back, containing by estimation, some two or three pounds of yron in the hyltes and chape, and a Bandogge by his side, to commaund fortie foote of grounde wheresoeuer he goes, that neuer a Begger come neere him to craue an Almes. O how my Palfrey fetcht me vppe the Curuetto, and daunced the Goates iumpe, when I ranne the ring round about him to retriue him: it should seeme by the manages my beast made, that hee knewe his Maister had a speciall peece of seruice in hande. You shall haue a goodly bande of these men in the volume of the Saints. *Pasquill* is nowe gone ouer-sea to commit it to the Presse, and it is his pleasure (because it is the first opening of his shop) to giue you a taste of his Wares before you buy them, like a franck Merchant.

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

By these meanes shall you see Religion haled with violence into her graue, the goodly frame of this Commonweale shall fall, and Banck-rouptes and Atheists pocket vppe the peeces. But our comfort is, that the wisedom Athists B.
of her most excellent Maiestie is knowne to be greater, then to be traind from so high a seate to so base a lure, as euery Martinist casteth out vnto her. Her sacred Maiestie knowes, that it behooueth all Princes to haue a watchfull regarde vnto their estate, which is to be preserued as well by dooing of nothing that may endomage them, as by seeking of any thing conuenient for them.

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

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

6 endamage B. 25 they eye A: their eye B.
face of Religion vppon your cause, but when they are opened, they are full of Tragedies, eyther *Thyestes* eating vppe the flesh of his owne Children, or cursed *Oedipus* in bed with his owne Mother.

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

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

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

*Pasquill of Englande.*

22 eight] sixt B.
THE RETVRNE OF PASQVILL

Entry in the Stationers' Register: None.

Editions: (i) Early:

1589. THE | Returne of the renowned Caualiero | Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas, | and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon | the Royall Exchange. | ♦ | VWhere they encounter with a little household talke of Mar-tin and Martiniſme, discovering the fcbbe that is brede in | England: and conferring together about the speedie | dispersing of the golden Legende of the | lives of the Saints. | (✽) | [device] | ✿ If my breath be so hote that I burne | my mouth, suppoſe I was Printed by | Pepper Allie. | Anno. Dom. 1589.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.


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


Copies used or referred to:

a. British Museum, 96. b. 15. (8).
b. ☞ C. 37. d. 49.
d. Guildhall Library, N. 2. 2.
e. British Museum, 3932. d. 7.
f. Lambeth Palace Library, xxx. 6. 25. (2).
g. Bodleian Library, Malone, 566.
(Gro. The copy in the Huth Library, as represented in Grosart's text.)
66 THE RETVRNE OF PASQVILL

(2) Modern Editions:

From a copy in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

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

Note on the relationship of the Copies:

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

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

The copy from which Grosart printed and g¹ seem however to form a group apart. On certain pages they differ considerably in spelling, and occasionally in reading, from the first group. These differences are confined to particular pages and do not necessarily run through a whole sheet. It being impossible to place copies of these two groups side by side there is of course great difficulty in arriving at absolute certainty in this respect, but it may be said with moderate confidence that all of sheet A, B iv,

¹ These appear to be identical. As, however, I have not seen the copy from which Grosart printed I am unable to speak with certainty.
B 2, B 3, B 4 are the same in both, while B 1, B 2, B 3, B 4 are different; all of sheet C is the same with the exception of C 1, while all of sheet D is different except D 3 and D 4; D 4 being blank.

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

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

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

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

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1 Examples of this third group may be compared with those of the first both in the British Museum and at Lambeth.
one or two of the variant readings does the difference seem to have been anything but accidental.

I follow a as representing the text of the majority of the copies that I have seen. It may belong to the first issue or to a later one; I can see no means of determining 1.

1 For note on the printer, see the Introductory Note to the Countercuffe.
The returne of the renowned Caualliero Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange.

Where they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and Martinisme, discovering the scabbe that is bredde in England: and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the limes of the Saints.

By Thomas Nash

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

Anno. Dom. 1589.
PASQVILLS RETVRNE  
TO ENGLAND. 

Pasquill and Marforius.

PASQVILL. Thou art the man MARFORIVS, 
I looked for, though I little thought to meete thee 
so suddainly vpon the Exchange. MARFORIVS. 
Euer since you tooke shipping at Grauesende, I haue had 
the disease of a Marchants wife, so loue sicke in your 
absence, that myne eye was neuer pulde from the Wether-
cocke, and longing like a Woman for your returne, I neuer 
sawe gale of wind blow merrilie out of the East, nor heard 
any Ship shoote off her Ordnaunce in the Themis, but 
I ranne presently to the water side, to discouer your 
comming in; I wonder how I missed you? PASQVILL. 
Neuer maruaile at that, I haue learned to maske it: while 
some of Martins good freendes stood watching for me at 
Lambith bridge, I came to an Anker in Sandwich Hauen. 
But of fellowship tell me, howe hath my Countercuffe beene 
intreated? MARFO. It requireth a Summers day and 
a Winters night to tell you all. It was verie welcome to 
the Court, thankfullie receiued in both Vniuersities, the 
Citties of the Land doe giue you good speeches; as for 
the Countrey, after the plainest manner, with hart and 
good will, they are ready to greete you with a Cake and 
a cup of Ale in euery Parrish. This onely is the thing 
that greeueth them, they know not what Pasquill is. They 
desire in all places of the | Realme to be acquainted with A 2
you, because they woulde bring you intelligence thicke 
and threesfolde, to further your volume of the lues of the 
Saints. PASQ. I thinke I shall prooue a state man, my
packets come in so fast alreadie, that I beginne to swell in Bookes as bigge as Surius. If any desire to knowe what I am, tell them that I was once a Barbour in Rome, (as some report) and euery chayre in my shop was a tongue full of newes. Whatsoever was done in England, Fraunce, Germanie, Spaine, Italie, and other Countries, was brought to me. The high and secrete matters of Lordes, Ladies, Kingses, Emperours, Princes, Popes, and Monarchs of the world, did ring euery day as shrill as a Bason about my doores. In memory whereof, as Mercurie turnd Battus to a stone for bewraying his theft, it is thought that one Pope or other, mistrusting the slipprines of my touge, blest me into a stone to stoppe my mouth. Others affirmes, that the Cittie of Rome, to requite me with honour when I dyed, erected mee a little monument of stone, with a body, heade, and hands thicke and short, answerable to my stature, and set it vp in the open streete, where I assure you I haue stoode manie yeeres in the rayne: my face is so tande with the Sunne, and my hyde so hardened with the wether, that I neither blush when I byte any man, nor feele it when any man byteth me.

MARFO. I wonder howe you were able to continue there? PASQ. To heare euery mans talk that passed by, was better then meate and drinke to me. In stead of apparrell, in Summer I wore nothing but paper liueries, which manie great men bestowed vppon me to their great cost: in Winter, I care for no cold, because I am a stone. MAR. I beseeche you Syr tell me, how came you into England? PAS. Beeing once somwhat busie with Signor Iacomo, about a pretie wench kept at Frescata for the Pope his Fathers tooth, Gregorie the thirteenth, terque quaterque, shooke his white bearde at me with such a terrible looke, that I was a feard hee would haue smytte my head into Tyber with a Thunderbolt. Neuerthelesse, the olde man beeing of a mylde disposition, and very mercifull, I receiued a pardon for that fault. At the last,
hearing the Schol-lers of the English Seminarie merrie, as they returned from their Vineyarde, and full of fine tauntings when they talked of the Sects and opinions sprong vppe in Englande, I stole out of Rome by night, to make tryall my selfe of the trueth of theyr reports.

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

MARF. I pray you, Syr, why doe you call them Pruritanes? PAS. A pruriiu. They haue an itch in their eares, that would be clawed with new points of doctrine neuer dreamed of; and an itch in their fingers, thatould be nointed with the golden Ænulatum of the Church. I knowe they are commonly called Puritans, and not amisse, that tytle is one of the marks they beare about them. They haue a marke in the heade, they are selfe conceited, They take themselves to be pure, when they are filthy in Gods sight; They haue a mark in the eye, theyr lookes are haughtie; They haue a marke in the mouth, a verie blacke tooth, they are A generation that cursse theyr father. MAR. How now Caualiero, are you come to Scripture?

6 Run on in e, f. 10 not farre from thence,] the next doore by, e, f. 12 run away, and left his wife to the charitie of the Parrish. e, f. 23 MAR. e, f.
PAS. Doost thou thinke, Marforius, that Pasquill hauing stooode so many yeeres in the streetes of Rome, heard so many famous Clarks, especially father Sware, the Spa-niarde, and the sifted Greeke witte of Father Augustine, and hauing spent so much time in priuate reading the best Bookes that might stirre vppe my deuotion, I would skippe ouer the Booke of all Bookes, the holy Bible? No, no, I haue that volume in my hands, when many a Martinist hugges a drabbe in his armes, as you shall perceiue by the liues of the Saints. I tarrie but for one packet of information from Essex side, and that worke shall come out of the Presse like a bride from her chamber, spangled and trapt, with a full caparison of the ornaments of this present age. MAR. The Owles Almanack is expected at your hands as well as that. PAS. That is a peece of servuice not to be neglected in his time. I haue there set down all the vpstart Religions in this Lande. The Anabaptists; the Familie of Loue; the seauen capitall haeresies for which some haue beene executed of late yeeres in Suffolke; the diversities of Puritans and Martinists, wyth a number more which you shall heare of when that Booke is Printed. A lamentable spectacle it will be, to see so many faces in one hoode. But GOD knoweth (before whom I stande) I desire not to cast it out as a blocke in the waies of men, for any to stumble at, or to stand at defiance with all Religion; but as a Sea-marke to discouer the quick-sands of newe Religions.

I haue heard that Bernardin Ochin, a man of great learning, whom I knew in Rome to be the first founder of the order of the Capuchines, beeing once tucht with the finger of Gods spirite, beganne to detest the superstitions of the Church of Rome, and fledde to Geneua. The same man had a desire also to visite England, & during the time of his remaining here, he found so many blind Sects and Religions within the Land, that hee turned backe like a dogge to his owne vomit, and in some sort hee fell into niard, c.w.
the biace of Rome againe. Vnhappie man, that beeing once lightned, looked backe to that Scicilian Ætna, that spues vppe smoake and sulphure into the worlde, to put out the eyes of men; Vnhappie Englane, that by the diuersities of opinions in Religion, sette so many handes on hys shoulders to thrust him downe, that was so ready with a turne | to overturne. Howe these newe pampered factions at this day, haue shaken the harts of many of her Maiesties louing people, and made them Chamælion like, capible of any fayth saue the right, I leaue it to them that looke into it. MAR. Take heede what you say, it is a common reporte that the faction of Martinisme hath mightie freends.

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

est si vos contineat vna domus, et separat diuera voluntas?

What auailleth it, (saith one) for men to be shrowded vnder one rooffe, if they be not of one hart? One secret faction in a Realme dooth more hurt, then any generall plague or open warre.

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

1 biace of the Church of Rome e,f. 6 on] to e,f. 14 Run on by Gro. 20 withall e,f. 29 Run on in e,f. 30-1 in a little e,f. 31 further e,f.
the deade did dungge the grounde, yet they neuer went to
the wall, till they grew to be factious, & fell to taking one
another by the throate. Giue me leaue a little Marforius
to shyft my sayles and come towards Italie. They that
were wise prophecied long before of the state of Rome, that
it should neuer decay but by deuision. Which came
to passe. For when the factions of Sylla and Marius,
Cæsar and Pompey, Anthonie and Lepidus brake forth, the
flourishing Cittie beganne to cast her leafe. The great
Empire of great Alexander, like a flame of fire in a heape of
flaxe, when it was at the highest, did shed it selfe
suddainly in the ayre, and | came to nothing by the dissentiövs
of those that succeeded him. The proude necke of the
Græcians, for all their wisedome, was after the like manner
brought vnder the Persians and Macedonians. If wee rolle
our eyes at one side into the bosome of our neighbour
Fraunce, wee shall perceiue, that although it were many
times invaide in the skyrts of the Countrey by the Romans,
yet it remained incivible, till Cæsar tooke holde of the
discords within the Realme. My heade is full of water, and
my cheekes be wette, when I thinke vpon Constantinople,
whose particular iarres layde her gates open to the
Turke, vnder whose captiuitie she Groneth to this day.

Note. A faction in a Kingdome may well be compared to
a spark of fire: it catcheth holde at the first in some obscure corner, in a Shoppe, in a Stable, or in a ricke of Strawe, where it lyeth couert a little time, but by little and little it gathers strength, tyll it reare it selfe vp to
great houses, Pallaces, and Princes Courtes, and at last it rageth and ouerruns whole Citties & Countries, without quenching before they be vtterly ouerthrowne. In the
time of Justinian the Emperor, about the credite and
advancement of two colours, Blewe and Greene, there
grewe in Constantinople, two mightie factions, which made
such a head the one against the other, that in one day it cost many thousands of men their liues, and the Emperour himselfe was brought in great hazard, both of his Empire
and his owne person. Vpon as light an occasion in the Dukedome of Florence, for the two collours of Blacke and Whyte, very pestilent quarrels began there, and the factions of the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*, breaking forth like a lightning out of the Clowdes, scourde & wasted the Country where they went. These were but little sparks in the rushes, that euery man treadeth on, and very tryfles at the first, yet you see howe foule a Cockatrice may be hatcht of so small an egge. If I should rippe vp the stomachs of some in Englande, when wee consider the brawles, the garboyles, the tragical exclamations for Church apparrell, may wee not say that Englande is falne into that fantastical faction of Florence, for Black & White? Where had this brable his first beginning | but in some obscure corner, in the B[i] tippe of the tongue of some blind Parlor-preacher in the land, in shoppes, in stalles, in the Tynkers budget, the Taylors sheares, and the Sheepheardest Tarboxe? I doubt not *Marforius*, but it will wither where it sprang, and ende where it beganne, in shame and ignorance. Thou knowest, that the surest proppe of all Princes, is to promote true Religion, and to keepe it inuiolable when it is established, for this is the well tempered Morter that buildeth vp all estates. *He that honors me, (saith God)*

*I will honor him.* But this chopping & changing of the Religion of the land (which was acquited of accusations in the time of the famous K. *Edwarde* the sixt, and now aduaunced by the happy raigne of the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, & approued by the wisedom both spiritual & temporal of the whole Realme, & confirmed by a generall consent in the high Court of Parliament) is nothing els, but to picke out the Morter by little and little, that at the next pushe, *Martin* and his companions might overthrow the state, and make the Empeiral crown of her Maiestie kisse the ground.

Where there is a diuision fostred, there can be no continuance of the present state: GOD himselfe hath *Math. 12.*
taught it vs. **Martins** cheefe practise, in the Prouinces of Englande where I haue wandred, is, to perswade the simple, that her Maiestie layeth such a logge vppon their consciences, as they ought not beare, whereupon they presume to make a shrewde scruple of their obedience, and begin to bounde like a Colt that would cast his ryder. Hath God powred so many blessings vpon the Church of Englande, by the very often, and very miraculous preseruations of her sacred Maiesties royall person, and thereby giuen testimonies out of Heauen to the Religion of the Lande, and dares **Martin** attempt to make a doubt bothe of it, and her? Credit me, **Marforius**, this bursting the sinew of peoples obedience to their naturall Prince, cannot be doone, but for a mischiuous intent, what visor soeuer they sette vppon it. I would faine knowe what should be the reason, that so manie hundreds of thousands in this Realme, haue hetherto humbled themselues at the feete of one person? can it be because shee is mightier then all they, she beeing but one, and they many millions; she a woman, and they men? Is it any terror thinke you, of the big bodied Holberders that guarde her Maiestie? No **Marforius**, if there were not some wonderful matter that withheld them also, euen they might be giuen ouer to a reprobate sence, to bende every man the point of his Holberde at her. If we search it till the worlds end, we shall find no other cause of this sweet harmonie of peoples harts, that remaine faithful and flexible to the shaking of her princely finger, but only this, the Religion of the Land. Whë **Martin** shall be suffered to displace God, that nowe dwelles in the bosome of her Maiesties louing people, & buz slaunders of Religion into their eares, whereby they may conceiue, that her highnes by the maintenance of the Gospell, hath shutte vppe their saluation in close prison, and that it moues God in his wrath to draw the sword against her and the Realme (as **Martin** himselfe auoucheth), what other consequent may we looke for, but that euery Pruritane, transported with the heate & ignorance of his
zeale, will be as readie as a Papist, to lift vp his hand against her; which mischiefe I beseech God to returne into their bowels.

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

Take a patterne if you wyll, from priuate Families. What a pittifull thing is it to see two Religions in one
house? where the Father and the Sonne, the Husbande & the Wife, the Maister and the Seruant, are of diuers Faithes, the ioyntes of that house begin to gape, and the fall of that house is to be feared. The diuersitie of opinions in so high a degree as is Religion, cannot choose but 5 diminish the loue and respect, that the one of them should carrie vnto the other. The Sonne will be carelesse of his dutie to his Father, whom hee takes to be a reprobate; the Father will make but slender reckoning of the Son, that beleues not as he beleues. The Wife will giue little reuerence to that Husband, whom she imagineth to be damned; The Husband will be rough and rigorous to such a Wife as obeyes not him. The Seruant wyll neuer giue due honor to hys Maister, when he iudgeth him to be the bondsclaue of the deuill; The Maister will as hardly 15 protect that Seruaunt, whose hart he perceiues not to be with him.

As then the gouernment of Common-weales was first drawne from the gouernment of priuate houses, so that which is the ruine of priuate houses, growes in time to be 20 the ruine of Common-weales. I haue taken a little paine to visite diuers of the Courtes, Benches, Sessions, that are helde in thys Lande in her Maiesties name, by vertue of her B2V authoritie, but | I neuer saw so bolde, so open, so barbarous contempt of magistracie, in any other part of the 25 whole worlde, as I haue scene heere; such canuaces made, such stales set, such traynes layde, such platformes drawne by the factious, to bring theyr Superiours into contempt: and yet they prooue so ridiculous in euerie steppe they tread, that I am ready to stand on my nose whē I trace 30 them out.

I was once in Antwerpe, when great sute was made to the Masters of the English house (by a Gentleman then emploied in the Queenes affaires) for the entertaining a Preacher amōg them, both to teach & to minister the 35 Sacraments there vnto thē. The request was soone
granted, & Trauars, a fellow that delighteth in obliquitie, was the man that was brought thither: when he came, he had neither taken the Orders of the Ministerie, nor any lycence to preach, according to the gouernment of the Church of Englande, but ran into a corner among the French to receiue it there. At last, one of the Ministers of those Churches, came with him to the companie, and made a sollemne protestation before the all, that he founde Mast Trauars a fitte man for the deuiding of the word, and deliuerie of the Sacraments. 

Hac oratione finita sweete Maister Trauars, quem oneris causa nomino, for I beare him on my backe till my tale be ended, at the first iump read a Statute made in Scotland (for Church gouernment) to the naturall Subjectes of the Queene of Englande, and tolde them he woulde followe that. I would gladly be resolued in this place, whether Trauars dyd not begin very pretillie to play the Pope, in taking vppon him to discharge her Maiesties Subjectes of the allegiance they owe to theyr naturall Prince, and in stealing away from the crowne of England as many english harts as would harken to him, to translate them at his pleasure to a forraine power? As he layde his foundation in dissention, when hee began to be a builder in Gods house, so hath his worke vnto this day prospered; the whole frame I perceiue is fallen vppon him.

They that were discretee, ventured courageousely to sette a leauer at him, & never gaue ouer till he was remooued. 

The Chronicles of Englande, and the daylie enclosures B3 of Commons in the Lande, teach vs sufficiently, howe inclinable the simpler sort of the people are to rowtes, ryots, commotions, insurrections, and plaine rebellions, when they grow brainsicke, or any new toy taketh them in the head: they neede no Trauars nor Martin to encrease their giddines. It should seeme that the grand Prior of Fraunce (a man now dead) had gotten some taste of theyr disposition, whē in a Sonet that hee made for his own pleasure,
to paint out the natures of all Nations, he toucht the pryde, the wantonnes, the mutabilitie, and the mutinies of the Spaniard, the Italian, the French, and the Scotchman, and to the shame of this Nation, hee giues the Englishe a dash ouer the face with a blacke coale, and sayth: *Traistre Angloi*, the English man is a Traytor. This is the grounde, the Popes and the King of Spayne, these many yeeres haue chosen to themselues to worke vpon, and vsed the English in nothing more, then in matters of high treason. Therefore I would wysh the whole Realme to iudge vprightly, who deserues best to be bolstred and vpheld in these dangerous times, either they that haue religiously & constantly preached obedience to her Maiesties loving people, or they that with a maske of Religion discharge them of theyr obedience?

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

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

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

21 and makes g, *Gro.* 22 into ] vnto g, *Gro.*
I haue in hand, and intituled it, *The May-game of Martinisme*. Verie defflie set out, with Pompes, Pagents, Motions, Maskes, Scutchions, Emblems, Impreases, strange trickes, and deuises, betweene the Ape and the Owle, the like was neuer yet scene in Paris-garden. *Penny* the welchman is the foregallant of the Morrice, with the treble belles, shot through the wit with a Woodcocks bill: I woulde not for the fayrest horne-beast in all his Countrey, that the Church of England were a cup of Metheglin, and came in his way when he is ouer-heated; euery Bishopricke woulde prooue but a draught, when the Mazer is at his nose. *Martin* himselfe is the Mayd-marian, trimlie drest vppe in a cast Gowne, and a Kercher of Dame Lawsons, his face handsomlie muffled with a Diaper-napkin to couer his beard, and a great Nosegay in his hande, of the principalest flowers I could gather out of all hys works. *Wiggenton* daunces round about him in a Cotten-coate, to court him with a Leathern pudding, and a woodden Ladle. *Paget* marshalleth the way, with a couple of great clubbes, one in his foote, another in his head, & he cryes to the people with a loude voice, *Beware of the Man whom God hath markt*. I can not yet find any so fitte to come lagging behind, with a budget on his necke, to gather the deuotion of the lookers on, as the stocke-keeper of the Bridewel-house of Canterburie; he must carrie the purse, to defray their charges, and then hee may be sure to serue himselfe.

*MAR.* Peace, *Caualiero*, your tongue will be slitte if you take not heede: I haue heard some say, you should wringe for this geare if the Queene were dead. *PAS.* Tushe, thou art but a crauin, *Marforius*, if thou feare that; hadst thou but one dropp of that water in thine eye, which the Seruaut of *Elisha* the Prophet had, when he discovered so many Chariots of fire about his Maister, thou shouldest see the Prayers of the | Church of Englande flie vppe into B 4
heauen for her Maiestie, and returne againe with Oliue-branches in their mouthes (like the Dooue that was sent out of the Arke) to bring tydinges of peace and long life vnto her highnesse. These wonderfull preseruations of her royall person, which the eyes of this Lande euery day behold, are euident tokens, that GOD hath a worke for her to doe; there is a nayle to be knockt into Siseraes head, before she be called from the earth. But whē extremitie of age shall ende her daies, I am of the minde of many thousandes in this Land. MAR. What is that? PAS. Hee shall doe me a pleasure that cuts my throate.

MAR. I perceiue your abode in Englande hath made you participate with the nature of an Englishman; where you sette downe your reste, you are very resolute, and it appeareth by your conceit, you were able to range a faire battaile of Scriptures to charge your enemies, if you were driuen to leade your forces out.

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

4 Those Gro. Siseraes a-d,g, Gro. 29 these Gro. 33 vnto] om. Gro. he should g, Gro.: she... a-d: hee... e,f. now be Gro.
with you, and haue you not knowne me? Hath Christ been John 14.9. so long, so freelie, so learnedly, so zealously preached in this Land, and must wee nowe on a suddaine, (as if God had shewed vs a juggling | cast) grope for him againe in B 4 a Puritans budget, stuff full of rayling & reuiling Pamphlets?
I am sure the Apostle teacheth me, that the wisedom which is of God, is Pure and Peaceable: if it be pure, it James cannot cōmunicate with that tarte taste of the deuils tongue, 3. 17. which is a slanderer by his occupation. If it be peaceable, it is without faction, & neuer runs into the dägerous gain-saying of Core, whose sinne could not choose but be very great, because the punishment thereof was very great. But I feele by the pulse of a Puritane when I touch him, that his disease is the very Apoplexie of the Donatistes, Quod 15 volumus sanctum est. What soeuer they like is Apostolicall, be it neuer so bad; and what they mislike is Diabolicall, be it neuer so good.

I shall neuer forget that man of God, Maister John Foxe, who though he neither sought Benifice nor Bishoprick in the Land, yet whè some of the faction came vnto him with a Scottish Minister, and brought him certaine Articles of Religion (coyned in a Mint among themselues), desiring him to set his hand vnto them, the teares rolling downe plentifully vpon his face, he reiected them all with a sharpe reproofe. An other time, when Paget fawned vppon him, full of play like a wanton whelpe whose worme was not taken out of his tongue, the good Father encountered him in London in an open streete with this greeting, God send thee a right mind to thy crooked gate. A good Prayer beleue mee for this dogged generation, that is euer barking against the Moone, and as men that are troubled with sore eyes, they think any light or Religion better & wholsomer then that they haue, because they want learning to discerne & judge of that they haue. Yet they think, I warrant you, to carry all away with censoricall lookes, with gogling the
eye, with lifting vppe the hand, with vehement speeches, when the Wine which they broach vnnto the people, is the very poysnon of Dragons and the gall of Aspes, prest from a bitter Grape that neuer came out of Gods Vintage.

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

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

8 would c.w. 27 Canonically g, Gro. 33 New par. Gro.
Scriptures, are a generation that giue more credit to them- selves than to the Scriptures; therefore it were good (saith a godly father) for such people to tell the worlde plainlie, that they make no reckoning at all of anie Scriptures.  

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

As I came through Fraunce, Marforius, I was desirous to ryde from the one ende to the other of Clara Vallis, where I found the last will and Testament of S. Bernard, standing in this forme vpon his Tombe. Tria vobis fratres, observanda relinguo, quæ vt potui observaui. Primo. Ne- mini scandalum feci, si quando incidit sedaui vt potui. Secundo. Minus semper sensui meo quam alterius credidi.
Tertio. Læsus de lædente nunquam vindictam petii. Ecce charitatatem, humilitatem, patientiam, vobis relinquo. Brethren (saith he) there be three things that I bequeath unto you to be observed, which as well as I could I haue observed my self. First, I neuer gaue scandale vnto any person; if I did, I pacified the matter to my power. Secondlie, I stood vpon mine owne conceite lesse then I did vpon other mens. Thirdly, when I was wronged, I neuer sought reuenge. Beholde, Charitie, Humilitie, and Patience I bequeath vnto you. This good Father shall ryse vppe in iudgment to condemn Martin. Had he beene fearefull of giuing anie Scandale vnto the worlde, his vncharitable Pamphlets had neuer scene the Sunne; Had hee giuen lesse credite to his owne | censures and opinions, than to the censures and opinions of better men, so many good Scriptures had neuer been wrested, so many flowers in Gods Garden had neuer been defaced. Had he been ready to suffer wrong without wringing of reuenge out of Gods hand, he would neuer haue thundred & lightned at so many rare men, whose learning and vertue is a pricke in his eye, and a strong watch that intercepts euery passage vnto his Hierarchie. Let him swell while he burst, with the worde in his mouth, so long as hee breaketh the rule of Charitie, and cares not whom he strike, so the edge of his tuske may haue a lighting place; wee may easily see what is within him. Infaelix lolium & steriles dominantur auenæ. Scripture is often in the typ of his tongue, but Cockle is the graine wee reape with him. It is the propertie of Martin & his followers, to measure Gods mouth, by theyr owne mouth, as you shall see in the May-game that I haue promised you: for there you shall haue a number of strange Notes vpon the Text, some of them gathered from William Dike at S. Albanes, in his clarklie Paraphrases vpon S. Luke and S. Iohn, some haue beene brought me from other places, & some I gathered my selfe, in an assemblie of the brotherhood at

2 New par. Gro. 27 dominantæ a-f. on the typ Gro.
Ashford in Kent. I went thither with a Student of Cambridge to a sollemne exercise, and coming in the habite of Schollers, we pressed somewhat boldly into their companie to dine with them, assuring our selues to finde some new service at theyr Table. When the dinner was doone, one of them read a Chapter, euery man keeping his place still; The roome was full of Artificers, men and women, that sate rounde about vpon stooles and benches to harken to it. The Chapter was, the i. Cor. 3, which being read, the reader began first to vutter his conceit vpon the Text, in short Notes; then it came to his next neighbours course, and so in order Glosses went a begging, and Expositions ranne a pace through the Table, till they came to me, whom they desired to open my mouth among the rest: I vtterly refused to vndertake the taske; notwithstanding, I was so wonderfully vrged, that I could not any way shift the off, and somewhat I spake among them. When I came to the ende of my cariere, my companion was requested to pricke it for company with his freendes.

I needed no Minstrill to make me merrie, my hart tickled of it selfe, when it came to his turn, because I knew him to be a Gentleman well studied in Philosophie, but he had not yet medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth verse of the Chapter to discourse vpon. Where the Apostle saith, Every mans worke shall be tryed by fire. But to see how brauely hee trotted ouer all the Meteors bredde in the highest Region of the ayre, to see how louingly hee made the sence of the Apostle and Ouid's fiction of Phaetons firing of the world to kisse before they parted, and then howe souldier-like hee made an ende of his manage with a double rest, was sport enough for vs to beguile the way, as we travailed backe againe from thence to Canterburie.

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

9-10 the i. Cor. 3. which being read. The reader Q. 28 fiction] picture Gro.
another spake, had a breathing time giuen him to whisper with the holy Ghost, to know what shold be put into his head to vtter, against it came about to his course againe.

MAR. Trust mee Cavaliero, I take this to be the oddest peece of worke of all that hetherto you haue spent your 5 time in; I trauaile like a woman with child, till this be out. But haue you not heard Cooper at Paules chayne, and the rest of the men that are commended to your eares by Martin Senior? PAS. I haue followed them also, and I finde them fitte to preach vppon Bellowes, and Bagpipes, and blowne Bladders; they are so full of ventositie, that I cannot come at their matter for winde and words. MAR. What say you to Dike of S. Albanes, how like you him? PAS. He is an Asse, he is an Asse, quoth a learned Gentleman of Lyncolnes-Inne, that went thether to heare him at the last Assises, and found him so bald, so bare, and yet so bold to flie into heauen with a fewe sicke feathers, that Mouit Cornicula risum. Thys generation hath a little smacke of one of the plauges of Ægypt; they skippe very lustily into priuate houses, and fill our eares full of croking like the Frogges | of Ægypt. MAR. What shoulde be the cause of these new Sect-maisters? PAS. This mischiefe hath many fountaines, which I will reduce for thy sake into a little compasse. One cause I finde to be meere ignoraunce. GODS Church is compared to an Armie, 

C 3 well ordered and sette in good aray. In an Armie you haue manie Commaunders, Corporals, Sergiants, Lieutenants, Captains, and Coronels; yet not all of equall authoritie, but all vnder the direction of one Generall, for the better leading in and out of the whole forces: and in Gods Church, as it hath grown great, companies côming daily in vnto it out of every tongue, and Tribe, and Countrey, and Nation, so all Ecclesiasticall and Christian Histories and Antiquities teache vs, that there hath bee a diuersitie of learned and skilfull leaders, some higher, some lower then others in theyr places, and all vnder the controlment

4 odde Q: odde[st] Gro. 17 toffie a–d. 27 Leiutenants Q.
of one Generall, Christ himselfe, for the greater terror of Hæreticks & enemies of the Church and for the grace, the beautie, and order of euerie Cornette and Ensigne in the same; which is a thing glorious in Gods eye, because he is the GOD of order. But the Martinists (sillie wretches) ignorant and vnlearned men, vnfitte for any eminent charge in the Church themselues, seeke to drawe euery place in this Campe royall to an equalitie with theselves. A preposterous humor noted in the Ecclesiastical Histories, diuers that were sette beside the cushion when Bishoprickes were a dealing, sought to make Bishops equall with euery Minister. In this daungerous attempt, I finde the three plagues that GOD threatneth for peoples sinnes, to be powred out at this day vpon the Church of England. First. The Sworde is vppon the right eye, and the right hand: what socuer is right in the Church of England, is wounded by the Martinists, a crooked generation, that loues to swym side-long with the Crabbe. Secondly. Like people, like Priest begins now to be verified: the Preachers of the faction, (like Puppets in a motion) begin to snappe and to turne, and to speake, what, and when, and howsoever the people will, at whose tables they are fed, like Geese in the Capitol, to gaggle at euery man that is against them. | Thirdly. Beautie and C 3\textsuperscript{v} Bandes: the two staues that God vses like a Sheepheard to guide his people, are knapt in sunder. Beautie is burst; for our order is turned into cōfusion: Bandes are burst also, for our vnitie is fallen into dissention. The maine poste whereupon the Bucklers, the Armour, the imaginarie Trophes of the faction, is hanged vppe for the simple to gaze and wonder at, is onely this, The Church of England hath committed fornication with the Church of Rome, and tript out her foote like a strumpet, to euery devise of mans braine that hath passed by her.

Heerein I see the Churches case, is Susannaes case: this accusation of incontinencie is framed against her by such as haue sought to be incontinent with her themselues.
Had Susanna prostituted her body to the Elders, her credit had neuer beene called into Question by her accusers: had the Church of England giuen vppe the keyes of her Coffers, to bawdes, beggers, and Banckroutps, the reuerend Elders of Martinisme had neuer put vppe any Billes of endightment against her the last Parliament. But as the storie saith, that Daniell was raysed by GOD to acquite her, and conuince euery scatterer of false reports, I thinke before I end, Signor Pasquill of Englande wyll prooue the man that must sette a gagge in the mouth of Martin the great, and cut vp an Anatomie of all his knauerie.

Me thought Vetus Comédia beganne to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought foorth Diuinitie wyth a scratcht face, holding of her hart as if she were sicke, because Martin would haue forced her, but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles vppon her cheekes, and poysoned her with a vomit which he ministred vnto her, to make her cast vppe her dignities and promotions.

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

Though Babies and fooles stagger, and stande amazed to beholde their newe pranckes, yet almost the meanest in Gods Schoole knowes, it is no strange thing, that the
Church sholde be vexed with such enemies. In the time of holy David the King, the Church was assaulted by a kinde of people, whose mouthes were as Quiuors, and theyr tongues as Shafts, that did shoote very secretly at the best men. Vnto this kinde of people, holy men of God haue giuen sundry tytles, and thereby, as it were, clapt many Brandes vpon theyr backes, to make them knowne to be rotten Sheepe of the deuils fould. They are termed to be Bulles of Bashan, Foxes, Serpents, Vipers, Woolues, Spyders, Theeues, Firie-ouens, False-ioyes, & a great many names more of like honor, they haue wonne in the fiele, and borne away the prize in euery age.

A yeere would scarce suffer me to discouer them all at large. Yet that I may touch at every Coast which I haue descried, they are called Bulles, because they dosse out theyr hornes against the truth; Foxes, because theyr conspiracies, and incontinencies, theyr vnchaste and disordered life, shewes them to be tied together by the tayles like Sampsons Foxes, but their heads be loose, they shake off theyr obedience to their natural Prince. Serpents, because they glide vpon theyr bellies; No sin among some of them, from the nauell downward. Vipers, to giue light and estimation vnto themselues, they teare open the bowels of theyr owne Damme, and liue by the death of her that bred them. Woolues, In outwarde appearaunce, they are like to the dogge, and make a shewe to the world they would keepe the Sheepe, but all theyr desire is to kill the Sheepe. Spyders, because they sucke out theyr mallice from very good hearbes, and spynne with great studie an vnprofitable webbe, good for nothing but to catch Flyes. Theeues, they breake in by night into Gods house, and would spoyle though it were with the bloode of the Saints. Firie-ouens, they haue a scorching breathe, and when they are drawn, they deliuer a batch for the deuils tooth. And to wind vp their vertues in a word or two, they are False-ioyes, their substance is brittle, and their Bookes be Glasse; giue the but a filop, they run to powder. What grounde
they haue gotten by their practises among the witlesse, I neede not tell you, seeing Martin Senior is so forward to tell you himselfe, that he hath a hundred thousand in the Lande, readie to lift vppe a new Presbitery with priuate hands. Though I know that he lyeth loudlie, yet it were not amisse Magna componere paruis, and to looke to his fingers, that he be not as readie when hee spyes his time, to lift vp a newe Prince.

After GOD had once brought his Church out of Egipt, by the hand of Moses, there wanted neither Iebusite, nor enemy a long time to flye in her face, and to hinder her passage to the Land of promise; And since God led his Church in this Land out of the bondage of Rome, by the conduct of her excellent Maiestie, there never yet wanted Papist, Atheist, Brownist, Barowist, Martinist, Anabaptist, nor Familie of Loue to bid them battaile, that their course to Gods Kingdome might be stopt. But in all their attempts it fareth with them, as it dooth with the Wrestler within the Lystes; he winnes now and then, not because he is strong or impossible to be ouer-come, but because the match that he deales withall is weake; Martin hath made some head, in some parts of her Maiesties Dominions, not because his worshippe is inuincible, but because hee hath closde with the clowted shoe, and got a little credite by mens infirmites.

MAR. By your leave, Caualiero, they say Martin hath great vpholders. PAS. It may be so to, some few that are as readie as himselfe, to rob the Church: though hee stand in theyr bosoms like the Grasse vpon the house to scape the Clergies Sickles, Pasquill will haue a hooke to pull him down. In the mean season, his state is as the Grasse vpon the house; they that are wise and religious doe passe by him, but they never blesse him, | as men doe the croppe vpon the grounde. Curses I haue read and heard of many that haue followed their humors, that haue affected any pillage of the Church. When Symon the

PASQVILL AND MARFORIVS

D 18 Wrestler Gro. 27 to] om. Gro.
mutinous (vpon a particulier grudge hee bare to Onias 2. Mac. 3. the High Priest) had enformed Seleucus the King of Asia, of the Churches Treasure, the King sent Heliodorus his Treasurer to seaze it to the Crowne: Heliodorus came like a Foxe, to visit and reforme the disorders of Cælorysia and Phænice. When the high Priest perceiued, that reformation was his errande, but golde he sought, the graue countenance of Onias was striken down, and the people beholding their Father heauie, ranne some to the Temple, some to the Cittie-gates, some stood in their windowes looking out, some gadded vppe and downe the streetes, like Bacchus Froes, frantick for the time, and all ioyntly lifted vp their hands, their eyes, and their voice to heauen, for the defence of the Church Treasure. Heliodorus was no sooner entred the Treasurer to take the spoyle, but there appeared to him a terrible man in Complet Armour of Gold, mounted on a barbed Horse, which ranne fiercelie at the Kings Treasurer, and trampled him vnder foote. Therewithall appeared also two men of excellent strength and beautie, whipping and beating him with so many stripes, that hee was carried out of the place speechlesse, and without any hope of life at all.

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

2 high a-f. 36 that] as g, Gro.
Div of hell, to lye and | dissemble with the holie Ghost; howe many foule sinnes and howe many greeuous plagues are to be feared in this Lande, which alreadie hang at the ende of the lyne of Martinisme, and would speedilie be puld vpom our heads, if we should but beginne to take that from 5 the Church, which we neuer gaue? It may be, Mast Martin will flappe mee in the mouth with his politique reason, that it is good for the Realme to maintaine their warres by the Church reuenewes, because forraine inuasions are dailie looked for. But to meete with his wisedome at 10 the halfe sword, I remember that Ægypt in the time of Joseph the Patriarche, felt so extreame a famine, that the fift parte of the Lande was sold to releue the Lande, yet the Patriarche in all this care he had, both of the Countrey and the King, to succour the one, & enrich the Coffers of 15 the other, neuer attempted any sale of the lande of the Priestes, nor once diminished the same. If the holie Patriarche in so great extreamitie, neuer venturde to alienate the possessions of Idolatrous Priestes, though it were to the releese of a whole Kingdome, with what face 20 dares anie politique in the world, curtoll the maintenance of the Church of God, and vntile the houses that by religious Princes haue beene consecrated to Gods seruice?

Let vs see the good that ensueth of their deuices, & let England be warned by the præsidents of other Nations. 25 Celce the Constable of Gertrund King of Burgonie, hauing vnnder the authoritie of the King his Maister, enriched himselfe with the goods of the Church, was one day in the Church at his deuotion, and as he hearde the Prophet read, that proclaimes a woe vnto them that ioyne house to house, and land to land, he gaue a shrike suddainlie in the congregation, and cried out, this is spoken to me, this curse is vpon me, and vppon my posterity; and afterward died miserablie. In Fraunce, Lewes the sixt, surnamed the great, was once a protector of the pruiledges of the 35 Church, for perceiuing that the Conte de Clerimont, the 24 deuices] dances Gro. 27 king a–f. 36 Counte g, Gro.
PASQVILL AND MARFORIVS

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

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

I know the humor of a Martinist to be such, as David described long agoe, Our tongues are our owne, who is Lord ouer vs? An ambitious desire to sitte in the doores

1 Mengu Gro. 14 suddailie a-f.
of euerie mouth, to be seene and talked of, hath made the
surfet, and shaken them with many colde fittes of the
Feuer of Eutydimus. Hee was a wrangling Logician,
that had rather say any thing, then seeme to be conquered
in disputation, which made him as a man mad and im-
pudent, to maintaine by argument, that his dog was his |  
father, and the father of all the world; he grew so peruerse
and so slippery in his conclusions, that he proved as quick
as an Eele in euery quirke; the harder he was griped, the
sooner hee slipt out of euery hand. But Pasquill is made 10
of another temper, hee acknowledgeth the least Magistrate
in the Land to be Lord of his tongue, & the Lawes of this
Country to be the curbe that God & her Maiestie haue
made for vnrulie mouthes, least her people should gore one
another like brute beasts. Pasquill offereth his back to 15
S. Bernards discipline; far from the contentions of Martin
and Eutydimus, he giueth lesse credit and authoritie to his
own wit, than to the least of all those that he findes to be
men of more learning and judgment then himselfe.

Martin cryes out (as if he had already poysioned the 20
springs head, where the whole Realme shold fetch water)
Let the Court alone; he saith he knowes what a wonderfull
working the hope of gaine and of gold hath in that place,
yet Pasquill is resolved, that her excellent Maiestie (as 25
hetherto she hath doone) will continue still her princelie
faour to the Priuiledges of the Church of England, and
giue the blessing to it that Moses gaue to the Priest-hood
of the Tribe of Leui, and pray for the. First, That the
Vrim and Thummim may be among them, wisedom and
knowledge for the peoples good, and that when they offer 30
vnto the Lord, The work of their hands may be accepted.
Next, that God in his mercie would Blesse their substaunce,
and smyte theyr enemies quite through the loynes, that they
may neuer rise againe.

MAR. Inough Caualiero, the Clock strikes eleuen, and 35
the Marchants come in to the Exchange apace; I think it were best to talke no longer here. And seeing Martin's matters begin to be whust, it were good in my judgment to suppressse your volume of The liues of the Saints. PAS.

Nay Marforius, I must haue three courses of the Launce with Th. Cartwright, before I leaue. Hath Martin made him his God, and thinketh he to escape my fingers? I will be with him to bring, from the very first rocking of his cradle, to the last penny that hee payd for purchasing. What? shall I neuer take the faction without hypocrisie? wold a man think this companion were persecuted | by the D 3 Church of England, that in the heate of his persecution is so braue a purchaser? Goe toe brother Thomas, tell your neighbors about you, Rogers of Bifield, Fen of Couentry and the rest, that I keepe a Register of all the Puritane purchasers in the Realme, & I meane to be Clarke of their Audit for these seauen yeres; my Patent is already sealed. MAR. Seeing you will forwards with the works you haue taken in hand, giue me some direction for the priuie dispersing them when they come out. PAS. I would haue thee principally, to drop some of the down at Penrie the Welch-mans haunt. MAR. Where is that? PAS. Tut, I perceiue you know nothing. At the signe of the siluer forke and the tosted cheese, where the Painter to bewray both his abuse of the Scriptures, & his malice against the Church, hath drawne him his word with a Text-pen, Zelus domus tux comedit me. A speeche holy David did vse, when the zeale of the Church did eate vp the Court, and a speeche now describing the spirit of Penrie, that would faine turne the Church of the Lande to a tosted cheese, that the zeale of the Court might eat vppe her. MAR. You said in the ende of your Countercuffe, that you would sende vs a Comentarie vpon Martin Junior, I forgot till now to aske you what is become of that? PAS. I fell that night into a traunce, wherein mee
thought I saw a verie golden wit performe that matter, with so keene a tooth, and such a pleasant grace, that I gaue ouer to him, and farthered The liues of the Saints as much as my leysure would giue me leaue. And credit me, when I came to the life of the myncing Dame of Rochester with the golden locks, whose conceipt was so quick, that shee caught a childe whilst her husbande was from her, as her clappe was so suddaine, that no body knowes how it came, or how it went, for since she was deliuered (passe & repasse) the childe was neuer heard of: so my pen was as swyfte as the post-horse of the Towne; I ran a great deale of ground in a litle time about her causes. But who commeth yonder Marforius, can you tell me?

MAR. By her gate and her Garland I knowe her well, it is Vetus Comedia. She hath been so long in the Country, that she is somewhat altred: this is she that called in a counsell of Phisitians about Martin, and found by the sharpnes of his humour, when they had opened the vaine that feedes his head, that hee would spit out his lunges within one yere. And I promise you she prophecied very truly of him: you may see by the Bookes that he set forth last, that his strength is spent. PAS. I haue a tale to tell her in her eare, of the slye practise that was vsed in restraining of her. In the meane season Marforius, I take my leaue of thee, charging thee vpon all our old acquaintance, and vpmon my blessing, to set vp this bill at London stone. Let it be doone sollemnly with Drom and Trumpet, and looke you advance my collours on the top of the steeple right ouer against it, that euery one of my Souldiers may keepe his quarter.
Cavaliero Pasquill, the writer of this simple hand, a young man, of the age of some few hundred yeeres, lately knighted in Englande, with a beetle and a bucking tub, to beat a little reason about Martins head, doe make this my Protestation vnto the world, that if any man, woman, or childe, have any thing to say against Martin the great, or any of his abettors, of what state or calling soeuer they be, noble or ignoble, from the very Court-gates to the Coblers stall, if it please them these dark Winter-nights, to sticke vppe their papers vppon London-stone, I will there give my attendance to receive them, from the day of the date heereof, to the full terme and resolution of seuen yeeres next ensuing.

Dated 20. Octobris. Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, Per me venturous Pasquill the Cavaliero.

MAR. Brauamente Signor. This deuice (I perswade me) will haue his working; assure your selfe I wil put it in execution. Is there any thing els you would haue me doe? PAS. Yes, if I thought you were at leysure: you haue been very busie I perceiue about Martins death, and though he liue yet, it may be you prophecie of his end. Yester-night late, olde Martins Protestation in Octauo was brought vnto mee: I see by the volume, hee languishe
deth.

ey every day more and more, the pride of his flesh is so much falne, that you may tell every bone in his body now. I pray thee Marforius, after the Soldatescha bravura of displaying my Banners vpon London-stone, send this Pistle to Martin by the next Poste.
Cavaliero Pasquill of England, to Martin the great, wisheth more wit and learning, and a better minde.

Ay it please your Masterdom to vnderstand, that by the last Butterflie you sent abroad, you tel me a tale of a dry Sommer, and protest that you seek not to staunch the hote thyrst of any couetous Courtier, with the Bishoprickes of the Land, but to share the amongst the Ministerie. Fie, fie, doe not you know that a lyer must haue no shetle memory? If you looke eyther to your former works, where you urge the spoyle of the Church for the maintenance of wars, or to your son Martin Senior, a man that hath slept in his fathers bosome and knowes your minde, in exhorting his yonger brother, to resigne the care of Church reuuenewes to the Court, you shal find your selfe take with an ouverture. Pasquill is not so blind, but he sees Martin to be a man that goes two manner of waies: and peraduenture he followed your last packe of Bookes to the verie Gates where they were carried in. A chip of ill chance, you haue lost your iugling stick, your conueighance is such, that you shatter, and carrie not halfe so cleane as your freends would haue you. You say this quarrell will neuer be determined but by blood. All the better say I, Pasquill will be the first that wyll lay down his life vpon the cause. God hath hardned my face against the faces of men. I haue already made vp my reckoning of euery danger that may ensue. It is neither losse of liuing nor life, nor so blind a bob as BLIND ASSE, that will scare a Caualiero from this honorable fight he hath vndertaken. The wise & learned (to whose iudgmëts I appeale) shall censure vs both. To meet with your affixes at euery great post & place of cÔcourse, by Gods helpe, I will hang such a payre of pendants at both your eares, before it be long, that whosoeuer beholds you, shal say, Don Diego di Martin hath an idle braine. You brag you haue giuen
M. D. Bancroft such a slieue ouer the shoulders, as the credite of hys Chaplenship shall not recouer. Though the learning and honestie of the man doe very much credit him, with all that are eyther learned or honest of themselues, yet seeing you come to his Chaplinship, I cannot forbeare you, but tell you plaine, that halfe a looke of his honourable Maister, shall giue him more credit in England in one day, then Martin or all his crew shal be able to robbe him of while the world stands, though they swell at him with enuie like a nest of foule Toades, till their bodies splyt, and poure out theyr bowels vppon the earth. I haue many other things to lay to your charge, which I purpose to wink at, vntill your Dialogue be ended; but then Syr, because you tell me you are yet vnmaried, I wyll take downe your breeches for altogether.

Cavaliero Pasquill.
THE FIRST PARTE OF
PASQVILS APOLOGIE

Entry in the Stationers' Register: None.

Editions: (1) Early:

1590. THE | First parte of Pasquils Apo-|logie. | Wherin he renders a reafon to his friendes | of his long silence: and gallops the field with the | Treatife of Reformation lately written | by a fugitíue, John | Penrie. | [device] | Printed where I was, and where I will bee | readie by the helpe of God and my Muse, to send | you the May-game of Martiníme for an interme-|dium, betweene the first and seconde | part of the Apologie. | Anno. Dom. 1590.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.


Catch-words: A 3. (reue-)rende, B 1. (pur-)gatorie, C 1. writing D 1. (be-)ginning E 1. name

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

(2) Modern edition:


From the copy in the Huth Library.

¹ For note on the printer, see the Introductory Note to the Countercuffe.
THE
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Printed where I was, and where I will bee
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The First Part
Of Pasqvils Apolo-Logie.

If it be a vanitie and vexation of hart, for a man to toyle in hys life to gather treasure, when he knowes not whither he be wise or foolish that shall inherite it: we may thinke the sweat of our spirits to be somewhat frioulous, which write & print, when we cannot tell whether they will prooue sober or frantick to whom we leaue the possession of our labours. It is nowe almost a full yeere, since I first entred into the lystes against the Faction, promising other Bookes which I keepe in yet, because the opening of them, is such an opening of waters, as will fill the eares of the world with a fearfull roaring. Were I but a dogge, wise men would suffer me to bay in the defence of mine own maister, but being a liuely stone, squared and layd into Gods building, by the hands of many excellent workmen in the Church of England, when I see the theefe, and the sente of Church-robbers is in my nosthrils, shall I not lay out my throate to keepe them off? I know, that since the beginning of all these broyles in our Church of England, not onely the L. Archb. of Canterburie in his learned works, but many other reue-rende, religious, and worthy men, both at Paules-crosse, and the Pulpits in Cittie and Country, haue with great skill and sobrietie, toucht euery string of the holy scriptures, and warbled sweetlie, to cast out the foule spirit of the Faction, with Davids harpe: but their madnesse on the contrarie part hath so encreased, that their attempt is still to nayle our best men to the wall with the speare of slaundr. By these euents you may easily perceiue what successe they are like to haue, that deale with so leaden and sandie braines, he that hazards his time and cost to teach them,
aduentures to waken the drowsie out of a dreame, their heads fall downe the lower for the lifting vp, and they defile vs with dust when they shake themselues.

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

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

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

They that are most conuersant in the Scriptures, finde the booke to be shut with many scales; it is not for every finger to breake them vp; the word is a treasure kept vnder many locks, which are not to be opened with euerie key. He onely that hath the key of Dauid, hath granted out a commission to the lippes of his Priestes, to come within it. So that if I doubt of any matter there, I may not knocke for it at the Chamber-dore of a common Counsellor, but haue recourse vnto them, whom God him-selfe appointed to teach Iacob before any Inne of courte was reard. I can tell him that M. Bucer, Peter Martyr, and that auncient Entellus of the Church of England, the B. of Sarisburie, haue traust our Church | with as graue a gate as he, and founde nothing in it to stumble at. Therefore what I say to him, I say to the rest of our Reformers, whose tongues are so busie to licke out the moates of their bretherens eyes, if they haue any wisedome in theyr vessels, let them be carefull howe they lende it out, least that when the suddaine shoute of the comming of the Bridegroome shall be giuen, and euerie virgin would be glad to trime his owne Lampe, there be not enough for them and others.

Some other things there are that made me looke backe, and measure the rase I had runne alreadie, before I bid any man the bace againe. To this I was stirred vp by the dislike that some had of the ierke which I gaue to Fryer Sauanarol: \(6\) quoth one, he was the first that inuented our Religion: this fellow seemes to haue a Pope in his bellie
as bigge as *Alexander*, he would make you beleue, that our Church hath borrowed the light of her Torche at a Fryers Taper, which is far otherwise. Our Religion in England is no newe excrement of the braine of man, but drawne out of the fountaine of all trueth, God himselfe, who spake in olde time to our fathers, to *Adam*, to *Enoch*, to *Noah*, to *Abraham*, and so downward, to the Patriarches & Prophets that were all vnder the clowde, and sawe the promise a farre of, which was in the latter daies made manifest to vs in Iesus Christ. Our fayth and Religion is the fayth and Religion of our father *Abraham*, fulfilling the prophecie of *Zacharie* who told vs before, that all nations should take holde of the skyrte of a Iewe, and say, we wyll goe with thee, we haue heard that God is with thee. Considering what was the hope of our fathers, and the hope of vs, what was preached to them, & what to vs, our Religion may say with the Sonne of God, *I came out of the mouth of the most Highest.*

I tooke another nybling like a Minew about Bezaes *Icones*, where you shall finde commendation is giuen to *Sauanarol*, and the fishe that was strooken with Bezas hooke, is *Perceuall the plaine*, but because his hande so shooke when he carried his coppie to the Presse, that he crost his accusation out againe, I will sheath euery weapon I had drawne in my defence. Onelie I will giue the Readers to vnderstand, that the commendations which eyther M. *Foxe*, or M. *Beza*, do giue to *Sauanarol*, are to be attributed to the best parts that were in him, that is, to the glimmering he had of the face of God in so darke a time, wherein he inueighed against the pride of the Court of Rome, a matter that *Petrarche* the poetical Priest touched as well as he; I can shewe you euен by the Sermons that spunne him a halter to stop his breath, he was no Protestant. For in some of them he taught the popish distinction of veniall and mortall sinne, in some he preached merit, in some the reall presence in the sacrifice of the Masse, and in the ende of his sixt Sermon made
in Florence, vpon the finishing of Noahs Arke, consider
what he sayth. Io vi voglio rivelare vno secreto: che insino
a qui, non ho voluto dirlo: perche non ho havuto tanta
certezza, come ho havuto da diece hore in qua, ciascuno di
voi credo che conoscesse el conte Giovanni della Mirandola,
che staua qui in Firenze: et e morto, pochi giorni sono.
Dicoui che l' anima sua per le orationi di frati & anche per
alcune sue buone opere che fece in questa vita, et per altre
orationi, e nel purgatorio. Orate pro eo, &c. I wil tel you
(saith he) a secrete, which to this day I haue refused to
vtter, because I had no great certaintie of the matter vntill
within these ten howres. I think every one of you knew
the Countie John Mirandola, which liued here in Florence,
and died within these fewe dayes. I tell you that his
soule, by vertue of the prayers of the Friers and of some
good works he did whilst he liued, together wyth some
other prayers, is now in Purgatorie: pray for him.

See heere how many blaines breake out of the Fryer in
a little space. A reuelation concerning merit, pur-|gatorie, B1v
and prayer for the dead. Therefore as S. Jerom commendeth
Origen for his memorie, labour, and sharp sight into many
places of holy Scripture, yet reproueth him for his errors:
so I thinke well with M. Foxe and M. Besa of that which
was good in Fryer Sauanaroll, though I compared him
with Martin for hys factious head, pleading in Florence
as Martin did in England, for a newe gouernment, at such
a time as Armes and inuasion clattered about their eares.
It may be I am of some better sente then you take me for,
and finding a Machiauellian tricke in this plot of inuovation,
I was the more willing to lay Sauanarols example before
your eyes, that hauing recourse vtto Machiauell in whom
it is recorded, you might see Machiauels judgment vpon
the same. His opinion is, that when such a peaze may
drawne through the noses of the people as to beare
a change, the Maisters of the Faction are most happie;
they may doe what they lust without controlment.
I heard a byrd sing more then I meane to say, but riddle me, riddle me, what was he that told a very freend of his, he would owe neuer a pennie in England in one halfe yeere? His liuing considered, though it were fayre, the sale of all he possessed would hardly doe it: the time was so busie when he spake it, that no such largesse could be looked for at the hands of her Ma. who had requited every penni-woorth of duetie with many a pounde of fauour long before: no fingring of Spanish coyne mought be mistrusted; & the Philosophers stone to turne mettles into gold, is yet to seeke: I cannot devise which way so rounde summes could be so readilie compast, but by the spoyle of Bishopricks, Deaneries, and Cathedrall Churches, which very shortly after were stoutly pushed at. Credit me, hee spake somewhat neerer the point then himsele was ware of, for if his soule be gone the way of the iust, his debt is already canceld. Let him goe, let him goe, I could tell you myste-|ries, but there is a whole Chamber full of sentences in the land, the very painting of the walles is wisedome, whence I learned this lesson, Acerbum est ab eo lædi, de quo non poteris tuto queri: it is a shrewde matter to be wrunge by him, against whom a man cannot with anie safetie open his mouth to make complaint. Sure I am that by practises and pollicies, the garment of Christ is torne in peeces, and the Church is ouertaken with such a flawe, that it is high time every fugitiue of the faction were hurled with Jonas into the Sea. They thunder their sentence out of the clowdes, and contrarie to the rule of Gods Apostle, they take vpon them to iudge men before the time. Whosoeuer readeth the Epistle and treatise of John Penrie concerning Reformation, shal discouer thys swelling and sawcie humour in him against her Maisties right honourable priuie Counsell.

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

The great commaunder of the world, hath appointed certaine boundes and land marks vnto our lips. Exo. 22. 28. Thou shalt not raile vpon the Judges, nor speake euill of the Ruler of thy people. You may resolue vpon this, that there is no time of the Moone sette for vs to open the Maister vaine. To charge her Ma. right honourable priuie Counsell with insolencie, injustice, murther in the highest degree, yea more, the very killing and cru-[cifying of Christ a fresh, is nothing els but to remoue the Land-marks and lymits by God prescribed, that neuer a subiect heereafter might knowe his duetie. I warrant you the cunning Pap-maker knewe what he did, when he made choyse of no other spoone than a hatchet for such a mouth, no other lace then a halter for such a neck. Yet is Penrie become a man of law, he can frame an Inditement out of the Psalms, against such as sit & taunte at theyr bretheren in euerie corner, when the plea may be turned vpon himselfe, in that none haue giuen theyr mouth vnto euill so much as he. Let me deale with him for it by interrogatories. Who had the oversight of the Libell at Fawslie? John of Wales: Who was corrector to the Presse at Couentrie? John of Wales: Who wrote the last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but John of Wales? Is it so brother John, can you byte and whine? then heare thy selfe indited againe by Pasquill. Thou hast railed vpon the Judges, and spoken euill of the Rulers of thy people: thou hast ascended aboue the clowdes and made thy selfe like to the most High.

What sentence shall we looke for against him now? I must set the trumpet of Essay to my mouth, and deliuer
him nothing but points of warre. Thou that hast sette thy throne aboue the starres, shalt be brought downe vnto the graue, the Princes shall sleepe in glorie, euery one in his own house, but thou shalt be troden as a carcasse vnder feete, & euery one that beholdeth thee shall say, is thys the iollie fellow that shooke kingdoms?

Hauing giuen many hisses of the old serpent against his betters, in the Epistle to the treatise, in the treatise it selfe he begins to rolle vp his head within his scales, and would fayne proue that Puritans be no Traytors. Wyll you see his reason? Because in the treasonable attempts against her Ma. these 31 yeeres, no one Puritane can be shewed, saith he, to haue had any part in them. Is thys the best proofe he can affoorde vs? I am so sicke in the stomache when I reade it, that if some of my freends did not hold my head, I shold cast euery minute of an houre: Hath the Toade no poyson before he spits it, and the Scorpion no sting in his tayle before hee thrusts it out? Be there no more Traytors in England then be taken? And is it such a matter as cannot be found, that euer anie Puritane became a Traytor? Without doubt he speakes like an Iland man, that imagins there be no more beastes abroade then such as graze vpon the Mountains of Wales at home. You that are Oxford men, enquire whether Walpoole were not a Puritane when he forsooke you? and you that haue travailed, aunswere for me, whether he be not now a Jesuite in the Italian Colledge of Iesuites at Rome, a sworne seruaunt to the Pope and counsel of Trent? reade the oath in the end of the booke you that haue the Counsel, and then resolue me whether no one instance may be giuen of any Puritane, that in all these thirtie one yeeres hath become a Traytor? I could reckon vp vnto him nowe, what excellent hope the English Cardinall conceiueth of a Puritane; he that hath such a dubble quartane of curiositie before he comes amongst them, will prooue passing trecherous, and passing superstitious as soone as he is burnt with the sunne of the Alpes.
But give me leave a little to search what treason may be laid to Puritanes at home. Popish traytors hold that they may excommunicate their King, if he hinder the building of theyr Church, and he being excommunicate, they say they are discharged of theyr obedience. If such a priuie Fistuloe doe not eate into the hearts of Puritans at home, I refer you to the Phisitians that dyscouered thys mischiefe before I was able to espie it. You shall finde such a matter in the Appendix to the first treatise of the Aunswer to the Abstract. They pitch themselues vpon a Law of Tenures Pag. 194, for vassals & Lords, and would draw it out like a wier from subiects to Prin-ces, from which they are roundly beaten by a learned Ciuilian in the land. Aboue all other, reade the defence of the Aunswer to the Admonition, in the whole Treatise of the Princes right in matters Ecclesiasticall, beginning Pag. 694. My L. Archb. of Cant. hath so brused the Faction, and cut them in the scull, that they haue lyen groning and panting, breathing and bleeding euer since; many as blinde a Chirurgion as Penrie, endeuouring to close vp their woundes hath made them wider, and left them all desperate vpon their death bed. Considering how weake his Purgation is, let vs examine his Reformation, and try whether that be any stronger.

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

Preaching, saith the reuerend father, is taken two waies in the holie Scriptures. Generally, as it signifies euery
kind of instruction by the word. Acts. 15. 21. Where it is said that Moses is preached in the Citties euery Sabboth, when Moses is read in the Citties euery Sabboth. Particularly, strictly, and usuallie, preaching is taken for expounding the Scriptures, and applying the playster vnto the sore. He neyther sayth that reading is expounding, nor that reading is preaching, in respect of him that readeth, but in respect of Gods spyrite, which watereth the word, and makes it fruitfull to conversion in vs when it is read. For prooffe wherof the testimonies of S. Cyprian and Ma. Foxe are there pro-duced, together with the example of S. Augustine, who wasconverted by reading the latter end of the 12. chap. to the Romains. Cyprian saith that God himselfe speaks vnto vs when the Scriptures are read; and Ma. Foxe gyroth in his evidence of many that in the infancie of our Church were brought out of darknes into light by reading, and hearing the newe Testament in the English tongue.

Penrie speakes not one word of all this, because he was built but for a Flie-boate, to take and leaue; when the skyrmish is too hote for him to tarrie, he may sette vp his sayles and runne away. It is a wonder to see with how terrible an out-cry he takes his heeleis, charging the Archb. to be a deceiuier, to haue his right eye blinded, and to desire to be condemned for an Hæretick. Tantara, is he fled indeede? let me sende a Sakar after him. Is the holy Ghost a deceiuier, that saith Moses is preached when Moses is read? Is the right eye and understanding of God put out, because he commandes the message of Jeremie to be set downe in writing, and to be read vnto his people? Are Christ and the Apostle to be condemn for Hæreticks, because the one stooode vp in the Synagogue on the Sabboth day to read, the other chargeth Timothie to giue attendance to reading till he com? Was the reading of the word when there went no preaching with it, no better then Swines blood before the Maiestie of GOD? Howe commeth it to passe then that
OF PASQVILS APOLOGIE

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

5 I wyll thresh at his shoulders before I leaue him, let him make his complaint to his Maister Cartwright, and let him dresse him, if he please, when I haue done with him. It is not his emptie reply of emptie feeders, darke eyes, ill work-men to hasten the haruest, that shall stop my mouth. I looke for scholasticall graspes, and aunswers to so graue and weightie arguments; he may not thinke to beguile mine appetite as women do their children that cry for meate, when they giue them a bable to play withall. As a man comparing the ioy of heauen with the painfulnes.

10 of feare, cannot say there is feare in heauen: yet as feare is taken for a reuereence, and admiration of the works, the wonders, the iustice, the trueth, and maiestie of God, it is no hard manner of speech at all, to say there is feare in heauen, feare in the holy Angels, feare in the bosoms of the blessed: so if you compare the exposition and application that are in preaching, as preaching is strictly taken, with the baresesse of reading, in respect of the person of him that readeth, you cannot say there is preaching in reading, nor that reading is preaching, without derogation vnto preaching: yet as preaching is taken in holy Scriptures for euery kinde of instruction by the word, the speech may be swalowed with ease enough, to say there is preaching in reading, and reading is preaching, as the Answer to the Admonition teacheth you.

15 Though they grinne with the mouth, grinde with the teeth, stampe with the feete, and take stones with the Iewes to hurle at me, this truth shall be defended against them all. Neuerthelesse, I wyll not be theyr vpholder which lye sleeping and snorting in their charges, vnapl or vnable to stand in the breach, or to run between the wrath of God and the people when the plague approcheth, for I wish with my heart that euery Parrish had a Watch-
man, who with the tongue of the learned might call vpon them: but this is such a matter as cannot by all the Bishops in the land be brought to passe. For suppose that all they who cannot preach could be remoued, where will you finde sufficient men for so manie places as would be voide? If you goe to our Vniuersities, they cannot affoord you one C for twentie, which | matter T. C. saw well enough, when he had no other shift to aunswer this, but to say he looked for help from the Innes of Court. No doubt manie excellent learned wits, and religious mindes, are nursed there, and suppose the Gentleman whose vnprinted booke I spake of, could find in his hart to make such an honorable change of life, as to forsake the barre to pleade for GOD, I doubt how many hundreds would follow him.

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

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

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

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

As for the reuerende Bishops of our soules, they know it better then I can tell them, that this is the waie, through which the Apostles of God were led, through good report and euill, as deceiuers and yet true; They are no better then the Prophets, which dwelt as it were in a nest of Hornets; They are not so good as their Ma. Christ, they must feele the scourge of euill tongues as he hath doone.

And though in this dogged generation and age of ours, wherein both Prelats & Princes are depraued, they liue every day in danger to haue theyr skinnes torne, yet God for his Churches sake sprinckled ouer all the kingdoms of the world, shall giue them a bodie of brasse to withstande the enemie, and make them a patterne to other Nations.

The second venue the Welch-man hath bestowed vpon vs, is a wipe ouer the shinnes of the *Non Residents*, which me thinkes might very well be returned to the brother- hood of the faction in Warwick-shire, of which I haue seene more then I meane to name, mounted vpon their dubble
Geldings, with theyr Wiues behinde them, ryding and waunsling from place to place, to feaste among the Gentle-men of the Shyre, and retyre to theyr charge when the whole weeke is wasted in pleasure, to preache to Gods people vpon a full stomach. These be the fellowes that cannot away with a virgin Priest. Goe to, goe to, but for Cholericke diseases this scorching wether, I could point you out one by one, with a wette finger. Yet because that by the length of other mens frailties euery man may take the measure of himselfe, I will carry my mouth in my hart, and let them passe, and though there be a pad in the straw that must be rousde, I haue taken out this lesson from the Wise; there is a time for speech, and a time for silence.

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

To the next, to the next, more sacks to the Myll. 1. Cor. 9. v. 16. Paule confesseth he must of necessitie preach the Gospel, woe is him if he doe it not. And 1. Cor. 4. v. 2. The Minister must be faithfull. Transeat, for this concluseth nothing, but a necessitie of teaching before learning, and in them that teach, a right cutte of the worde, without gigges or fancies of hæreticall and |
newe opinions. Thys tieth not a Preacher to one place continuallie. Forwardé Sir John, you must change your argument. 1. Thes. 2. v. 10. The Thessalonians were witnesses of Paules behaviour among them. And 2. Thes. 3. 10. He desires to see their face. Giue me thy hande, this makes for me. When he was among them, then he was Resident; when he did long personally to be with them againe to teach them farther, then he was absent. 

ó Paule art thou guiltie of the blood of the Thessalonians? if not, woe be to that wretched mouth of Wales.

These places are too short in the waste to serue hys turne, he will be with vs to bring anone I doubt not. 1. Peter. 5. v. 2. The Minister must feede his flocke willingly. What of this? ergo he must neuer be away. Hoe Ball hoe, I perceiue the fellowe is bird eyed, he startles and snuffes at eueriy shadow. Is his braine so bitten with the frost, that no better proofe will bud out of it? Yes I warrant you, either we goe to the wall nowe or neuer. Acts. 20. v. 18, 19, 20. Paule tels the Church of Ephesus, that he had beene among them at all seasons, and taught through euerie house. All seasons, and Euerie house. How like you this? A rodde for the Grammer boy, he dooth nothing but wrangle about words. What a stur haue we heere with All and Euerie? The word All, is taken somtimes in the Scriptures for all sorts, or all maner, as Luk. ii. v. 42. The Scribes and Pharisies are saide to tythe Omne olus, that is, all sorts and all manner of hearbes, Minte, Cummin, Anise and the rest. Sometimes the word All in the Scriptures is taken for Manie. Rom. 5. v. 8. By the transgression of one, all are damned (as the Apostle there teacheth vs), but by the benefit of one, all are saued, that is, Manie: for so he expoundeth himselfe in the next verse folowing, where he saith; that as by the first man Adam, there be many slaine, so by Christ there be many saued. To the poyn now, Paul was among the Ephesians at all seasons, not that he was neuer absent | from them, for howe could
he then haue preached in Macedonia and other places after he had preached at Ephesus? It falleth out answerable to this distinction, that his conversacion among them at all seasons, was all sorts of seasons, all manner of seasons, carely, and late, & manie seasons. In his absence from Ephesus, it may be that he lost some of his sheepe among the Ephesians, as he did among the Galathians, yet when he comes to Ephesus to see them, (determining to goe from thence to Jerusalem, concerning his former absence past, and his latter absence to ensue,) he washeth his handes from the blood of them all, and saith he is guiltie of none of them, in respect he had deliuered them al the counsels of God before. People may not looke to lay all vppon the Parsons shoulders, but they must search, and haue recourse vnto the Scriptures, which are able to make the man of God perfect.

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

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

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

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

Other excellent points I could presse and pinch him with to the like purpose, were I not contented to strike the winge, and come downe to his capacitie, whom I pittie to see so bare a schoole-man. He hath no way now to slyppe out of my handes, but to take sentrie in the Hospitall of Warwick, with this or some such like shift of descant; That Paule was an Apostle, who had the whole fiele of the world to tyl: Apostles are now ceased in the Church, and euerie Minister is tied to a perticuler plow-lande, from which he may not be absent, as | Paule was, from the places where he had planted. He perceiueth not in all this, that I haue his leg in a string still; though I suffer him to flye to make me sport, I can pull him in againe when I lust. Indeede, the immediate calling of the Apostles, theyr working of myracles, theyr commission to quarter out the world, is ceased, but in respect of preaching the word, in any place
of the dominion wherein the Preacher liueth, though he have a particular plow-land of his owne, Apostles cease not, but continue still in the Church, & shall doe vntil the comming of Iesus Christ. Ephe. 4. 11. The place is plaine.

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

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

25 John Penrie, in his treatise of Reformation, sayth preaching is the onely ordinary meanes to worke fayth in the peoples harts. Tho. Cartwright saith, it is the most ordinarie meane, and most excellent, therein confessing | a lesse ordinarie, and lesse excellent meane then preaching is.

30 Againe, John Penrie tyeth the Minister to a continuall feeding, vntill his Maister come, that his Maister may find hym so dooing. Wherein he considereth not, that the Pastor eyther preaching sometimes in another place out of his charge, continewes feeding, or, conferring with the learned, prouideth foode to be giuen to his fellow seruants in due time, and there-withall, hauing put out his talents to vse, and encreased them, shal at the last enter into his Maisters
joy. T. C. looseth the corde and lets it out a great deale farther, for he holdes, that a Pastor may be absent from his Parish vppon occasion of necessarie worldly busines; it may be he meaneth about purchasing, as he hath doone.

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

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

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

From the tenth of S. Mathew, he thrustes himselfe into the 18. of S. Iohn. v. 36. My kingdome (saith our Sauiour) is not of this world; if it were, my seruaunts woulde fight for me. There was an accusation framed against our Sauiour to put him to death, the maine poynt whereof was this, that he affected the Scepter, and sought inuovation and change of the present state; whereupon Pilats inter rogatorie ministred vnto him was, Art thou the king of the Iewes? Christes aunswere vnto him cleeres him of it. They might see by his proceedinges that he had no such pretence, for then he would haue sought it by Armes and inuasion, as they that hunt for kingdoms doe. No broyles nor commotion being made by him, or by his followers, they might perceiue he was wrongfully accused, to seeke any subuersion of the state. Thys is Caluins judgment vpon that place. Had he founde it to make against mingling of Ecclesiasticall and ciuil authoritie in one person, I dare
auouch he wold haue bent the nose of this Canon vpon vs presentlie.

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

They that abused thys place, to prooue out of it, that the cause of Religion ought not to be defended by sword, though it be by sword inuaded, had a little more tincture from hence to lay vpon theyr opinion, than *Penrie* can haue, yet both are from the meaning of the texte. The other quotation of Iohn. 6. v. 15. helps him as little as this. Christes hyding himselfe out of the way when the people went about to make him king, was because he came to suffer, not to raigne: and to shew them theyr error, who thought it was in theyr power to make a king, the setting vp of Princes pertaining not vnto them, but vnto God. To gather from thence, that a Minister may not deale in ciuil causes is to reason as I heard an Ironmonger did in a Pulpit the last Summer; *Moses* refused to be the sonne of *Pharaohs* daughter, ergo a | Minister may not meddle in ciuill causes. Bounse, thers a gunne gone off, doe not the Bishops quake at thys? *that I could drawe him out of his hole, to print me the poynts which he hath preached; the spirite of the Prophets being subject to the Prophets, and his spirite and doctrine examined by the spirite and doctrine of the Church of England, you should see me so clapper-claw him for it, that he should haue no ioy to runne into Reformation, before he be better learned. The pearle of the word must not be weighed in those scales that men commonly vse to weigh their yron; it is a nicer work.

Now me thinkes the Reformer should smell ere I goe any further, that the rest of his reasons haue taken water, and are rotten before they come to shore. *I see not one of his prooues that will abide the hammer, they are so*
beaten to powder by the examples of the old and new Testament. In the old you shall finde, that Melchisedeck, Aron, Eli, and Samuel, were both Priests & Iudges; they both offered Sacrifices, and sate vpon ciuill causes. In the newe Testament, Christ who refused to be made King of the Iewes, tooke vpon him to overthrow the tables of the money changers, and whipt the buiers and sellers out of the Temple. Paule also requested Timothie as a Iudge, to receiue no accusation against an Elder, but vnder two or three witnesses.

Thys authoritie beeing receiued from the Prince, vnder whom we liue, and being exercised in the Church vnder her, The B. of Sarisburie iudgeth to become Ecclesiasticall, in that it serueth to the furtheraunce of the Church. The matter hauing beene so well debated, and resolved vpon by so reuerend learned men, as with great studie and travaüile haue run the race before vs, to teache vs that come after howe to vse our weapons; I wonder how these seelie snayles, creeping but yesterdaie out of shoppes and Grammer-schooles, dare thrust out theyr feeble hornes, against so tough and mighty aduersaries. Moreouer, it is very strange to consider howe many gashes the Faction haue giuen vnto themselues, in denying this jurisdiction vnto our Ministerie, and seeking it vnto theyr owne, wherein they will have some of theyr Elders to be governning and preaching Elders, to handle the word and the sword together; and whereas our Bishops receiue their authoritie from her Maiestie, exercising it in her name and vnder her, Tho. Cartwright would haue his authoritie to be aboue her, in the ruling of the Church, and her Maiestie to be fitted vnto him, and to his Alder-men, as the hangings to the house.

Looke what a pittifull Megrim it is, that troubleth them in this poynt, thelike, God wot, maketh theyr braines to crow in the superioritie of Bishoppes aboue theyr bretheren. Are all Ministers, I beseech you, of equall authoritie? Howe then commaundeth Paule Titus and Timothie, and

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they obey him in the matters he giueth them in charge? Is he that is directed and commaunded, equall with him that directeth and commaundeth? Theyr crosse-blowe of Fellowe labourers will not saue theyr ribbes, if they be no better Fencers.

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

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

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

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

The weakest sight in the worlde may well discerne, that this busie seeking of an equalitie among the Clergie, is the
practice of *Nahash* with the men of *Iabesh* when they were besieged. He would admitte no conditions of peace with them, except he might thrust out theyr right eyes, and bring a shame vpon all Israel. Bishops were lifted vppe into the highest places of the Church, as the right eyes of the people of the Lorde, to keepe watch against Schisme & Hæresie; no peace, no truce, no silence, no agreement will be gotten at the handes of the Faction, except we suffer them to bore out these eyes, that a shame and reproche may be brought vpon all Religion.

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

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

Exo. 19. At the deliuerie of the Lawe in Sinay, GOD com-
manded his people to be folded vp, and to stand within the barres, vpon paine of death; At the deliuerie of the Gospell, our Saviour branded his sheepe with these two marks, hearing, and following. They must harken to the voice of him that teacheth, and followe the trace of him that leadeth; they may neither commaund, nor goe before. When they beginne to snuffe vppe the winde in theyr noses, like the wilde Asse in the Wildernesse, which tyreth all that follow her; when they stande vpon the pinacle of euerie Tower & Castle, built in the ayre | by theyr owne conceite, and say to the Bishoppes as the people did to Jeremie, What soeuer commeth out of our own mouth, that will we doe, then they are verie easie to be deceiued. And then it fareth with them, as it did wyth the Disciples of our blessed Saviour, he appearing vnto them vpon the Sea, they tooke him for a spirit, and imagining theyr Maister to be a bugge, they grewe verie fearefull of a great benefit.

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

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

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

I haue nowe gallopped the fielde to make choyse of the ground where my battaile shall be planted. And when I haue sent you the May-game of Martinisme, at the next setting my foote into the styrrroppe after it, the signet shall be giuen, and the fielde fought. Whatsoeuer hath beeuen written to any purpose of eyther side, shal be ledde E i

and artillerie shall be placed; euery troupe, wing and squadron ordered, and the banners displayed. Therwithall I will make both Armies meete, and the battaile ioyne, bullet to bullet, staffe to staffe, pyke to pyke, and sworde to sworde; the blowes dealt, and the breache made vpon the Puritanes shall be discovered, you shall see who be falne and who be fledde, what Captaines are slaine, and what Ensignes taken.

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

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

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

FINIS.

5 Cheeke. The Q.
PIERCE PENILESSE HIS
SUPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

Entry in the Stationers' Register:

viijº Augusti [1592]
Richard Jones / Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes
of the Archbushopp of Canterburie and
master watkins / Pierce Pennilesse his
supplicacon to the Devill . . . . . .vjº S.
(S. R., ed. Arber, II. 619.)

Editions: (I) Early:

1592 (A). Pierce Penilefse his | Supplication to the | Diuell. | Describing the ouer-spreading of | Vice, and sup-
pression of | Verte. | Pleasantly interlac'd with variable de-lights: and pathetically intermixt | with conceived re-

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

Collation: A², B-L⁴. (A 1) Title, v. blank. A 2 'The
Printer to the Gentlemen Readers! Rom. and Ital. B 'Pierce
Penilesse, . . . ' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse
his | Supplication to the Diuell.

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

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

Copy used: That in the Library at Britwell.

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

**Collation:** (C 1) Title, v. blank. (C 2) 'A private Epistle of the Author ...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Author to the Printer. (C 3) blank. (C 4) wanting, probably blank. A 'Pierce Penilesse ...' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Diuell.

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

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

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

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


No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

**Collation:** One leaf unsinged, (C should be C 2), A–I 4. (?) Title, v. blank. (C should be C 2) 'A private Epistle of the Author ...' Rom. and Ital. R-T. The Author to the Printer. A 'Pierce Penilesse ...' B. L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Pierce Penilesse his | Supplication to the Diuell.

Signatures are in B. L., except A and G. Leaves C 4, D 4, and E 4 are signed.
Catch-words: I the A i. Vaine B i. encap-(tiued) C i.
The D i. wher-(to) E i. vp F i. but G i. A H i.

Hypocrisie I i. heads,

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


No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.


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

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

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

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

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

Quarto. Not paged.


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

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

Copy used: That in the British Museum (96. b. 15. (II).)
(2) **Modern Editions:**


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

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

Edited by J. P. Collier from edition B.


From the copy of B in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

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

**Note on the Editions:**

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

I have, however, not been able to trace more than the five editions enumerated above. Mr. Hazlitt gives an edition dated 1592, as 'K in fours'; there are also slight typographical differences in the title between it and B; as
however he states that a copy is in the Malone collection at the Bodleian Library I suspect that the differences are mere errors of transcription, and that edition B is meant. (Handbook, p. 413, Nash 7 (b).)

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

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

The Relation of the texts:

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

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

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

(2) On p. 166, l. 1, we have the following readings, eft-soones A: eftsoon B, C. In B however the word ends a line and the
line is two letters short, *es* having evidently dropped out. It is thus probable that *B* was printed from *A* and *C* from *B*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(6) On p. 186, l. 17, we have *aymeth all at the heart A: aymeth all all at the heart C.* The repetition of *all* is explained by *B*, in which *aymeth all* are the last words on a page, the catch-word being correctly *at*. The next page however begins *all at*, the compositor having mistaken the word. The printer of *C*, not noticing the catch-word, printed *all all*. 
I could give many other instances of the connexion between the texts, which all point in the same direction, but I think these, together with the evidence of the collations, will show sufficiently clearly that the order of the first three texts is as it was stated to be, and that B was printed from A and C from B.

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

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

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

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

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

**Choice of the copy-text:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It may be well to mention here that in Grosart’s observation (as above, p. 137) ‘guegawes’ misprinted ‘jymiams’ (and a nonsensical note on it),”的 ‘nonsensical note’ is Collier’s, not, as one would naturally suppose, a side-note in the original.
much stress upon it, that while Nashe in his letter only speaks of the book as 'hasting to the second impression,' the epistles 1 which he declares himself to have written and which he wished to have inserted 'to the later end' could not be used. They would most naturally have come at the end of the 'Supplication,' and it seems not altogether unreasonable to take the letter to imply that this part had been already printed, while if the whole of the book up to the end of the 'Supplication' was ready, 'hasting to the second impression' seems a singularly weak term to employ.

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

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

P. 163, l. 14, angels A, B: angels at least C.
P. 166, l. 3, I B: Id. est, C.
P. 167, l. 5, gnaws A, B: gnawd C.
P. 170, l. 13, melancholike course in his gate and countenance, and talke as though A: melancholy in his gate & countenance, course & talke, as though B: melancholy in his gate and countenance, and talke as though C. I think that here we have a correction that was misunderstood in B and put right in C.

P. 171, l. 29, hard A, B: harder C.
P. 173, l. 28, beanes A, B: bieues C.
P. 174, l. 21, wil scarce get a Scholler bread and cheese A: wil scarce get a pair of shoos and a Canuas-dublet B: will scarce get a scholler a pair of shoos and a Canuas-dublet C. Another case, I think, of the printer of B misunderstanding a correction.

P. 177, l. 12, Princes A, B: queene mother C.
P. 177, l. 24, in a difference from all these kindes A, B: in a different kind from all these C.

1 These epistles were for some reason or other never printed.
P. 177, l. 28, a thrumd hat A, B: a redde thrumd hat C.
P. 178, l. 31, Byshops, Deanes A, B: Bishopricks, Deanries C.
P. 184, l. 15, vnderprop heauen A, B: vnder-proppe heauen alone C.
P. 185, l. 10, where A, B: whence C.
P. 193, l. 6, wonderfull A, B: rough C.
P. 193, l. 7, wings A, B: minde C.
P. 198, l. 13, lamish A, B: lumpish C.
P. 201, l. 31, ouerslipt A, B: out stript C (perhaps an error).
P. 201, l. 32, meate A, B: weake C.
P. 203, l. 33, foure yeare A, B: tweluemonth C.
P. 205, l. 8, leapes A, B: healthes C.
P. 212, l. 3, the eldest A, B: idlest C.
P. 215, l. 13, those Tragedians admyred before Christ A, B: those admyred tragedians that haue lived ever since before Christ C.
P. 217, l. 4, Wenches & Anglers A, B: witches and iuglers C (or is this but an ingenious misprint in C?)
P. 228, l. 5, fiery A, B: ayrie C.
P. 234, l. 8, lookers on A, B: beholders C (perhaps accidental; it is a change for the worse).

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

P. 163, l. 13, some two or three hundred angels A, C: om. hundred B.
P. 177, l. 33, puft vp A, C: stuft vp B.
P. 181, l. 30, furies forheads A, C: furious foreheads B.
I cannot but think that C is correct, but -93 and -95 read as B.

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

Though the changes noticed above are, I think, quite
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

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

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

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

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

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

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

There were therefore two alternatives, to print from A, adopting the corrections of C, or to print from C, correcting where necessary from A. I have chosen the latter as L 2
being on the whole the more consistent; but bearing in mind Nashe’s own statement as to the carelessness with which this book was printed (*Haue with you to Saffronwalden*, sig. F 1), and the evident truth of it, I have used somewhat more freedom in restoring to the text from earlier editions words which seem to have been merely accidentally omitted in C, than would have been justifiable if we had had reason to think that the author himself had read the proofs.
Pierce Penilese his
Supplication to the
Duell.

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

Pleasantly interlac'dd with variable de-
lights: and pathetically intermixt
with conceipted reproofs.

Written by Thomas Nash Gentleman.

LONDON,
Imprinted by Richard Ihones, dwelling at
the Signe of the Rose and Crowne,
ere Holburne Bridge.

1592.
The Printer to the Gentlemen

Readers.

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

Yours bounden in affection:

R. I.

1 This epistle is found in 92A alone.
Pierce Penileffe

HIS SUPPLICATION

to the Diuell.

Barbaria grandis habere nihil.

Written by Tho. Nafs, Gent.

LONDON,

printed by Abell Leffes, for

I.B. 1592.
A priuate Epistle of the Author to the Printer.

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

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

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

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

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1 This epistle is not found in 92a.
13 scorne] view 95.  17 Machiuell 95.
to sale againe, importing thus much; that if any such
lewde devise intrude it selfe to their hands, it is a coseanage
and plaine knauery of him that sels it to get mony, and
that I haue no manner of interest or acquaintance with it.
Indeed if my leysure were such as I could wish, I might
haps (halfe a yeare hence) write | the returne of the Knight
of the Post from hel, with the Devils answer to the Sup-
plication: but as for a second part of Pierce Penilesse, it is
a most ridiculous rogery.

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

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

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

10 Run on in 93. 18 especially 92B. 21 New par. 92B. Run on
in 92C &c. 25 New par. 92B. Run on in 92C &c. 30 saye, I 92B:
say. I 92C &c.
THE AVTHOR TO THE PRINTER

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

Beggerly lyes no beggerly wit but can inuent: who spurneth not at a dead dogge? but I am of another mettal, they shall know that I liue as their euil Angel, to haunt them world without end, if they disquiet me without cause.

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


6 New par. 92B. Run on in 92C &c. inuent] event 95.
Pierce Penilesse his Supplication

to the Diuell.

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

Why ist damnation to dispaire and die,
When life is my true happinesse disease?
My soule, my soule, thy safetye makes me flie
The faultie meanes, that might my paine appease.

Divines and dying men may talke of hell,
But in my heart, her seueral tormentes dwell.

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

And yet my wantes perswade me to procede,
Since none takes pitie of a Scollers neede.

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1 Dicte 92c &c. non] cum Q. Coll., Gro. 2 malum] nialum 92bc, 93. per 92c 3 Ingenio ... om. 92b &c. 4 Paupertas

8 earely] 92b : eraely 92c contented 93. 16 milde 92A.
Forgive me, God, although I curse my birth,
And ban the aire, wherein I breath a Wretch:
Since Miserie hath daunted all my mirth,
And I am quite undone through promise-breach.
Oh friends, no friends, that then vngently frowne,
When changing Fortune casts vs headlong downe.

Without redresse complaines my carelesse verse,
And Mydas-eares relent not at my moane:
In some far Land will I my grieues rehearse,
Mongst them that will be mou’d when I shall groane.
Adieu vnkinde, where skill is nothing woorth.

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

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

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*Hei mihi . . .] om. 92c e&c.  
Miser est . . .] om. 92c e&c. The reference-marks are generally from 92A. They are most irregular in all editions.  
Fortuna . . .] om. 92c e&c.  
Meritis . . .] om. 92c e&c.  
2 Hei mihi . . .] 92A.  
3 Miser est . . .] 92A.  
4 Fortuna . . .] 92A.  
5 Meritis . . .] 92A.  
9 grieues 92A.  
13 imagination 92A.  
22 pounds 92AB.
the inke and paper: and a Scriuener better paid for an obligation, than a Scholler for the best Poeme he can make; that *euery grosse braind Idiot is suffered to come into print, who if hee set foorth a Pamphlet of the praise of Pudding-pricks, or write a Treatise of *Tom Thumme, or the | exploitys of *Untrusse; it is bought vp thicke and three-fold, when better things lie dead. How then can we chuse but be needy, when ther are so many Droans amongst vs? or euer proue rich, that toyle a whole yeare for faire lookes?

Gentle Sir Phillip Sidney, thou knewst what belonged to a Scholler, thou knewst what paines, what toyle, what trauel, conduct to perfection: wel couldst thou giue euery Vertue his encouragement, euery Art his due, euery writer his desert: cause none more vertuous, witty, or learned than thy selfe.

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

Beleeue me, Gentlemen, for some crosse mishapes haue taught me experience, ther is not that strict obseruation of honour, which hath beene heeretofore. Men of great calling take it of merite, to haue their names eternizde by Poets; & whatsoeuer pamphlet or dedication encounters them, they put it vp in their sleeues, and scarce giue him thankes that presents it. Much better is it for those golden Pens to raise such vngratfull Peasants from the Dung-hil of obscuritie, and make them equal in fame to the Worthies of olde, when their doting selfe-loue shall challenge it of dutie, and not onely giue them nothing themselues, but impouerish liberality in others.

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

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

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

15 that it is 95.  16 Cromptons 92 A  22 & J and 92 C, 95.
the Commissioners of Newmarket-heath at high midnight, for any Crosses, Images, or Pictures that I carry about me, more than needes.

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

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

I was informde of late dayes, that a certaine blind Retayler called the Diuell, vsed to lend money vpon pawnes, or any thing, and would lette one for a neede A 3 haue a thousand poundes vpon a Statute Merchant of his soule: or, if a man plide him thoroughly, would trust him vpon a Bill of his hande, without any more circumstance. Besides, he was noted for a priuy Benefactor to Traitors and Parasites, and to aduance fooles and Asses far sooner than any; to be a greedy pursuer of newes, and so famous a Politician in purchasing, that Hel (which at the beginning was but an obscure Village) is now become a huge Cittie, whereunto all Countries are tributary.

These manifest coniectures of Plentie, assembled in one common-place of abilitie, I determined to clawe Auarice by the elbowe, till his full belly gaue mee a full hande, and lette him bloud with my penne (if it might be) in the veyne of liberalitie: and so (in short time) was this Paper-monster, Pierce Penilesse, begotten.
But written and all, here lies the question; where shal I finde this olde Asse, that I may deliuer it? Masse, thats true: they say the Lawyers haue the Diuell and all; and it is like enough he is playing Ambodexter amongst them. Fie, fie, the Diuell a driuer in Westminster hall? it can 5 neuer be.

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

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

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

1 Run on in 93, 95.  11 for horns 93, 95.  18 Counsailer 92AB, 93, 95.  31 an] on 92C.  34 thred-bare 95.  backt 92C.
next it a garnish of night-caps, which a sage butten-cap, of the forme of a cow-sheard, ouer spread very orderly: a fat chuffe it was, I remember, with a gray beard cut short to the stumps, as though it were grimde, and a huge, woorne-eaten nose, like a cluster of grapes hanging down-wardes. Of him I demaunded if hee could tell me any tidings of the partie I sought for.

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

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

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

\[1\] which] with 92A, 95. \[11\] dealing 93, 95. \[13\] glue, by som 92B. \[14\] hundred] om. 92B. \[15\] at least] om. 92A,B. \[21\] tooke me leaue 92C. \[25\] vp: he Q. \[26\] in his purse] om. 93, 95. \[33\] with] om. 92B.
yoong to be acquainted with sorrow. I nothing nice to A 4 vn-fold my estate to any whatsoeuer, discouerst to him the whole circumstaunce of my care, and what toyle and paines I had tooke in searching for him that would not be heard of. Why sir (quoth he), had I beene priuie to your purpose 5 before, I could haue easd you of this trauell; for if it be the diuell you seeke for, know I am his man. I pray, sir, how might I call you? A knight of the Post, quoth he, for so I am tearmed; a fellowe that will sweare you any thing for twelue pence; but indeed, I am a spirite in nature 10 and essence, that take vpon me this humaine shape, onely to set men together by the eares, and send soules by millions to hell.

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

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

11 shape] shame 92BC. 21 Suppplication 92C. 22 vnto] to 92A.
To the high and mightie Prince of
Darknesse, Donsell dell Lucifer, King of A-
cheron, Stix, and Phlegeton, Duke of Tartary, marquesse of Cocytus, and Lord high Regent of Lymbo: his distressed
Orator, Pierce Penilesse, wisheth encrease of damnati-
on, and malediction eternall, Per Iesum Chri-
ustum Dominum nostrum.

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

1 No 1le 92BC, 93.
4 Cocytus] 92A (Britwell): Conytus 92A (Rowfant), 92B &c. 8 humble 93, 95. 20 and the imperious 92A.
Monarchie, and eftsooone bee sette at liberty, to helpe his friends that haue neede of him.

I knowe a great sort of good fellowes that would venture farre for his freedom*, and a number of needy Lawyres (who now mourne in threed-bare gowns for his thraldome) 5 that would goe neere to poison his keepers with false Latine, if that might procure his enlargement: but inexorable yron detaines him in the dungeon of the night, so that now (poore creature) hee can neither traffique with the Mercers and Tailers as he was wont, nor do|minere 10 in Tauernes as he ought.

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

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

9 eft-soones 92 A.
13-4 in Tragedy 93, 95. 14 hunger and] om. 92 A.
27 merchants 95. 15 there!

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

9 eft-soones 92 A.
13-4 in Tragedy 93, 95. 14 hunger and] om. 92 A.
27 merchants 95. 15 there!

*Id est, for the free-dome of gold.
children to tread vpon, and he could not devise how to wrest an odde fine out of any of them.

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

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

The house (or rather the hell) where these two Earthwormes encauptiued this beautifull Substaunce, was vaste, large, strong built, and well furnished, all saue the Kitchin; for that was no bigger then the Cookes roome in a ship, with a little court chimney, about the compasse of a Parenthesis in proclamation print: then iudge you what diminutiue dishes came out of this doues-neast. So likewise, of the Buttry; for whereas in houses of such stately foundation, that are built to outward shewe so magnificent, every Office is answerable to the Hall, which is principall, there the Buttry was no more but a blind Cole-house vnder a paire of staires, wherein (vprising and downelying) was but one single single kilderkin of small beere, that would make a man, with a carrouse of a spoonefull, runne through an Alphabet of faces. Nor vsd they any glasses or cups

4 Sergeants 95. 5 gnaws] 92AB: gnawd 92C, 97: gnaweth 95. 20 of porrengers 92A. 23 buildt 92C. 24 than 92A.
(as other men), but onely little farthing ounce boxes, whereof one of them fild vp with froath (in manner and forme of an Ale-house) was a meales allowance for the whole houshold. It were lamentable to tel what misery the Rattes and Mise endured in this hard world; how, when all supply of vittualls failed them, they went a Boot-haling one night to Sinior Greedinesse bed-chamber, where finding nothing but emptines and vastitie, they encountred (after long inquisition) with a cod-peece, wel dunged and manured with greace (which my pinch-fart penie-father had retaind from his Bachelorship, vntill the eating of these presents). Vppon that they set, and with a courageous assault rent it cleene away from the breeches, and then carried it in triumph, like a coffin, on their shoulders betwixt them. The verie spiders and dust-weauers, that wont to set vp their loomes in euery window, decayed and vndone through the extreame dearth of the place (that afforded them no matter to worke on), were constrained to breake, against their wills, and goe dwell in the countrey, out of the reach of the broome and the wing: and generally, not a flea nor a cricket that caried any braue minde, that would stay there after he had once tasted the order of their fare. Onely vnfortunate gold (a predestinat slaue to drudges and fooles) liues in endlesse bondage ther amongst them, and may no way be releast, except you send the rot halfe a yeare amongst his keepers, and so make them away with a murrion, one after another.

O, but a far greater enormity raigneth in the hart of the Court: | Pride, the peruerter of all Vertue, sitteth appareled in the Marchants spoiles, and ruine of yoong Citizens; and scorneth learning, that gaue their vp-start Fathers titles of gentry.

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

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

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

1 politician 92ABC.

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

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

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

\[2 \text{ loue lock } 92^C. \quad 8 \text{ of a brokerly } 92^{AB}. \quad 9 \text{ in} \] \emph{om. 93, 95.} \quad 13-4 \text{ melancholike course in his gate and countenance, and talke } 92^A: \text{ melancholy in his gate & countenance, course & talke, } 92^B. \quad 20 \text{ more} \] \emph{om. 93, 95.} \quad 23 \text{ moth eaten } 92^{BC}.\]
Spaniards throats, but he will haue it, byrlady: And when he comes there, poore soule, hee lyes in brine, in Balist, and is lamentable sicke of the scuruies: his dainty fare is turned to a hungry feast of Dogs & Cats, or Haberdine and poore John at the most, and which is lamentablest of all, that without Mustard.

As a mad Ruffion, on a time, being in daunger of shipwrack by a tempest, and seeing all other at their vowes and praier, that if it would please God, of his infinite goodnesse, to deliuer them out of that imminent daunger, one woulde abiure this sinne wher vnto he was adicted; an other, make satisfaction for that vyolence he had committed: he, in a desperate iest, began thus to reconcile his soule to heauen.

O Lord, if it may seeme good to thee to deliuer me from this feare of vntimely death, I vowe before thy Throne and all thy starry Host, neuer to eate Haberdine more whilest I liue.

Well, so it fell out, that the Sky cleared and the tempest ceased, and this carelesse wretch, that made such a mockery of praier, readie to set foote a Land, cryed out: not without Mustard, good Lord, not without Mustard: as though it had beene the greatest torment in the world, to haue eaten Haberdine without Mustard. But this by the way, what pennance can be greater for Pride, than to let it swinge in his owne halter? Dulce bellum inexpertis: there is no man loues the smooke of his owne Countrey, that hath not beene syngde in the flame of an other soyle. It is a pleasante thing, ouer a full pot, to read the fable of thirsty Tantalus: but a harder matter to disgest salt meates at Sea, with stinking water.

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

1-2 haue it byrlady: And when 92AB: haue it, byrlady when 92C,93: haue it: byrlady whè 95. 18 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 24 then 95 25 in expertis 92C &c. 29 hard 92AB.
set their selfe-love to studie to inuent new sects of singularitie, thinking to liue when they are dead, by having their sects called after their names, as Donatists of Donatus, Arrians of Arrius, and a number more new faith-founders, that haue made England the exchange of Innovations, and 5 almost asmuch confusion of Religion in euery Quarter, as there was of tongues at the building of the Tower of Babell. Whence, a number that fetch the Articles of their Beleefe out of Aristotle, and thinke of heauen and hell as the Heathen Philosophers, take occasion to deride our Ecclesiasticall State, and all Ceremonies of Deuine worship, as bug-beares and scar-crowes, because (like Herodes souldiers) we diuide Christs garment amongst vs in so many peces, and of the vesture of saluation make some of vs Babies and apes coates, others straight trusses and Diuells breeches: 15 some gally-gascoines or a shipmans hose, like the Ana-baptists and adulterous Familists; others, with the Martinists, a hood with two faces, to hide their hypocrisie: &,

to conclude, some, like the Barrowists and Greenwoodians, a garment full of the plague, which is not to be worn

B 3' before it be new washt.

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

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

1 mens 92c.

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

In an other corner, Mistris Minx, a Marchants wife, that wil eate no Cherries, forsooth, but when they are at twenty shillings a pound, that lookes as simperingly as if she were besmeard, and iets it as gingerly as if she were dancing the Canaries: she is so finicall in her speach, as though she spake nothing but what shee had first sewd ouer before in her Samplers, and the puling accent of her voyce is like a fained treble, or ones voyce that interprets to the puppets.

What should I tel how squeamish she is in her dyet, what toyle she puts her poore seruaunts vnto, to make her looking glasses in the pauement? how she will not go into the fields, to cowre on the greene grasse, but she must haue a Coatch for her conuoy; and spends halfe a day in pranking her selfe if she be inuited to any strange place? Is not this the excesse of pride, signior Sathan? Goe too, you are vnwise, if you make her not a chiefe Saint in your Calender.

The next obiect that encounters my eyes, is some such obscure vpstart gallants, as without desert or seruice, are raised from the plough to be checkmate with Princes: and these I can no better compare than to creatures that are bred Sine coitu, as crickets in chimnies; to which I resemble poore Scullians, that, from turning spit in the chimney corner, are on the sodaine hoised vp from the Kitchin into the waiting chamber, or made Barons of the bieues, and Marquesses of the Marybones: some by corrupt water, as gnats, to which we may liken Brewers, that, by retayling | filthy Thames water, come in few yeares to bee worth fortie B 4 or fiftie thousand pound: others by dead wine, as little flying wormes; and so the Vintners in like case: others by slime, as frogs, which may be alluded to Mother Bunches slimie ale, that hath made her and some other of her fil-pot
facultie so wealthie: others by dirt, as wormes; and so
I know many gold-finers and hostlers come vp: some by
hearbes, as cankers; and after the same sort our Apothe-
caries: others by ashes, as Scarabes; and how else get
our Colliers the pence? Others from the putrified flesh of
dead beasts, as Bees of Buls, and Butchers by fli-blown
beefe; waspes of horsses, and Hackney-men by selling
their lame iades to hunts-men, for carrion.

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

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

1 facultie] familie 92AB. 2 gold-finers 92A. 13 Caesar 92BC.
21-2 get a Scholler bread and cheese 92A: get a paire of shooes and a Canuaus-
dublet 92B: get a scholler a paire of shooes, and Canuaus-dublet 93. 25
obiect 92B. 32 of] for 92AB. 33 Raynard 92B.
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

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

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

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

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

17 whispering 93, 95. 19 braue 93A,
26 whilst 93A, 95. 34 vngratefull 93A.
sodainly growne happie. Vertue ascendeth by degrees of desert vnto dignitie: golde and lust may lead a man a nearer way to promotion: but he that hath neither comlinesse nor coine to commend him, vndoubtedly strides ouer time by stratagems*, if of a mole-hil hee growes to 5 a mountaine in a moment. This is that which I vrge: there is no friendship to be had with him that is resolute to doe or suffer any thing rather than to endure the destinie whereto he was borne: for he will not spare his owne Father or Brother, to make himselfe a Gentleman.

Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, are all full of these false hearted Machiullions: but properly Pride is the disease of the Spaniard, who is borne a Bragart in his mothers wombe: for, if he be | but 17 yeeres old, and hath come to the place where a Field was fought (though halfe a yeare 15 before), he then talks like one of the Giants that made warre against Heauen, and stands vpon his honour, as much as if hee were one of Augustus Souldiers, of whom he first instituted the order of Heralds: and let a man sooth him in this vaine of kilcow vanitie, you may com- maund his heart out of his belly, to make you a rasher on the coales, if you will next your heart.

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

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2 vnto] into 92B. 5 mould-hill 95. 7 no] om. 93, 95. 20 this] 92AB: his 92C &c. 23 that] and 92AB. 26 hates 95. 27 vpon an occasion Coll., Gro. 28 requesteth 95. 33 at] om. 93, 95.
passe iustling by him in hast on a narrowe causey, and
aske him no leaue, which he neuer reuengeth with lesse
then a stab.

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

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

3 a] the 92A.  10 sitting 92C.  12 queene mother] Princes 92AB.
13 times 95. 17 attend vpon him 92AB. 21 inestimable] 92AB: om.
92C &c. 22 took] tooke it 95.  very] 92AB: om. 92C &c. 24-5 in
a difference from all these kindes 92AB. 28 redde] om. 92AB. 30 lent]
92A: left 92B &c.  33 puft] stuft 92B.
biefe stuff with Parsly, so drawne out with Ribands and deuises, and blisterd with light sarcenet bastings, that you would thinke him nothing but a swarne of Butterflies, if you saw him a farre off.* Thus walkes he vp and downe in his Maiestie, taking a yard of ground at every step, and 5 stamps on the earth so terrible, as if he ment to knocke vppe a spirite, when (foule drunken bezzele) if an Englishman set his little finger to him, he falles like a hogs-trough that is set on one end. Therfore I am the more vehement against them, because they are an arrogant Asse-headed people, that naturally hate learning, and all them that loue it: yea, and for they would vtterly roote it out from among them, they haue withdrawn al rewards from the Professors therof. Not Barbary it selfe is halfe so barbarous as they are.

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

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

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1 on] upon 95. the ppeace 95. 2 The Danes...] om. 92c etc.
7 drunken bezzele) if an [c.w. English-] | drunken bezzele) if an englishman
92b. 9 one] om. 95. 12 amongst 92a. 16 New par. 92a. Run
on in 92b &c. 18 to to such 92b, excellence. The ciuil 92b &c. 20 in
the place 95. 22 husband-mens 92c &c. be the chiefe 92a. 27 he
come] becom 93. 28 mould Cheese 92a. 30 be a Captaine
93, 95. 31 Byshops, Deanes 92ab.
no such functions: a sort of ragged Ministers they haue, of whom they count as basely as water-bearers. | If any of their Noblemen refraine three howers in his life time from drinking, to study the Lawes, hee may perhaps haue a little more gouernment put into his hands than another: but otherwise, Burgomasters and Gentlemen beare all the swaye of both swords, spirituall and temporall. It is death there for anie but a husbandman to marry a husbandmans daughter, or a Gentlemans childe to ioyne with any but the sonne of a Gentleman. | Marry this, the King may well banish, but hee cannot put a Gentleman vnto death in any cause whatsoeuer, which makes them stand vppon it so proudly as they doe. For fashion sake some will put their children to schoole, but they set them not to it till they are foureteene yeere olde: so that you shall see a great boy with a beard learne his A B C. and sit weeping vnder the rod, when he is thirtie yeeres old.

I will not stande to inferre what a preiudice it is to the thrift of a florishing State, to poyson the growth of glory by giuing it nought but the puddle water of penury to drinke: to clippe the winges of a high towring Faulcon, who, wheras she wont in her feathered youthfulnesse, to looke with an amiable eye vppon her gray breast, and her speckled side sayles, all sinnowed with siluer quilles, and to dryue whole Armies of fearefull fowle before her to her maisters Table; now she sits sadly on the ground, picking of wormes, mourning the crueltie of those vngentleman-like idle hands, that dismembred the beauty of her trayne.

You all knowe that man (insomuch as hee is the Image of God) delighteth in honour and worship, and all holy Writ warrants that delight, so it bee not derogatory to any part of Gods owne worship: now, take away that delight, a discontented idlenesse ouertakes him. For his

1 men] om. 92AB.
2 count] account 92A. 3 their] the 92A. 10 Gentleman, marry this the 92B &c. 11 vnto] to 92A. 12 cause] case 95. 17 yeare 93, 95. 21 touring 92A: soring 93, 95. 23 an] om. 92A. 28 dismembreth 92AB.
28 d

gray] gay 95. 25 foules 92AB. 28 dismembreth 92AB.
hire, any handycraft man, be he Carpenter, Ioyner, or Painter, wil ploddingly do his day labor: but to adde credit and fame to his workmanship, or to winne a maistership to himselfe aboue all other, hee will make a further assay in his trade than euer hitherto he did; hee will haue a thousand florishes, which before he neuer thought vpon, and in one day ridde more out of hand, than earst hee did in ten: So in Armes, so in Artes; if titles of fame and glory be proposed to forward minds, or that soueraigntie (whose sweetnes they haue not yet felt) be set in likely view for them to sore too, they will make a ladder of cord of the | links of their braines, but they will fasten their handes, as wel as their eies, on the imaginatiuie blisse which they already enjoy by admiration. Experience reproves me for a foole, for dilating on so manifest a case.  

The Danes are bursten-bellied sots, that are to bee confuted with nothing but Tankards or quart pots, and Ouid might as well haue read his verses to the Getes that underrstood him not, as a man talk reason to them that haue no cares but their mouths, nor sense but of that which they swallove downe their throates. God so loue me, as I loue the quicke-witted Italians, and therefore loue them the more, because they mortally detest this surley swinish Generation. I need not fetch colours from other countries to paint the vglie visage of Pride, since her picture is set forth in so many painted faces here at home. What drugs, what sorceries, what oiles, what waters, what oyntments, doe our curious Dames vse to inlarge their withered* beauties. Their lips are as lauishly red, as if they vseed to kisse an okerman every morning, and their cheeks suger-candied and cherry blusht so sweetly, after the *colour of a newe Lord Mayors postes, as if the pageant of their wedlocke holiday were

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

3 or winne 95. 5 hee] om. 95. 9 that any soueraigntie 92A. 12 of their 92BC. 27 oiles] toyles 95. 28 their] our 92B. beauties 92BC. 29 a moker man 93 : a mokerman 95.
harde at the doore: so that if a Painter were to drawe any
of their *Counterfets on a Table, he needes no more but wet
his pencill, and dab it on their cheekes, and he shall have
vermillion and white enough to furnish out his worke.
though he leave his tar-boxe at home behind him. Wise
was that sin-washing Poet that made the Ballet of Blue
starch and poaking stickes, for indeed the *lawne of licen-
tiousnesse hath consumed all the wheat of hospitalitie. It
is said, Laurence Lucifer, that you went vp and downe
London crying then like a lanterne & candle man. I mer-
uaille no Laundresse would give you the washing and
starching of your face for your labour, for God knowes it
is as black as the *blacke Prince.

It is suspected you haue beene a great *Tobacco taker
in your youth, which causeth it to come so to passe: but
Dame Nature, your nurse, was partly in fault, else she
might haue remedied it. *She should haue noynted your
face ouernight with *Lac virginis, which baking vpon it in
bed till the morning, she might haue pild off the scale like
the skin of a custard, and making a pos-set of vergis mixt
with the oyle of Tartary and Camphire, bathde it in it
a quarter of an houre, and you had been as faire as the
floure of the frying pan. I warrant we haue old hacksters
in this great Grandmother of Corporations, Madame Troy-
nouant, that haue not backbited any of their neighbours
with the *tooth of enuy this twentie yeare, in the wrinckles
of whose face ye may hide false dice, and play at cherry-
pit in the dint of their cheekes: yet these aged mothers of
iniquitie will haue their deformities newe plaistred ouer
and weare nosegayes of yeelow haire on their furies fore-
heads, when age hath written, Hoe God, be here, on their

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

2 on a Table] 92AB: on Table 92c &C. 6 Balled 93: Ballad 95.
10 then] there 92b. 11 Laundresse 92c. 19 pild] puld 95. 21 Cam-
phire, and bathde 92AB. 23 flower 95. 29 iniquitie] antiquitie 95.
30 furies] 92AC: furious 92b, 93, 95.
bald burnt parchment pates. Pish, pish, what talke you of old age or balde pates? men and women that haue gone vnder the *South pole, must lay off their furde night-caps in spight of their teeth, and become yeomen of the Vineger bottle: a close periwig hides all the sinnes of an olde 5 whore-master; but Cucullus non facit Monachum: *tis not their newe bonnets will keepe them from the old boan-ach. Ware when a mans sins are written on his ey-browes, and that there is not a haire bredth betwixt them and the falling sicknes. The times are daungerous, and this is an 10 yron age, or rather no yron age, for swordes and bucklers goe to pawne a pace in Long-Lane: but a tinne age; for tinne and pewter are more esteemed than Latine. You that bee wise, despise it, abhorre it, neglect it; for what shoulde a man care for gold that cannot get it?  

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

1 Alias ... ] om. 92C &c. 2 Translated ... ] om. 92C &c. 3 noster 95.
6 want[ ] want 92C. 24 spit 93, 95. 27 [his] om. 93, 95. 28 want[ ] want 92C. 29 Hosts] 92A: Hostes 92B: Hostesse 92C &c. 30 conld 92C. 32 for a fauour 92A.
but one in all the whole world. A thousand guegawes and 
toyes haue they in their chambers, which they heape vp 
together, with infinite expence, and are made beleue of 
them that sell them, that they are rare and pretious thinges, 
when they haue gathered them vpon some dunghill, or 
rakte them out of the kennell by chance. I know one sold 
an old rope with foure knots on it for foure pound, in that 
he gaue it out, it was the length and breadth of Christ's 
Tombe. Let a Tinker take a peece of brasse worth a halfe 
penie, and set strange stamps on it, and I warrant he may 
make it more worth to him of some fantastical foole, than 
all the kettels that euer he mended in his life. This is the 
disease of our newfangled humorists, that know not what to 
doe with their welth. It argueth a very rusty witte, so to 
doate on worme-eaten Elde.

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

1 Enuie] pride 93: Pride 95.
20 gag toothd 92C. 21 hai re 92AB, 95: heyre 93. 33 next into Pride 92A.

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SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL 183
sonne. And hence comes it, that proud men repine at
others prosperitie, andgreeue that any should be great but
themselves. *Mens cuiusque, est quisque*; it is a Proverbe
that is as hoary as Dutch-butter. If a man wil go to the
diuell, he may go to the diuell: there are a thousand iugling
tricks to be vsed at hey passe come aloft; & the world hath
cords enough to trus vp a calf that stands in ons way.

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

You goodman wanderer about the world, how doe yee
spende your time, that you do not rid vs of these pestilent
members? you are vnworthy to haue an office, if you can execute it no better. Behold another enemy of man-
kinde, besides thy selfe, exalted in the South, *Philip of*
Spaine; who not content to bee the God of gold, and
chiefest commannder of content that Europe affoords, but
now he doth nothing but thirst after humane bloud, when
his foot is on the threshold of the graue: and as a Wolfe,
beeing about to deouere a horse, doth balist his belly with
earth, that hee may hang the heauier vppon him, and then
forcibly flyes in his face, neuer leauing his hold till he hath
eaten him vp; so this woluish vnnaturall vsurper, being
about to deouere all Christendom by inuasion, doth cram
his treasures with Indian earth to make his malice more
forcible, and then flyes in the bosome of *Fraunce and Belgia*,
neuer withdrawing his forces (as the Wolfe his fastning) till
he hath deuoured their welfare, & made the war-wasted carcases of both kingdomes a pray for his tyranny. Onely poore England giues him bread for his cake, and holdes him out at the armes end. His Armadoes (y like a high wood ouer-shadowed the shrubs of our low ships) fled from the breath of our Cannons, as vapors before the Sun, or as the Elephant flies from the Ram, or the Sea-whale from the noyse of parched bones. The winds, enuying that the aire should be dimmed with such a Chaos of wodden clouds, raised vp high bulwarks of bellowing waues, where Death shot at their disordred Nauy: and the Rockes with their ouer-hanging iawes eate vp all the fragments of oake that they left. So perisht our foes; so the Heauens did fight for vs. Præterit Hippomenes, resonant spectacula plausu.

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

But that wil neuer be: for so long as Pride, Riot, and whoredome are the companions of yoong Courtiers, they wil alwayes bee hungry, and ready to bite at euery Dog that hath a boane giuen him beside themselues. Iesu, what secret grudge and rancor raignes amongst them, one being ready to dispaire of himself, if he see the Prince but giue
his fellow a faire looke, or to die for griefe if he be put down in brauery neuer so little. Yet this custome haue our false harts fetcht from other countries, that they will swear and protest loue, where they hate deadly, and smile on him most kindly, whose subuersion in soule they haue vowed. *Fraus sublimi regnat in aula.* Tis rare to finde a true frend in Kings Pallaces: Either thou must be so miserable that thou fall into the hands of scornful pitie, or thou canst not escape the sting of enuy. In one thought assemble the famous men of all ages, and tel me which of them all sate in the sun-shine of his soueraignes grace, or wext great of low beginnings, but he was spiteblasted, heaued at, & ill spoken of: and that of those that bare them most countenaunce. But were enuy nought but words, it might seeme to bee onely womens sinne: but it hath a lewe mate hanging on his sleeue, called Murther, a sterne fellowe, that (like a Spanyard in fight) aymeth all at the heart: hee hath more shapes than Proteus, and will shifte himselfe, vppon any occasion of reuengement, into a mans dish, his drinke, his apparell, his rings, his stirrops, his nosegay.

O Italie,* the Academie of man-slaughter, the sporting place of murther, the Apothecary-shop of poyson for all Nations: how many kind of weapons hast thou inuented for malice? Suppose I loue a mans wife, whose husband yet liues, and cannot enjoy her for his iealous ouer-look- ing: Physicke, or rather the art of murther (as it may be vsed), will lend one a Medicine which shall make him away, in the nature of that disease he is most subiect to, whether in the space of a yeare, a moneth, halfe a yeare, or what tract of time you will, more or lesse.

In Rome the Papal Chayre is washt, euery fiue yeare at the furthest, with this oyle of Aconitum. I pray God, the King of Spayne feasted not our holy father Sextus,
that was last, with such conserue of Henbane, for it was credibly reported hee loued him not, & this that is now, is a God made with his owne hands; as it may appeare by the Pasquil that was set vp of him, in manner of a note, presently after his election, Sol, Re, Me, Fa. that is to say, Solus Rex me facit; onely the K. of Spaine made me Pope. I am no Chronicler from our owne Countrey, but if probable suspition might bee heard vpon his oath, I thinke some mens soules would bee canonized for Martyrs, that on the earth did sway it as Monarches.

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

A Perturbation of mind (like vnto Enuy) is Wrath, which looketh farre lower than the former: For, whereas Enuie cannot be saide to bee, but in respect of our Superiours, Wrath respecteth no degrees nor persons, but is equally armed agaynst all that offende him. A hare-braind little Dwarf it is, with a swarth visage, that hath his hart at his tongues end, if he be contraride, and will be sure to do no right nor take no wrong. If hee bee a Judge or a Iustice (as some-times the Lyon comes to glue sentence against the Lamb), then he sweares by nothing but by Saint Tyborne, & makes Newgate a Nowne Substantiue, where-

\[\text{The Pasquil that was made vpon this last Pope.}\]
\[\text{As Cardinal Wolsey, for example.}\]

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\[\text{The complaint of Wrath, a branch of Enuie.}\]
\[\text{Little men for the most part are most angry.}\]

\[\text{Newgate, a common} \]

\[\text{D} 1 \text{r}\]

\[\text{2 Wholsey 92 c.}\]
4. in a manner 92A.  6 King 92A, 93, 95.  9 would not bee 93C &c.
10 it om. 95.  Monarchies 92AB.  11 It is 93, 95.  13 vnder-hand 92AB: vnder had 95.  15 & if as if 92AB.  18 our] your 95.  23 then 95.  26-7 hare-braine 93, 95.  32 wher- c.w.
to all his other words are but Adiectiues. Lightly, hee is
an olde man (for those yeares are most wayward and
teatish), yet be he neuer so old or so froward, since Auarice
like-wise is a fellow vice of those fraile yeares, wee must set
one extreame to striue with another, and alay the anger 5
of oppression by the sweet incense of a newe purse of
angels: or the doting Planet may haue such predominance
in these wicked Elders of Israel, that, if you send your
wife, or some other female, to plead for you, shee may get
your pardon vpon promise of better acquaintance. But 10
whist, these are the workes of darknesse, and may not be
talkt of in the day time: Fury is a heate or fire, & must
bee quencht with maides water.

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

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

5 alay] lay 93, 95. 10 your] you 95. 12 or] of 93, 95. 13 with
a maides 93, 95. 17 and] as 95.
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

Be advertised, Master Os favitum, Bedle of the Blackesmithes, that Lawyers cannot devise which way in the world to begge, they are so troubled with brabblements and sutes every Tearme, of Yeomen and Gentlemen that fall out for nothing. If John a Nokes his henne doo but leap into Elizabeth de Gappes close, shee will never leaue to haunt her husband, till he bring it to a Nisi prius. One while, the Parson sueth the | parishioner for bringing home D 2 his tythes: another while, the Parishioner sueth the Parson for not takinge away his Tythes in time.

I heard a tale of a Butcher, who driuing two Calues ouer a Common, that were coupled together by the neckes with an Oken With, in the way wher they shold passe, there lay a poore, leane Mare, with a galde backe ; to whome they comming (as chance fell out), one of one side, and the other of the other, smelling on her (as their manner is), the midst of the With that was betwixt their necks rubd her and grantd her on the sore backe, that shee started and rose vp, and hung them both on her backe as a beame ; which being but a rough plaister to her raw vlcer, shee ran away with them (as she were frantick) into the Fens, where the Butcher could not follow them, and drownde both her selfe and them in a Quagmyre. Now the owner of the Mare is in lawe with the Butcher for the losse of his Mare, and the Butcher enter changably endites him for his Calues. I pray ye, Timothy: Tempter, bee an Arbitrator betwixt them, and couple them both by the neckes (as the Calues were) and carry them to Hel on your backe, and then, I hope, they wyll be quiet.

The chiefe spur vnto wrath is Drunkennes, which, as the touch of an Ashen bough causeth a gidinesse in the Vipers head, and the Batte, lightly strooke with the leafe of a Tree, loseth his remembrance: so they, being but lightly sprinkled with the iuyce of the Hop, become
sencelesse, and haue their reason strooken blind, as soone as euuer the Cup scaleth the Fortresse of their Nose. Then run their words at random, like a dog that hath lost his master, and are vppe with this man and that man, and generally inuay against al men, but those that keep a wet corner for a friend, and will not thinke scorne to drinne with a good fellowe and a Souldiour: and so long do they practise this vaine on their Ale-bench, that when they are sober, they cannot leaue it. There be those that get their liuing al the yeere long, by nothing but rayling.

Not farre from Chester, I knewe an odde foule mouthde knaue, called Charles the Fryer, that had a face so par-boyled with mens spitting on it, and a backe so often knighted in Bridewell, that it was impossible for any D 2° shame or punishment to terri-fie him from ill speaking. Noblemen he would liken to more vgly things than himself: some to After my hartie commendations, with a dash ouer the head: others, to gildaed chines of beefe, or a shoemaker sweating, when he puls on a shoo: another to an old verse in Cato, Ad consilium ne accesseris, antequam voceris: another, to a Spanish Codpisse: another, that his face was not yet finisht, with such like innumerable absurd illusions: yea, what was he in the Court but he had a comparison in stead of a Capcase to put him in. Vpon a time, being chalenged at his owne weapon in a priuate Chamber, by a great personage (rayling, I mean.), he so far outstript him in vilainous words, and ouerbaied him in bitter tearmes, that the name of sport could not perswade him patience, nor containe his furie in any degrees of ieast, but needs hee must wreake himselfe vpon him: neither would a common reuenge suffice him, his displeasure was so infinite (and, it may be, common reuenges he tooke before, as far as the whipcord would stretch, vpon like prouokements) wherefore he caused his men to take him,
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

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

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

As there be those that rayle at all men, so there be those that raile at all Arts, as *Cornelius Agrippa, De vanitate scientiarum*, and a Treatise that I haue seene in dispraise of learning, where he saith, it is the corrupter of the simple, the schoolemaister of sin, the storehouse of treacherie, the reuiuer of vices, and mother of cowardize; alledging many examples, how there was neuer man egregiously euill but he was a Scholler: that when the | vse D 3 of letters was first inuented, the Golden World ceased, *Facinusque inuasit mortales*: how studie dooth effeminate a man, dim his sight, weaken his braine, and ingender a thousand diseases. Small learning would serue to confute so manifest a scandale, and I imagine all men, like my selfe, so vnmoveable resolued of the excellencie thereof, that I will not, by the vnderpropping of confutation, seeme to giue the idle witted aduersarye so much encouragement, as hee should surmize his superficiall arguments had shaken the foundation of it: against which hee could neuer haue lifted his penne if her selfe had not helpt him to hurte her selfe.

I bricke 92\textsuperscript{AB} : prickt 92, 95. 10 their] his 92\textsuperscript{AB}. 15 those] them 92\textsuperscript{A}. 16 those] them 92\textsuperscript{A}. 24 *inuasit* 92\textsuperscript{C}. 25 weaken] weak 95. 31 surmise] surprize 95. 32 against 92\textsuperscript{A}.
With the enemies of Poetrie, I care not if I haue a bout, and those are they that tearme our best Writers but babbling Ballat-makers, holding them fantasticall fooles that haue wit, but cannot tell how to vse it. I my selfe haue beene so censured among some dul-headed *Diuines: who deeme it no more cunning to wryte an exquisite Poem, than to preach pure Caluin, or distill the juice of a Commentary in a quarter Sermon. Proue it when you will, you slowe spirited Saturnists, that haue nothing but the pilfries of your penne, to pollish an exhortation withall: no eloquence but Tautologies, to tie the cares of your Auditorye vnto you: no inuention but heere is to bee noted, I stoale this note out of Besa or Marlorat: no wit to mooue, no passion to vrge, but onelye an ordinarie forme of preaching, blowne vp by vse of often hearing and speaking; and you shall finde there goes more exquisite paines and puritie of witte, to the writing of one such rare Poem as Rosamond, than to a hundred of your dunsticall *Sermons.

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

How admirablie shine those Diuines above the common mediocritie, that haue tasted the sweete springs of Per-nassus?

Siluer tongu’d Smith, whose well tun’d stile hath made

* against the enemies 92AB. 4 The vse...] om. 92c &tc.
thy death the generall teares of the Muses, queintlie couldst thou deuise heauenly Ditties to Apollos Lute, and teach stately verse to trip it as smoothly as if Ouid and thou had but one soule. Hence alone did it proceed, that thou wert such a plausible pulpit man, that before thou entrest into the rough waies of Theologie, thou refinedst, preparest, and purifidest thy minde with sweete Poetrie. If a simple mans censure may be admitted to speake in such an open Theater of opinions, I neuer saw abundant reading better mixt with delight, or sentences which no man can challenge of prophane affection sounding more melodious to the eare or piercing more deepe to the heart.

To them that demaund, what fruites the Poets of our time bring forth, or wherein they are able to proove them-selues necessary to the state? Thus I answere. First and formost, they haue cleansed our language from barbarisme and made the vulgar sort here in London (which is the fountaine whose riuers flowe round about England) to aspire to a richer puritie of speach, than is communicated with the Commaintie of any Nation vnder heauen. The vertuous by their praises they encourage to be more vertuous, to vicious men they are as infernall hags, to haunt their ghosts with eternall infamie after death. The Souldier, in hope to haue his high deeds celebrated by their pens, despiseth a whole Armie of perills, and acteth wonders exceeding all humane coniecture. Those that care neither for God nor the diuell, by their quills are kept in awe. Multi famam (saith one) pauci conscientiam Plin. lib. 3. verentur.

Let God see what he will, they would be loath to haue the shame of the world. What age will not praise immortal Sir Phillip Sidney, whom noble Salustius (that thrice
singuler french Poet) hath famoused, together with Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord keeper, & merry sir Thomas Moore, for the chiefe pillers of our english speech. Not so much but Chaucers host, Baly in Southwarke, & his wife of Bath, he keeps such a stirre with, in his Canterbury tales, shalbe 5 talkt of whilst the Bath is vsde, or there be euer a bad house in Southwark.

Gentles, it is not your lay Chro-|nigraphers, that write of nothing but of Mayors and Sheriefs, and the deare yeere, and the great Frost, that can endowe your names with 10 neuer dated glory: for they want the wings of chose words to fly to heauen, which we haue: they cannot sweeten a discourse, or wrest admiration from men reading, as we can, reporting the meanest accident. Poetry is the hunny of all flowers, the quintessence of all Sciences, the Marrowe of Witte, and the very Phrase of Angels: how much better is it then to haue an elgiant Lawier to plead ones cause, than a stutting Townsman, that loseth himselfe in his tale, and doth nothing but make legs: so much it is better for a Nobleman, or Gentleman, to haue his honours story related, and his deedes emblazond, by a Poet than a Citizen.

Alas poore latinlesse Authors, they are so simple they know not what they doe; They no sooner spy a new Ballad, and his name to it that compilde it: but they put 25 him in for one of the learned men of our time. I maruell how the Masterlesse men, that set vp their bills in Paules for seruices, & such as paste vp their papers on every post, for Arithmetique and writing Schooles, scape eternity amongst them; I beleue both they and the Knight 30 Marshals men, that naile vp Mandates at the Court gate, for annoying the Pallace with filth or making water, if they set their names to the writing, will shortly make vp the number of the learned men of our time, and be as famous
as the rest. For my part, I do challenge no praise of learning to my selfe, yet haue I worne a gowne in the Vniuersitie, and so hath caret tempus non habet moribus: but this I dare presume, that, if any Mecanas binde me to him by his bountie, or extend some round liberalitie to mee worth the speaking of, I will doo him as much honour as any Poet of my beardlesse yeeres shall in England. Not that I am so confident what I can doe, but that I attribute so much to my thankfull minde aboue others, which I am persuaded would enable me to worke myracles.

On the contrary side, if I bee euill intreated, or sent away with a Flea in mine eare, let him looke that I will raile on him soundly: not for an houre or a day, whiles the injury is fresh in my memory, but in some elaborate, polished Poem, which I will leauie to the world when I am dead, to be a living Image | to all ages, of his beggerly parsimony and ignoble illliberalitie: and let him not (whatsoever he be) measure the weight of my words by this booke, where I write Quicquid in buccam venerit, as fast as my hand can trot; but I haue tearmes (if I be vext) laid in steepe in Aquafortis, & Gunpowder, that shall rattle through the Skyes, and make an Earthquake in a Pesants eares. Put case (since I am not yet out of the Theame of Wrath) that some tired Iade belonging to the Presse, whom I never wronged in my life, hath named me expressely in Print (as I will not do him), and accused me of want of learning, vpbraiding me for reuiving, in an epistle of mine, the reuenter memory of Sir Thomas Moore, Sir John Cheeke, Doctor Watson, Doctor Haddon, Doctor Carre, Maister Ascham, as if they were no meate but for his Maisterships mouth, or none but some such as the son of a ropemaker were worthy to mention them. To shew how I can raile, thus would I begin to raile on him. Thou that hadst thy hood turnd ouer thy eares when thou wert

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5 exted his some 95. some round] 92A: rome sound 92B: some sound 92C &c. 17 liberality 93, 95. 18 meature 92C. 19 Quic quid 92C. 21 steepe] sleepe 92BC. 26 accuse 92C &c. 28 reuerend 92AB.
a Batchelor, for abusing of Aristotle, & setting him vp on
the Schoole gates, painted with Asses eares on his head:
is it any discredit for me, thou great babound, thou Pigmie
Braggart, thou Pamphleter of nothing but *Peans, to bee
censured by thee, that hast scorned the Prince of Philo-
sophers; thou, that in thy Dialogues soldst Huny for a
halpeny, and the choycest Writers extant for cues a peece,
that camest to the Logicke Schooles when thou wert
a Fresh-man, and writst phrases; off with thy gowne and
vntrusse, for I meane to lash thee mightily. Thou hast to
a Brother, hast thou not, student in Almanackes? Go too,
Ile stand to it, he fatherd one of thy bastards (a booke
I meane) which, being of thy begetting, was set forth vnder
his name.

Gentlemen, I am sure you haue hearde of a ridiculous 15
Asse that many yeares since sold lyes by the great, and
wrote an absurd Astrologickall Discourse of the terrible
Coniunction of Saturne and Jupiter, wherein (as if hee had
lately cast the Heauens water, or beene at the anatomizing
of the Skies intrailes in Surgeons hall) hee prophecieth of
such strange wonders to ensue from stars destemperature
and the vnusual adultrie of Planets, as none but he that
is Bawd to those celestiall bodies could euer discry. What
expectation there was of it both in towne | and country, the
amazement of those times may testifie: and the rather, 25
because he pawned his *credit vpon it, in these expresse
tearmes: If these things fall not out in euery point as
I haue wrote, let me for euery hereafter loose the credit
of my Astronimie. Well, so it happened, that he happened,
not to be a man of his word; his Astronimie broke his day 30
with his creditors, and Saturne and Jupiter prou'd honester men then all the World tooke them for: whereupon the poore Prognosticator was ready to runne himselfe through with his Jacobs Staffe, and cast himselfe headlong from the top of a Globe (as a mountaine) and breake his necke. The whole Vniuersitie hyst at him, Tarlton at the Theator made iests of him, and Elderton consumd his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bearbayting him with whole bundles of ballets. Would you, in likely reason, gesse it were possible for any shame-swolne toad to haue the spet-proofe face to out liue this disgrace? It is, deare brethren, Viuit, imo viuit; and, which is more, he is a Vicar.

Poor Slaue, I pitie thee that thou hadst no more grace but to come in my way. Why, could not you haue sate quiet at home, and writ Catechismes, but you must be comparing me to Martin? and exclayme against me for reckoning vp the high Schollers of worthy memory? Jupiter ingenii præbet sua numina vatum, saith Ouid; Seque celebravi quolibet ore sinit. Which if it be so, I hope I am Aliquis, and those men, quos honoris causa nominau, are not greater than gods. Me thinks I see thee stand quiering and quaking, and even now lift vp thy hands to heauen, as thanking God my choler is somewhat asswag'd: but thou art deceiued, for how euer I let fall my stile a little, to talke in reason with thee that hast none, I do not meane to let thee scape so.

Thou hast wronged one for my sake (whom for the name I must loue) T. N., the Maister Butler of Pembrooke Hall, a farre better Scholler than thy selfe (in my judgement) and one that sheweth more discretion and gouernment in setting vp a sise of Bread, than thou in all thy whole booke. Why man, thinke no scorne of him, for he hath held thee vp a hundred times, whiles the Deane hath giuen thee
correction, and thou hast capt and kneed him (when thou wert hungrie) for a chipping. But thats nothing, for hadst thou never beene beholding to him, nor holden vp by him, he hath a Beard that is a better Gentleman than all thy whole body, and a graue countenance, like Cato, able to make thee run out of thy wits for feare, if he looke sternly vpon thee. I haue reade ouer thy Sheepish discourse of the Lambe of GOD and his enemies, and entreated my patience to be good to thee whilst I reade: but for all that I could doe with my selfe, (as I am sure I may doe as much as another man) I could not refraine, but bequeath it to the Priuie, leafe by leafe as I read it, it was so vgly, dorbellicall, and lumpish. Monstrous, monstrous, and palpable, not to bee spoken of in a Christian Congregation: thou hast skumd ouer the Schoolemen, and of the froth of their folly made a dish of diuinitie Brewesse, which the dogges will not eate. If the Printer haue any great dealings with thee, hee were best to get a priuiledge betimes, 

Ad imprimendum solum, forbidding all other to sell waste paper but himselfe, or else he will bee in a wofull taking. The Lambe of God make thee a wiser Bell-weather then thou art, for else I doubt thou wilt be druien to leaue all, and fall to thy fathers occupation, which is, to goe and make a rope to hang thy selfe. Neque enim Lex equisior villa est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua: and so I leaue thee till a better opportunity, to bee tormentented world without end of our Poets and Writers about London, whom thou hast called piperlye Make-playes and Make-bates: not doubting but hee also whom thou tearrest the vaine Paphatchet will haue a flurt at thee one day: all ioyntly driu- ing thee to this issue, that thou shalt bee constrained to go to the chiefe Beame of thy Benifice, and there beginning a lamentable speech with cur scripsi, cur perii, end with praunum praua decent, inuat inconcessa voluptas, and so with
a trice, trusse vp thy life in the string of thy Sancebell. So 
be it, pray Pen, Incke, and paper, on their knees, that they 
may not bee troubled with thee any more.

Redeo ad vos, mei Auditores, haue I not an indifferent 
prittye vayne in Spurgalling an Asse? if you knew how 
extemporall it were at this instant, and with what hast it is 
writ, you would say so. But I would not haue you thinke 
that all this that is set downe heere is in good earnest, for 
than you goe by S. Gyles, the wrong way to Westminster:

but onely to shewe howe for a neede I could rayle, if I were 
throughly fyred. So ho, Honiger | Hammon, where are 
you all this while, I cannot be acquainted with you? Tell 
me, what doe you thinke of the case? am I subject to the 
sinne of Wrath I write against, or no, in whetting my penne 
on this blocke? I know you would faine haue it so, but it 
shall not choose but be otherwise for this once. Come on, 
let vs turne ouer a new leafe, and heare what Gluttonie can 
say for her selfe, for Wrath hath spet his poyson, and full 
platters doe well after extreame purging.

The Romaine Emperours that succeeded Augustus were 
exceedingly giuen to this horrible vice, whereof some

of them would feed on nothing but the tongues of Phesants 
and Nightingales: other would spend as much at one 
banquet, as a kings reuenues came to in a yeare; whose 
excesse I would decypher at large, but that a new Laureat 
hath sau’d me the labor: who, for a man that stands vpon 
paines and not wit, hath performd as much as any Storie 
dresser may doo, that sets a new English nap on an old 
Latine Apothegs. It is enough for me to licke dishes heere 
at home, though I feed not mine eyes at any of the Romane 
feasts. Much good doe it you, Maister Dives, heere in 
London: for you are he my pen meanes to dine withall. 
Miserere mei, what a fat churle it is? Why, he hath

1 The complaint ... ] om. 95.
2 their] thy 95.
3 may] way 92c.
4 an] a 92abc.
5 writen 93, 95.
6 for need 93, 95.
7 thoroughly 95.
8 but be] to be 95.
a belly as big as the round Church in Cambridge, a face as huge as the whole bodie of a base viall, and legs that, if they were hollow, a man might keepe a mill in eyther of them. *Experto crede Roberto,* there is no mast like a Marchants table. *Bona fide,* it is a great misture, that we have not men 5 swine as well as beasts, for then we should haue porke that hath no more bones than a pudding, and a side of bacon that you might lay vnder your head in stead of a bolster.

It is not for nothing that other Countries, whom we upbraide with Drunkennesse, call vs bursten-bellied Gluttons: for wee make our greedie paunches powdring tubs of beefe, and eat more meat at one meale, than the Spaniard or Italian in a moneth. Good thrifty me, they draw out a dinner with sallets, like a *Swart-rutters sute,* and make *Madona Nature* their best Caterer. We must haue our Tables furnisht like Poulters stalls, or as though we were to victual Noahs Arke again (wherin there was al sorts of liuing creatures that euer were), or els the good-wife *Evre* wil not | open her mouth to bid one welcome. A stranger that should come to one of our *Magnificoes* houses, when dinner were set on the boord, and he not yet set, would thinke the goodness of the house were a Haberdasher of Wilde-fowle, or a Merchant venturer of daintie meate, that sels commodities of good cheere by the great, and hath Factors in *Arabia, Turkey, Egipt,* and *Barbarie,* to prouide 25 him of straunge Birdes, *China Mustard,* and odde patterns to make Custards by.

Lord, what a coyle haue we, with this Course and that course, remoouing this dish higher, setting another lower, and taking awaye the third. A Generall might in lesse 30 space remooue his Campe, than they stand disposing of their gluttonie. And whereto tends all this gurmandise, but to giue sleepe grosse humors to feede on, to corrupt the braine, and make it vnapt and vnweldie for any thing?
The *Romane* Censors, if they lighted vpon a fat corpulent man, they straight tooke away his horsse, and constrained him to goe a foote: positively concluding his carkasse was so puft vp with gluttonie or idlenesse. If we had such horse-takers amongst vs, and that surfit-swolne Charles, who now ride on their foot-cloathes, might be constrained to carrie their flesh budgets from place to place on foote, the price of veluet and cloath would fall with their belies, and the gentle craft (alias the red herrings kinsmen) get more and drinke lesse. *Plenus venter nil agit libenter, & plures gula occidit quam gladius.* It is as desperate a peece of seruice to sleepe vpon a full stomacke, as it is to serue in face of the bullet: a man is but his breath, and that may as well be stopt by putting too much in his mouth at once, as running on the mouth of the cannon. That is verifie of vs, which Horace writes of an outrageous eater in his time, *Quicquid quxsierat ventri donabat auaro,* Whatsoeuer he could rap or rend, he confiscated to his couetous gut. Nay, we are such flesh-eating Saracens, that chast fish may not content vs, but we delight in the murder of innocent mutton, in the vnpluming of pullerie, and quartering of Calues and Oxen. It is horrible and detestable, no godly Fishmonger—that can digest it. Report (which our moderners clippe flundring Fame) puts me in memorie of a notable iest I heard long a goe of Doctor Watson, verye conducible to the reproofe of these | fleshly minded  Ed *Belials. He beeing at supper on a fasting or fish night at least, with a great number of his friends and acquaintance, there chanced to be in the company an outlandish Doctor, who, when all other fell to such victuals (agreeing to the time) as were before them, he ouerslipt them, and there being one ioynt of flesh on the table for such as had weake stomaches, fell freshly to it. After that hunger (halfe con-
quered) had restored him to the use of his speech, for his excuse he said to his friend that brought him thither, *Profecto, Domine, ego sum malissimus piscator*, meaning by *piscator*, a Fishman; (which is a liberty, as also *malissimus*, that outlandish men in their familiar talk do challenge, at least use above vs). *At tu es bonissimus carnifex*, quoth Doctor *Watson*, retorting very merily his own licentious figures upon him. So of vs may it be said, we are *Malissimi piscatores*, but *bonissimi carnifices*. I would English the best, for the edification of the temporalitie, but that it is not so good in English as in Latine: and though it were as good, it would not convert clubs and clowted shoon from the flesh pots of *Egipt*, to the Prouant of the Lowe-countries, for they had rather (with the Seringman) put vp a Supplication to the Parliament house, that they might have a yard of pudding for a penie, than desire (with the Baker) there might bee three ounces of bread sold for a halfe penie.

*Alphonsus*, King *Phillips* Confessor, that came over with him to *England*, was such a moderate man in his dyet, that hee would feed but once a day, and at that time he would feed so slenderly and sparingly, as scarce served to keepe life and soule together. One night, importunately inuited to a solemnne banquet, for fashion sake he sate downe among the rest, but by no entreatie could be drawne to eate any thing: at length, fruite being set on the board, he reached an apple out of the dish, and put it in his pocket, which one marking, that sat right over against him, askt him, *Domine, cur es solitius in crastinum?* Sir, why are you carefull for the morrow? Whereto he answered most soberly, *Imo hoc facio, mi amice, vt ne sim solitius in crastinum*. No, I doo it, my friend, that I may not be carefull for the morrow: as though his appetite

1 *K.*) *king* 92*ab.*

5-6 talke do challenge] talked to challenge 93. 8 figures] singures 93.

15-6 Seringmen 93. 21 at] om. 93, 95. 23 together, one 92*ab* &c,
27 an] one 93, 95. 30 the morrow] to morrowe 95.
were a whole day contented with so little as an apple, and that it were enough to paye the morrowes tribute to Nature.

Rare, and worthy to be registred to all posterities, is the Countie Molines (sometime the Prince of Parmes Com-

panion) altred course of life, who being a man that liued in as great pompe and delicacie as was possible for a man to doo, and one that wanted nothing but a kingdome that his heart could desire. Vpon a day entering into a deepe melancholy by himselfe, hee fell into a discoursiue con-
sideration what this world was, how vaine and transitory the pleasures thereof, and how manie times he had offended God by surfetting, gluttony, drunkennes, pride, whoredome, and such like, and how hard it was for him that liu'd in that prosperitie that he did, not to bee entangled with those pleasures: whereupon he presently resolu'd, twixt God and his owne conscience, to forsake it and al his allurements, and betake hime to the seuerest forme of life vsed in their state. And with that cald all his Souldiers and acquaintance together, and, making knowne his intent vnto them, he distributed his liuing and possessions (which were infinite) amongst the poorest of them: and hauing not left himselfe the worth of one farthing vnder heauen, betooke him to the most beggerly new erected Order of the Fryer Capuchines. Their Institution is, that they shall possesse nothing whatsoeuer of their owne, more than the cloathes on their backes, continually to go bare foote, weare haire shirts, and lie vpon the hard bords, winter and summer time; they must haue no meate, nor aske any but what is giuen them voluntarily, nor must they lay vp any from meale to meale, but giue it to the poore, or els it is a great penaltie. In this seuere humilitie liues this deout Countie, and hath done this tweluemonth, submitting himselfe to all the base drudgery of the house,

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12 pleasure 92, 95. 18 the] his 92B. 24 newerected 92C. 27 then 93, 95. to] om. 92C. 31 any from] 92A, 95: from any 92B, 93. 33 tweluemonth] foure yeare 92AB.
as fetching water, making cleane the rest of their chambers, insomuch as he is the Junior of the Order. O what a notable rebuke were his honourable Lowlines to succeeding pride, if this prostrate spirit of his were not the seruaunt of Superstition; or hee misspent not his good workes on a wrong Faith.

Let but our English belly-gods punish their pursie bodies with this strict penaunce, and profess Capuchinisme but one month, and Ile be their pledge they shall not grow so like dry-fats as they doo. O it will make them iolly long winded, to trot vp and downe the Dorter staires, and the water-tankard wil | keepe vnder the insurrection of their shoulders, the haire shirt will chase whordome out of their boanes, and the hard lodging on the boards take their flesh downe a button hole lower.

But if they might be induced to distribute all t|heir goods amongst the poore, it were to be hoped Saint Peter would let them dwell in the suburbs of heauen, whereas, other wise, they must keepe aloofe at Pancredge, and not come neere the liberties by fiue leagues and above. It is your dooing (Diotrephes Diuell) that these stal-fed cormorants to damnation must bung vp all the welfh of the Land in their snap-haunce bags, and poore Scholers and Souldiers wander in backe lanes and the out-shiftes of the Citie, with neuer a rag to their backes: but our trust is, that by some intemperance or other, you will turne vp their heeles one of these yeares together, and prouide them of such vnthrifts to their heires, as shall spend in one weeke amongst good fellowes what they got by extortion and opression from Gentlemen all their life time.

Francis Gluttony in meates, let me descend to superfluitie in drinke: a sinne, that euer since we haue mixt our selues with the Low-countries, is counted honourable: but
before we knew their lingering warres, was held in the highest degree of hatred that might be. Then, if we had seen a man goe wallowing in the streetes, or line sleeping vnnder the boord, we would haue spet at him as a toade, and cald him foule drunken swine, and warnd al our friends out of his company: now, he is no body that cannot drinke super nagulum, carouse the Hunters hoop, quaffe vpsey freze crosse, with healthes, gloues, mumpes, frolickes, and a thousand such dominiering inuentions. He is reputed a pesaunt and a boore that will not take his licour profoundly. And you shall heare a Cauialier of the first feather, a princockes that was but a Page the other day in the Court, and now is all to berenchified in his Souldiers sute, stand vpon termes with, Gods wounds, you dishonour me sir, you do me the disgrace if you do not pledge me as much as I drunke to you: and, in the midst of his cups, stand vaunting his manhood, beginning euerie sentence with When I first bore Armes, when he neuer bare any thing but his Lords rapier after him in | his life. If he haue beene ouer and visited a towne of Garrison, as a trauailer or passenger, he hath as great experience as the greatest Commander and chiefe Leader in England. A mightie deformer of mens manners and features, is this.vnnecessary vice of all other. Let him bee indued with neuer so many vertues, and haue as much goodly proportion and favouer as nature can bestow vpon a man: yet if hee be thirstie after his owne destruction, and hath no ioy nor comfort, but when he is drowning his soule in a gallon pot, that one beastly imperfection will vtterlie obscure all that is commendable in him; and all his good qualities sinke like lead down to the bottome of his carroweing cups, where they will lie, like lees and dregges, dead and vnregarded of any man.

Drinking super nagulum, a devise of drinking new come out of France; which is, after a man hath turnd up the bottome of the cup, to drop it on his nailes, & make a pearle with that is left; which, if it shed, & he cannot make stand on, by reason there is too much, he must drinke againe for his penance.

1 supernagulum 92\textsuperscript{3} \&c. shed] slide 92\textsuperscript{AB}.  
1 the] 92\textsuperscript{AB}; that 92\textsuperscript{3} \&c. 3 line] liene 93; laine 95. 8 healthes] leapes 92\textsuperscript{AB}. 14 God-wounds 95. 16 drinke 95. middest 95. 18 with when 92\textsuperscript{B} \&c. bare 95. 20 haue] hath 95.
Clim of the clough, thou that vestest to drinke nothing but scalding lead and sulphur in hell, thou art not so greedie of thy night geare. O, but thou hast a foule swallow, if it come once to carousing of humane bloud; but thats but seldome, once in seauen yeare, when theres a great execution, otherwise thou art tide at rack and manger, and drinkest nothing but the Aqua vitæ of vengeance all thy life time. The Prouerbe giues it forth, thou art a knaue, and therefore I haue more hope thou art some manner of good fellowe: let mee intreate thee (since thou hast other iniquities inough to circumuent vs withall) to wipe this sin out of the catologue of thy subtilties: helpe to blast the Vines, that they may beare no more grapes, and sore the wines in the cellers of Marchants storehouses, that our Countrey-men may not pisse out all their witte and thrift against the walles. King Edgar, because his subjects should not offend in swilling, and bibbing, as they did, caused certaine yron cups to be chained to euery fountaine and wells side, and at euery Vintners doore, with yron pinnen in them, to stinte euery man how much he should drinke: and he that went beyond one of those pinnen forfeited a penny for euery draught. And, if Stories were well searcht, I beleue hoopes in quart pots were inuented to that ende, that euery man should take his hoope, and no more. I haue heard it iustified for a trueth by great Personages, that the olde Marquesse of Pisana (who yet liues) drinkes not once in seauen yeare:

1 drinking 92c.

6 tide] om. 95. 10 of a good 92AB. 14 cellars 92A: sellers 95 of] and 92A. Merchants 92A, 95. 18 yron-cups 92C, 95. 19 well side 95. 28 Aneron 95. 34 keep 92C.
SVPPLICACTION TO THE DIVELL

aire and stinking mistes that arise out of their fennie soyle: but as their Countrey is ouer-flowen with water, so are their heads alwaies ouer-flowen with wine, and in their bellies they haue standing quag-mires and bogs of English beere.

One of their breede it was that writ the Booke *De Arte bibendi*, a worshipfull treatise, fitte for none but *Silenus* and his Asse to set forth; besides that volume, we haue generall rules and injunctions, as good as printed precepts, or Statutes set downe by Acte of Parliament, that goe from drunkard to drunkard; as still to keepe your first man, not to leaue any flockes in the bottome of the cup, to knock the glasse on your thumbe when you haue done, to haue some shooing horne to pul on your wine, as a rasher of the coles, or a redde herring, to stirre it about with a candles ende to make it taste better, and not to holde your peace whiles the pot is stirring.

Nor haue we one or two kinde of drunkards onely, but eight kindes. The first is Ape drunke, and he leapes, and sings, and hollowes, and daunceth for the heauens: the second is Lion drunke, and he flings the pots about the house, calls his Hostesse whore, breaks the glasse windowes with his dagger, and is apt to quarrell with any man that speaks to him: the third is Swine drunke, heauy, lumpish, and sleepe, and cries for a little more drinke, and a fewe more cloathes: the fourth is Sheepe drunke, wise in his owne conceit, when he cannot bring forth a right word: the fifth is Mawdlen drunke when a fellowe will weep for kindnes in the midst of his Ale, and kisse you, saying; By God, Captaine, I loue thee; goe thy waies, thou dost not thinke so often of me as I do of thee, I would (if it pleased GOD) I could not loue thee so well as I doo; and then he puts his finger in his eie, and cries: the sixt is Martin drunke, when a man is drunke, and drinkes himselfe sober ere he stirre: the seuenth is Goate drunke, when,

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13 your] their 95. 14 of] on 95, 95. 24 bumpish 92c.
in his drunkennes, he hath no minde | but on Lechery: the eighth is Foxe drunke, when he is craftie drunke, as many of the Dutch men bee, that will neuer bargaine but when they are drunke. All these species, and more, I haue scene practised in one Company at one sitting, when I haue beene permitted to remaine sober amongst them, onely to note their seuerall humors. Hee that plies any one of them harde, it will make him to write admirable verses, and to haue a deepe casting head, though hee were neuer so verie a Dunce before.

Gentlemen, all you that will not haue your braines twise sodden, your flesh rotten with the Dropsie, that loue not to goe in greasie dublets, stockings out at the heeles, and weare alehouse daggers at your backes, forsweare this slauering brauery, that will make you haue stinking breathes, and your bodies smell like Brewers aprons: rather keepe a snuffe in the bottome of the glasse to light you to bed withall, than leaue neuer an eye in your head to lead you ouer the threshold. It will bring you, in your olde age, to be companions with none but Porters and Car-men, to talke out of a Cage, railing as drunken men are wont, a hundred boies wondering about them; and to die sodainly, as Fol Long, the Fencer, did, drinking Aqua vitæ. From which (as all the rest) good Lord deliuer Pierce Penilesse.

The nurse of this enormitie (as of all euills) is Idlenes, or sloth, which, hauing no painfull Prouidence to set himselfe a worke, runnes headlong, with the raines in his owne hand, into all lasciuiousnesse and sensualitie that may be. Men, when they are idle, and know not what to do, saith one, let vs goe to the Stilliard, and drinke Rhenish wine. Nay, if a man knew where a good whorhouse were, saith another, it were somwhat like. Nay, saith the third, let vs goe to a dicing-house or a bowling alley, and there we shall haue some sport for our money.

To one of these three (at hand, quoth pick-purse) your euill Angelship, maister mani-headed beast, conducts them, *Vbi quid agitur* betwixt you and their soules be it, for I am no Drawer, Box-keeper, or Pander, to be priuie to their sports. If I were to paint Sloth (as I am not seene in the sweetening) by Saint Iohn the Euangelist I sweare, I would draw it like a Stationer that I knowe, with his thumb vnder his girdle, who if a man come to his stall and aske him for a booke, neuer stirs his head, or looks vpon him, but stands stone still, and speakes not a word: onely with his little finger points backwards to his boy, who must be his interpreter, and so all the day, gaping like a dumbe image, he sits without motion, except at such times as he goes to dinner or supper: for then he is as quicke as other three, eating sixe times every day.

If I would raunge abroad, and looke in at sluggards key holes, I should finde a number lying a bed to saue charges of ordinaries, & in winter, when they want firing, losing halfe a weeks Commons together, to keepe them warme in the linnen. And hold you content, this Summer an vnder-meale of an afternoone long doth not amisse to exercise the eies withall. Fat men and Farmers sonnes, that sweate much with eating harde cheese and drinking olde wine, must haue some more ease than yoong boyes that take their pleasure all day running vp and downe.

Setting iesting aside, I hold it a great disputable question, which is a more euill man, of him that is an idle glutton at home, or a retchlesse vnthrift abroad? The glutton at home doth nothing but engender diseases, pamper his flesh vnto lust, and is good for none but his owne gut: the vnthrift abroad exerciseth his bodie at dauncing schoole, fence schoole, tennis, and all such recreations: the vintners, the victuallers, the dicing houses,
and who not, get by him. Suppose he lose a little now and then at play, it teacheth him wit: and how should a man know to eschew vices, if his own experience did not acquaint him with their inconueniences? *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*: that villany we haue made no assaies in, we admire. Besides, my vagrant Reueller haunts Plaies, & sharpens his wits with frequenting the company of Poets: he emboldens his blushing face by courting faire women on the sodaine, and lookes into all Estates by conuersing with them in publike places. Nowe tell me whether of these two, the heauie headed gluttonous house doue, or this liuelie, wanton, yoong Gallant, is like to prooue the wiser man, and better member in the Com-mon-wealth? If my youth might not be thought partiall, the fine qualified Gentleman, although vnstaide, should carrie it cleane away from the lazie clownish droane.

**The effects of sloth.**

Sloath in Nobilitie, Courtiers, Schollers, or any men, is the chiefest cause that brings them in contempt. For, as industrie and vnfatigable toyle rayseth meane persons from obscure houses to high thrones of authoritie: so Sloath, and sluggish securtye, causeth proud Lords to tumble from the towers of their starrie discents, and be trod vnder foote of euerie inferiour Besonian. Is it the loftie treading of a Galliard, or fine grace in telling of a loue tale amongst Ladies, can make a man reuerenst of the multitude? no, they care not for the false glistering of gay garments, or insinuating curtesie of a carpet Peere; but they delight to see him shine in armour, and oppose himselfe to honourable daunger, to participate a voluntarie penurie with his Souldiers, and relieue part of their wants out of his owne purse. That is the course he that will be popular must take, which, if he neglect, and sit dallying at home, nor will be awakt by any indignities out of his loue-dreame, but suffer euery vpstart groome to defie him, set him at

4 their] the 95. 7 wit 93, 95. 9 looke 92c. 12 like] likely 95. 15 vnstaide c.w. 22 starrie] high 95. 23 feete 95. 24 among 95. 29 penurie] penny 92a: penie 92b.
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

naught, and shake him by the beard vnreuengde, let him straight take orders, and be a Church-man, and then his patience may passe for a vertue: but otherwise, he shall be suspected of cowardise, and not car'd for of any. The

5 onely enemie to Sloth is contention and emulation; as to propose one man to my selfe, that is the onely myrroure of our Age, and striue to out-go him in vertue. But this strife must be so tempered, that we fall not from the eager-nesse of praise, to the enuying of their persons: for then

10 wee leaue running to the goale of glorie, to spurre at a stone that lyes in our waye; and so did Atlante, in the middest of her course, stoope to take vp the golden Apple that her enemie scattered in her way, and was out-runne by Hippomenes. The contrarie to this contention and

15 emulation is securitie, peace, quiet, tranquillitie; when we haue no aduersarie to prie into our actions, no malicious eye, whose pursuing our priuate behauior might make vs more vigilant ouer our imperfections than otherwise we would be.

20 That State or Kingdome that is in league with all the world, and hath no foraine sword to vexe it, is not halfe so strong or confirmed to endure, as that which liues euery houre in feare of in-|uasion. There is a certaine waste of F 3 the people for whome there is no use, but warre: and these

25 men must have some employment still to cut them off. *Nam si foras hostem non habent, domi inuenient.* If they haue no seruice abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affayres abroad, they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affay45 res abroad, they will make mutinies at home.

30 haue some light toyes to busie their heads withall, cast before them as bones to gnaw vpon, which may keepe them from hauing leisure to intermeddle with higher matters.

To this effect, the pollicie of Playes is very necessary, *The defence of Playes.*
howsoever some shallow-braind censurers (not the deepest serchers into the secrets of gouernment) mightily oppugne them. For whereas the after-noone being the idlest time of the day; wherein men that are their owne masters (as Gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of the Courte, and the number of Captaines and Souldiers about London) do wholy bestow themselves vpon pleasure, and that pleasure they deuide (howe vertuously it skils not) either into gaming, following of harlots, drinking, or seeing a Playe: is it not then better (since of foure extreames all the world cannot keepe them but they will choose one) that they should betake them to the least, which is Playes? Nay, what if I prooue Playes to be no extreame; but a rare exercise of vertue? First, for the subiect of them (for the most part) it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our foresfathers valiant acts (that haue line long buried in rustie brasse and worme-eaten bookes) are requiued, and they themselves raised from the Graue of Obliuion, and brought to pleade their aged Honours in open presence: than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate effeminate dayes of ours?

How would it haue joyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his Tombe, hee should triumphe againe on the Stage, and haue his bones newe embalmes with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at seuerall times), who, in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.

I will defend it against any Collian, or clubfisted Vsurer of them all, there is no immortalitie can be giuen a man like vnto Playes. What talke I to them of immortalitie, that are the onely vnderminers of Honour, and doe enuiue any man that is not sprung vp by base Brokerie like themselves? They care not if all the auncient
houses were rooted out, so that, like the Burgomasters of the Low-countries, they might share the government amongst them as States, and be quarter-maisters of our Monarchie. All Artes to them are vanitie: and, if you 5 tell them what a glorious thing it is to haue Henrie the fifth represented on the Stage, leading the French King prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to sweare fealty, I, but (will they say) what do we get by it? Respecting neither the right of Fame that is due to true 10 Nobilitie deceased, nor what hopes of eternitie are to be proposed to aduentrous mindes, to encourage them forward, but onely their execrable luker, and filthie vnquenchable auarice.

They know when they are dead they shall not be brought 15 upon the Stage for any goodnes, but in a merriment of the Vsurer and the Diuel, or buying Armes of the Herald, who gies them the Lyon, without tongue, tayle, or tallents, because his maister whome hee must serue is a Townesman, and a man of peacce, and must not keepe any quarrelling 20 beasts to annoy his honest neighbours.

In Playes, all coosonages, all cunning drifts ouer-guylded with outward holinesse, all stratagems of warre, all the cankerwormes that breede on the rust of peace, are most liuely anatomiz'd: they shew the ill successe of treason, 25 the fall of hastie climbers, the wretched end of vsurpers, the miserie of ciuill dissention, and how iust God is euermore in punishing of murther. And to proove every one of these allegations, could I propound the circumstances of this play and that play, if I meant to handle this Theame 30 otherwise than obiter. What should I say more? they are sower pills of reprehension, wrapt vp in sweete words. Whereas some Petitioners of the Counsaile against them obiect, they corrupt the youth of the Cittie, and withdrawe
Prentises from theyr worke; they heartily wishe they might bee troubled with none of their youth nor their prentises; for some of them (I meane the ruder handicrafts servants) neuer come abroade, but they are in danger of vndoing: and as for corrupting them when they come, thats false; for no Play they haue, encourageth any man to tumults or rebellion, but layes before such the halter and the gallowes; or praiseth or approoueth pride, lust, whoredome, prodigallitie, or drunkennes, but beates them downe vtterly.

As for the hindrance of Trades and Traders of the Citie by them, that is an Article foysted in by the Vintners, Alewiues, and Victuallers, who surmise, if there were no Playes, they should haue all the companie that resort to them, lye bowzing and beere-baiting in their houses euery after-noone. Nor so, nor so, good brother bottle-ale, for there are other places besides where money can bestow it selfe: the signe of the smock will wipe your mouth cleane: and yet I haue heard yee haue made her a tenant to your tap-houses. But what shall hee doo that hath spent himselfe? where shall hee haunt? Faith, when Dice, Lust, and Drunkennesse, and all haue dealt vpon him, if there be neuer a Playe for him to goe too for his pennie, he sits melancholie in his Chamber, deuising vpon felonie or treason, and howe he may best exalt himselfe by mischiefe.

In Augustus time (who was the Patron of all wittie sports) there happened a great Fraie in Rome about a Player, insomuch as all the Cittie was in an vprore: where-vpon the Emperour (after the broyle was somewhat ouer-blowne) calde the Player before him, and askt what was the reason that a man of his qualitie durst presume to make such a brawl about nothing. Hee smilinglye replyde, *It is good for thee, O Caesar, that the peoples heads are troubled with bravles and quarrels about vs and our light matters: for otherwise they would looke into thee and thy...*
matters. Read Lipsius or any prophane or Christian Polititian, and you shall finde him of this opinion. Our Players are not as the players beyond sea, a sort of squiring baudie Comedians, that haue whores and com-
mon Curtizens to playe womens partes, and forbeare no immodest speech or vnchast action that may procure laughter; but our Scane is more statelye furnisht than euer it was in the time of Roscius, our representations honourable, and full of gallant resolution, not consisting, like theirs, of a Pantaloun, a Whore, and a Zanie, but of Emperours, Kings, and Princes; whose true Tragedies (Sophocleo cothurno) they do vaunt. 

Not Roscius nor Æsop, those admyred tragedians that haue liued euer since before Christ was borne, could euer performe more in action than famous Ned Allen. I must accuse our Poets of sloth and partialitie, that they will not boast in large impressions what worthy men (aboue all Nations) England affoords. Other Countries cannot haue a Fidler breake a string but they will put it in print, and the old Romanes in the writings they published, thought scorne to vse any but domestical examples of their owne hom-bred Actors, Schollers, and Champions, and them they would extoll to the third and fourth Generation: Coblers, Tinkers, Fencers, none escapt them, but they mingled them all in one Gallimafrey of glory.

Heere I haue vsed a like Method, not of tying my selfe to mine owne Countrie, but by insisting in the experience of our time: and, if I euer write any thing in Latine (as I hope one day I shall), not a man of any desert here amongst vs, but I will haue vp. Tarlton, Ned Allen, Knell, Bentlie, shall be made knowne to France, Spaine, and Italie: and not a part that they surmounted in, more than other, but I will there note and set downe, with the manner of theyr habites and attyre.
The child of Sloath is Lecherie, which I haue plac't last in my order of handling: a sinne that is able to make a man wicked that should describe it; for it hath more starting holes than a siue hath holes, more Clyents than Westminster-hall, more diseases than Newgate. Call a Leete at Byshopsgate, and examine how every second house in Shorditch is maintayned: make a priuie search in Southwarke, and tell me how many Shee-Inmates you finde: naye, goe where you will in the Suburbes, and bring me two Virgins that haue vowd Chastitie, and Ie builde a Nunnerie.

Westminster, Westminster, much maydenhead hast thou to answere for at the day of Judgement; thou hadst a Sanctuarie in thee once, but hast few Saints left in thee now. Surgeons and Apothecaries, you know what I speake is true, for you liue (like Sumners) vpon the sinnes of the people; tell me, is there anye place so lewde as this Ladie London? not a Wench sooner creepes out of the shell, but she is of the Religion. Some wiues will sowe Mandrake in their gardens, and crosse-neighborhood with them is counted goodfellowship.

The Court I dare not touch, but surely there (as in the Heauens) be many falling starres, and but one true Diana. Consuetudo peccandi tollit sensum peccati. Custome is a Lawe, and Luste holds it for a Lawe, to liue without Lawe. Lais, that had so manie Poets to her Louers, could not alwayes preserue her beauty with their praises. Marble will weare away with much raine: Gold will rust with moyst keeping; and the richest garments are subject to Times Moath-frets: Clitemnestra, that slew her husband to enioye the Adulterer Aegistus, and bathde her selfe in Milke euery day to make her yoong againe, had a time when shee was ashamed to viewe her selfe in a looking Glasse, and her body withered, her minde being greene. The people pointed at her for a murtherer, yoong children

23 Heanens 92c. 31 bath 95. 35 Murther 95.
SUPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

howted at her as a strumpet: shame, misery, sicknesse, beggary, is the best end of vncleanesse.

Lais, Cleopatra, Helen, if our Clyme hath any such, noble Lord warden of the witches and iuglers, I commend them with the rest of our vnclean sisters in Shorditch, the Spittle, Southwarke, Westminster, & Turnbull streete, to the protection of your Portership: hoping you will speedily carrie them to hell, there to keepe open house for all young Diuels that come, and not let our ayre bee contaminated with theyr six-pennie damnation any longer.

Your Diuelships
bounden executor,
Pierce Penilesse.

A Supplication calst thou this? (quoth the Knight of the G r post) it is the maddest Supplication that euer I sawe; me thinks thou hast handled all the seuen deadly sinnes in it, and spared none that exceeds his limits in any of them. It is well done to practise thy witte, but (I beleue) our Lord will cun thee little thanks for it.

The worse for me (quoth I), if my destinie be such, to lose my labour euery where, but I meane to take my chance, be it good or bad. Well, hast thou any more that thou wouldest haue mee to doo (quoth he)? Onely one sute (quoth I), which is this, that sith opportunitie so conuenientlie serues, you would acquaint mee with the state of your infernall regiment: and what that hel is, where your Lord holdes his throne; whether a world like this, which spirites like outlawes doo inhabit, who, being banisht from heauen, as they are from their Country, enuy that any shall bee more happy than they; and therefore seeke all meanes possible, that Wit or Arte may inuent, to make other men as wretched as themselves: or, whether

3 our] your 93, 95. 4 witches and inglers] 92C, 93: Witches ... 95: Wenches & Anglers 92AB. 5 siffers 92C. 19 thanke 92AB. 20 quoth 92C. 24 sith] since 95. 30 shall] should 95. then 92A.
it be a place of horror, stench, and darknesse, where men
see meat, but can get none, or are euer thirstie and readie
to swelt for drinke, yet haue not the power to taste the
coolc streames that runne hard at their feet: where (per-
mutata vicissitudine) one ghost torments another by turnes, 5
and he that all his life time was a great fornicator, hath
all the diseases of lust continually hanging vppon him,
and is constrained (the more to augment his misery) to
haue congresse euery houre with hagges and olde witches:
and he that was a great drunkard here on earth, hath his 10
penance assigned him, to carouse himselfe drunke with
dishwash and Vineger, and surfet foure times a day with
sower Ale and small Beere: as so of the rest, as the
vsurer to swallow moulten gold, the glutton to eate nothing
but toades, and the Murtherer to bee still stabd with 15
daggers, but neuer die: or whether (as some phantastical
refyners of philosophie will needes perswade vs) hell is
nothing but error, and that none but fooles and Idiotes
and Machanickall men, that haue no learning, shall be
damned: of these doubts if you will resolue me, I shall 20
thinke my selfe to haue profited greatly by your company.

He hearing me so inquisitiue in matters aboue humane |
 capacity, entertained my greedie humour with this answere.
Poets and Philosophers, that take a pride in inuenting newe
opinions, haue sought to renoume their wittes by hunting 25
after strange conceits of heauen and hell; all generally
agreeing, that such places there are, but how inhabited,
by whom gouerned, or what betides them that are trans-
ported to the one or other, not two of them iumpe in one
tale. We, that to our terror and griefe do know their 30
dotage by our sufferings, rejoyce to thinke how these sillie
flyes plaie with the fire that must burne them.

But leauing them to the Laborynth of their fond curi-
ositie, shall I tell thee in a word what Hell is? It is a
place where the soules of vntemperate men, and ill liuers 35
of all sorts, are detayned and imprisoned till the generall Resurrection, kept and possessed chiefly by spirites, who lye like Souldiours in Garison, ready to be sent about any seruice into the world, whensoeuer *Lucifer*, their Lieftenaunt Generall, pleaseth. For the scituation of it in respect of heauen, I can no better compare it than to *Callis* and *Douer*: for, as a man standing vpon *Callis* Sands may see men walking on *Douer* Clyffes, so easily may you discerne Heauen from the farthest part of hell, and behold the melodie and motions of the Angels and Spirits there resident, in such perfect manner as if you were amongst them; which, how it worketh in the mindes and soules of them that haue no power to apprehend such felicity, it is not for me to intimate, because it is pre-

I would bee sorrie (quoth I) to importune you in anie matter of secrecie: yet this I desire, if it might bee done without offence, that you would satisfie me in full sort, and according to truth, what the Diuell is whome you serue? as also howe he began, and howe farre his power and authoritie extends?

*Persie*, beleue me, thou shriuest me very neere in this latter demaund, which concerneth vs more deeply than the former, and may worke vs more damage than thou art aware of: yet in hope thou wilt conceale what I tell thee, I will laye open our whole estate plainly and simply vnto thee as it is: but first I wil begin with the opinions of former times, and so hasten forwarde | to that *manifeste* G 2v *verum* that thou seekest. Some men there be that, build-

30 ing too much vpon reason, perswade themselues that there are no Diuels at all, but that this word *Daemon* is such another morall of mischiefe, as the Poets Dame Fortune is of mishap: for as vnder the fiction of this blinde God-

35 disposing of honours, that oftentimes preferre fooles and disgrace wise men, and alter their fauours in turning of

3 lye] liue 95.  
28 manifestum 93, 95.  
32 morall] mortal 95.
an eye, as Fortune turns her wheele: so vnder the person of this olde Gnathonicall companion, called the Diuell, we shrowd all subtiltie masking vnder the name of simplicitie, all painted holines deuouring widowes houses, all gray headed Foxes clad in sheepes garments; so that the 5 Diuell (as they make it) is onely a pestilent humour in a man, of pleasure, profit, or policie, that violently carries him away to vanitie, villanie, or monstrous hypocrisie: vnder vanitie I comprehend not onely all vaine Arts and studies whatsoeuer, but also dishonourable prodigalitie, vntemperate venery, and that hatefull sinne of selfe-loue, which is so common amongst vs: vnder villanie I comprehend murder, treason, theft, cousinage, cut-throat couetise, and such like: lastly, vnder hypocrisie, all Machiauuilisme, puritanisme, and outward gloasing with a mans enemie, and protesting friendship to him that I hate and meane to harme, all vnder-hand cloaking of bad actions with Common-wealth pretences; and, finally, all Italionate conueyances, as to kill a man, and then mourne for him, quasi vero it was not by my consent, to be a slawe to him that hath iniur'd me, and kisse his feete for opportunitie of reuenge, to be seuere in punishing offenders, that none might haue the benefite of such meanes but my selfe, to vse men for my purpose and then cast them off, to seeke his destruction that knowes my secrets; and such as I haue imploied in any murther or stratagem, to set them priuile together by the eares, to stab each other mutually, for feare of bewraying me; or, if that faile, to hire them to humor one another in such courses as may bring them both to the gallowes. These, and a thousand more such sleights, hath hypocrisie learned by trauailing strange Countries. I will not say she puts them in practise here in England, although there be as many false brethren
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

his hen-loft but the Testor of his bed, and it was not possible for any hungry Poultrers to come there, but they must stande vppon the one side of it, and so not steale them but with great hazard; had in one night notwith-
standing (when hee and his wife were a snorting) all the whole progenie of their Pullery taken away, and neither of them heard any sturring: it is an odde tricke, but what of that? we must not stand vpon it, for wee haue grauer matters in hand then the stealing of Hennes. Hypocrisie,

I remember, was our Text, which was one of the chiefe morall Diuels our late Doctors affirme to bee most busie in these daies; and busie it is, in trueth, more than any Bee that I know: nowe you talke of a Bee, Ile tell you a tale of a Battle-dore.

The Beare on a time, beeing chiefe Burgomaster of all the Beasts vnder the Lyon, gan thinke with himselfe how hee might surfet in pleasure, or best husband his Authoritie to enlarge his delight and contentment. Wyth that hee beganne to prye and to smell through euery corner of the Forrest for praye, to haue a thousande imagynations with himselfe what daintie morsell he was master of, and yet had not tasted: whole Heards of sheepe had hee deuoured, and was not satisfied; fat Oxen, Hayfers, Swine, Calues, and yoong Kiddes, were his ordinary vyands: he longed for Horse-flesh, and went presently to a medowe, where a fat Cammell was grazing, whom, fearing to encounter with force, because he was a huge beast and well shod, he thought to betray vnder the colour of demaunding homage, hoping that, as he should stoope to doo him truage, he might seaze vpon his throat, and stifle him before he should be able to recouer himselfe from his false embrace: but therein he was deceiued; for, comming vnto this stately Beast with this imperious message, in stead of doing homage vnto him, he lifted vp one of his hindmost heeles, and stroake him such a blowe on the forehead that hee ouer-

2 Poulters 93, 95. 6 Pultery 95. 9 than 92AB. 11 morall] mortall 95. 12 then 95. 18 his] him 95. 23 satisfied? 92C.
threw him. Thereat not a little mou’d, and enrag’d, that he should be so dishonored by his inferiour, as he thought, he consulted with the Ape how he might be reuenged.

The Ape, abhorring him by nature, because he overlookt him so Lordly, and was by so many degrees greater than he was, advised him to digge a pit with his pawes right in the way where this big boand Gentleman should passe, that so stumbling and falling in, he might lightly skip on his back, and bridle him, and then he come and seaze on him at his pleasure. No sooner was this persuaded than performed: for enuie, that is neuer idle, could not sleepe in his wrath, or over-slip the least opportunitie, till hee had scene the confusion of his enemie. Alas,goodly Creature, that thou mightest no longer liue. What auailleth thy gentlenes, thy prowesse, or the plentifull pasture wherein thou wert fed; since malice triumphs over all thou commandest? Well may the Mule rise vp in armes, and the Asse bray at the Authors of thy death: yet shall their furie be fatall to themselues, before it take hold on these Traitours. What needeth more words? the deuourer feedes on his captiue, and is gorged with bloud. But as auarice and crueltie are euermore thirstie, so far’d it with this hungrie Vsurper: for hauing flesht his ambition with this treacherous conquest, he past along through a groue, where a Heard of Deare weare a ranging; whom, when he had stedfastly surueyed from the fattest to the leanest, he singled out one of the fairest of the company, with whom he meant to close vp his stomack in stead of cheese: but because the Wood-men were euer stirring thereabout, and it was not possible for one of his coate to com-mit such outrage undescried, and that, if he were espyed, his life were in perill, though not with the Lyon, whose eyes he could blinde as hee list, yet with the lesser sort of the brutish Comminaltie, whome no flatterie might pacifie.

4 New par. 92c &c. Run on in 92AB. 9 hee [could] come Gro. 15 thy 95. 15 the] thy 95. 18 bray] pray 93, 95. 23 flesh 24 a long 92c, 93.
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

Therefore, he determined slylie and priuilie to poysone the streame where this iolly Forrester wonted to drinke; and as he determined, so he did: whereby it fell out, that when the Sunne was ascended to his height, and all the nimble 5 Cittizens of the Wood betooke them to their Laire, this youthfull Lorde of the Lawnds, all fainte and malecontent (as prophecying his neere approching mishap by his languishing) with a lazie, wallowing pace, strayed aside from the rest of his fellowship, and betooke him all carelessly to the corrupted fountaine that was prepared for his Funerall.

Ah, woe is me, this poysone is pittilesse. What neede I saye more, since you know it is death with whome it encounters? And | yet cannot all this expence of life set 15 a period to insatiable Murther: but still it hath some Anuile to worke vppon, and ouer-casts all opposite prosperitie, that may any waye shadow his glorie.

Too long it were to rehearse all the practises of this saugadje blood-hunter: how he assailed the Vnicorune as he slept in his den, and tore the heart out of his breast ere he could awake: how hee made the lesser beasts lye in wayte one for the other, and the Crocodile to coape with the Basiliske, that when they had enterchangeably weakened each other, he might come and insult ouer them both as hee list. But these were lesser matters, which daily vse had worn out of mens mouthes, and he himselfe had so customable practised, that often exercise had quite abrogated the opinion of sinne, and impudencie throughlie confirmed an undaunted defiance of vertue in his face. Yet 25 newfangled lust, that in time is wearie of welfare, and will bee as soone cloyed with too much ease and delicacie, as Pouertie with labour and scarcitie, at length brought him out of loue with this greedy, bestiall humour; and nowe hee affected a milder varietie in his dyet: hee had bethought 30 him what a pleasant thing it was to cate nothing but honie...
another while, and what great store of it there was in that Countrey.

Nowe did hee cast in his head, that if hee might bring the Husbandmen of the soyle in opinion that they might buie honey cheaper than beeing at such charges in keeping 5 of Bees, or that those Bees which they kept were most of them Drones, and what should such idle Drones doe with such stately Hyues, or lye sucking at such pretious Honny-combes; that if they were tooke awaye from them, and distributed equally abroade, they would releuee a great 10 many of painfull labourers that had neede of them, and would continually liue serviceable at theyr command, if they might enioy such a benefite. Naye more, let them giue Waspes but onely the waxe, and dispose of the honie as they thinke good, and they shall humme and buzz 15 a thousand times lowder than they, and haue the hiue fuller at the yeares ende (with young ones, I meane) than the Bees are woont in ten yeere.

To broach this deuice, the Foxe was addrest like a shep- 
G 4" heards | dogge, and promist to haue his Pattent seald, to 20 be the Kings Poulterer for euer, if he could bring it to passe. Faith, quoth he, and Ile put it in a venter, let it hap how it wil. With that he grew in league with an old Camelion, that could put on all shapes, and imitate any colour, as occasion serued, and him he addrest, sometime 25 like an Ape to make sport, and then like a Crocodile to weep, sometime like a Serpent to sting, and by and by like a Spaniell to fawne, that with these sundrie formes, (applyde to mens variable humors) he might perswade the world he ment as he spake, and onely intended their good, when he 30 thought nothing lesse. In this disguise, these two deceiuers went vp and downe, and did much harme vnder the habite of Simplicity, making the poore silly Swaines beleue they were cunning Phisitions, and well seen in all Cures, that they could heale any maladie, though neuer so daungerous, 35 and restore a man to life that had beene dead two daies,
onely by breathing vpon him: aboue all things they persuaded them, that the honny that their Bees brought forth was poysenous and corrupt, by reason that those floures and hearbs, out of which it was gathered and exhaled, were subject to the infection of euery Spider and venimous Canker, and not a loathsome Toade (how detestable soeuer) but reposde himselfe vnder theyr shadow, and lay sucking at their rootes continually: wheras in other Countries, no noisome or poisnous creature might liue, by reason of the imputed goodnes of the Soyle, or carefull diligence of the Gardners aboue ours, as for example, Scotland, Denmarke, and some more pure partes of the seauenteene Prouinces.

These persuasions made the good honest Husbandmen to pause, and mistrust their owne wits very much, in nourishing such dangerous Animals, but* yet, I know not how antiquitie and custome so ouer-rulde their feare, that vnuigus none would resolue to abandon them on the sodaine, till they sawe a further inconuenience: whereby my two cunning Philosophers were driuen to studie Galen anew, and secke out splenatiue simples, to purge their popular Patients of the opinion of their olde Traditions and Customs: which, howe they wrought with the most parte that had least wit, it were a world to tell. For now nothing was Canonical but what they spake, no man would conuerse with his wife but | first askt their aduise, nor pare his nailes, nor cut his beard, without their prescription: so senceles, so wauering is the light vnconstant multitude, that will daunce after euerie mans pipe; and sooner prefer a blind harper that can squeake out a new horne-pipe, than Alcinous or Apollos varietie, that imitates the right straines of the Doryan melodie. I speake this to amplifie the nouell folly of the hedlong vulgar, that making their eyes and eares vassailes to the legerdemaine of these iugling Mounte...
sentlie drawne to conteyne Art and experience, in comparsion of the ignorance of a number of audatious idiots. The Fox can tell a faire tale, and couers all his knauerie vnder conscience, and the Camelion can addresse himself like an Angell whensoever he is disposed to worke mischefe by myracles: but yet in the end, their secret drifts are laide open, and \textit{Linceus} eyes, that see through stone walles, haue made a passage into the close couerture of their hypocrisie.

For one daie, as these two Deuisers were plotting by themselues how to driue all the Bees from their Honny combs, by putting wormwood in their Hyues, and strewing Henbane and Rue in euery place where they resort: a Flye that past by, and heard all their talke, stomaking the Foxe of olde, for that he had murdred so many of his kindred with his flail-driuing tail, went presentlie and buz'd in \textit{Linceus} eares the whole purport of their malice; who awaking his hundred eies at these vnexpected tidings gan persue them wheresoever they went, and trace their intents as they proceeded into action, so that ere half their baits were cast forth, they were apprehended and imprisoned, and all their whole counsaile detected. But long ere this, the Beare, impatient of delaies, and consumed with an inward greife in himselfe, that hee might not haue his will of a fat Hind that outran him, he went into the woods all melancholie, and there died for pure anger: leaving the Foxe and the Camelion to the destinie of their desert, and mercie of their Judges. How they scapte I know not, but some saie they were hanged, and so weele leaue them.

How likenest thou of my tale, friend \textit{Persie}? Haue I not described a right earthly Diuell vnto thee, in the discourse of this bloodie minded Beare? Or canst thou not attract the true image of hypocrisie, vnder the description of the Fox and the Camelion?

Yes, very well (quoth I); but I would gladly haue you
Syppllication to the Diuell

returne to your first subiect, since you haue mooued doubts in my mind, which you haue not yet discust.

Of the sundrie opinions of the Diuell, thou meanest, and them that imagin him to haue no existence, of which sort are they that first inuented the prouerbe, Homo homini Daemon: meaning thereby, that that power which we call the Diuill, and the ministering Spirits belonging to him and to his kingdom, are tales and fables, and meere bugge-beares to scarre boies: and that there is no such essence at all, but only it is a terme of large content, describing the rancor, grudg, and bad dealing of one man toward another: as, namely, when one friend talkes with another subtilly, and seeks to dieu into his commoditie, that he may deprie him of it craftelie; when the sonne seeks the death of the father, that he maie be infeoffed in his welth: and the step-dame goes about to make awaie her sonne-in-law, that her children may inherit: when brothers fall at iarres for por- tions, and shall, by open murther or priuie conspiracie, attempt the confusion of each other, only to ioine house to house, and vnite two Liuelihoods in one: when the servuant shall rob his master, and Men put in trust start away from their oathes and vowes, they care not how.

In such cases and manie more, may one man be said to be a diuell to another, and this is the second opinion. The third is that of Plato, who not onely affirmeth that there are diuels, but deuided them into three sorts, euery one a degree of dignitie aboue the other; the first are those whose bodies are compact of the purest aire Ele- ment, combined with such transparant threeds, that neither they doo partake so much fire as should make them visible to sight, or haue anie such affinitie with the earth, as they are able to be prest or toucht; and these he setteth in the hiest incomprehensible degree of heauen. The second, he maketh these whom Apuleius doth call reasonable creatures,
passive in mind and eternall in time, being those *Apostata* spirits that rebelled with *Belzebub*: whose bodies, before their fall, were bright and pure all like to the former; but, after their transgression, they were obscured with a thick, ayrie matter, & euer after assigned to darknes. The third, he attributes to those men that, by some | diuine knowledge or understanding, seeming to aspire aboue mortalitie, are called *Dæmona*, (that is) *Gods*: for this word *Dæmon* contayneth either, and *Homer* in every place doth vse it both for that omnipotent power that was before al things, and the euill spirit that leadeth men to error: so doth *Syrianus* testifie, that *Plato* was called *Dæmon*, because he disputed of deepe Common-welth matters, greatly auail-able to the benefite of his Countrye; and also *Aristotle* because he wrote at large of all things subiect to moouing and sence. Then belike (quoth I) you make this word *Dæmon*, a capeable name of Gods, of men, and of diuels, which is farre distant from the scope of my demand: for I doo onlie inquire of the diuel, as this common appellation of the Diuel signifieth a malignant spirit, enimie to man-kind, and a hater of God and all goodnes. Those are the second kinde, said he, usuallie termed detractors or accusers, that are in knowledge infinit, insomuch as, by the quicknes of their wits and agreeable mixtures of the Elements, they so comprehend those seminarie vertues to men vnknown, that those thinges which, in course of time or by growing degrees, Nature of it selfe can effect, they, by their Art and skill in hastening the works of nature, can contriuue and compas in a moment: as the Magitians of *Pharao*, who, wheras nature, not without some interposition of time and ordinarie causes of conception, brings forth frogs, serpents, or any liuing thing else, they, without all such distance of space, or circum-scription of season, euen in a thought, as soon as their K. commanded, couered the land of *Aegypt* with this

5 ayrie] fiery 92AB. 9 contayueth 92C. 13 disputed 92C. 14 also] om. 92AB. 27–8 effect. They Q. 34 assoon 92BC, 93. 35 King 92AB.
monstrous increase. Of the originall of vs spirits, the scripture most amplie maketh mention, namelie, that *Lucifer* (before his fall) an Archangel, was a cleer bodie, compact of the purest and brightest of the aire, but after his fall he was vailed with a grosser substance, and tooke a new forme of darke and thick ayre, which he still reteineth. Neither did he onlie fall, when he stroue with *Michael*, but drew a number of Aungels to his faction; who joint partakers of his proud reuolt, were likewise partakers of his punishmente, and all thrust out of heauen together by one judgement: who euer since do nothing but wander about the Earth, and tempt and inforce fraile men to enterprise all wickednesse that maie be, and commit | most horrible and abominable things against God. Maruell not that I discouer so much of our estate vnto thee: for the scripture hath more than I mention, as S. Peter, where he saith that *God spared not his Angels that sinned*: and in another place, where he saith that they are bound with the chaines of darknes, and throwne headlong into hell: which is not meant of anie locall place in the earth, or vnder the waters; for, as Austin affirmeth, we doo inhabite the Region vnder the moone, and haue the thick aire assigned vs as a prison, from whence we maie with small labour cast our nets where we list: yet are we not so at our disposition, but that we are still commanded by *Lucifer* (although we are in number infinte), who retaining that pride wherewith he arrogantlie affected the maiestie of God, hath still his ministring Angels about him, whome he emploies in seuerall charges, to seduce and deceiue as him seemeth best: as those spirites which the Latines call *Ionios* and *Antemeridianos*, to speake out of Oracles, and make the people worship them as gods, when they are nothing but deluding Diuels that couet to haue a false Deitie ascribed vnto them, and

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3 Archangel] Angel 93, 95.  
18 sinned. And 92c &c.  
32 of the Oracles 93, 95.  
4 preest 92c.  
17 Saint 93, 95.  
23, as in a prison 93, 95.  
31 cals 93, 95.
Pierce Penilese His

drawe men vnto their loue by wonders & prodigies, that else would hate them deadlie, if they knew their male-volence and enuie. Such a monarchizing spirit it was that said to Christ, *If thou wilt fall downe and worship me, I wil give thee al the kingdoms of the earth:* and such a spirit it was that possest the Libian Sapho, and the Emperor Dioclesian, who thought it the blessedest thing that might be, to be called God. For the one being wearie of humane honour, and inspired with a supernaturall follie, taught little birds that were capable of speech, to pronounce distinctlie, *Magnus Deus Sapho;* that is to saie, *A great God is Sapho:* Which words, when they had learned readilie to caroll, & were perfect in their note, he let them flie at randome, that so dispersing themselues euerie where, they might induce the people to account of him as a God. The other was so arrogant, that he made his sujectes fall prostrate on their faces, and lifting vp their handes to him as to heauen, adore him as omnipotent.

The second kind of Deuils which he most imploith, are those Northerne *Marcij,* called the spirits of reuenge, & the authors of massacres, and seedesmen of mischiefe; for they haue com-mission to incense men to rapines, sacriledge, theft, murther, wrath, furie, and all manner of cruelties, and they commande certein of the Southern spirits (as slaues) to waite vpon them, as also great *Arioch,* that is tearmed the spirit of reuenge.

These know how to dissociate the loue of brethren, and to break wedlock bands with such violence, that they may not be vnited, and are predominant in manie other domisti-call mutinies: of whom, if thou list to heare more, read the 39. of *Ecclesiasticus.* The Prophet *Esay* maketh menteon of another Spirit, sent by God to the *Egyptians,* to make them straie and wander out of the way, that is to say, the Spirit of liing, which they call *Bolychym.* The Spirits that entice men to gluttonie and lust, are certaine watry spirits 35
of the West, and certaine Southerne spirits as Nefrach &
Kelen, which for the most part prosecute vnlawfull loues,
and cherish all vnnaturall desires: they wander through
lakes, fish ponds, and fennes, and overwhelme ships, cast
5 boates vpon ankers, and drowne men that are swimming:
therefore are they counted the most pestilent, troublesome,
and guilefull spirits that are: for by the helpe of Alrynach,
a Spiritie of the West, they will raise stormes, cause earth-
quaks, whirlwinds, raine, haile or snow in the clerest daie
that is: and if euer they appeare to anie man, they come
in womens apparell. The spirits of the aire will mix them-
selfes with thunder & lightening, and so infect the Clime
where they raise any tempest, that suddenlie great mortalitie
shall ensue to the inhabitants from the infectious
15 vapors which arise from their motions: of such S. John
maketh mention in the 9. of the Apocalips; their patron
is Mereris, whose beareth chiefe rule about the middle time
of the daie.

The spirits of the fire haue their mansions vnder the
20 regions of the Moon, that whatsoever is committed to
their charge they maie there execute, as in their proper
consistorie, from whense they cannot start. The spirites
of the earth keepe, for the most part, in Forrests and
woods, and doo hunters much noiance, & sometime in
25 the broade fieldes, where they lead travellers out of the
right waie, or fright men with deformed apparitions, or
make them run mad through excessive melancholie, lik
Aiax Telamonius, & so proue hurtfull to themselues, and
dangerous to others: of this number the chiefe are Samaab
30 and Achymael, spirits of the east, that haue no power to
do anie great harme, by reason of the vnconstancie of their
affections. The vnder-earth spirits are such as lurke in
dens & little cauerns of the earth, and hollow creuises of
mountaines, that they maie diue into the bowels of the

7 Alrynach 92AB, 93, 95. 14 to] of 95. 15 their] the 92, 95. 16] ninth 92AB, 95. 19 New par. Coll., Gro.
Run on in Q. 19-20 vnder regions 92C &c. 29 Samaab 92C, 95.
earth at their pleasure: these dig mettals and watch treasures, which they continuallie transport from place to place, that none should haue vse of them: they raise winds that vomit flames, and shake the foundation of buildings, they dance in rounds in pleasant launds and greene medowes, with noises of musicke and minstrelsie, & vanish awaie when anie comes neere them: they will take vpon them anie similitude but of a woman, and terrifie men in the likenesse of dead mens ghostes in the night time: and of this qualitie and condition the Necromancers hold Gaziel, Fegor, and Anarazel, Southern spirits, to be. Besides, there are yet remaining certeine lieng spirits, whoe (although all bee giuen to lie by nature) yet are they more prone to that vice than the rest, being named Pythonists, of whom Apollo comes to be called Pytheus: they haue a prince as well as other spirits, of whom mention is made in the 3. booke of kings, when he saith he will be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all Ahabs prophets: from which those spirits of iniquitie do little differ, which are called the vessels of wrath, that assist Belial (whom they interpret a spirit without yoke or controuluer) in all damnable deuises and inuentions. Plato reports them to be such as first deuised cards and dice, and I am in the mind, that the Monke was of the same order, that found out the vse of Gunpouder, and the engins of war therto belonging. Those that write of these matters call this Belial Chodar of the East, that hath all witches & conjurors spirits vnder his jurisdiction, & giues them leaue to helpe Iuglers in their tricks, & Simon Magus to doo miracles; alwaies prouided they bring a soule home to their Maister for his hire.

Yet are not these all, for there are spirits called spies & tale carriers, obedient to Ascaroth, whom the Greeks call Daimona, and S. Iohn, The accuser of the brethren:
also tempters, whoe for their interrupting vs in al our good actions are cald our euil Angels. Aboue all thinges they hate the light, and reioyce in darkenesse, disquieting men maliciouslie in the night, and somtimes hurt them by pinching them or blasting them as they sleep: but they are not so much to be dreaded as other spirits, bicause if a man speak to them, they flee awaie and will not abide. Such a spirit Plinius Secundus telleth of, that vsed to haunt a goodlie house in Athens that Athenodorus hired; and such another Suetonius describeth to haue long houered in Lamianus Garden, wher Caligula lay buried, who for bicause he was onlie couered with a few clods, and vnreuerentlie thrown amongst the weeds, he meruelouslie disturbed the owners of the garden, & woulde not let them rest in their beds, till by his Sisters, returned from banishment, he was taken vp, and intoombed solemnlie. Pausanias auoucheth (amongst other experiments) that a certain spirit called Zazilus doth feed vpon dead mens corses, that are not deeplie interred in the earth as they ought: which to confirme, there is a wonderfull accident set downe in the Danish history of Asuitus and Asmundus, who, being two famous friends (well knowne in those parts) vowed one to another, that which of them two out liued the other, should be buried aliue with his friende that first died. In short space Asuitus fell sick and yeelded to nature: Asmundus, compelled by the oath of his friendship, tooke none but his horsse and his dog with him, and transported the dead bodie into a vast caue vnder the earth, & there determined (hauing victualed himselfe for a long time) to finish his daies in darknesse, and neuer depart from him that he loued so deerelie.

Thus shut vp and inclosed in the bowels of the earth, it hapenen Eritus, K. of Sweueland, to passe that waie with his armie, not full two months after; who comming
to the toomb of Asuitus, & suspecting it a place where tresure was hidden, caused his Pioners with their spades and mattockes to dig it vp: where vpon was discouered the lothesome bodie of Asmundus, all to besmeared with dead mens filth, & his visage most vglie and fearfull; which, imbrued with congeald blood and eaten & torn like a raw vlcer, made him so gastlie to behold, that all the beholders were afitried. He, seeing himselfe restord to light, and so manie amazd men stand about him, resolued their vnceynt perplexity in these terms. Why stand you astonisht at my vnusual deformities? when no liuing man conuerseth with the dead but is thus disfigured. But other causes haue effected this change in mee: for I know not what audacious spirit, sent by Gorgon from the deep, hath not onelie most rauenously deuoured my horse & my dog, but also hath laid his hungrie pawes vpon me, and, tering downe my cheekes as you see, hath likewise rent awaie one of mine eares. Hense is it that my mangled shape seems so monstrous, and my humane image obscured with gore in this wise. Yet scaped not this fell Harpie from me vnreuenged: for, as he assailde me, I raught his head from his shoulders, and sheathd my sword in his bodie. Haue spirits their visible bodies, saide I, that may be toucht, wounded, or pierst? Beleeue me, I neuer heard that in my life before this. Why, quoth he, although in their proper essence they are creatures incorporall, yet can they take on them the induments of anie liuing bodie what soeuer, & transform themselues into all kind of shapes, wherby they maie more easilie deceuie our shallow wits and senses. So testifies Basilius, that they can put on a material forme when they list. Socrates affirmeth that his Daemon did oftentimes talke with him, and that he saw him and felt him mane times. But Marcus Cher-
ronesius (a wonderfull discoverer of Diuels) writeth, that those bodies which they assume are distinguisht by no difference of sex, because they are simple, and the discernement of sex belongs to bodies compound: yet are they flexible, motive, and apt for any configuration; but not all of them alike; for the spirits of the Fire and Aire haue this power aboue the rest. The spirits of the water haue slow bodies resembling birdes & women, of which kind the Naiades & Nereieds are much celebrated amongst Poets. Neuerthelesse, how euer they are restrained to their seuerall similitudes, it is certeine that all of them desire no forme or figure so muche, as the likenesse of a man, and doo thinke themselves in heauen when they are insooft in that hue: wherefore I know no other reason but this, that man is the neerest representation to God, insomuch as the scripture saith, He made man after his own likeness and image; and they affecting, by reason of their pride, to be as like God as they may, contend most seriouslye to shroud themselves under that habit.

But, I pray, tell me this, whether are there (as Porphirius holdeth) good Spirits as well as euill? Naie, certeinlie (quoth he) we are all euill, let Porphirius, Proclus, Apuleius, or the Platonists dispute to the contrarie as long as they will: which I will confirm to thy capacitie by the names that are euery wher giuen vs in the Scripture; for the diuell, which is the Sumnum genus to vs all, is called Diabolus, quasi deorsum ruens, that is to say, falling downward, as he that aspiring too high, was thrown from the top of felicite to the lowest pit of despaire; and sathan, that is to saie, an Aduersarie, who, for the corruption of his malice, opposeth himselfe euery against God, whoe is the chieuest good. In Iob, Behemoth and Leviathan; and in the 9. of the Apocalips, Apolyon, that is to saie, a Subuerter; because the foundation of those vertues, which our high Maker hath planted in our soules, he undermineth and subuertheth. A serpent for his poisoning, a Lyon for his

10 Poete 92C. 20 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 36 pojsoning 92C.
deououring; a furnace, for that by his malice the Elect are tried, who are vessels of wrath and saluation. In *Esay*, a Syren, a Lamia, a Scrich-oule, an Estridge. In the Psalms, an Adder, a Basiliske, a Dragon. And lastlie, in the Gospell, Mammon, Prince of this world, and the Gouernour of darknes: so that, by the whole course of condemning names that are giuen vs, and no one instance of anie faouourable tytle bestowed vpon vs, I positiuely set downe that all spirits are euill. Now, whereas the Diuines attribute vnto vs these good and euill spirits, the good to guide vs from euil, and the euill to draw vs from goodnesse, they are not called spirits, but Angels, of which sort was Raphaell, the good Angell of Tobias, who exilde the euill spirit Asmodius into the desart of Aegypt, that he might be the more secure from his temptation. Since we haue entred thus far into the diuels commonwealth, I beseech you certifie me thus much, whether haue they power to hurt granted them from God, or from themselues; can they hurt as much as they wil? Not so, quoth hee, for although that diuels be most mightie spirites, yet can they not hurt but permissiuely, or by some speciall dispensation: as when a man is fain into the state of an out-law, the Law dispenseth with them that kill him, & the Prince excludes him from the protection of a subject, so, when a man is a relaps from GOD and his Lawes, God withdrawes his prouidence from watching ouer him, and authoriseth the deuil, as his instrument, to assault him and torment him, so that whatsoever he dooth, is *Limitata potestate*, as one saith; insomuch as a haire cannot fall from our heads, without the will of our heauenlie Father.

The Diuell could not deceiue *Achabs* prophets til he was licensed by God, nor exercise his tyranie ouer *Iob*, till he had giuen him commission, nor enter into the heard of swine, til Christ bad them goe. Therefore need you not

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10 these] there 93, 95. 15 Since ...] New par. Coll. 19 Not so] No 95. that] the 95. 23 kils 92A. 27 assault and 95. 29 heads, c.w. 31 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q.
SUPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

feare the diuell any whit, as long as you are in the fauor of God, who raineth him so straight, that except he let him loose he can doo nothing. This manlike proportion which I now retaine, is but a thinge of suffrancce, granted vnto me to plague such men as hunt after strife, and are delighted with variance. It may be so very well, but whether haue you that skill to foretell thinges to come, that is ascribed vnto you? We haue (quoth he) sometimes: not that we are priuie to the eternall counsell of god, but for that by the sense of our ayrie bodies, we haue a more refined faculty of forseeing, than men possibly can haue, that are chained to such heauie earthlie moulder; or else for that by the incomparable pernicitie of those ayrie bodies, we not onely out-strip the swiftnes of men, beasts & birds, whereby we may be able to attain to the knowledge of thinges sooner than those that by the dulnes of their earthlie sense come a great waie behind vs. Hervnto may we adioine our long experience in the course of things from the begining of the world, which men want, and, therfore, cannot haue that deepe coniecture that we haue. Nor is our knowledge any more than coniecture: for pre-science only belongeth to God, & that gesse that we haue, proceedeth from the compared disposition of heauenly and earthlie bodies, by whose long obserued temperature we doo diuine manie times as it happens; & therefore doo we take vpon vs to prophecy, that we may purchase estimation to our names, and bringe men in admiration with that we doo, and so be counted for Gods. The myracles wee work are partly contriued by illusion, and partly assisted by that supernatural skil we haue in the experience of nature aboue all other Creatures. But against these illusions of your subtletie & vain terrors you inflict, what is our cheefe refuge? I shall be accounted a foolish Diuell anon, if I bewray the secretes of our kingdome, as I haue begun: yet speak I no more than learned Clarkes haue written, and asmuch as they haue set downe will I shew thee.

3 man like 92c, 95. 13 incomparable 92bc. 27 into 95. 32 is your 95.
Origin, in his treatise against Celsus, saith, there is nothing better for him than that is vexed with spirites, then the naming of Iesu, the true God, for he auoucheth, he hath seen divers driven out of mens bodies by that means. Athanasius in his booke De variis questionibus saith, The presentest remedie against the invasion of euill spirits, is the beginning of the 67. Psalme, Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici eius. Cyprian counsels men to adiure spirites only by the name of the true God. Some hold that fire is a preseruatiue for this purpose, because when any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little go out, as it were of their own accord, and the tapers are by degrees extinguisht. Others by inuocating vpon God, by the name of Vehiculum ignis superioris, and often rehearsing the Articles of our faith. A third sort are perswaded that the brandishing of swords is good for this purpose, because Homer faineth, that Vlisses, sacrificing to his mother, wafted his sworde in the aire to chase the spirits from the blood of the sacrifice. And Sybylla, conducting Aeneas to hell, begins hir charmes in this sort.

Procul O, procul este, prophani: Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum.

Philostratus reporteth, that he and his companions meeting that Diuell which Artistes entitle Apoloniæus, as they came one night from banquetting, with such terms as he is curst in holy writ, they made him run awaie howling. Manie in this case extoll perfume of Calamentum pxonia, Menta palma Christi, and Appius. A number prefer the carying of red Corrall about them, or of Arthemisia hypericon, Ruta verbena: and to this effect manie doo vse the iylingling of keyes, the sound of the harp, and the clashing of armor. Some of old time put great superstition in characters, curiously engraven in their Pentagonon, but they are all vaine, & will doo no good, if they be otherwise

1 New par. Coll., Gro. Run on in Q. 2 was vexed 95. than 92A. 3 they naming 93. 12 tapers] takers 95. 22 iuande 92B. in vande 92B, 93: in vande 95. 24 Diuells 93, 95.
SVPPLICATION TO THE DIVELL

vsed than as signes of covenant betwene the diuell and them. Nor doo I affirme all the rest to bee vnfallible prescriptions, though sometime they haue their vse: but that the onelie assured way to resist their attempts is prayer and faith, gainst which all the diuells in hell cannot preuaile. Inough, gentle spirit, I will importune thee no further, but commit this Supplication to thy care: which, if thou deliuer accordingly, thou shalt at thy returne haue more of my custome: for by that time I wil haue finished certain letters to diuers Orators & Poets, disperced in your dominions. That as occasion shal serue, but nowe I must take I 2e leuе of you, for it is Terme time, and I haue some busines. A Gentleman (a frend of mine, that I neuer saw before) staies for me, and is like to be vndoone if I come not in to beare witnesse on his side: wherefore Bazilez manus, till our next meeting.

Entle Reader, tandem aliquando I am at leasure to talke to thee. I dare say thou hast cald me a hundred times dolt for this senseles discourse: it is no matter, thou dost but as I haue doone by a number in my dayes. For who can abide a scurrie pedling Poet to plucke a man by the sleeue at euerie third step in Paules Churchyard, & when he comes in to seruey his wares, theres nothing but purgations and vomits wrapt vppe in wast paper. It were verie good the dog whipper in Paules would haue a care of this in his vnsauery visitation euerie Saterday; for it is dangerous for suche of the Queense liege people, as shall take a viewe of them fasting.

Looke to it, you Booksellers and Stationers, and let not your shops be infected with any such goose gyblets or stinking garbadge, as the Iygs of newsmongers, and especiallie such of you as frequent Westminster hall, let them be circumspect what dunghill papers they bring thither: for one bad pamphlet is enough to raise a damp that may poison a whole Tearme, or at the least a number

2 infallible 95. 3 haue] hade 93: had 95. 5 against 93, 95. 6 farther 92A. 8 thy] my 93; 95. 11 Thats 92A.
of poore Clyents, that haue no money to preuent ill aire by breaking their fasts ere they come thither. Not a base Inck-dropper, or scuruy plodder at Nouerint, but nailes his asses eares on euerie post, and comes off with long Circumquaque to the Gentlemen Readers, yea, the most excrementorie dishlickers of learning are growne so valiant in impudencie, that now they set vp their faces (like Turks) of gray paper, to be spat at for siluer games in Finsburie fields. Whilst I am thus talking, me thinks I heare one say, What a fop is this, he entitles his booke A Supplication to the Diuell, and doth nothing but raile on ideots, and tels a storie of the nature of Spirits. Haue patience, good sir, and weele come to you by and by. Is it my Title you find fault with? Why, haue you not seen a Towne sur-named by the principall house in the towne, or a Nobleman deriue his Baronrie from a little village where he hath least land? So fareth it by me in christning of my Booke. | But some will obiect, whereto tends this discourse of diuels, or how is it induced? Forsooth, if thou wilt needs know my reson, this it is. I bring Pierce Penilesse to question with the diuel, as a yoong nouice would talke with a great trauailer; who, carrieng an Englishmans appetite to enquire of news, will be sure to make what vse of him he maie, and not leaue anie thing vnaskt, that he can resolve him of. If then the diuell be tedious in discoursing, impute it to Pierce Penilesse that was importunate in demanding; or if I haue not made him so secret or subtill in his Art, as Diuels are woont, let that of Lactantius bee mine excuse, lib. 2. cap. 16. de Origenis errore, where he saith, the diuels haue no power to lie to a iust manne, and if they adiure them by the maiestie of the high God, they will not onlie confesse themselues to be Diuels, but also tell their names as they are. Deus bone, what a vaine am I fallen into? what, an Epistle to the

3 Inck-dropper 92A. nailes] vailes 92A. 5 Gentleman 92CB. yea] ye 93, 95. 6 dishlickers] dislikers 92A. 7 impudence 92AB. 8 spit 92, 95. 13 It is 93, 95. 18 discourse] discoverie 92AB. 19 you will 93, 95. 29 cap.] chap. 92B etc.
Readers in the end of thy booke? Out vppon thee for
an arrent blocke, where learndst thou that wit? O sir, 
holde your peace: a fellon neuer comes to his answere
before the offence be committed. Wherfore, if I in the
beginning of my Book should haue come off with a long
Apologie to excuse my selfe, it were all one as if a theefe,
going to steale a horse, should deuise by the waie as he
went, what to speake when he came at the gallows. Here
is a crosse waie, and I thinke it good heere to part. Far-
well, farewell, good Parenthesis, and commende mee to Ladie
Vanitie, thy mistres. Now, Pierce peniles, if for a parting
blow thou hast ere a tricke in thy budget more then
ordinarie, bee not daintie of it, for a good Patron will
pay for all. I, where is he? Promissis quilibet diues esse
Potest. But cap and thankes is all our Courtiers payment:
wherefore, I would counsell my frends to be more con-
siderate in their Dedications, and not cast away so many
months labour on a clown that knowes not how to vse
a Scholer: for what reason haue I to bestow any of my
wit vponhim, that wil best own one of his wealth vpon me?
Alas, it is easie for a goodlie tall fellow that shineth in
his silkes, to come and out face a poore simple Pedant
in a thred bare cloake, and tell him his booke is prety,
but at this time he is not prouided for him: marrie, about
twoe or three daies hence if he come that waie, his Page
shall say he is not within, or else he is so busie with my
L. How-call-ye-him, and my L. What-call-ye-him, that | he I 3\%
may not be spoken withall. These are the common
courses of the world, which euerie man priuatlie murmurs
at, but none dares openlie vpbraid, because all Artists
for the most part are base minded and like the Indians,
that haue store of gold & pretious stones at command,
yet are ignorant of their value, & therfore let the Spaniards,
the Englishmen and euerie one loade their ships with them without molestation. So they, enjoying and possessing the puritie of knowledge (a treasure farre richer than the Indian Mines), let euerie proude Thraso be partaker of their perfections, repaieng them no profit; and gylde him-selfe with the titles they giue him, when he wil scarce returne them a good word for their labor: giue an Ape but a nut, & he will look your head for it; or a dog a bone, and hele wag his taile: but giue me one of my yoong Maisters a booke, and he will put of his hat & blush, and so go his waie.

Yes, now I remember me, I lie; for I know him that had thanks for three yeares worke, and a gentleman that bestowed much cost in refining of musicke, and had scarce Fidlers wages for his labor. We want an Aretine here among vs, that might strip these golden asses out of their gaie trappings, and after he had ridden them to death with railing, leave them on the dunghill for carion. But I will write to his ghost by my carrier, and I hope hele repaire his whip, and vse it against our English Peacockes, that painting themselues with church spoils, like mightie mens sepulchers, haue nothing but Atheisme, schisme, hypocrisie, & vainglory, like rotten bones lie lurking within them. O how my soule abhors these buckram giants, that hauing an outwarde face of honor set vpon them by flatterers and parasites, haue their inward thoughtes stuff with strawe and feathers, if they were narrowelie sifted.

Far be it, bright stars of Nobilitie, and glistring attendants on the true Diana, that this my speech shoulde be anie way injurious to your glorious magnificence: for in you liue those sparks of Augustus liberalitie, that neuer sent anie awaie emptie; & Science seauenfold throne, well nigh ruined by ryot and auarice, is mightilie supported by your plentifull larges, which makes Poets to sing such
goodlie himnes of your praise, as no enuious posteritie may
forget. But from generall fame, let me digres to my
private experience, and with a toong vnworthy to | name I 4
a name of such worthines, affectionatelic emblason to the
eyes that woonder, the matchlesse image of Honor, and
magnificent rewarder of vertue, Ioues Eagle-borne Ganimede,
thrice noble Amyntas. In whose high spirit, such a Deitie
of wisdom appeereth, that if Homer were to write his
Odisssea new (where, vnder the person of Vlysses, he
describeth a singular man of perfection, in whom all orna-
ments both of peace and warre are assembled in the height
of their excelence), he need no other instance to augment his
concept, than the rare carriage of his honorable minde.
Manye writers and good wits are giuen to commend their
patrons and Benefactors, some for prowess, some for
policie, others for the glorie of their Ancestrie and exceed-
ing bountie and liberalitie: but if my vnable pen should
eruer enterprise such a continuate taske of praise, I woulde
embowell a number of those wind puft bladders, and dis-
furnish their bald-pates of the periwigs Poets haue lent
them, that so I might restore glorie to his right inheritance,
and these stoln Titles to their true owners: which, if it
would so fall out (as time maie worke all thinges), the aspiring
nettles, with their shadie toppes, shal no longer over-
dreep the best hearbs, or keep them from the smiling aspect
of the Sunn, that liue & thrive by his comfortable beames;
none but Desert should sit in Fames grace, none but
Hector be remembred in the chronicles of Prowesse, none
but thou, most curteous Amyntas, be the second misticall
argument of the knight of the Red-crosse.

Oh decus atque xui gloria summa tui.

And heere (heauenlie Spencer) I am most highlie to
acuse thee of forgetfulness, that in that honourable catalogue
of our English Heroes, which insueth the conclusion of thy

5 eyes of wonder 92A. 12 excellencie 93, 95. instance 92C.
23 world 92BC. 26 his] om. 92A. beames] heauines 95. 29
misticall] musicall 92A.
famous Fairie Queene, thou wouldst let so speciall a piller of Nobilitie passe vnsaluted. The verie thought of his far deriued discent, & extraordinarie parts, wherewith he astonieth the world, and drawes all harts to his loue, would haue inspired thy foreweared Muse with new furie to pro-ceede to the next triumphs of thy statelie Goddesse: but as I, in fayvor of so rare a scholler, suppose, with this counsell he refrained his mention in this first part, that he might with full saile proceed to his due commendations in the second. Of this occasion long since I happened to frame a son-net, which, being wholie intended to the reuerence of this renowned Lord (to whom I owe all the vtmoste powers of my loue and dutie), I meante heere for variety of stile to insert.

Perusing yesternight, with idle eyes,
The Fairy Singers stately tuned verse,
And viewing after Chap-mens wonted guise,
What strange contents the title did rehearse;
I straignt leapt ouer to the latter end,
Where like the queint Comedians of our time,
That when their Play is done do fal to ryme,
I found short lines, to sundry Nobles pend;
Whom he as speciall Mirrours singled fourth,
To be the Patrons of his Poetry:
I read them all, and reuerenc't their worth,
Yet wondred he left out thy memory.
But therefore gest I he supprest thy name,
Because few words might not cöprise thy fame.

Beare with me gentle Poet, though I conceive not aright of thy purpose, or be too inquisitiue into the intent of thy obliuion: for, how euer my coniecture may misse the cushion, yet shal my speech sauour of friendship, though it be not aliad to judgement.

Tantum hoc molior, in this short digression, to acquaint our countreymen that liue out of the Eccho of the Court,
with a common knowledge of his invaluables vertues, and shew my selfe thankfull (in some part) for benefits receiued: which since words may not counteruaile, that are the vsuall lip labour of euerie idle discourser, I conclude with that of

5 Ouid:

Accipe per longos tibi qui deserviat annos,
Accipe qui pura nouit amare fide.

And if my zeale and duty (though all to meane to please) may by any industrie be reformed to your gratious liking, 10 I submit the simplicitie of my indeuours to your seruice, which is, all my performance may profer, or my abilitie performe.

Præbeat Alcinoi poma benignus ager,
Officium pauper numeret studiumque fidelique.

15 And so I breake off this endlesse argument of speech abruptlie.

FINIS.

13 begunningus 92v. 17 For colophon in 95 see Introductory Note.
STRANGE NEWES OF THE INTERCEPTING CERTAINE LETTERS

Entry in the Stationers' Register:

xijº die Januarij [1592-3]
John Danter Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]ande of master Styrrop, a booke intituled The Apologie of Pierce Pennylesse or strange newes of the intercepting certen letters, and a convoy of verses as they were going to victuall the Lowe Cuntries. . . . vjd S./
(S. R., ed. Arber, II. 624.)

Editions: (1) Early:

1592 (A). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-|ing certaine Letters, and a Con-|uoy of Verses, as they were going Priu|lie to | victuall the Low Countries. | Vnda im|pellitur vnda. | By Tho. Nashe Gentleman. | [ornament] | Printed 1592.

No colophon. Octavo. Not paged.


Signatures in Roman except A 2, A 3, G 3, which are in Italic. The figure 2 of D 2 is inverted. Fourth leaves not signed.

I have not seen a copy of this edition. It is the one from which Collier printed and appears to be a reissue of the first with a new title-page and a substituted passage in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie.' With the exception of the imprint, Collier's title-page corresponds in wording to that of -92A, but reads, 'the victuall for to victuall.'

1593 (A). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-|ing certaine Letters, and a Con-|uoy of Verfes, as they were going Priuilie to | victuall the Low Countries. | Vnda impellitur vnda. | By Tho. Nashe, Gentleman. | [device] | Printed at London by John Danter, dwelling in | Hosier-Lane neere Holburne | Conduit, 1593. (From Grosart's reprint of the copy in the Huth Library.)

I have not seen this. It appears to be a reissue of -92B, with a new title-page, or perhaps merely new date. Huth Cat. has 'Nashe Gentleman.'

1593 (B). Strange Newes, | Of the intercept-|ing certaine Letters, and a Con-|uoy of Verfes, as they were going Priuilie to | victuall the Low Countries. | Vnda impellitur vnda. | By Tho. Nashe Gentleman. | [device: Danter's, with motto 'Aut nunc aut nunquam.'] | Printed at London by John Danter, dwelling in | Hosier-Lane neere Holburne | Conduit, 1593. (From the facsimile in 'Catalogue of Original and Early Editions of some of the Poetical and Prose Works of English Writers. . . .' Grolier Club, New York, 1893, page 165.)

The description given is as follows: 'Quarto. Second edition. Collation: One leaf without signature; B-M2, in fours. Title . . . one leaf. On the verso of the title begins the epistle "To the Gentlemen.'
INTERCEPTING CERTAINE LETTERS

Readers,” which ends on B 3 (verso blank). The work, B 4–M 2; on the verso, a sonnet and “Obseruations for the Readers of this booke.”

If this is correct, and the book has a reputation for accuracy, the preliminary matter must differ from that of any other edition known to me in not having the dedication ‘To the most copious Carminist . . .’, and in having the first page of the Epistle ‘To the Gentlemen Readers’ on the verso of the title, instead of on (A 4)v as in earlier editions, or on (? 2)v as in –93c and –93p.

1593 (C). THE | Apologie of Pierce | Pennileffe. | OR | Strange Newes, Of the intercepting | certaine Letters, and a Conuoy of Verses, as they were | going Privilie to victuall the Lowe | Countries. | Vnda impellitur vnda. | ByTho. Nashe Gentleman. | [device as –93B] | Printed at London by John Danter, dwelling in Hosier | Lane neere Holburne Conduit, | 1593. |

No colophon. Octavo. Not paged.

Collation: Two leaves, unsigned or signatures cut off, B–L4, M2. (? Title. (?)v ‘To the most copious Carminist . . .’ Rom., Black Letter and Ital. R–T. (on (? 2)) THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE. Ends on (? 2) with the word ‘frangas,’ the signature of Nashe, if any, being cut off. (? 2)v ‘To the Gentlemen. Readers.’ From B onwards this edition is identical with –92A.

Catch-words: Those of (?v) and (? 2) are cut off in the copies seen, if there ever were any. (? 2)v I Rest as in –92A.

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 721).

1593 (D). THE | Apologie of Pierce | Pennileffe. | OR | Strange Newes, . . . Printed at London by John Danter, and are to be folde | by William Barley, at his shop in Gratious-street | ouer againft Leaden-hall. | 1593. 

Except for the imprint, this is identical with –93c.

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 567).

(2) Modern Editions:


Edited by J. P. Collier from edition –92B.
250

1883-4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . .

From a copy of edition -93 in the Huth Library.

1903. (The present edition.)

From the copy of edition -92 in the British Museum (96. b. 16. (3).)
A copy of edition -93 in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 721) has been
collated for the preliminary matter.

**Note on the Editions**: 1

As stated above, I have only seen the first, fifth, and
sixth of these, but in the particular case this appears to be
of little importance, especially as two of the others have
been already printed from.

From sig. B, onwards, the sheets of -92, -93, and -93 are
identical, and we may, I think, fairly conclude the same to
have been the case in the intermediate editions. Collier's
and Grosart's reprints exhibit however a certain number of
minor variations, including in the case of the latter the
addition of a side-note on K 2. On the chance therefore
that these do really represent a different setting-up of type,
I have recorded all the variant readings in Grosart's text,
noting whether they occur, as the great majority do, in
Collier's also. Collier's other variants, which are numerous,
I have passed over in silence.

With regard to the preliminary matter on sheet A. As
will be seen from the text, in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of
-92 and later editions, a new paragraph replaces a some-
what libellous one which is found in -92. In -92 pages A 2
and A 2v appear, if we can trust the spelling of Collier's
text, to have been re-set, the rest of the introductory matter
perhaps not. Grosart's text appears to represent the same
setting-up as Collier's, indicating that for -93 no change
was made except that of the date on the title-page.

1 Certain of these 'editions' would, I doubt not, be more properly called
'issues,' but as I have not seen them all, I prefer to use a term the meaning of
which is not quite so fixed.
In -93\textsuperscript{b} the dedication was omitted and the first page of the epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' (originally A 4\textsuperscript{v}) was printed on the back of the title, reducing the preliminary matter to one leaf, or to one leaf preceded by a blank.

In -93\textsuperscript{c} and -93\textsuperscript{d} the dedication of -92\textsuperscript{b} 'To the most copious Carminist' is restored, being now printed in small characters on two pages instead of five, beginning on the back of the title and ending at the foot of (? 2). On (? 2)\textsuperscript{v} is the first page of the epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' in a different setting-up to that of -92\textsuperscript{a}, but identical in wording.

As the change in the dedication which has been already referred to seems less to resemble a voluntary correction than an enforced one, I have followed -92\textsuperscript{a}, believing that to represent what the author intended to write.
Strange Newes,
Of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Con-
toy of Verses, as they were going Primiie to
vistuall the Low Countries..

Unda impellitur vuida.

By Tho. Nase Gentleman.

Printed 1592.
To the most copious Carminist
of our time, and famous persecutor of Priscian, his
verie friend Maister Apis lapis: Tho. Nashe wish-
eth new strings to his old tawnie Purse, and
all honourable increase of acquain-
tance in the Cellar.

Gentle M. William, that learned writer Rhenish wine
& Sugar, in the first booke of his Comment vpon
Red-noses, hath this saying: veteran ferendo in-
10 iuriam inuitas nouam; which is as much in English as one
Cuppe of nipitaty puls on another. In moyst consideration
wherof, as also in zealous regard of that high countenance
you shew unto Schollers, I am bolde, in steade of new Wine,
to carowse to you a cuppe of newes: Which if your Worship
15 (according to your wonted Chaucerisme) shall accept in good
part, Ile bee your daily Orator to pray that that pure san-
guine complexion of yours may never be famisht with potte-
lucke, that you may tast till your last gaspe, and lieue to see
the confusion of both your speciall enemies, Small Beere and
10 Grammer rules.

It is not vknowne to report, what a famous pottle-pot
Patron you haue beene to olde Poets in your daies, & how
many pounds you haue spent (and, as it were, throwne into
the fire) vpon the durt of wisedome, called Alcumie: | Yea,
25 you haue beeone such an infinite Mecenas to learned men, that

\[23 \&c. In editions 92B \&c., for the passage 'Yea, you haue beeone ... red letters,' the following is substituted: Yea, you are such an infinite Mecenas to learned men, that there is not that morsell of meate they can carue you, but you will eate for their sakes, and accept very thankfully. Thinke not, though under correction of your boone companionship, I am disposed to be a little pleasant, I condemn you of any immoderation either in eating or drinking, for I know your governement and carriage to be every way Canonicall. Verily, verily, all poore Schollers acknowledge you as their patron, providitore, and supporter, for there cannot a threed-bare Cloake sooner peepe forth, but you strait presse it to be an outbrother of your bounty: three decayed Students you kept attending vpon you a long time. (Printed from 93C, where, however, it is in Roman.)\]
THE EPISTLE

not any that belong to them (as Sumners, and who not) but haue tasted of the coole streames of your liberalitie.

I would speake in commendation of your hospitalitie likewise, but that it is chronicled in the Archdeacon's Court, and the fruities it brought foorth (as I gesse) are of age to speake for themselves. Why should vertue bee smothered by blinde circumstance? An honest man of Saffron Walden kept three sonnes at the Vniuersitie together a long time; and you kept three maides together in your house a long time. A charitable deed, & worthie to be registred in red letters.

Shall I presume to dilate of the grauitie of your round cap, and your dudgen dagger? It is thought they will make you be cald vpon shortlie to be Alderman of the Stilliard. And thats well remembred; I heard saie, when this last Terme was remooued to Hartford, you fell into a great studie and care by your selfe, to what place the Stilliard should be remooued; I promise you trulie it was a deepe meditation, and such as might well haue beseemed Eldertons parliament of noses to haue sit vpon.

A Tauerne in London, onelie vpon the motion, mourned all in blacke, and forbare to girt hir temples with iuie, because the grandame of good fellowship was like to depart from amongst them. And I wonder verie much, that you sampsownd not your selfe into a consumption with the profound cogitation of it.

Diù viuas in amore iocísque, whatsoeuer you do, beware of keeping diet. Sloth is a sinne, and one sinne (as one poison) must be expelled with another. What can he doe better that hath nothing to do, than fal a drinking to keep him from idlenesse?

Fah, me thinks my ieasts begin alreadie to smell of the caske, with talking so much of this liquid provinder.

In earnest thus; There is a Doctor and his Fart that haue kept a foule stinking stirre in Paules Churchyard; I crie him mercie, I slandered him, he is scarce a Doctor till he hath done his Acts: this dodipoule, this didopper, this

3 among Coll., Gro.
professed poetical braggart, hath raild vpon me, without wit or art, in certaine foure penniworth of Letters and three farthing-worth of Sonnets; now do I meane to present him and Shakerley to the Queens foole-taker for coatch-horses:  
for two that draw more equallie in one Oratoriall yoke of vaine-glorie, there is not vnder heauen.  
What saie you, Maister Apis lapis, will you with your eloquence and credit shield me from carpers? Haue you anie odde shreds of Latine to make this letter-munger a cockscombe of?

It stands you in hande to arme your selfe against him; for he speaks against Connicatchers, and you are a Connicatcher, as Connicatching is divided into three parts; the Verser, the Setter, and the Barnacle.

A Setter I am sure you are not; for you are no Musitian: nor a Barnacle; for you never were of the order of the Barnardines: but the Verser I cannot acquite you of, for M. Vaux of Lambeth brings in sore evidence of a breakefast you wonne of him one morning at an unlawful game cald riming. What lies not in you to amend, plaie the Doctor and defend.

A fellow that I am to talke with by and by, being told that his Father was a Rope-maker, excused the matter after this sort; And hath neuer saint had reprobate to his Father?

They are his owne wordes, hee cannot goe from them. You see here hee makes a Reprobate and a Ropemaker, voces convertibiles. Go too, take example by him to wash out durt with inke, and run vp to the knees in the channell, if you bee once welshed. You are amongst graue Doctors, and men of judgement in both Lawes euery daie: I pray aske them the question in my absence, whether such a man as I haue describ’d this Epistler to be, one that hath a good handsome pickerdeuant, and a prettie leg to studie the Civill Law with, that hath made many proper rimes of the olde cut in his daies, and deserved infinitely of the state by extolling himselfe and his two brothers in euery booke he writes: whether (I saie) such a famous piller of the Presse, now in the fourteenth or
fifteenth yeare of the raigne of his Rhetorike, giuing mony to haue this his illiterat Pamphlet of Letters printed (wheras others haue monie giuen them to suffer them selues to come in Print) it is not to bee counted as flat simonie, and be liable to one and the same penaltie?

I tell you, I meane to trounce him after twentie in the hundred, and haue a bout with him with two staues and a pike for this geare.

If he get any thing by the bargaine, lette what soeuer I write hence-forward bee condemned to wrappe bumbast in. Carouse to me good lucke, for I am resolutely bent; the best bloud of the brothers shall pledge me in vineger. O would thou hadst a quaffing boule, which, like Gawens scull, should containe a pecke, that thou mightst swappe off a hartie draught to the successe of this voyiage.

By what soeuer thy visage holdeth most pretious I beseech thee, by Iohn Dauies soule and the blew Bore in the Spittle A 4 I conjure thee, to draw out thy purse, and giue me | nothing for the dedication of my Pamphlet.

Thou art a good fellow I know, and hadst rather spend ieasts than monie. Let it be the taske of thy best tearmes, to safeconduct this booke through the enemies countrey.

Procede to cherish thy surpassing carminicall arte of memorie with full cuppes (as thou dost): let Chaucer bee new scourd against the day of battaile, and Terence come but in nowe and then with the snuffe of a sentence, and Dictum puta, Weele strike it as dead as a doore naile; Haud teruntij estimo, We haue cattes meate and dogges meate inough for these mungrels. However I write merrilie, I loue and admire thy pleasant wittie humor, which no care or crosse can make unconuersable. Stil be constant to thy content, loue poetry, hate pedantisme. Vade, vale, caue ne titubes, mandatæq; frangas.

Thine intirely,
Tho. Nashe. | 35
To the Gentlemen

Readers.

Gentlemen, the strong fayth you haue conceiued, that I would do workes of supererrogation in answering the Doctor, hath made mee breake my daye with other important busines I had, and stand darting of quils a while like the Porpentine.

I know there want not welwillers to my disgrace, who say my onely Muse is contention; and other, that with Tiberius Cæsar pretending to see in the darke, talke of strange objectes by them discouered in the night, when in truth they are nothing else but the glimmering of their eies.

I will not holde the candle to the Deuill, vnmaske my holiday Muse to enuie; but if any such deepe insignted detracter will challenge mee to whatsoeuer quiet aduenture of Art, wherein he thinkes mee least conuersant, hee shall finde that I am Tam Mercurio quàm Marti, a Scholler in some thing else but contention.

If idle wittes will needes tye knottes on smooth bulrushes with their tongues, faith, the worlde might thinke I had little to attend, if I should goe about to vnloose them with my penne.

I cannot tell how it comes to passe, but in these ill eide daies of ours, euery man delights with Ixion to beget children of clouds, digge for Pearles in dunghils, and wrest oyle out of iron.

Poore Pierce Pennilesse haue they turnd to a conjuring booke, for there is not that line in it, with which they doo not seeke to raise vp a Ghost, and, like the hog that converte the sixth part of his meate into bristels, so haue they converte sixe parts of my booke into bitternes.

Aretine, in a Commedie of his, Wittily complaineth that
vpstart Commenters, with their Annotations and gloses, had extorted that sense and Morall out of Petrarch, which if Petrarch were alive, a hundred Strappadoes might not make him confesse or subscribe too; So may I complaine that rash heads, vpstart Interpreters, haue extorted & rakte that vnreuerent meaning out of my lines, which a thousand deaths cannot make mee ere grant that I dreamd off.

To them that are abused by their owne iealous collections and no determined trespasse of mine, this aduice, by the way of example, will I giue.

One comming to Doctour Perne on a time, and telling him hee was miserably raild on such a day in a Sermon at Saint Maries in Cambridge, I, but, quoth he (in his puling manner of speaking) did he name me, did he name me? I warrant you, goe and aske him, and hee will say hee meant not mee; So they that are vngroundedly offended at any thing in Pierce Pennilesse, first let them looke if I did name them; if not, but the matter hangeth in suspence, let them send to mee for my exposition, and not buy it at the seconde hand, and I doe not doubt but they will be throughly satisfied.

Hee that wraps himselfe in earth, like the Foxe, to catch birds, may haps haue a heauy cart go ouer him before he be aware, and breake his backe.

A number of Apes may get the glowworme in the night and thinke to kindle fire with it, because it glisters so, but, God wote, they are beguiled, it proues in the end to be but fools fire; the poore worme alone with their blowing is warmed, they starud for colde whiles their wood is vn-toucht. Who but a Foppe wil labour to anatomize a Flye? Fables were free for any bondman to speake in old time, as Æsope for an instance; their allusion was not restrained to any particular humor of spite, but generally applied to a generall vice. Now a man may not talke of a dog, but it is surmised he aimes at him that giueth the dog

in his Crest; hee cannot name straw, but hee must plucke
a wheate sheaffe in pieces, _Intelligendo faciunt ut nihil
intelligent._

What euer they be that thus persecute Art (as the
Alcumists are said to persecute Nature) I would wish
them to rebate the edge of their wit, and not grind their
colours so harde; hauing founde that which is blacke, let
them not, with our forenamed Gold-falsifiers, seeke for
a substance that is blacker than black, or angle for frogs
in a cleare fountaine.

From the admonition of these vncurteous misconsterers,
I come to _The kilcow champion of the three brethren_; he
forsooth wil be the first that shal giue _Pierce Penilesse
a non placet._

It is not inough that hee bepist his credite, about twelue
yeeres ago, with _Three proper and wittie familiar letters_,
but still he must be running on the _letter_, and abusing the
Queenes English without pittie or mercie.

Bee it knowne vnto you (Christian Readers) this man _B_
is a forestaller of the market of fame, an ingrosser of glorie,
a mountebancke of strange wordes, a meere marchant of
babies and conny-skins.

Hold vp thy hand, _G. H._, thou art heere indited for an
incrocher vpon the fee-simple of the Latin, an enemie to
Carriers, as one that takes their occupation out of their
hands, and dost nothing but transport letters vp and
downe in thy owne commendation, a conspiratour and
practiser to make Printers rich, by making thy selfe
ridiculous, a manifest briber of Bookesellers and Stationers,
to helpe thee to sell away thy bookes (whose impression
thou paidst for) that thou mayst haue money to goe home
to Trinitie Hall to discharge thy commons.

I say no more but Lord haue mercie vpon thee, for thou
art falne into his hands that will plague thee.

Gentlemen, will you be instructed in the quarrell that
hath causd him lay about him with his penne and incke-horne so courageously? About two yeeres since (a fatall time to familiar Epistles) a certayne Theologicall gim-panado, a demie diuine, no higher than a Tailors pressing iron, brother to this huge booke-beare, that writes himselfe 5 One of the Emperour Iustinians Courtiers, tooke vpon him to set his foote to mine, and ouer-crow mee with comparatiue tearmes. I protest I neuer turnd vp any cowsheard to looke for this scarabe flye. I had no conceit as then of discovering a breed of fooles in the three brothers bookes: marry, when I beheld ordinance planted on edge of the pulpit against me, & that there was no remedy but the blind Vicar would needs let flie at me with his Churchdore keies, & curse me with bel, book, and B candle, because in my Alphabet of Idiots I had | ouer- 15 skipt the Hs, what could I doe but draw vpon him with my penne, and defende my selfe with it and a paper buckler as well as I might?

Say I am as verie a Turke as hee that three yeere ago ranne vpon ropes, if euer I speld eyther his or anie 20 of his kindreds name in reproch, before hee barkt against mee as one of the enemies of the Lambe of God, and fetcht allusions out of the Buttery to debase mee.

Heere beginneth the fray. I vpbraid godly predication with his wicked conversation, I squirt inke into his decayed 25 eyes with iniquitie to mend their diseased sight, that they may a little better descend into my schollership and learning. The Ecclesiastical duns, in stead of recovery, waxeth starke blind thereby (as a preseruatiue to some, is poysen to others): hee gets an olde Fencer, his brother, to be 30 reuengd on me for my Phisicke; who, flourishing about my eares with his two hand sworde of Oratory and Poetry, peraduenture shakes some of the rust of it on my shoulders, but otherwise strikes mee not but with the shadowe of it, which is no more than a flappe with the false scabberd 35 of contumelie: whether am I in this case to arme my selfe against his intent of injurie, or sitte still with my
finger in my mouth, in hope to be one of simplicities martyrs?

A quest of honorable minded Caualiers go vpon it, and if they shall find by the Law of arme or of ale, that I,
5 being first prouktt, am to bee inioynde to the peace, or be sworne true seruant to cowardize & patience, when wrong presseth mee to the warres; then wil I bind my selfe prentise to a Cobler, and fresh vnderlay all those writings of mine that haue trodde awrie.

10 Be aduertised (gentle audience) that the Doctors pro-
ceedings haue thrust vpon me this sowterly Metaphor, who, first contriuing his confutation in a short Pamphlet of six leaues, like a paire of summer pumps, afterward (winter growing on) clapt a paire of double soales on it like a good husband, added eight sheets more, and prickt those sheets or soales, as full of the hob-nayles of reprehension as they could sticke.

It is not those his new clowted startops iwis, that shall carry him out of the durt.

15 Sweet Gentlemen, be but indifferent, and you shall see mee desperate. Heere lies my hatte, and there my cloake, to which I resemble my two Epistles, being the vpper garments of my booke, as the other of my body:

Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne

vpon him.

Tho. Nashe.
The foure Letters Confuted.

Gabriel, and not onely Gabriel, but Gabrielissime Gabriel, no Angell but ANGELOS, id est, Nuntius, a Fawneguest Messenger twixt Maister Bird and Maister Demetrius: Behold, here stands he that will make it good, on thy foure Letters bodie, that thou art a filthy vaine foole. Thy booke I commend; as very well printed: and like wondrous well, because all men dislike it.

I agree with thee that there are in it some matters of Note, for there are a great many barefoote rimes in it, that goe, as iumpe as a Fiddle with euery ballet-makers note: and if according to their manner, you had tun’d them ouer the head, it had beene nere the worse, for by that meanes you might haue had your name chaunted in euery corner of the streete, then the which there can be nothing more melodiouslie addoulce to your deuine Entelechy. O they would haue trowld off brauely to the tune of O man in Desperation, and, like Marenzos Madrigals, the mournefull note naturally haue affected the miserable Dittie.

Doe you knowe your owne misbegotten bodgery | Ente- B 4r lechy and addoulce? With these two Hermophrodite phrases, being halfe Latin and halfe English, hast thou puld out the very guts of the inkehorne.

Letters.

To all curteous mindes that will vouchsafe the reading.

Comment.

In their absence, this be deliuered to Megge Curtis in Shorditch, to stop mustard pots with.

4 Nuntius Q.
The particular Contents.

L. A Preface to courteous mindes.

C. As much to say as Preface, much good do it you, would it were better for you.

L. A Letter to M. Emanuel Demetrius, with a sonnet thereto annexed.

C. That is, as it were a purgation vpon a vomit, buskins vpon pantophles.

L. A Letter to M. Bird.

C. Or little matter wrapt vp in many words.

L. A Letter to euerie favorale and indifferent Reader.

C. Id est, An exhortation to all Readers, that they shall reade nothing but his works.

L. Another letter to the same, extorted after the rest.

C. By interpretation, a Letter whereof his inuention had a hard stoole, and yet it was for his ease, though not for his honestie: and so forth, as the Text shall direct you at large.
Heere beginneth the first Epistle and first Booke of Orator Gabriell to the Catilinaries or Philippicks.

Wherein is divulged, that venum is venum and will in-5
fect, that that which is done cannot (de facto) be vndone, that favour is a curteous Reader, and G. H. your thankfull debtor.

A Comment vpon the Text.

The learned Orator in this Epistle taketh precise order he will not be too eloquent, and yet it shall be (L,) as well for enditing unworthie to be published, as for publishing unworthie to be endited.

C. He had many aduersaries in those times that he wrote, amongst the which Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches (his fathers pouerty, and his owne pride, were none of the meanest).

After them start vp one Pierce Pennillesse, and hee likewise was a stumbling blocke in his way. (Penurie not long tarries after pride; pray all the ropes in Saffron Walden that I do not prophesie. Amen, Amen, quoth M. Bird and M. Demetrius.)

Hee forbeares to speake much in this place of the one or the other, because his letters are more forward to accuse them than their owne books to condemne them; yet for a touch by the way, hee talks that Greene is no liuerey for this winter, it is pitifully blasted and faded in euery Ciev meade, by the strong breath of his barbarisme.

Hee hath a twitch at Pierce Pennilesse too, at the parting stile, and tearms him the Devils Orator by profes-30 sion, and his Dames Poet by practise: wherein mee thinks (the surreuence of his works not impaired) he hath verie highly ouershotte himselfe: for no more is Pierce Penni-

prophesie,) Amen Q. 21 Demetrius. Q. 23 are [not] more Gro.
lesse to be cald the Deuils Orator for making a Supplication to the Deuill, than hee is to bee helde for a Rhethoritian, for setting fouth *Gabrielis Scuruei Rhetor*, wherein hee thought to haue knockt out the braines of poore *Tullies Orator*, but in veritie did nothing else, but gather a flaunt-5ing vanity fore-horse nosegay out of his well furnished garland.

The aduancemët of the Deuils Oratorship, which he ascribeth to *Pierce Pennilesse*, me thinks had beene a fit place for his Doctorship, when hee mist the Oratorship of the Vniuersitie, of which, in the sequele of his booke, hee most slanderously complaineth. Doctor *Perne, Greene*, no dead man he spareth.

What he should subaudi by his *Dames Poet*, I scarce apprehend, except this, that *Pierce* his Father was *Dame Laws*. Poet, and writte many goodly stories of her in *An Almond for a Parrat*.

Those that will take a Lecture in our Orators letters must not read, excuse, commend, credite or beleue anie approoued truth in *Pierce Pennilesse*, especially if it be any thing thatvpbraideth the great Baboune his brother. *Hee will stoppe the beginning, id est*, when hee hath come behind a man and broke his head, seeke to bind him to the good abearing, or els the ende were like to proue pernitious and perillous to his confusion.

Somewhat hee mutters of defametion and just commendation, & what a hell it is for him, that hath built his heauen in vaine-glory, to bee puld by the sleeue and bidde *Respice funem*, looke backe to his Fathers house; but I ouerslippe it as friuolous, because all the world knowes him better than he knowes himselfe, & though he play the Pharisie neuer so, in iustifiyng his owne innocence, theres none will beleue him.

Let this bee spoken once for all, as I haue a soule to saue, till this day in all my life, with tongue nor penne,
did I euer in the least worde or tittle derogate from the Doctor. If his brother (without any former prouocation on my part, God is my witnesse) rayld on me grossely, expresly namde mee, comparde me to Martin, indeuord to take from mee all estimation of Arte or witte, haue I not cause to bestirre mee?

Gabriell, I will bestirre mee, for all like an Alehouse Knight, thou crau'st of Justice to do thee reason; as for impudencie and calumny, I returne them in thy face, that, in one booke of tenne sheets of paper, hast publisht aboue two hundred lies.

Had they been wittie lies, or merry lies, they would never haue greau'd mee: but palpable lies, damned lies, lies as big as one of the Guardes chynes of beefe, who can abide?

Ile make thee of my counsaile, because I loue thee (not): when I was in Cambridge, and but a childe, I was indifferently perswaded of thee: mee thought by thy apparell and thy gate, thou shouldst haue beene a fine fellow: Little did I suspect that thou wert brother to Io. Pegan (whom inwardly I alwaies grudgd at for writing against Aristotle) or any of the Hs of Hempe hall, but a Caulier of a clean contrary house: now thou hast quite spoild thy selfe; from the foote to | the head I can tell how thou art fashioned.

Teterrime frater, and not fraterrime frater, maist thou verie wofully exclaine, for in helping him, thou hast crackt thy credit through the ring, made thy infamie currant as farre as the Queenes coyne goes.

But it may be thou hast a sider cloke for this quarrell; thou wilt object, thy Father wasabusd, & that made thee write. What. by mee, or Greene, or both?

If by Greene and not mee, thou shouldst haue written against Greene and not mee. If by both, I will answere for both; but not by both, therefore I will aunswere but for one.

Gieue an instance, if thou canst for thy life, wherin in any
leafe of *Pierce Penilesse* I had so much as halfe a sillables relation to thee, or offred one iot of indignantie to thy Father, more than naming the greatest dignitie he hath, when for varietie of Epithites, I calde thy brother *the sonne of a Ropemaker*.

We shall have a good sonne of you anone, if you be ashamed of your fathers occupation: ah, thou wilt nere thrive, that art beholding to a trade, and canst not abide to heare of it.

Thou dost liue by the gallows, & wouldst not haue a shooe to put on thy foot, if thy father had no traffike with the hangman. Had I a Ropemaker to my father, & somebody had cast it in my teeth, I would forthwith haue writ in praise of Ropemakers, & prou’d it by soiid silloogistry to be one of the 7. liberal sciences.

Somewhat I am priuie to the cause of *Greenes* inueighing against the three brothers. Thy hot-spirited brother *Richard* (a notable ruffian with his pen) hauing first tooke upon him in his blundring Persiual, to play the Iacke of both sides twixt *Martin* and vs, and snarld priuily at *Pap-hatchet, Pasquill, & others*, that opposde themselues against the open slaunder of that mightie platformer of Atheisme, presently after dribbed forth another fooles bolt, a booke I shoulde say, which he christened *The Lambe of God*.

That booke was a learned booke, a labourd booke; for three yere before he put it in print, he had preacht it all without booke.

I my selfe haue some of it in a booke of Sermons that my Tutor at Cambridge made mee gather euery Sunday. Then being very yoong, I counted it the abiectest and frothiest forme of Diuinitie that came in that place. Now more confirmed in age and Art, I confirme my ill opinion of it.

Neither do I urge this, as if it were a hainous thing for a man to put sermons in print after hee preacht them, but

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21 opposd *c.w.*          24 *Lamhe Q.*          29 *Setmons Q.*
obserue the proud humor of the pert Didimus, that thinks nothing hee speakes but deserues to be put in print, and speaks not that sentence in the Pulpit, which before he rough-hewes not ouer with his penne. Besides, I taxe him for turning an olde coate (like a Broker) and selling it for a new.

These and a thousand more imperfections might haue beene buried with his bookes in the bottome of a drie-fatte, and there slept quietly amongst the shauings of the Presse, if in his Epistle he had not beene so arrogantly censoriall.

Not mee alone did hee reuile and dare to the combat, but glickt at Pap-hatchet once more, and mistemed all our other Poets and writers about London, piperly make-plaies and make-bates.

Hence Greene, beeing chiefe agent for the companie (for hee writ more than foure other, how well I will not say: but Sat citā, si sat bene) tooke occasion to canuaze him a little in his Cloth-breeches | and Veluet-breeches, c\textsuperscript{3} and because by some probable collections hee gest the elder brothers hand was in it, he coupled them both in one yoake, and, to fulfill the prouerbe Tria sunt omnia, thrust in the third brother, who made a perfect parriall of Pamphleters.

About some seauen or eight lines it was which hath pluckt on an inuectiue of so many leaues. Had hee liu'd, Gabriel, and thou shouldst so vnarteficially and odiously libeld against him as thou hast done, he would haue made thee an example of ignominy to all ages that are to come, and driuen thee to eate thy owne booke butterd, as I sawe him make an Apparriter once in a Tauern eate his Citation, waxe and all, very handsomly seru'd twixt two dishes.

Out vppon thee for an arrant dog-killer, strike a man when he is dead?

So Hares may pull dead Lions by the beards. Memorandum: I borrowed this sentence out of a Play.

The Theater, Poets hall, hath many more such prouerbes to
persecute thee with, because thou hast so scornfully derided their profession, and despitefully maligned honest sports. Before I vnbowell the leane Carcase of thy book any further, Ile drinke one cup of lambswooll to the Lambe of God and his enemies. In the first foure leaues of it, I haue singled out these Godly and fruitfull observations.

Noble Lord, I doe it even upon former premisses, not for any future consequents. My booke is not worthy of so honorable specialitie as your Patronage. I will not prosecute it with Theologicall peculiars, but from the mouth of the sword I speake, &c.

The hearts of the wicked pant, their spirits faile them, they may well call for butter out of a Lordlie dish.

You that bee gentle Readers, doe you not laugh at this Lawiers english of former premisses and future consequents?

O finicallitie, your Patronages specialitie, but if he prosecute it with Theologicall peculiars, we must needs thrust him inter oues & bones, & reliqua pecora campi.

From the mouth of the sword I speake it, that butter out of a Lordly dish is but lewd diet for the Pulpit. But this is not halfe the lltour of inckehornisme, that those foure pages haue pigd. I must tell you of the Octonarium of Ramus, the Sesquiamus of Phrigius, the Carthusianisme of Gulielmus Rikel, of Annals, Diaries, Chronologies, & Tropological schoolemen, The Abetilis of the Aethiopians or Pretoioannans, of Gulielmus minatensis, & S. Ierome allegorized Abdias, Lyra, Gryson, Porta, Pantaleon.

All which hee reckons vp to make the world beleue he hath read much, but alleadgeth nothing out of them: Nor, I thinke, on my conscience, euer read or knew what they meane, but as he hath stole them by the wholesale out of some Booksellers Catalogue, or a table of Tractats.
Here are some of his profounde Annotations; Iacob tooke Leah for his bedfellowe in the darke by night, in steede of Rachell, whereby I learne to buy my wife candle to goe to bed withall, and admit her not by darke, but by light.

Iacob was deceived by Labans words: ergo, Obligations are better than bills, and we must believe no man, except he will waxe and multiplie in words, and call inke & parch-ment to witnes.

Iacob laide pilled rods with white strakes in the watring places of the sheepe, whereby I note that in carnal mixture the senses are opened.

Judge you that be the Fathers of the Church, whether this be fit matter to edifie or no.

It was not for nothing, brother Richard, that Greene told you you kist your Parishioners wiues with holy kisses, for you that wil talk of opening the senses by carnal mixture (the very act of lecherie) in a Theological Treatise, and in the Pulpit, I am afraide, in a priuater place you will practise as much as you speake. Homines rard nisi malè locuti malè faciunt. Olet hircum, olet hircum, anie modest eare would abhorre to heare it.

Farewell vnclene Vicar, and God make thee an honest man, for thou art too baudy for mee to deale withall.

It followes in the Text,

To my verie good friend Maister Emanuell Demetrius.

This Letter of M. Bird to M. Demetrius, shoulde seeme, by all reference or collation of stiles, to bee a Letter which M. Birds secretarie, Doctour Gabriell, indited for him in his owne praise, and got him to sette his hand to when he had done. Or rather, it is no letter, but a certificate (such as Rogues haue) from the headman of the Parish where hee was borne, that Gabriel is an excellent generall Scholler, and his Father of good behauiour.

We will not beleue it except wee see the Towne scale sette to it: but, say wee should beleue it, what doth it

19 much Q. 29 his] om Q. Corr. in Errata. 31 head men Q.
make for thee? Haue the Townesmen of Saffron Waldon euer heard thee preach, that they should commend thee for an excellent generall scholler? or (because thou pro-
fesest thy self a Ciulian) hast thou sollicited any of their causes in the bawdy Courtes therabouts? If not, go your 5
d1 wayes a dolt as you came; | Maister Birdes Letter shall not repriue you from the ladder.

But Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches (by the judge-
ment of the best man of none of the least towns in Essex) is a fantasticall and fond Dialogue, and one of the most licentious intollerable inuectiues that euer hee read.

Why?
In it is abused an auncient neighbour of his.
How is he abused?
In stead of his name, hee is called by the craft hee gets his liuing with.

He hath borne office in Walden aboue twenty yere since (hoc est, had the keeping of the Towne stocke, alias the stocks): Ergo, he is no Rope-maker.

He hath mainta infield four sonnes at Cambridge: Ergo, Greene is a lewd fellow to say he gets his liuing backward.

Three of his sonnes uniuersally ridiculoursly reputed of (for inamoratos on their owne works) in both Vniuersities and the whole Realme. The fourth is shrunke in the wetting, or else the Print shoulde haue heard of him.

One of the three (whom the Quip entitles the Physition) returning sicke from Norwicke to Linne in Iulie last, was past writing any more Almanackes, before Greene ere imagined God had thought so well of him to take him to him.

Liuor post fata quiescat. Mother Luiers of Newington is a better fortune-teller than he was a Phisition. |

A Dash through the dudgen
Sonnet against Greene.

Put up thy smiter, O gentle Peter,
Author and halter make but ill meeter.

I scorne to answer thy mishapen rime,
Blocks have cald schollers bayards ere this time.

I would trot a false gallop through the rest of his ragged Verses, but that if I should retort his rime dogrell aright, I must make my verses (as he doth his) run hobling like a Brewers Cart vpon the stones, and obserue no length in their feete; which were absurdam per absurdius, to infect my vaine with his imitation.

The Analasis of the whole is this: an olde mechanical meeter-munger would faine raile, if he had anie witte. If Greene were dogge-sicke and brain-sicke, sure he (poore secular Satirist) is dolt-sicke and brainlesse, that with the toothlesse gums of his Poetry so betuggeth a dead man.

But I cannot be induced to beleue a graue man of his sort should be ere so rauingly bent: when all coms to all, shortest vowels and longest mutes will bewray it to bee a webbe of your owne loomes, M. Gabriel: you mute foorth many such phrases in the course of your booke, which I will point at as I passe by.

I will not robbe you of your due commendation in any thing: in this Sonnet you haue counterfeited the stile of the olde Vice in the Morrals, as right vp and downe as may be.

Let. Greene, the Connycatcher, of this dreame the author,
For his daintie devise deserveth the hauter.

Vice. Hey nan anon sir, soft let mee make water,
Whip it to go, Ile kisse my maisters daughter.
Tum diddy, tum da, falangtedo diddle;
Sol la me fa sol, conatus in fiddle.
I am afraide your *Doctors fart* will fall out to be a fatall foyst to your breeches, if we followe you at the hard heeles as we haue begun.

Thou shalt not breath a whit, trip and goe, turne ouer a new leafe.

*Maister Bird, in the absence of M. Demetrius.* Perge porrò. *I found his wife curteous;* barlady sir, but that is suspitious.

A woman is well holpen vp that does you any curtesie in the absence of her husband, when you cannot keepe it to your selfe, but you must blab it in print.

If it were any other but Mistris *Demetrius* (whome I haue heard to be a modest sober woman, and indued with many vertues) I would play vpon it a little more. In regard that shee is so, I forbeare; and craue pardon in that I haue spoken so much.

Yet would I haue her vnderstand how well *the generall scholler* her guest, hath rewarded hir for his kind entertainment, by bringing her name in question in print.

*M. Bird* and *Demetrius,* I knowe neither of you by sight, but this Ie say, being of that welth you are, you had better haue spent a great deale of money, than come in the mouth of this base companion.

What reason haue I (seeing your names subscribed as his bolsterer, in a matter of defame that concernes mee) but to go through stitch with you, as well as him?

He thinks to ouer-beare vs as poore beggers with the great ostentation of your rich acquaintance.

Lette all Noblemen take heede how they giue this *Thraso* the least becke or countenance, for if they bestowe but halfe a glaunce on him, hele straight put it verie solemnly in print, and make it ten times more than it is.

Ile tell you a merry ieast.

The time was when this *Timothie Tiptoes* made a Latine Oration to her Maiestie. Her Highnes as shee is vnto all her subjectes most gratious; so to schollers she is more
louing and affable than any Prince vnder heauen. In which respect, of her owne vertue and not his desert, it pleased hir so to humble the height of hir iudgement, as to grace him a little whiles he was pronouncing, by these or such like tearmes. *Tis a good pretie fellow, a lookes like an Italian*; and after hee had concluded, to call him to kisse her royall hand. Herevppon hee goes home to his studie, all intraunced, and writes a whole volume of Verses; first, *De vultu Itali*, of the countenance of the Italian; and then *De osculo manus*, of his kissing the Queenes hande. Which two Latin Poems he publisht in a booke of his cald *Ædes Valdinenses*, proclaiming thereby (as it were to England, Fraunce, Italie, and Spaine) what faouour hee was in with her Maiestie.

I dismisse this *Parenthesis*, and *come to his next business*: which indeede is his first businesse: for tyll Greene awakte him out of his selfe admiring contemplation, hee had nothing to doe but walke vnder the Ewe tree at Trinitie hall, and say:

What may I call this tree? an Ewe tree? O bonny Ewe tree, Needes to thy boughs will I bow this knee, and vaile my bonneto.

Or make verses of weathercocks on the top of steeples, as he did once of the weathercocke of Alhallows in Cambridge:

O thou weathercocke that stands on the top of the Church of Alhallowes, Come thy waies down if thou darst for thy crowne, and take the wall on vs.

O Heathenish and Pagan Hexamiters, come thy waies down frō thy Doctourship, & learne thy Primer of Poetry ouer again, for certainly thy pen is in state of a Reprobate with all men of judgement and reckoning.

Come thy waies downe from thy Doctourship, said I? *Erraui demens*, thou neuer wentst vp to it yet.

Fie on hypocrisy and Dissimulation, that men should make themselues better than they are!

Alas a Gods will, thou art but a plaine motheaten Maister of Art, and neuer pollutedst thy selfe with any plaistrie or dawbing of Doctourship.

List, Pauls Churchyard (the peruser of euerie mans works, & Exchange of all Authors), you are a many of you honest fellows, and fauour men of wit.

So it is that a good Gowne and a well pruned paire of moustachios, hauing studied sixteene yeare to make thirteenth ill english Hexameters, came to the Vniuersity Court regentium & non, to sue for a commission to carry two faces in a hoode: they not vsing to deny honour to any man that deserued it, bad him performe all the Schollerlike ceremonies and disputatiue right appertaining thereto, and he should bee installed.

Noli me tangere; he likt none of that.

A stripling that hath an indifferent prety stocke of reputation abroade in the worlde already, and some credit amongst his neighbours, as he thinketh, would be loth to ieoperd all at one throwe at the dice.

If hee should haue disputed for his degree, descended in arenam & puluerem Philosophicum, and haue beene foild, Aih me, quoth Wit in lamentable sort, what should haue become of him? hee might haue beene shot through ere hee were aware, with a Sillogisme.

No point, Ergo, it were wisely done of goodman Boores sonne, if he should goe to the warres for honor, and returne with a wodden legge, when he may buy a Captaineship at home better cheape.

Pumps and Pantofles, because they were well blackt and glistered iolly freshly on it, being rubd over with inke, had their grace at length to be Doctour, Ea lege, that they should do their acts (that is, performe more than they were able).

Curst be the time that euery there were any obligations plaistrie or dawbing] plaister Q. Corr. in Errata.
made with conditions, *Vnde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere*, Howe Dorbell comes to bee Doctour none asks, but Doctour hee must bee to make him right worshipfull.

Acts are but idle wordes, and the Scripture saith, wee must giue account for euery idle word.

Pumps and Pantofles sweare they will iet away with a cleare conscience at the daie of iudgement, and therfore do no Acts, giue no offence with idle words, oneleie like a Hauke let flie at a Partridge, that turns the taile and betakes her to a walnut-tree, so to Oxford they trudge, hauing their grace *ad disputandum*, and there are confirmed in the same degree they took at Cambridge: which is as if a Pretise heere in London, as soone as hee is enrould, should runne to some such Towne as Ipswich, and there craue to haue his Freedome confirmd as of London; which, in truth, | is no Freedome, because hee hath not seru'd out his prentiship.

Trust mee not for a dodkin, if there bee not all the Doctourship hee hath, yet will the insolent incke worme write himselfe Right worshipfull of the Lawes, and personate this man and that man, calling him *my good friend Maister Doctour* at euery word.

Doctour or no Doctour, *Greene surfeted not of Pickled hearing, but of an exceding feare of his Familiar Epistles.*

*Hee offred in his extremest want twenty shillings to the Printer to leaue out the matter of the three brothers.*

*Haud facile credo,* I am sure the Printer beeing of that honestie that I take him for, will not affirme it.

Marry this I must say, there was a learned Doctour of Phisicke (to whom Greene in his sickenesse sent for counsaile) that hauing read over the booke of Veluet breeches and Clothbreeches, and laughing merrilie at the three brothers legend, wild Green in any case either to mittigate it, or leaue it out: Not for any extraordinarie account hee made of the fraternitie of fooles, but for one of them was
proceeded in the same facultie of Phisicke hee profest, 
and willinglie hee would haue none of that excellent calling 
ill spoken off.

This was the cause of the altring of it, the feare of his 
Phisitions displeasure; not any feare else.

I keepe your conscious minde, with all other odde ends of 
your halfe fac’d english, till the full conclusion of my booke, 
where in an honorable Index they shall be placed according 
to their degree and segnioritie.

We are to vexe you mightely for plucking Elderton out 
of the ashes of his Ale, and not letting him inioy his nappie 
muse of ballad making to himselfe, but now, when he is 
as dead as dead beeere, you must bee finding fault with the 
brewing of his meeters.

Hough Thomas Delone, Phillip Stubs, Robert Armin, 
&c. Your father Elderton is abus’d. Reuenge, reuenge on 
course paper and want of matter, that hath most sacrili-
giously contaminated the diuine spirit & quintessence of 
a penny a quart.

Helter skelter, feare no colours, course him, trounce him, 
one cup of perfect bonauenture licour will inspire you with 
more wit and Schollership than hee hath thrust into his 
whole packet of Letters.

You that bee lookers on, perhaps imagine I talke like 
a merry man, and not in good earnest, when I say that 
Eldertons ghost and Gabriel are at such ods: but then you 
knowe nothing, for there hath beene monstrous emulation 
twixt Elderton and him time out of mind. Yea, they were 
riuals in riming foure yeare before the great frost. Hee 
expressely writ against him, 1580. in his short but sharpe 
and learned iudgement of Earthquakes.

Broome boyes, and cornecutters (or whatsoeuer trade is 
more contemptible), come not in his way, stand fortie foote 
from the execution place of his furie, for else in the full tide 
of his standish, he will carrie your occupations handsmooth
out of towne before him, besmeare them, drowne them: downe the riuere they goe Priuily to the Ile of Dogges with his Pamphlets.

O it is a pestilent libeller against beggers; hee meanes shortly to set foorth a booke cald his Paraphrase vpon Paris Garden, wherein hee will so tam-per with the interpreter of the Puppits, and betouse Harry of Tame and great Ned, that Titius shall not vpbraid Caius with euerie thing and nothing, nor Zoylus anie more flurt Homer, nor Ther-sites fling at Agamemnon.

Holla, holla, holla, flurt, fling, what reasty Rhetoricke haue we here? certes, certes, brother hoddy doddy, your penne is a coult by cockes body.

As touching the libertie of Orators and Poets, I will conferre with thee somewhat grauely, although thou beest a goose-cappe and hast no judgement.

A libertie they haue, thou sayst, but no liberty without bounds, no licence without limitation.

Iesu what mister wonders dost thou tell us? euery thing hath an end, and a pudding hath two.

That libertie Poets of late in their inuectuues haue exceeded, they haue borne their sword vp, where it is not lawfull for a poynado, that is but the page of prowesse, to intermeddle.

Thou bringest in Mother Hubbard for an instance. Go no further, but here confesse thy selfe a flat nodgscombe before all this congregation; for thou hast dealt by thy friend as homely as thou didst by thy father.

Who publikely accusde or of late brought Mother Hubbard into question, that thou shouldst by rehearsall rekindle against him the sparkes of displeasure that were quenched?

Forgot hee the pure sanguine of his Fairy Queene, sayst thou?

A pure sanguine sogt art thou, that in vaine-glory to haue Spencer known for thy friend, and that thou hast some interest in him, censerest him worse than his deadliest enemie would do. |
If any man were undeservedly toucht in it, thou hast reuiued his disgrace that was so toucht in it, by renaming it, when it was worn out of al mens mouths and minds.

Besides, whereas before I thought it a made matter of some malitious moralizers against him, and no substance of slander in truth; now, when thou (that proclaimest thy selfe the only familiar of his bosome, and therefore shouldst know his secretes) giues it out in print that he ouershotte himselfe therein, it cannot chuse but be suspected to be so indeed.

Immortall Spencer, no frailtie hath thy fame, but the imputation of this Idiots friendship: vpon an vnsotted Pegasus should thy gorgeous attired Fayrie Queene ride triumphant through all reports dominions, but that this mud-born bubble, this bile on the browe of the Vniuersitie, this bladder of pride neweblowne, challengeth some interest in her prosperitie.

Of pitch who hath any vse at all, shall beabusd by it in the end.

High grasse that florisheth for a season on the house toppe, fadeth before the harveste calis for it, and maye well make a fayre shew, but hath no sweetnesse in it. Such is this Asse in presenti, this grosse painted image of pride, who would faine counterfeite a good witte, but scornfull pittie, his best patron, knows it becomes him as ill, as an vnweldigy Elephant to imitate a whelpe in his wantonnes.

I wote not how it fals out, but his inuention is over-weapon; he hath some good words, but he cannot writhe them and tosse them to and fro nimbly, or so bring them about, that hee maye make one streight thrust at his enemies face.

Coldly and dully idem per idem, who cannot indite?

but with life and spirit to limne deadnes it selfe, Hoc est Oratoris proprium.

L. Inuectives by fauour have beene too bolde, and Satires by usurpation too presumptuous. What pleasure brings this
to the reader? Iacke of the Falcon in Cambridge can say as much, and giue no reason for it.

But I can prompt you with a demonstration wherein Inuectives haue been too bold. Do you remember what you writ in your Item for Earthquakes, of double fac'd Iani, changeable Cameleons, Aspen leaues, painted sheathes, and sepulchers, Asses in Lions skinnes, dunghill cockes, slipperie eeles, dormise, &c? Besides your testimoniall of Doctour Perne, wherein it pleased you, of your singular liberalitie and bountie, to bestowe vpon him this beautifull Encomium:

A busie and dizzie head, a brazen fore head, a leaden braine, a wooden witte, a copper face, a stonie brest, a factious and eluish heart, a founder of nouelties, a confounder of his owne and his friendes good giftes, a morning booke-worme, an afternoone malt-worme, a right Ignler, as full of his sleightes, wiles, fetches, casts of legerdemaine, toyes to mocke Apes withall, odde shifts and knauish practises, as his skinne can holde.

Notwithstanding all this, you desie cut and longtaile, that can accuse you of any scandalous part either in word or deede.

Tully, Horace, Archilochus, Aristophanes, Lucian, Iulian, Aretine, goe for no payment with you; their declamatory stiles, brought to the grand test of your judgement, are found counterfeit, they are a venemous and viperous brood of railers, because they haue broght in a new kind of a quicke fight, which your decrepate slow-mouing capacitie cannot fadge with.

Tush, tush, you take the graue peake vppon you too much: who would think you could so easily shake off your olde friendes? Did not you in the fortie one Page, line 2. of your Epistles to Collin Clout use this speech?

Extra iocum, I like your Dreames passing well: and the rather because they savour of that singular extraordinary vaine and inuention which I euer fancied most, and in

a manner admired only in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretine, Pasquil.

*Dic sodes* (godamercie on *Dicke Sothis* soule, for he was a better dauncer than thou art an enditer, & with his legges he made some Musickes: there is none in thy letters) answere mee briefly, I say, to the point, haue I varied one vowell from thy originall text in this allegation? If not, I cannot see how the Doctours may well bee reconcild, one while to commend a man because his writings sauour of that singular extraordinarie vaine, which he onely admired in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretine, Pasquil: and then in another booke afterward, to come and call those singular extraordinarie admired men, a venemous and viperous brood of railers.

The auncienter sort of Poets and Oratours shall plead their owne worthinesse.

*Tullie* neuer ouerreached himself in railing so much as in flatterie. His *Phillippicks* (sound Physick applide to a body that could not disgest it) are the things that especially commended him to this art-thriuing age of ours, and had not these beene, hee would certainly haue beene sentenced by a generall verdit of histories for a timerous time-pleaser.

Who cannot draw a curtaine before a deformed picture? *Plautus* personated no Parasite, but he made him a slaue or a bondman.

Fawning and crouching are the naturall gestures of feare, and if it bee a vertue for a vassaile to licke a mans shooes with his tongue, sure it is but borrowed from the dogges; and so is biting too, if it bee accompanied with ouer lowd barking, or in such wise as it cannot pinch but it must breake the flesh and drawe bloud.

*Horace, Perseus, Iuuenall,* my poore judgment lendeth you plentifull allowance of applause: yet had you, with the *Phrigian* melodie, that stirreth men vp to battaile and furie, mixt the *Dorian* tune, that fauoreth mirth and

*Qy. read Sot his?*
pleasure, your unsugred pilles (however excellently medicinable) would not haue beene so harsh in the swallowing. So likewise Archilochus, thou like the preachers to the Curtizans in Roome, that expound to them all Lawe and no Gospell, art all gall and no spleene. Hence came it to passe, that with the meere efficacy of thy incensed Iambicks, thou mad'st a man runne and hang himselfe that had angered thee.

Thee I embrace, Aristophanes, not so much for thy Comedie of the clowd, which thou wroast against philosophers, as for in al other thy inuentions thou interfusest delight with reprehension.

Lucian, Iulian, Aretine, all three admirably blest in the abundant gifts of art and nature: yet Religion, which you sought to ruinate, hath ruinated your good names, and the opposing of your eyes against the bright sunne, hath causd the worlde condemnde your sight in all other things. I protest, were you ought else but abominable Atheistes, I would obstinately defende you, onely because Laureate Gabriell articles against you.

This I will iustifie against any Dromidote Ergonist whatsoever: there is no other vn lasciuious vse or end | of poetry, E 3\* but to infamize vice, and magnifie vertue, and that if they assemble all the examples of verse-founders from Homer to Hugh Copland, they shall not find anie of them but hath encouunted with the generall abuses of his times.

Whatsoever harpeth not of one of these two strings of praise and reproofe, is as it were a Dirige in pricksong without any dittie set to it, that haply may tickle the eare, but never edifies.

In the Romaine common-wealths it was lawful for Poets to reproze that enormitie in the highest chairs of authoritie, which none else durst touch, alwaies the sacred Maiestie of their Augustus kept inuiolate: for that was a Plannet exalted aboue their Hexameter horizon, & it was capittall

6 'for effect read efficacie.' Errata, but Q has efficacy. 26 his] the Coll., Gro. 27 one these Q.
to them in the highest degree, to dispute of his setting and rising, or search inquisitiuely into his predominance and influence.

The secrets of God must not be searcht into. Kings are Gods on earth, their actions must not be sounded by their subjects.

_Seneca, Neroes_ Tutor, founde his death in no verse but _Octania_. Imperious _Lucan_ sprinkled but one drop of bloud on his imperiall chayre, and perisht by him also.

_Ouid_ once saw _Augustus_ in a place where he would not haue beene seene; he was exile presently to those countries no happy man hears of.

Long might hee, in a blinde _Metamorphosis_, haue playd vppon all the wenches in Roome, and registred their priuie scapes, vpbrayded inhospitalitie with the fable of _Licaon_: alluded to some Ambodexter Lawyer vnder the storie of _Battus_: haue described a noted vnthrift, whose subsaunce hawkes and houndes haue deuoured, in the tale of _Acteon_, that was eaten | vp by his owne dogges: mockt _Alcumistes_ with _Midas_: picturde inamaratos vnder _Narcissus_: and shrouded a picked effeminate _Carpet Knight_ vnder the fictionate person of _Hermophroditus_; with a thousand more such vnexileable ouer-thwart merrimentes, if lust had not led him beyond the prospect of his birth, or hee seene a meaner man sinning than an Emperour.

_Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis_, how hath my pen lost it selfe in a croude of Poets.

_Gaffer Jobbernoule_, once more well ouer-taken, how dost thou? how dost thou? holde vp thy heade, man, take no care; though _Greene_ be dead, yet I may liue to doe thee good.

But by the meanes of his death thou art deprived of the remedie in lawe, which thou intendedst to have had against him for calling thy Father Ropemaker. Mas, thats true: what Action will it beare? _Nihil pro nihilo_, none in law: what it will doe vppon the stage I cannot tell; for there a man maye make action besides his part, when he hath

20 _Narcissas Q_.

32 had] _om_. _Coll._, _Gro_. 
nothing at all to say: and if there, it is but a clownish action that it will beare: for what can bee made of a Ropemaker more than a Clowne? Will Kempe, I mistrust it will fall to thy lot for a merriment, one of these dayes.

In short tearmes, thus I demur vpon thy long Kentish-tayld declaration against Greene.

Hee inherited more vertues than vices: a iolly long red peake, like the spire of a steeple, hee cherisht continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a Jewell, it was so sharpe and pendant.

Why should art answer for the infirmities of maners? Hee had his faultes, and thou thy follyes.

Debt and deadly sinne, who is not subiect to? | with any E. notorious crime I neuer knew him tainted; (& yet tainting is no infamous surgerie for him that hath beene in so many hote skirmishes).

A good fellowe hee was, and would haue drunke with thee for more angels then the Lord thou libeldst on gae thee in Christs Colledge; and in one yeare hee pist as much against the walls, as thou and thy two brothers spent in three.

In a night & a day would he haue yarkt vp a Pamphlet as well as in seauen yeare, and glad was that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit.

Hee made no account of winning credite by his workes, as thou dost, that dost no good workes, but thinkes to bee famosed by a strong faith of thy owne worthines: his only care was to haue a spel in his purse to conjure vp a good cuppe of wine with at all times.

For the lowsie circumstance of his pouerty before his death, and sending that miserable writte to his wife, it cannot be but thou lyest, learned Gabriell.

I and one of my fellowes, Will. Monox (Hast thou neuer heard of him and his great dagger?) were in company with him a month before he died, at that fatall banquet

13 With c.w. 28 thy] thine Coll., Gro.
of Rhenish wine and pickled hearing (if thou wilt needs haue it so), and then the inuentorie of his apparrell came to more than three shillings (though thou saist the contrarie). I know a Broker in a spruce leather ierkin with a great number of golde Rings on his fingers, and a bunch of keies at his girdle, shall giue you thirty shillings for the doublet alone, if you can helpe him to it. Harke in your eare, hee had a very faire Cloake with sleeues, of a graue goose turd greene; it would serue you as fine as may bee: 

No more words, if you bee wise, play the good husband and listen after it, you may buy it ten shillings better cheape than it cost him. By S. Siluer, it is good to bee circumspect in casting for the worlde, theres a great many ropes go to ten shillings. If you want a greasy paire of silk stockings also, to shew your selfe in at the Court, they are there to be had too amongst his moueables. *Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora*: It is policie to take a rich penniworth whiles it is offred.

*Alas euem his fellow writer, that proper yoong man, almost scorns to cope with thee, thou art such a crow troden Asse; dost thou in some respectes wish him well and spare his name? in some respects so doth hee wish thee as well, (hoc est, to be as well knowne for a foole as my Lord Welles,) and promiseth by me to talke very sparingly of thy praise. For thy name, hee will not stoupe to plucke it out of the mire, and put it in his mouth.*

By this blessed cuppe of sacke which I now holde in my hand and drinke to the health of all Christen soules in, thou art a puissant Epitapher.

*Yea? thy Muses foot of the twelues; old long Meg of Westminster? Then I trowe thou wilt stride ouer Greenes graue and not stumble: If you doe, wee shall come to your taking vp.*

Letter.

*Here lies the man whom Mistris Isam crownd with bays, She, she that ioyd to heare her Nightingales sweete lays.*

14 tenshillings Q. 16 there] om. Coll., Gro. 23 well? Q.
Comment.

Here Mistris Isam, Gabriel floutes thy bays;
Scratch out his eyes that printeth thy dispraise.

*She, she* will scratch, and like a scratching night-owle
5 come and make a dismal noise vnder thy cham-ber windowe, for deriding her so dunstically. A bigge fat lusty wench it is, that hath an arme like an Amazon, and will bang thee abhominationly, if euer shee catch thee in her quarters. It is not your *Poet Garish and your fore-horse of the parish* that shall redeeme you from her fingers, but shee will *make actuall profe of you*, according as you desire of God in the vnder following lines.

The next weeke, Maister *Bird* (if his inke-pot haue a cleare current) hee will haue at you with a cap-case full
15 of French occurrences, that is, shape you a messe of newes out of the second course of his conceit, as his brother is said out of the fabulous abundance of his braine to haue inuented the newes out of *Calabria (John Doletas prophesie of flying dragons, commets, Earthquakes, and inundations)*.

20 I am sure it is not yet wore out of mens scorn, for euery Miller made a comment of it, and not an oyster wife but mockt it.

When that fly-boat of Frenchery is once launcht, your trenchor attendant, *Gamaliel Hobgoblin*, intends to tickle vp a Treatise of the barly kurnell, which you set in your garden, out of which there sprung (as you auouched) twelue seuerall eares of corne at one time.

*Redoubted Parma was neuer so matcht* if hee kindle the match of his meeterdome, and let drie at him with
25 a volley of verses. *Let not his principalitie trust too much to it*, because his name is Latin for a shield; for *Poet Hobbinoll*, hauing a gallant wit and a brazen penne, will honourably bethinke him, and euem ambitiously frame his stile to a noble emulation of Liuie, Homer, and the divinest
30 *spirites of all ages*, as hee hath done to the emulation of

4 *She she she Gro.*
Tullie heeretofore, when he compiled a Pamphlet called *Ciceronis Consolatio ad Dolabelam*, and publisht it as a newe part of Tullie, which had bin hidde in a Wall a thousand and odde yeares, and was found out by him before it euer found beeing.

The circumstance was this; going downe the water at Cambridge one summer euening, and asking certaine questions of the Eccho at Barnewell wall (as the manner is, passing by) holding her verie narrowly to the poynt, she reuealed vnto him what a treasure shee had hidden amongst her stones; namely, this new part of *Gabrielis Ciceronis consolatio ad Dolabelam*: and though she was verie loath to disclose it, yet because shee knewe not how soone God might call her; *videlicet*, how sodainely shee might fall; to discharge her conscience before her death, shee would deliuer it vp as freely vnto him as euer it was hers: come and digge for it, hee shoulde haue it. Neuer more glad was shee in her life, that since shee must needs surrender it to the light, she had chaunst vppon such a Cardinall Corrigidore of incongruitie, and *Tullies* nexte and immiediate successour, vnder *Carre*, to whose carefull repolishing she might commit it.

Keepe it? quoth she.

No, if it were a booke of golde it is THINE: reade it, new print it, dedicate it *from thy gallery at Trinitie Hall* to whom thou wilt.

Whether hee vsde a spade or a mattocke for the vnburying of it I know not, but extant it is, and of a hundred I haue heard that it is his.

O Gabriell, if thou hast any manhood in thy starcht peake, looke vpon me and weepe not.

From this day forward shall a whole army of boies come wondring about thee, as thou goest in the street, and cry *kulleloo, kulleloo, with whup hoo*, there goes the Ape of *Tully*: tih he he, steale *Tully*, steale *Tully*, away with the Asse in the Lions skinne.

2 *Ciceranis Q. Dolobellam Q. 12 Dolobellam Q.*
Nay, but in sadness, is it not a sinfull thing for a Scholler & a Christian to turne Tully? a Turke would neuer doe it.
Be counsaileth in thy calamitie, write no more Consolatios ad Dolabellam, but Consolatio ad Doctorë Gabrielem; thy selfe comfort thy selfe, and learn to make a vertue of contempt.

Ad ruentem parietem ne inclina, is a Proverbe which would haue preuented all this, if thou couldst haue sufferd thy selfe to haue beene directed by it: for first and formost, hadst not thou stept forth to vnder-prop the ruinous wall of thy brothers reputation, I had neuer medled with thee; if thou hadst not leand too much to an olde wall, when thou pluckst Tullie out of a wall, the damnation of this Iest had bin yet vnbegotten.

He that hath born saile in two tempests of shame, makes a sport of shippe-wracke of good name euer after.

The wall of the welfare of Fraunce that is started from her King, her true foundation, thy writinges (more wretched than France) would faine cleue vnto, if they could tell how, and count it a felicity to haue the oportunitie of so heroicall an argument.

God helpe Alexander, if hee haue no other Poet to emblazon his atchieuements but Cherillus.

High resolued Earle of Essex and victorious Sir John Norris, Englands champions, enuied tranquillities confidence, vnworthy are your adventures Iliades to bee reported by such a ragged reede as the iarring Pipe of F this Batillus. The Portugals & Frenchmens feare will lend your Honors richer ornaments, than his low-flighted affection (fortunes summer folower) can frame them.

The scale that I set to your vertues be silence; the argument of prayse is vnauthorized in any mans mouth but olde age.

When the better parte of youthes feruence is boyld away, and that the showres of many sorrowes haue seasond our
greene heads with experience, with the wither-fac'd weather-beaten Mariner, that talks quaking and shudderingly of a storme that hee hath newly toyld through, our wordes will bee written in our visage.

Euen as the sunne, so no science shines in his compleate 5 glory till it be ready to decline.

These be the conclusions that gray hairs prune & cut downe the prosperitie of yong yeares with, as fast as it aspires, but let the seare Oake looke himselfe in the glasse of truth, and he shal find that Methusalems blessing is 10 imbecillitie, bestowed on any creature but the Foxe, who neuer is a right Foxe till he be ripe for the dunghill.

If my stile holde on this sober Mules pace but a sheete or two further, I shall haue a long beard lyke an Irish mantle droppe out of my mouth before I be aware.

Marry God forfend, for at no hand can I endure to haue my cheeks muffled vp in furre like a Muscouian, or weare any of this Welch freeze on my face.

O it is a miserable thing to dresse haire like towe twixt a mans teeth, when one cannot drinke but hee must thrust 20 a great spunge into the cup, & so cleanse his coole F 3v porridge, as it were through a strayner, ere it comes to his lippes.

This second Epistle I haue said prettily well too; I thinke we were best begin THIRDLY WHEREAS, for feare a volume 25 steale vpon vs vnlookt for.
The Arrainment and Execution of the third Letter.

To euerie Reader favourably or indifferently affected.

TEXT, stand to the Barre. Peace there belowe.

Albeit for these twelue or thirteene yeares no man hath beene more loath, or more scrupulous than my selfe, &c.

The body of mee, hee begins like a proclamation: sufficeth it wee knowe you your minde though you say no more.

Is not this your drift? you would haue the worlde suppose you were vrgde to that which proceeded of your owne good nature: like some that will seeme to bee intreated to take a high place of preferment vppon them, which priuile before they haue prayde and payde for, and put all their strength to clymbe vp to.

You would foist in non causam pro causa, haue it thought your flight from your olde companions obscuritie and silence was onely, with Æneas, to carry your Father on your backe, through the fire of slaunder, and by that shift, with a false plea of patience vniustly driuen from his kingdome, filch away the harts of the Queens liege people.

The backe of those creple excuses I haue broke in the beginning of my booke: if you haue anie new infringement to destitute the inditement of forgerie that I bring against you, so it is.

Heere enters Argumentum a testimonio humano, like Tamberlaine drawne in a Chariot by foure Kings.

That in my youth flatterd not my selfe with the exceeding commendation of the greatest scholler in the world, &c.

Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus auena.

Ah neighbourhood, neighbourhood, dead and buried art
thou with Robinhood: a poore creature here is faine to commend himselfe, for want of friendes to speake for him.

Not the least, but the greatest Schollers in the WORLD haue not only but exceedingly fedde him fat in his humor of Braggadochio Glorioso.

\[ Yea Spencer him hath often Homer tearmd, \\
And Mounsiuer Bodkin vowd as much as he; \]

Yet cares not Nashe for him a halfepeny.

Lamentable, lamentable, that an indifferent vntoward ciuill Lawyer, who hath read Plutarch De utilitate capienda ab inimicis, & can talke of Titius and Sempronius, should be no more set by, but SET BY, thrust aside, while his betters carry the bredth of the street before them.

Misery will humble the haughtiest heart in the world: Habemus reum confitente: he confesseth himself a sinner in vnssufficiency; yet for all that the aduersitie of vniversall obloquy hath laide a heauie hande on him, still he retaineth (like conceald land) some part of his proud mind in a beggers purse, scorneth to say Fortune my foe, or aske a good word for Gods sake of anie man.

In the plainnesse of his puft vp nature, he will defie anie man that dare accuse him of that he is.

Why, why, infractissime PISTLEPRAGMOS, though you were yong in yeares, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and ouer-weaning in conceipt (we will refuse nothing that you giue vs) when you priuately wrote the letters that afterward (by no other but your selfe) were publiquely diuulged; yet when the bladder is burst that held you vp swimming in selfe loue, you must not be discontented though you sink.

I haue toucht the vler of your Oratourship, in requiting the nick-name of The Devils Oratour. An Vlcer you may well christen it, as an vler is a swelling, for it was a swelling of ambition, no modest petition of anie merit of yours that did craue it.
The olde Foxe Doctour Perne throughly discouered you for a yoong Foppe, or else halfe a word of our high Chauncelors commendation had stood with him inuiolable as an Act of Parlament.

5 Great men, in writing to those they are acquainted with, haue priuie watch-words of denial, euen in the highest degree of praising; they haue many followers, whose dutifull service must not bee disgrac'd with a bitter repulse in anie suite, though vnlawfull.

10 It may bee, some of these long deservers of his followers labourd him for thee: hee, like Argus, hauing eyes that pierce into all estates, saw thee when thou wert vnscene of thy selfe, and knowing thee to bee vnworthy of any place of worth, would not discountenance his men in so smal a matter, but writ for thee very vehemently outwardly, when the soule of his letter (into which thy shallowe braine could not descend) included thy vtter mislike.

Yong bloud is hot, youth hastie, ingenuitie open, abuse impatient, choller stomachous, temptations busie. In a word, the Gentleman was vext, and cutte his bridle for verie anger.

The tickling and stirring inuictiu e vaine, the puffing and swelling Satiricall spirit came vpon him, as it came on Coppinger and Arthington, when they mounted into the pease-cart in Cheape-side and preacht: needes hee must cast vp certayne crude humours of English Hexameter Verses that lay vpon his stomache; a Noble-man stoode in his way, as he was vomiting, and from top to toe he all to berayd him with Tuscanisme.

25 The Mappe of Cambridge lay not farre off when he was in the depth of his drudgery; some part of the excrements of his anger fell vpon it: poore Doctour Pernes picture stoode in a corner of that Mappe, and by the misde-meanour of his mouth it was cleane defac'd.

30 Signior Immeritò (so called because he was and is his friend undeservedly) was counterfeightly brought in to play
a part in that his Enterlude of Epistles that was hist at, thinking his very name (as the name of Ned Allen on the common stage) was able to make an ill matter good.

I durst on my credit vndertake, Spencer was no way priuie to the committing of them to the print. Committing 5 I may well call it, for in my opinion G. H. should not haue reapt so much discride by beeing | committed to Newgate, as by committing that misbeleeuing prose to the Presse.

I haue vsually scene vn circumcisione doltage haue the porch of his Panim pilfries very hugely pestred with praises. Hay gee (Gentlemen) comes in with his Plowmans whistle in praye of Peter Scurfe the penne-man, and Turlery ginkes, in a light foote Figge, libels in commendation of little witte vere loftyly; but for an Author 15 to renounce his Christendome to write in his owne commendation, to refuse the name which his Godfathers and Godmothers gaue him in his baptisme, and call himselfe a welwille to both the writers, when hee is the onely writer himselfe; with what face doe you thinke hee can 20 aunswere it at the day of iudgement? Est in te facies, sunt apti lusibus anni: Gabriell, thou canst play at fast and loose as well as anie man in England.

I will not lye or backbite thee as thou hast done mee, but are not these thy wordes to the curteous Buyer?

Shew mee or Immerito two English letters in print, in all pointes equall to these, both for the matter it selfe, and also for the manner of handling, and say wee neuer saw good English in our liues.

Againe, I esteeme them for two of the rarest and finest 30 treaties, as well for ingenuous devising, as significant uttering, & cleanly conveying of his matter, that euer I read in this tongue, & I hartily thank God for bestowing upon vs such proper and able men with their penne.

You must conceit, hee was in his chamber-fellowe wel- 35 willers cloke when he spake this: the white-liuerd slawe

24 or] and Gro. 35 in] om. Gro.
was modest, and had not the hart to say so much in his owne person, but he must put on the vizard of an undiscrete friend. |

It is not worth the rehearsal; he scribled it in iest for exercise of his speech and stile, &c., and it was the sinister hap of those unfortunate letters to be derided & scoff at throughout the whole realme.

The sharpest part of them were read ouer at Counsell Table, and he referd ouer to the Fleet, to beare his old verse-fellow noble M. Valanger company.

There was no remedie for it but melancholy patience.

A recantation he was glad to make by way of articles or positions, which hee moderates with a milder name of an apologie, & that recantation purchast his libertie. Wherefore in gratefull lieu of the benefit he receiu'd by it (although he hath hitherto unworthyly suppress it) yet he means to take occasion by this extraordinary provocation to publish it, with not so few as fortie such Academicall exercises, and sundrie other politike discourses.

And I deeme he will be as good as his word, for euer yet it hath beene his wont, if he writ but a letter to any friend of his, in the way of thanks for the potte of butter, gâmon of bacon, or cheese that he sent him, straight to giue copies of it abroad in the world, and propound it to yong gentlemen he came in company with, as a more necessary & refined methode of familiar Epistles than the English tongue hath hitherto been priuy to.

Lord that men shoulde bee so malitiously bent to frame a matter of some thing; he takes a pleasurable delight to behaue himself so that he may be laught at; how would you prate and insult, if you knewe as much by him, as he knows by himselfe.

Nashe, do thy worst, the three brothers bid a Fico for thee: discommend thou them never so much, they will palpably praise, and so consequently dis-praise, them- &c. sent to him Coll., Gro. selues more in one booke they set forth, than thou canst 27 hath] had Gro.
FOVRE LETTERS

disparage them in tenne: yea, rather than faile, Maister Bird shall leave copying out letters of newes, and meeter it mischieuously in maintenance of their scurrilitiship and ruditie.

Three to one, par ma foy, is oddes; not one of them writes an Almanacke, but hee reckons vp all his brothers.

Bee it spoken heere in priuate; Musa Richardetti fratrizat sat bene pretty: the Muse of dappert Dickie doth sing as sweet as a cricket.

Nosti manum & stilum, Gabriel? it is thine own verse in Ædes Valdinenses, all saue the inserting of pretty in stead of certè, for rimes sake.

Had Phisition John liu'd, or not dyde a little afore Dogdayes, a sinode of Pispots would have concluded, that Pierce Pennilesse should be confoûded without repriue.

The Spanyards cald their inuasiue fleete agaynst England the Nauie inuincible, yet it was overcome. Lowe shrubbes haue outliu'd high Cedars: one true man is stronger than two theeues: Gabriell & Richard, I proclaime open warres with you: March on, Iocus, Ludus, Lepos, my valiaunt men at armes, and forrage the frontiers of his Fantasticallitie as you haue begun.

Tubalcan, alîas Tuball, first founder of Farriers Hall, heere is a great complaint made, that vtriûsque Academix Robertus Greene hath mockt thee, because hee saide, that as thou wert the first inuenter of Musicke, so Gabriell Howliglasse was the first inuenter of English Hexameter verses. Quid respondes? canst thou brooke it, yea or no? Is it any treason to thy well tuned hammers to say they begat so renowned a childe as | Musicke? Neither thy hammers nor thou, I know, if they were put to their booke oaths, will euer say it.

The Hexamiter verse I graunt to be a Gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an english begger), yet this Clyme of ours hee cannot thriue in; our speech is too craggy for him to set his plough in: hee goes twitching

and hopping in our language like a man running up
upon quagmiers, vp the hill in one Syllable, and down the
dale in another, retaining no part of that stately smooth
gate, which he vaunts himselfe with amongst the Greeks and Latins.

5 Homer and Virgil, two valorous Authors, yet were they
neuer knighted; they wrote in Hexameter verses: Ergo,
Chaucer, and Spencer, the Homer and Virgil of England,
were farre ouerseeene that they wrote not all their Poems in
Hexamiter verses also.

10 In many Countries veluet and Satten is a commoner
weare than cloth amongst vs: Ergo, wee must leave wearing
of cloth, and goe euerie one in veluet and satten, because
other Countries vse so.

The Text will not beare it, good Gilgillis Hobberdehoy.

15 Our english tongue is nothing too good, but too bad to
imitate the Greeke and Latine.

Master Stannyhurst (though otherwise learned) trod a
foule lumbring boystrous wallowing measure, in his transla-
tion of Virgil. He had neuer been praisd by Gabriel for
his labour, if therein hee had not bin so famously absurd.

Greene for dispraising his practise in that kinde, is the
Greene Maister of the blacke Art, the Founder of vglie
oathes, the father of misbegotten Infortunatus, the Scrivener
of Crossebiters, the Patriark of Shifters, &c.

25 The Monarch of Crossebiters, the wretched fellowe | Prince
of Beggars, Emperour of Shifters, hee had cald him before, G 3
but like a drunkë man, that remembers not in the morning
what he speakes overnight, still he fetcheth Metaphors
from Conny-catchers, & doth nothing but torment vs with
tautologies.

Why, thou arrant butter whore, thou cotqueane & scrattop
of scoldes, wilt thou neuer leaue afflicting a dead Carcasse,
continually read the rethorick lecture of Ramme-Allie? a
wispe, a wispe, a wispe, rippe, rippe, you kitchinstuffe

30 wrangler.

Wert thou put in the Fleete for pamphleting? Bedlem

18 measures Q. 21 Is Q. 25 Run on in Coll., Gro.
were a meeter place for thee. Be not ashamed of your promotion; they did you honor that said you were Fleetebound, for men of honor have sailde in that Fleet.

Wast paper made thee betake thy selfe to Limbo Patrum; had it bee a booke that had bee vendible, yet, the opproby had bee the lesse, but for Chandlers merchandize to be so massacred, for sheets that serue for nothing but to wrappe the excrements of huswiuerie in, Proh Deum, what a spite is it. I haue seene your name cutte with a knife in a wall of the Fleet, I; when I went to visit a friend of mine there.

Let Maister Butler of Cambridge his testimoniall end this controversie, who at that time that thy ioyes were in the Fleet, and thou crying for the Lords sake out at an iron windowe, in a lane not farre from Ludgate hill, questiond some of his companions verie inquisitiuelie that were newlie come from London, what nouelties they brought home with them; amongst the rest, he broke into this Hexamiter interrogatory very abruptlie,

But ah what newes doe you heare of that good Gabriel huffe snuffe,

Knowne to the world for a foole, and clapt in the Fleet for a Rimer?

G 4 Ist true Gibraltar? have I found you? It was not without foundatiõ that you burst into that magnifical insul- tation, I THAT IN MY YOYTH FLATTERD NOT MY SELFE, &c., for M. Butler, for a Phisition being none of the least Schollers, hath commended you exceedingly for a foole & a Rimer. He that threatened to conjure vp Martins wit, hath written some thing too in your praise, in Pap-hatchet, for all you accuse him to haue courtlie incenst the Earle of Oxford against you. Marke him well; hee is but a little fellow, but hee hath one of the best wits in England. Should he take thee in hand againe (as he flieth from such inferiour concertation), I prophecie that there woulde more
gentle Readers die of a merrie mortality, ingendred by the eternal iests he would maule thee with, than there haue done of this last infection. I my self, that inioy but a mite of wit in comparison of his talët, in pure affection to my native country, make my stile carry a presse saile, am fain to cut off half the streame of thy sport-breeding confusion, for feare it shoulde cause a generall hicket throughout England.

Greene, I can spare thy reuenge no more roome in this booke: thou hast Phisitiō Iohn with thee; cope thou with him, & let me alone with the Ciulian & Deuine, whom, if I liue, I will so vncessantly haunt, that to avoid the hot chase of my fierie quill, they shalbe constraind to ensconse themselues in an olde Vrinall case that their brother left behind him. Yet ere I bid thee good night, receiue some notes as touching his phisicallity deceased. He had his grace to be Doctor ere he died. As time may worke all things. In Norfolke where hee practised, he was reputed a proper toward man at a medecine for the toothake, & one of the skilfullest Phisitions, in casting the heauens water, that euuer came there.

How well beloued of the chiefest Gentlemen (& Gentle-women especially) in that shire, it is incredible to bee spoken. Astra petit disertus; hee is gone to heauen to write more Astrologcall discourses; his brothers liue to inherit his olde gownes and remember his notable sayings, amongst the which this was one: Vale Galene, farewell, mine owne deare Gabriell: Valete humanæ artes, heart and good will, but neuer a ragge of money.

Tunc tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.
Cloth-breeches house is burnt, and the flame goes a feasting to Pierce Pennilesse house next.
Neuer til now, Gregory Habberdine, went thy foure letters vp Newgate, vp Holburne, vp Tiburne, to hanging.

Gentlemen, by that which hath been already laid open,
I do not doubt but you are unwaveringly resolved, this indigested Chaos of Doctourship, and greedy pothunter after applause, is an apparent Publican and sinner, a selfe-loue surfetted sot, a broken-winded galbacke Iade, that hath borne vp his head in his time, but now is quite foundred & tired, a scholer in nothing but the scum of schollership, a stale soker at Tullies Offices, the droane of droanes, and maister drumble-bee of non proficients. What hath he wrote but hath had a wofull end? When did he dispute but hee duld all his audftorie? his Poetry more spiritlesse than smal beere, his Oratory Arts bastard, not able to make a man rauishingly wepe, that hath an Onion at his eye. In Latin, like a louse, he hath manie legges, many lockes fleec'd from Tullie, to carry away and cloath a little body of matter, but yet hee moues but slowly, is apparaild verie poorly.

In English, ice is not so cold, yet on the ice of igno-|rance will he slide. No wise man pittie him that perisheth so wilfully.

Judge the world, judge the highest Courts of appeale from the miscarried worlds judgement (Cambridge and Oxford) wherein I haue trespassed in Pierce Pennilesse, that hee shoulde talke of gnashing of teeth, yong Phaetons, yong Icari, yong Chorebi, young Babingtons.

Neuer was I in earnest, til thus he twitted me with the comparison of a traitour.

Babington, high was thy birth, I a bondslaue of fortune in comparison of thee; thy fall greater than Phaetons, thy offence as heynous as Iudasses. May neuer more such foule seeds of offence be sowne in so faire a shape, may they be markt alwayse to mischiefe that meane as thou didst. The braunches of thy stocke remaines yet vnblasted with anie disobedience. God forbid that our forheades should for euer bee blotted with our forefathers misdemeanors. Die, ill deeds, with your vngratious ill dooers; the liuing haue no portion with the dead; hell once paid his due, heauen gates are open to succeeding posteritie.
Prate of *Pierce Pennilesse and his paltrie* as long as thou wilt, I will play at put-pinne with thee for all that thou art woorth, but of thy betters gette thee a better discoursing penne before thou descantes of.

5 L. Greenes inwardest companion pinched with want, vexed with discreetit, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouer-whelmed with his owne miserie, in a raving and frantike moode, most desperately exhibiteth a Supplication to the Deuill.

10 C. Heerein thou thinkst thou hast won the spurs from all writers, but God and Dame Fiction knows | thou art H 1 v farre wide of thy ayme; for neither was I Greenes compan- any more than for a carowse or two, nor pincht with any vngentleman-like want when I inuented *Pierce Pennilesse*.

*Pauper non est cui rerum suppetit usus:* only the discontented meditation of learning, generally now a dayes little valued, and her professors set at naught & dishartened, caused mee to handle that plaintife subiect more seriously.

20 *Vext with discreetit* (Gabriel) I neuer was, as thou hast beene euer since *Familiaritas peperit contemptū*, thy familiar epistles brought thee in contempt.

Though I haue beene pinched with want (as who is not at one time or another *Pierce Penilesse*) yet my muse neuer wept for want of maintenance as thine did in *Musarum lachrimae*, that was miserably flouted at in M. Winkfields Comœdie of *Pedantius* in Trinitie Colledge.

How am I tormented with other mens felicitie, otherwise thā saying, I know a Cobler that was worth five hundred pound, an hostler that had built a goodly Inne, & might dispend forty pound yarely by his land, a Carman that had whipt a thousand pound out of his horse taile; if I had likewise reckond vp a ropemaker, that by tormenting of hempe, & going backward (which the Deuill would nere doe) had turnd as many Mill sixpences ouer the thumbe, as kept three of his sonnes at Cambridge a long time, & that

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which is more, three proud sonnes, that when they met the hangman (their Fathers best chapman) would scarce put of their hats to him, why then thou shouldst haue had some colour of quarel, thy accusatiō might iustly haue enterd his title pro aris & focis, whereas now it is friuolous and forcelesse. |

The sharpest wits, I perceiue, haue none of the best memories; if they had, thou wouldst nere haue tooucht mee with tormenting my selfe with other mens felicitie; for how didst thou torment thy selfe with other mens felicitie, when in the 28. Page of thy first tome of Epistles, thou exclaimst that in no age so little was so much made of, nothing aduaunst to be something, Numbers made of Ciphars, that is, by interpretatiō, all those that were aduaunst either in the Court or commonwealth at that time, had little to com- mend them, nothing in account worthy preferment, but were meere meacocks & Ciphars in comparison of thy excellent out-cast selfe that liu’dst at Cambridge vn-mounted.

Hang thee, hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous readers, thou grosse shifter for shitten tapsterly iests, haue I imitated Tarltons play of the seauen deadly sinnes in my plot of Pierce Penilesse? whom hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke? thou hast borrowed aboue twenty phrases and epithites from mee, which in sober sadnesse thou makst vse of as thy owne, when thou wouldst exhort more effectuall.

Is it lawfull but for one preacher to preach of the ten commandements? hath none writ of the fiue senses but Aristotle? was sinne so vtterly abolished with Tarltons play of the seuen deadly sins, that ther could be nothing said supra of that argument?

Canst thou exemplifie vnto mee (thou impotent moate-catching carper) one minnum of the particular deuice of his play that I purloind? There be manie men of one name that are nothing a kindred. Is there any further distribu-

18 at] in Coll., Gro.
tion of sins, not shadowed vnder these 7. large spreading branches of iniquity, on which a man may worke, and not tread on *Tarletons* | heeles? If not, what blemish is it to H 27

*Pierce Pennilesse* to begin where the Stage doth ende, to 5 build vertue a Church on that foundation that the Deuill built his Chappell?

*Gabriell*, if there bee anie witte or industrie in thee, now I will dare it to the uttermost: write of what thou wilt, in what language thou wilt, and I will confute it and answere 10 it. Take truths part, and I wil proue truth to be no truth, marching out of thy dág-voiding mouth.

Diuinitie I except, which admits no dalliance: but in any other art or profession, of which I am not yet free, and thou shalt challenge me to trie maistries in, Ile bind my 15 selfe Prentise too, and studie throughly, though it neuer stande mee in any other stead while I liue, but to make one reply, only because I wil haue the last word of thee.

I would count it the greatest punishment that *In speech* could lay vpon mee, to be bound to studie the Danish 20 tongue, which is able to make any Englishman haue the mumpes in his mouth, that shall but plunge through one full point of it, yet the Danish tongue, or any Turks, or hogs, or dogs tongue whatsoever, would I learne rather than bee put downe by such a ribauldry *Don Diego* as thou art.

Heigh, drawer, fil vs a fresh quart of *new-found phrases*, since *Gabriell* saies we borrow all our eloquence from Tauerns: but let it be of the mighty *Burdeaux* grape, pure *vino de monte*, I coniure thee, by the same token that the *Deuils dauncing schoole in the bottome of a mans purse that is emptie*, hath beene a gray-beard Prouerbe two hundred yeares before *Tarlton* was borne: Ergo, *no gramercy*, Dicke Tarlton. But *the summe of summes is this*, I drinke to you, M. *Gabriell*, on that condition, that you shall not excruciate H 3 your braine to be conceited and haue no wit.

Since we are here on our prating bench in a close roome, and that there is none in company but you, my approoued good friends, *foure Letters, and certain Sonnets*, your Pages,
I will rehearse vnto you some part of the Methode of my demeanour in \textit{Pierce Pennilesse}.

First, insomuch as the principal scope of it is a most liuelie anatomie of sinne, the diuell is made speciall superuisor of it, to him it is dedicated; as if a man shoulde compile a curious examined discoverie of whoredome, and dedicate it to the quarter Maisters of Bridewell, because they are best able to punish it.

Wherfore as there is no fire without some smoke, no complaint without some precedent cause of aggreeuance, I introduce a discontented Scholler vnder the person of \textit{Pierce Pennilesse}, tragicallie exclaiming vpon his partial-eid fortune, that kept an Almes boxe of compassion in store for every one but him-selfe. He tels how he tost his imagination like a dogge in a blanket, searcht euerie corner of the house of Charitie, to see if he could light on any that would set a new nappe of an old threedbare Cloake: but, like him that hauing a letter to deliuer to a Scottish Lorde, when hee came to his house to enquire for him, found no bodie at home but an ape that sate in the Porch and made mops and mows at him; so he, deliuering his vnperusde papers to Powles Churchyard, the first that took them vp was the Ape Gabriel, who made mops and mows at them, beslauering the outside of them a little, but coulde not enter into the contents, which was an as beyond his vnderstanding.

With the first and second leafe hee plaies verie pretilie, and in ordinarie termes of extenuating verdits \textit{Pierce Pennilesse for a Grammer Schoole wit}; saies his Margine is as deepelie learnd as Fauste præcor gelida, that his Muse sobbeth and Groneth verie piteouslie, bids him not cast himself headlong into the horrible gulph of desperation, comes ouer him that hee is a creature of wonderfull hope, as his own inspired courage diuinely suggesteth, wils him to inchaunt some magnificent Mecenases, to honour himselfe in honouring.
him, with a hundred such gracewanting Ironies cutte out against the woll, that woulde jeopard the best joint of Poetica licentia to procure laughter, when there crinckled crabbed countenance (the verie resemblance of a sodden dogges face) hath sworne it woulde neuer consent therevnto.

Not the most exquisite thing that is, but the Coûsel Table Asse, Richard Clarke, may so Carterly deride.

Euerie Milke-maide can gird with, Ist true? How saie you, lo? who would haue thought it? Good Beare, bite not.

A man is a man though hee hath but a hose on his head.

No such light painent, Gabriel, hast thou at my hands; I tell thee where, when, and how thou shewdst thy selfe a Dunsiuall.

Onely externall defects thou casts in my dish; nothing internall in thee, but I prooue that it is altogether excrementall.

A fewe Elegeicall verses of mine thou pluckest in pieces most ruthfullie, and quotes them against mee as aduantageable, together with some dismembred Margine notes, but all is inke cast away, you recouer no costs and charges. With one minutes studie Ile destroie more, than thou art able to build in ten daies.]

Squeise thy heart into thy inkehorne, and it shall but congeal into clodderd garbage of confutatiô, thy soule hath no effects of a soule, thou canst not sprinkle it into a sentence, & make euerie line leape like a cup of neat wine new powred out, as an Orator must doe that lies aright in wait for mens affections.

Whome hast thou wonne to hate mee by light crawling ouer my Text like a Cankerworme?

Some superficial slime of poison hast thou driueld from thy pen in thy shallow footed sliding through my Supplication, which one pen ful of repurified inke will excessiuelie wash out. Shall I informe thee (that vnfruitfullie endeuorst to informe authoritie against me) why I infixed those Poeticall latine marget notes to some fewe pages in the beginning of Pierce Pennillesse? I did it to explaine to
such expected spiefaults as thou art, that it was no uncouth abhorrencie from the custome of former writers, for a man openly to bewaile his undeserved ill destenie.

In the vncasing of thy brother Richard, I calculated the Natiuitie of the Astrologicall Discourse; I apparentlie suggested what a lewd piece of Prophecie it was; I registred the infinite scorne that the whole Realme intertaind it with, the Adages that ran vpon it, Tarltons and Eldertons nigrum THETA set to it, yet wilt thou, that art the sonne and heire to shamelesse impudence, the vnlineall vsurper of judgement from all his true owners, the HOYDEN and pointing stock recreation of Trinitie hall, Vanitas vanitatis & omnia vanitas, inuest that in the highest throne of Art and Schollership, which a scrutinie of so manie millions of wel discerning condeminations hath concluded to be viler than newesmungrie, & that which is vilest of all, no lesse vile than thy Epistles.

Most voices, most voices, most voices; who is on my side, who? Whether is the Astrologicall Discourse a better booke than Pierce Pennilesse? Gabriel hangtelow saies it is; I am the Defendant, and deny it, and yet I doe not ouercull my owne workes: His assertion he countermures thus:

Pierce Pennilesse is a man better acquainted with the Diuels of hell than the Starres of Heauen: Ergo, the Astro-logical Discourse is better than the notorious diabolicall discourse of Pierce Pennilesse.

Once againe I denye his Argument to bee of lawfull age. Pierce Pennilesse is a better Starmunger than a Dielmunger, which needeth no other FOR to corroberate it but this, that my yea, at all times, is as good as his nay.

How is the Supplication a diabolicall Discourse, otherwise than as it intreats of the diuere natures and properties of Diuels and spirits? in that far fetcht sense may the famous defensative against supposed Prophecies and the

Discouerie of Witchcraft be called notorious Diabolicall discourses, as well as the Supplication, for they also intreate of the illusions and sundrie operations of spirits: Likewise may I say that those his foure Letters nowe on their triall, are foure notorious lowsie Discourses, because they lyingly discourse little else saue Greene's lowsie estate before his death.

M. Churchyard, our old quarrel is renued, when nothing else can bee fastned on mee; this Letter leapper vpbraideth mee with crying you mercie; I cannot tell, but I think you will haue a saying to him for it. Ther's no reason that such a one as he should presume to intermeddle in your matters, it cannot be done with any intent but to stirre mee vp to write against you a-fresh, which nothing vnder heaven shall draw mee to doe. I loue you vnfainedly, and admire your aged Muse, that may well be grand-mother to our grandeloquentest Poets at this present:

Sanctum & venerabile vetus omne Poema.

Shores wife is yong, though you be stept in yeares; in her shall you liue when you are dead.

For that vnaduised indammagement I haue done you heretofore, Ile be your champion hence forward against any that dare write against you. Onely as euer you would light vpon a good cuppe of old sacke when you are most drie, pocket not vp this slie abuse at a rakehell rampalions hands, one that, when an iniurie is deepe buried in the graue of obliuion, shall seeke to digge it vp againe, recall that into mens memories which was consumed and forgotten.

Whoreson Ninhammer, that wilt assault a man & haue no stronger weapons.

The Italian saith, a man must not take knowledge of iniurie till he be able to reuenge it.

Nay but, in plaine good fellowship, art thou so innocent & vnconceiuing that thou shouldst ere hope to dash mee quite out of request by telling mee of the Counter, and my hostesse Penia?
I yeeld that I haue dealt vpon spare commodities of wine and capons in my daies, I haue sung George Gascoignes Counter-tenor; what then? Wilt thou peremptorily define that it is a place where no honest man or Gentleman of credit euer came? Heare what I say; a Gentleman is neuer throughly entred into credit till he hath beene there; & that Poet or noisce, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in a doubt that it is not authenticall, till it hath beene scene and allowd in vn-thrifts consistory.

Grande doloris ingenium. Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their Fathers built them, but I protest I should neuer haue writ passion well, or beene a peece of a Poet, if I had not arriu'd in those quarters.

Trace the gallantest youthes and brauest reuellers about Towne in all the by-paths of their expence, & you shall vnfallibly finde, that once in their life time they haue visited that melancholy habitation.

Come, come; if you will goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stande vnder the elowe of it.

I vow if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chauncery.

My hostesse Penia, thats a bugges word; I pry thee what Morrall hast thou vnder it? I will depose, if thou wilt, that till now I neuer heard of anie such English name.

There is a certaine thing cald christian veritie, & another hight common sense, and a third cleapt humilitie: they are more requisite and necessary for thee than modestie or discretion for mee and my companions, of which would thou shouldst vnderstand, we are so well prouided that we can lend thee and thy brother Richard a great deale, and yet keepe more than wee shall haue need of for ourselues.

Wilt thou be so hardy and iron-visaged to gainsay that
thy brother Vicars Batchlours hood was not turned over his eares for abusing of Aristotle? I know thou hast more grace than so, thou dost not contradict it flatly, but I slubbers it over faintly, and comes to recapitulate, not confute, some of the phrases I vsde in the vnhandsoming of his diuinitiship.

I my selfe, in the same order of disgracing thou singles them forth, will haue them vp againe, and see if thou, or anie man, can absurdifie the worst of them.

I say, and will make it good, that in the Astrologickall discourse thy brother (as if hee had lately cast the heav'nys water, or beene at the anatomizing of the skyes intrailles in Surgeons hall) prophesieth of such strange wonders to ensue from the starres distemperature, and the unusuall adultery of planners, as none but hee that is bawd to those celestiall bodies could ever desery.

This too I will ratifie for truthable & legible English, that his Astronomy broke his day with his creditors, and Saturne & Jupiter prou'd honester men than all the world tooke them for.

That the whole Universitie hist at him, Tarlton at the Theater made feastes of him, and Elderton consumed his ale crammed nose to nothing, in beare-baiting him with whole bundels of Ballads.

All this he barely repeates without any disprouement or denudation at all, as if it were so lame in it selfe that it would adnihilate it selfe with the onelie rehearsall of it.

For the gentilitie of the Nashes (though it might seeme a humor borrowed from thee to bragge of it) yet some of vs who neuer sought into it til of late, can proue the extancy of our auncestors before there was euer a ropemaker in England. Wee can vaunt larger petigrees than patrimonies, yet of such extrinsecall things, common to tenne thousand calues and oxen, would not I willingly vaunt, only it hath
pleased M. Printer, both in this booke and Pierce Pennilesse, I 2\textsuperscript{v} to intaile a vaine title to my name, which I care not for, without my consent or priuitie I here auouch.

But on the gentilitie of T. N. his beard, the maister Butler of Pembroke hall, stil I will stand to the death; for it is the very prince Elector of peaks, a beard that I cannot bee perswaded but was the Emperour Dionisius his, sur-named the Tyrant, when hee playde the schoolemaister in Corinth.

Gabriell, thou hast a pretty polwigge sparrows tayle peake, yet maist thou not compare with his: thy Father, for all by thy owne confession hee makes haires, had neuer the art to twilt vp such a grim triangle of haire as that.

Be not offended, honest T. N., that I am thus bold with thee, for I affect thee for the names sake, as much as any one man can do another, and know thee to be a fine fellow, and fit to discharge a farre higher calling than that wherein thou liu'st.

What more stufte lurketh behind in this letter to be distributed into shop-dust?

Pierce Pennilesse is as childish and garish a booke as euer came in print; when he talks of the sheepish discourse of the Lambe of God and his enemies, he saies, it is monstrous and absurd, and not to bee suffered in a Christian congregatio; that Richard hath stound over the schoolmen, and of the froth of their folly made a dish of Divinitie brewesse, which the Dogs would not eate.

If he saide so (as hee did) and can proue it (as hee hath done), by Sainte Lubecke, then The Lambe of God is as childish and garish stufte as euer came in print, indeede.

I, but how doth Pierce Pennilesse expiate the coinquina-tion of these obiections?

Richard, whom (because he is his brother, he there-|fore censures more curious and rigorous, in calling him M. H. than hee would have done otherwise) red the Philosophie Lecture in Cambridge with good liking and singular commendation, when A per se a was not so much as Idoneus
 auditor ciuilis scientiae, Ergo, the Lambe of God beares
a better Fleece than hee giues out it doth.
A perse a is improoued nothing since, excepting his old
Flores Poetarum and Tarletons surmounting rethorique,
with a little euphuisme and Greenesse inough.
Gabriel reports him to the favourallest opinion of those
that know A perse a his Prefaces, rimes, and the very tim-
panie of his Tarltonising wit, his Supplication to the Diuel.
Quiet your selues a little, my Maisters, and you shal see
mee disperse all those cloudes well inough. That Richard
red the Philosophie Lecture at Cambridge, I doe not with-
stand, but how?
Verie Lentenlie and scantlie, (farre bee it wee shuld
slander him so much as his brother Gabriell hath done, to
saie he read it with good liking and singularitie). Credite
mee, any that hath but a little refuse Colloquium Latine,
to interseame a Lecture with, and can saie but Quapropter
vos mei auditores, may reade with equiualent commendation
and liking.
I remember him woondrous well. In the chiefe pompe
of that his false praise, I both heard him, and heard what
was the vniuersall slender valuation of him.
There was eloquent Maister Knox, (a man whose losse
all good learning can neuer sufficiently deplore); twas he
and one Maister Iones of Trinitie Colledge, that, in my
time, with more speciall approbation conuerst in those
Readings. |
Since, I haue heard of two rare yong men, M. Meriton and
another, that in supplying that place of succession
haue surmounted all former mediocritie, and wonne them-
seles an euerlasting good name in the Vniuersitie.
These thou shouldst haue memoriz'd, if any, but thou
art giuen to speake well of none but thy selfe and thy two
brothers.

3 improoed in nothing Coll., Gro. 7 (and throughout) per se Coll., Gro.
'For verie companie, read verie timpanie' Errata, but the text is correct.
14 Gabriell] Richard Q. The error was noticed by Grosart in his Errata.
Thrice fruitfull S. Iohns, how many hundred perfecter Schollers than the three brothers hast thou nurst at thy paps, that yet haue not shakte off obscuritie?

Mellifluous PLAYFERE, one of the chief props of our aged, & auntientest, & absolutest Vniuersities present flourishing, Where doe thy supereminent gifts shine to themselues, that the Court cannot bee acquainted with them?

Few such men speake out of Fames highest Pulpits, though out of her highest Pulpits speake the purest of all speakers.

Let me adde one word, and let it not bee thought derogatorie to anie. I cannot bethinke mee of two in England in all things comparable to him for his time. Seldome haue I beheld so pregnant a pleasautn wit coupled with a memorie of such huge incomprehensible receipt, deepe reading and delight better mixt than in his Sermons.

Sed quorsum hxc, how doe these digressions linke in with our Subiectum circa quod?

Flaunting Richard and his Philosophie Lecture, was vnder our fingers euene now, howsoever wee haue lost him. Hold the candle, and you shall see me cast a figure for him extempore: Oh hoh, I haue founde him without any further seeking. Giue me your eares, | Io Paxan; God saue them, they are long ones.

Now, betweene you and me declare, as if you were at shrift, whether you be not a superlatiue blocke, for al you readd the Philosophie Lecture at Cambridge: Brieflie, brieflie; let mee not stand all daie about you.

His conscience accuseth him, hee is stroke starke dumbe; onely by signes he craues to bee admitted in forma pauperis, that we should let him passe for a pore fellow, and he will sell his birthright in learning, with Esau, for a messe of porrige.

Cura leues loquuntur; he hath but a little cure to look too. Maiores stupent, more liuing would make him studie more.

18 with our] without Coll., Gro. 23 Io c.w. 34 Cura Q.
For this once wee dispence with you, because you look so penitentlie on it, but let not me catch you selling any more such twise sodden sawdust diuinitie as the Lambe of God and his enemies, for if I do, I shall make a dearth of paper in Pater-noster-rowe (such as was not this seauen yeare) onelie with writing against thee.

_A perse a_ can doe it; tempt not his clemencie too much. _A perse a?_

Passion of God, howe came I by that name? my god-father Gabriel gave it mee, and I must not refuse it. Nor if you were priuie whence it came would you hold it worthie to be refused; for before I had the reuersion of it hee bestowe'd it on a Noble man, whose new fashiond apparrell and Tuscanish gestures, cringing side necke, eies glancing, fisnomie smerking, having described to the full, he concludes with this verse:

_Euerie inch_ A perse a his termes and braueries in print.

Hold you your peace Nashe: _that was before you were Idoneus auditor ciuillis scientiae._ It may bee so, for thou wert a Libeller before I was borne. _Yet vn-der correction bee it I_ 4`

spoken, I haue come to the schooles and purg'd rheume many a time, when your brother was Philosophie Lecturer; he wanted no _supplosus pedu_, to spend away his houre, that I could help him with.

_What since I am improved_ you partly haue prooued to your cost; and may doe more at large, if God send vs more leysure.

As for _Flores Poetarum_, they are flowers that yet I neuer smelt too. I shall pawne my hand to a halfepenny, I haue readd more good Poets thorough than thou euer hardst off.

The flores of your _Foure Letters_ it may be I haue overlookt more narrowlie, and done my best deuoire to assemble them together into patheticall posie, which I will here present to Maister Orator Edge for a Newyeares
gift, leaving them to his wordie discretion to be censured, whether they be currant in inkehornisme or no.


Nor are these all, for euerie third line hath some of this ouer-rackt absonisme. Nor do I altogether scum off all these as the newe ingendred some of the English, but allowe some of them for a neede to fill vp a verse; as Traynment, and one or two wordes more, which the libertie of prose might well haue spar'd. In a verse, when a worde of three sillables cannot thrust in but sidelings, to 25 joynt him euen we are oftentimes faine to borrowe some lesser quarry of elocution from the Latine, alwaies retaining this for a principle, that a leake of indesinence, as a leake in a shippe, must needly bee stopt with what matter soeuer. Chaucers authoritie, I am certaine, shalbe alleadgd against mee for a many of these balductums. Had Chaucer liu'd to this age, I am verily perswaded hee would haue discarded the tone halfe of the harsher sort of them. They were the Oouse which ouerflowing barbarisme, withdrawne to her Scottish Northren chanell, had left

17 Magy polimechanuy Q. 19 Notorietie negotiation Q. 32 Chauceer Q.
behind her. Art, like yong grasse in the spring of Chaucers florishing, was glad to peepe vp through any slime of corruption, to be beholding to she car'd not whome for apparaile, travailling in those colde countries. There is no reason that shee, a banisht Queene into this barraine soile, hauing monarchizd it so long amongst the Greeks and Romanes, should (although warres furie had humbled her to some extremitie) still be constrained, when she hath recouerd her state, to weare the robes of aduersitie, iet it in her old rags, when she is wedded to new prosperitie.

Vtere moribus præteritis, saith Caius Cæsar in Aulus K r Gellius, loquere verbis præsentibus.

Thou art mine enemie, Gabriell, and, that which is more, a contemptible vnder-foote enemie, or else I would teach thy olde Trewantship the true vse of words, as also how more inclinable verse is than prose, to dance after the horrizonant pipe of inueterate antiquitie.

It is no matter, since thou hast brought godly instruction out of loue with thee, vse thy own destruction, raigne sole Emperour of inkehornisme; I wish vnto thee all super-abundant increase of the singular gifts of absurditie, and vaineglory: from this time forth for euer, euer, euer, euermore maist thou be canonized as the Nunparreille of impious epistlers, the short shredder out of sandy sentences without lime, as Quintillian tearmed Seneca all lime and no sande; all matter and no circumstance; the factor for the Fairies and night Vrchins, in supplanting and setting aside the true children of the English, and suborning inke-horne changlings in their steade, the galimafrier of all stiles in one standish, as imitating euerie one, & hauing no seperate forme of writing of thy owne; and to conclude, the onely feather-druiuer of phrases, and putter of a good word to it when thou hast once got it, that is betwixt this and the Alpes. So bee it worlde without ende. Chroniclers, heare my praiers. Good Maister Stowe, be not vnmindfull of him.

Thats well remembred, now I talke of Chroniclers,
FOVRE LETTERS

I founde the Astrologicall discourse the other night in the Chronicle. Gabriell will outface vs, it is a worke of such deepe arte & judgement, when it is expressly past vnder record for a coosening prognostication. The wordes are k these, though somewhat a-breuiated; for he makes a long circumlocution of it.

In the yeare 1583. by meanes of an Astrologicall discourse vppon the great and notable conjuction of Saturne and Jupiter, the common sort of people were almost dru'n out of their wits, and knew not what to doe: but when no such thing hapned, they fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discoursor of extreme madnessse and follie.

Ipsissima sunt Aristotelis verba, they are the verie words of John Tell-troth, in the 1357. folio of the last edition of the great Chronicle of England.

Mehercule quidem, if it be so taken vp, Pierce Pennilesse may well cast his cappe after it for euer overtaking it. But some thing even now, Gabriell, thou wert girding against my præfaces and rimes, and the timpanie of my Tarltonizing wit.

Well, these be your words, præfaces and rimes; let mee studie a little, præfaces and rimes. Minimè verò; si ais nego. I neuer printed rime in my life but those verses in the beginning of Pierce Pennilesse, though you haue set forth

The stories quaint of manie a doutie flie,
That read a lecture to the ventrous elfe.

And so forth as followeth in chambling rowe.

Præfaces two, or a paire of Epistles, I will receyue into the protection of my parentage: out of both which, sucke out one solæcisme, or mishapen English word, if thou canst for thy guts.

Wherein haue I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that

18 well] om. Gro. 22 Grosart has here the side-note Apply to Mas.
Martin. Not in Coll.
I should thanke them for all I haue? Is my stile like Greenes, or my ieasts like Tarltons? Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones, or rake vp any new-found poetry from vnder the wals of Troy? If I do, trip mee with it; but I doe not, therefore Ile | be so saucy as K 2v trip you with the grand lie. Ware stumbling of whetstones in the darke there, my maisters.

This I will proudly boast (yet am I nothing a kindred to the three brothers) that the vaine which I haue (be it a median vaine, or a madde man) is of my owne begetting, and cals no man father in England but my selfe, neyther Euphues, nor Tarlton, nor Greene.

Not Tarlton nor Greene but haue beene contented to let my simple iudgement ouerrule them in some matters of wit. 15 Euphues I readd when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and then I thought it was Ipse ille: it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten yeare: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates Plutarch, Ouid, and the choisest Latine Authors.

If you be aduisde, I tooke shortest vowels and longest mutes in the beginning of my booke, as suspitious of being accessarie to the making of a Sonnet wherto Maister Christopher Birds name is set; there I saide that you mute forth many such phrases in the course of your booke, which 20 I would point at as I past by: Heere I am as good as my word, for I note that thou beeing afraide of beraying thy selfe with writing, wouldest faine bee a mute, when it is too late to repent. Againe, thou reuest on vs and saist that mutes are coursed and vowels haunted. Thou art no mute, 25 yet shalt thou be hauntid and coursid to the full. I will neuer leaue thee as long as I am able to lift a pen.

Whether I seeke to bee counted a terrible bulbegger or no, Ile baite thee worse than a bull, so that thou shalt desire some body on thy knees to helpe thee with letters of 30 commendation to Bull, the hangman, that he may dispatch
3 thee out of the way before | more affliction come upon thee.

All the invective and satiricall spirits shall then bee thy familiars, as the furies in hell are the familiars of sinfull ghosts, to follow them and torment them without intermission: thou shalt bee double girt with girds, and scoft at till those that stand by do nothing but cough with laughing.

Thou saiest I professe the art of railing: thou shalt not say so in vaine, for, if there bee any art or depth in it, more than Aretine or Agrippa haue discovered or diu'd into, looke that I will sound it and search it to the uttermost, but ere I haue done with thee ile leave thee the miserabler creature that the sunne euer sawe.

There is no kind of peaceable pleasure in poetrie, but I can drawe equally in the same yoke with the haughtiest of those foule-mouthd backbiters that say I can do nothing but raile.

I haue written in all sorts of humors privately, I am perswaded, more than any yoong man of my age in England.

The weather is cold, and I am wearie with confuting: the remainder of the colde contents of this Epistle be these.

He enuiously indeuors, since he cannot reuenge himselfe, to incense men of high calling against me, and wold inforce it into their opinions, that whatsoever is spoke in Pierce Pennilesse concerning Pesants, Clownes, &c hipocritickall hotspurs, Midasses, Buckram Giants, &c the mightie Prince of darkenesse, is meant of them; let him proue it, or bring the man to my face to whome I euer made any vnduetifull exposition of it. I am to be my own interpreter first in this case. I say, in Pierce Pennilesse I haue set downe nothing but that which I haue had my president for in forraine writers, nor had I the least allusion to any man set aboue mee in degree, but onely glanc'st at vice generallie.

The tale of the Beare and the Foxe, how euer it may set

3 satericall Q. 30 it, I Q. 30-1 in this first case Q. Corr. in Errata.
fooles heads a worke a farre off, yet I had no concealed ende in it but, in the one, to describe the right nature of a bloudthirsty tyrant, whose indefinite appetite all the pleasures in the earth haue no powre to bound in goodnes, but he must seeke a new felicitie in varietie of cruelty, and destroying all other mens prosperitie; for the other, to figure an hypocrite: Let it be Martin, if you will, or some old dog that bites sorer than hee, who secretlie goes and seduceth country Swaines.

Maketh them beleue that that honny which their bees brought forth was poysenous and corrupt.

That they may buy honny cheaper than by being at such charges in keeping of bees.

That it is not necessarie they should haue such stately huires, or lie sucking at such precious honnicombes.

If this (which is nothing else but to swim with the streame) be to tell tales as shrewdly as mother Hubbard, it shoulde seeme mother Hubbard is no great shreve, howeuer thou treading on her heeles so oft, shee may bee tempted beyonde her ten commandements.

A little before this, the foresaid fanaticall Phobetor, geremumble, tirleriwhisco, or what you will, cald forth the biggest gunshot of my thundring tearmes, steept in Aqua fortis and gunpowder, to come and trie them selues on his paper Target.

But that it is no credite, Galpogas, to discharge a Cannon gaineast a lowse, thou shouldst not call in vaine: thou shouldst heare Tom a Lincolne roare | with a witnes; woe! worth the daie & the yeare when thou hearest him. I feare-blast thee nowe but with the winde of my weapon. With the wast of my words I lay wast all the feeble fortifications of thy wit. Shewe mee the Vniuersities hand and seale that thou art a Doctour sealed and deliuered in the presence of a whole Commensement, and Ie present thee with my whole artillerie store of eloquence.
A bots on thee for mee for a lumpish, leaden heeld letter
dawber, my stile, with treading in thy clammie steps, is
growne as heauie gated, as if it were bound to an Aldermans
pace, with the irons at Newgate cald the widows Almes.

Ere I was chained to thee thus by the necke, I was as 5
light as the Poet Accius, who was so lowe and so slender
that hee was faine to put lead into his shooes for feare the
wonde shoulde blowe him into another Countrie.

Those that catch Leopards set cups of wine before them;
those that will winne liking and grace of the readers must 10
set before them continually that which shall cheare them
and reuiue them.

Gabriell, thou hast not done so, thou canst not doe so,
therefore thy works neither haue, nor can any way hinder
mee, nor benefit the Printer.

Euen in the packing vp of my booke, a hot ague hath
mee by the backe. Maugre sickenesse worst, a leane arme
put out of the bed shall grind and pash euery crum of thy
booke into pin-dust.

The next piece of seruice thou dost against Pierce 20
Pennilesse, is the naming of him woeful poueretto, and
pleasant supposing thou puldst him by the ragged sleeue:
Then matchest thou thy selfe to Vlisses, and him to Irus;
Irrita sunt hxc omnia: it is a sleeuelesse ieast. I haue
besliu'd thee already for it; it toucheth the body and not 25
the minde. Besides, I was neuer altogether Peter Poureto,
utterly throwne downe, desperately seperated from all
means of releueing my selfe, since I knew how to seperate
a knaue from an honest man, or throw my cloake ouer my
nose when I salied by the Counters.

The ragged cognizance on the sleeue, I may say to thee,
carried meate in the mouth when time was: doe not
dispraise it yet, for it hath many high partakers. Qux
sequuntur huiusmodi sunt.

Thou turmoilst thy pia mater to proue base births 35
better than the offspring of many discents, because thou 
art a mushrumpe sprung vp in one night, a seely mouse 
begotten on a moulehill, that wouldst fayne pearch thy 
selwe on the mountaines, when thy legges are too short to 
overcome such a long journey of glorie.

My margent note, *Meritis expendite causam*, thou wouldst 
rather than any thing wrest to an enditment of arrogance, 
& so branch mee into thy tiptoe stocke. I cannot see how 
 thou canst compasse it: For though I bad them weigh the 
cause by deserts, yet I did not assume too much to my 
owne deserts, when I expostulated, why Coblers, Hostlers, 
and Carmen should be worth so much, and so much, and 
I, a scholler and a good-fellow, a begger. How thou hast 
arrogated to thy selwe more than *Lucifer*, or any *Miles 
griosus* in the worlde would doe, I haue already noted at 
large in his due place and order. If thou bestowst any 
curtesie on mee, and I do not requite it, then call mee cut, 
and say I was brought vp at Hoggenorton, where pigges 
play on the Organs.

Wert thou well acquainted with me, thou shouldst | per- 
ceu that I am very franke where I take, & send away 
one empty-handed that give mee but halfe an ill worde. 

It is a good signe of grace in thee, that thou confessest 
*thou hast offences enough of thy owne to aunswere*, though 
*thou beest not chargd with thy Fathers*. Once in thy life 
thou speakst true yet; I beleue thee and pittie thee. God 
make thee a good man, for thou hast beene a wilde youth 
hitherto.

Thy Hexameter verses, or thy hue and crie after a *person 
as cleare as Christall*, I do not so deeply commend, for al 
*Maister Spencer long since imbrast it with an ouer-louing 
sonnet*.

Why should friends dissemble one with another? they 
are very vgly and artlesse. You will neuer leaue your olde 
trickes of drawing *M. Spencer* into euerie pybald thing you 
do. If euer he praisd thee, it was because he had pickt
a fine vaine foole out of thee, and he would keepe thee still a foole, by flattring thee, til such time as he had brought thee into that extreame loue with thy selfe, that thou shouldst run mad with the conceit, and so be scorned of all men.

Yet yet, Gabriell, are not we set non plus; thy roister doisterdome hath not dasht vs out of countenance. If anie man use boistrous horse-play, or bee beholding to Carters Logique, it is thy selfe; for with none but clownish and roynish ieasts dost thou rush vppon vs, and keepst such a flurtung and a flinging in euerie leafe, as if thou wert the onely reasty iade in a country.

Scolding, thou saiest, is the language of shrewes, railing the stile of rakehels; what concluist thou from thence? Do I scold? do I raile?

Scolding & railing is loud miscalling and reuiling one another without wit, speaking euery thing a man knows by his neighbour, though it bee neuer so contrary to all humanitie and good manners, and would make the standers by almost perbrake to heare it. Such is thy inuictiue against Greene, where thou talkst of his lowsines, his sur-feting, his beggerie, and the mother of Infortunatus infirmities. If I scold, if I raile, I do but cum ratione insanire; Tully, Ouid, all the olde Poets, Agrippa, Aretine, and the rest are all scolds and railers, and by thy conclusion flat shrewes and rakehels: for I doe no more than their examples do warrant mee.

The intoxicate spirit of grisly Euridice, I can tosse ouer as lightly to thee, as thou hast puft it to mee. My hart is praecoccupied with better spirits, which haue left her no house-roome: thou hast no spirite, as it should appeare by thy writing: intertaine her and the spirit of the buttrey out of hand, or thou wilt be beaten hand-smooth out of Bucklarsbury.

When I parted with thy brother in Pierce Penilesse, I left him to be tormente world without ende of our
Poets and writers about London, for calling them piperly make-places and makebates, not doubting but they would drudge him to this issue, that he should be constrained to goe to the chiefe beame of his benetice, and there beginning a lametale speech with cur scripsi, cur perij, ende with Prauum praua decent, iuinat inconcessa voluptas, & so with a trice, trusse vp his life in the string of his sance-bell. Now heere thou thankst God thou art not so vncharitably bent to put so much wit in a speech; like a Parson in Lancashire, that kneeld down on his knees in a zealous passion, and very hartily thankt God he never knew what that vile Antichristian Romish Popish Latine meant. Did I exhort inke and paper to pray that they might not bee troubled | with him any more? Inke and paper, if they bee true Protestants, will pray that they may not be contaminated any more with such abomination of desolation, as the three brothers Apocripha pamphleting.

After all this foule weather ensueth a calme dilatement of others too forward harmefulnes, and thy owne backward irefulnesse; thats dispatcht, the court hath found it otherwise.

Then thou goest about to bribe mee to giue ouer this quarrell, and saist, if I will holde my peace, thou wilt bestowe more complements of rare amplifications vpon mee, than euer thou bestowdst on Sir Philip Sidney, and gentle Maister Spencer.

Thou flatterst mee, and praisest mee.

To make mee a small seeming amendes for the injuries thou hast done mee, thou reckonst mee vp amongst the deare louers and professed sonnes of the Muses, Edmund Spencer, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell.

With a hundred blessings, and many praiers, thou in-treatst mee to love thee.

Content thy selfe, I will not.

amplification Coll., Gro.
Thou protests it was not my person thou mislikt (I am afaide thou wilt make mee thy Ingle) but my fierce running at Parson Richard, excusest mee by my youth, & promisest to cancell thy impertinent Pamphlet.

It were good hanging thee now thou art in such a good mind; yet for all this, a dogge will be a dogge, & returne to his vomit, doe what a man can; thou must haue one squibbe more at the Deuils Orator, & his Dames Poet, or thy penne is not in cleane life. I will permit thee to say what thou wilt, to vnderlie (as thou desir'st) the verdit of Fame hir selse, so I may lie aboue thee. LIE aboue thee, tell greater lies than thou dost, | no man is able.

Thus, O heauenly Muse, I thanke thee, for thou hast giu'n mee the patience to trauel through the tedious wildernesse of this Gomorian Epistle. Not Hercules, when he cleansed the stables of Ægeas, vnder-tooke such a stinking vnauorie exploit. By thy assistaunce through a whole region of golden lanes haue I iourneied, & now am safely arriu'd at not speedily dispatcht, but hastily bungled vp as you see. Graunt that all such slow dis-patchers & hastie bunglers may haue a long time of reproach to repent them in, and not come abroad to corrupt the aire & impostumate mens ears with their pan-pudding prose any more. So bee it, say all English people after mee, that haue eares to heare or eies to reade.

Feci, feci, feci, had I my health, now I had leysure to be merry, for I haue almost washt my hands of the Doctour.

His own regenerate verses of the iolly Fly, & Gibeline and Gwelph, some peraduenture may expect that I should answere. So I would if there were anie thing in them which I had not answerd before, but there is nothing; if there were, hauing driuen his sword to his head, I respect not what he can do with his dagger. Onely I will looke vpon the last Sonnet of M. Spencers to the right worshipfull Maister G. H., Doctour of the lawes: or it may so fall out that I will not looke vpon it too, because (Gabriell)
though I vehemently suspect it to bee of thy owne doing, it is popt foorth vnder M. Spencers name, and his name is able to sanctifie any thing, though falsely ascribed to it.

The fourth letter of our Orators, to the same favorale or indifferent reader, was a letter which this many a long summers day, I dare ieopard my may-denhead had line L 3 hidden in his deske; for it is a shipmans hose, that will serue any man as well as Green or mee.

To make short, in it, as fortie times before, he brides it and simpers it out a crie, No, forsooth, God dild you, hee would not that hee would: None so desirous of quiet as hee, good olde man, who with a pure intent of peace, first put fire to the flame that hath hedgde him in.

He hath preuented Maister Bunnie of the second part of his treatise of Pacification; for like some craftie ring-leader of rebellion, when hee hath stirred vp a dangerous commotion, and findes, by the too late examination of his forevnexamed defects in himselfe, that so sweet a roote will hardlie effect correspondent fruits, strait, in pollicie to get his pardon, hee strikes saile to that tempest of sedition, and is thrice as earnest in preaching pacification, obedience, and submission: so Gabriel, when he hath stird vp against me what tumults he can in Stationers Shops, and left the quiuer of his enuie not an arrow vndrawne out, hee finds, by the audit of his ill consumed defectes, that he is not of force inough to hold out; wherefore in pollicie to avoid further arrearages of infamie, hee tires the text of reconcililation out of breath, and hopeth by the intercession of a cuppe of white wine and sugar, to be made friends with his fellow writers.

It cannot choose but he must of necessitie be a very sore fellow, that is so familiar with white wine & sugar, for white wine, in a maner, is good for nothing but to wash sores in, and smudge vp withered beauty with. Well, for all hee would haue Pierce make no warres on him, he makes warres on Pierce Pennilesse, he bebeggereth him again in this
3° epistle verie boun-tifullie: hee saies that Lordes must take heede how they Lord it in his presence.

That the Asse is the onelie Author he alleadgeth.

That Greene is an Asse in print, and he a calfe in print.

That they are both chieftaines in licentiousnesse, and, truth can saie, the abhominable villanies of such base shifting companions, good for nothing but to cast away themselves, spoile their adherents, &c.

For my beggerie, let that trauell the countries; I haue saide more for it than a richer man would haue done, but that I take vppon me to Lord it ouer great Lords, thou art a most lewd tungd lurden to saie it.

Must they take heede how they Lord it in my presence, what must they doe then in thy presence?

That sitting like a looker on

Of this worlds stage, dost note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition;
Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great,
Ne fearest foolish reprehension,
But freeliest dost, of what thee list, intreate,
Like a great Lord of peerlesse libertie,
Lifting the good vp to high honors seate,
And thy euill damning euermore to die;
For life and death is in thy doomefull writing.

Whereas thou saist the Asse, in a manner, is the only Author I alleadge, I must know how you define an Asse before I can tell how to answere you; for Cornelius Agrippa maketh all the Philosophers, Oratours, and Poets that euer were, Asses: and if so you understand that I alleadge no Author but the Asse, for all Authors are Asses, why I am for you; if otherwise, thou art worse than a Cumane Asse, to leape before thou lookst, and condemne a man without cause.

What Authors dost thou alleadge in thy booke? not two but any Grammer Scholler might haue alleadgd.

There is not three kernels of more than common learning in all thy *Foure Letters*. Common learning? not common sense in some places.

Of force I must graunt that Greene came oftner in print than men of judgement allowed off, but neverthelesse he was a daintie slave to content the tale of a Tearme, and stuffe Servuing mens pockets.

An Asse, Gabriel, it is harde thou shouldst name him: for calling mee Calfe, it breakes no square, but if I bee a calfe, it is in comparison of such an Oxe as thy selfe.

*The chiefetaines of licentiousnes, and, truth can say, the abhominable villanies of such base shifting companions, good for nothing, &c.* I am of the mind wee shall not diggest this neither.

15 Answer me *succincte & expeditè*, what one period any way leaning to licentiousnes, canst thou produce in *Pierce Pennilesse*?

I talke of a great matter when I tell thee of a period, for I know two seuerall periods or full pointes, in this last epistle, at least fortie lines long a piece.

For the order of my life, it is as ciuil as a ciuil orenge; I lurke in no corners, but converse in a house of credit, as well gouerned as any Colledge, where there bee more rare quallified men and selected good Schollers than in any Noblemans house that I knowe in England.

If I had committed *such abhominable villanies, or were a base shifting companion*, it stoode not with my Lords honour to keepe me, but if thou hast saide it, & canst not proue it, what slandrous dishonor hast thou done him, to giue it out that he keepes *the commiters* of *abhominable* villanies and base shifting companions, when they are farre honester than thy selfe.

If I were by thee, I woulde plucke thee by the beard, and spit in thy face, but I would dare thee, and vrge thee beyonde all excuse, to disclose and proue for thy heart
bloud, what villanie or base shifting by mee thou canst; I defie all the worlde in that respect.

Because thou vsedst at Cambridge to shift for thy Friday at night suppers, and cosen poore victuallers and pie-wiues of Doctours cheese and puddinges, thou thinkst me one of the same religion too.

What Greene was, let some other answere for him as much as I haue done; I had no tuition ouer him; he might haue writ another Galatæo of manners, for his manners euerie time I came in his companie: I saw no such base shifting or abhominable villanie by him. Something there was which I haue heard, not seene, that hee had not that regarde to his credite in, which had beene requisite he should.

What a Calimunco am I to plead for him, as though I were as neere him as his owne skinne. A thousande there bee that haue more reason to speake in his behalfe than I, who, since I first knew him about town, haue beene two yeares together and not seene him.

But Ile doe as much for any man, especially for a deade man, that cannot speake for himselfe. Let vs heare how we are good for nothing but to cast awaie our selues, spoile our adherents, praie on our fauourers; dishonour our Patrons. Haue I euer tooke any likelie course of casting away my selfe?

Whom canst thou name that kept me company, and reapt any discommoditie by mee? I can name diuers good Gentlemen that haue beene my adherents and fauourers a long time. Let them report howe I haue spoilde them, or praied on them, or put them to one pennie detriment since I first consorted with the.

Haue an eie to the maine-chaunce, for no sooner shall they understand what thou hast said by mee of them, but theyle goe neere to haue thee about the eares for this geare, one after another.

My Patrons, or anie that bind me to them by the least March 4 Friday nights Coll., Gro.
good turne, there is no man in England that is, or shall (for my small power) bee, more thankefull vnsto, than I. Neuer was I vnthankefull vnsto any, no, not to those of whome for deedes I receiued nothing but vnperformed deede-promising words. It is an honor to be accusde, and not conuinst.

One of these months I shall challenge martirdome to my selfe, and write large stories of the persecution of tongues. Troth, I am as like to persecute as be persecuted. Let him take vp his Crosse and blesse himselle that crosseth mee, for I will crosse shinnes with him though euery sentence of his were a thousand tunnes of discourses, as Gabriel saith euery sentence of his is a discourse. Quods, quods, giue mee my Text pen againe, for I haue a little more Text to launce.

The secretaries of art and nature, if it were not for frivolous contentions, might bestead the commō-welth with manie puissant engins. As, for example, Bacons brazen nose, Architas wodden doue, dancing bals, fire breathing gourdes, artificiall flies to hang in the aire by themselues, an egshell that shall run vp to the toppe of a speare.

Archimedes made a heau'n of brasse, but we haue nothing to do with olde brasse and iron. Appollonius Regimontanus did manie pretie iugling tricks, but wee had rather drinke out of a glasse than a Jugge; vse a little brittle wit of our owne, than borrow any miracle mettall of Deuils.

Amongst all other stratagems and puissant engins, what say you to Mates Pumpe in Cheapeside, to pumpe ouer mutton and porridge into Fraunce? this colde weather our souldiors, I can tell you, haue need of it, and, poore field mise, they haue almost got the colicke and stone with eating of prouant. Consider of it well, for it is better than all Bacons, Architas, Archimedes, Appollonius, or Regiomontanus deuices; for Gabriell, that professeth all these, with all their
helpe cannot make the bias bowle at Saffron Walden run downe the hill, when it is throwne down with the hardest hand that may bee, but it will turne vp the hill againe in spite of a mans teeth, and, that which is worst, giue no reason for it.

The Parrat and the Peacock haue leisure to reuiue & repolish their expired workes; you speake like a friend; wele listen to you when you haue repolished and expired your perfected degree. A Demy Doctor, what a shame is it?

Because your books do call for a litle more drinke and a fewe more clothes when they are gone to bed, that is, when they lie dead, you thinke ours should do so too. No, no, we doe not vse to clappe a coat ouer a ierkin, or thrust any of the children of our braine into their mothers wombe againe, & beget them a new after they are once borne. If it bee a horne booke at his first conception, let it be a horne booke still, and turne not cat in the panne, convert the Pater noster to a Primer, when it hath begd it selfe out at the elbowes vp and downe the cuntrey.

Thou didst thou knewst not what, in eeking this thy short-wasted Pamphlet, iwis, as thou saist of thy selfe: Thou art an old trevant, fitter to plaie the dumbe dogge with some antients, than the hissing snake.

Who be those antient dumbe dogs? we shall have you a Martinist when all comes to all, because you cannot thriue with the Ciuill Law, and that you may marry her for any thing you are a kindred to her; thercfore you wil compare Whitegift and Cartwright, white and blacke together, name the highest gouernours of the Church without giuing them anie reuerence or titles of honour, imbrace anie religion which will be euen with the profession that favors not you.

There is no baile or maineprise for it, but wee must haue you in the first peeping forth of the spring, preaching
out of a Pulpit in the woods: you haue put on wolues raiment already, seduced manie simple people vnder the habit of a sheepe in Wolfses print. If you protest & lie any more, it is not your ending here like a sermon, that will make you bee reputed for a saint.

Readers, a decaied student, lately shipwrackt with Si vales bene est, hauing foure Lightors of Letters, cleane cast away on the rocks called the Bishop & his Clarks, desires you all to pray for him, and he will recommend you all to God in the next sermon he penneth for his brother Richard.

He hath a mind to pay euery man his owne, though hee hath sustained great losse in fight, that which he cannot effect he beseecheth the Lord to accomplish, and even to worke a miracle upon the deafe.

Lord, if it be thy will, let him be an Asse still. Gentlemen, I haue no more to say to the Doctor, dispose of the victorie as you please; shortly I will present you with some thing thatshalbe better than nothing, onely giue mee a gentle hire for my durtie day labor, and I am your bounden Orator for euer. |

Sonnetto.

Were there no warres, poore men should haue no peace;

Vncessant warres with waspes and droanes I crie:
Hee that begins, oft knows not how to cease,
They haue begun, Ie follow till I die.
Ie heare no truce, wrong gets no graue in mee,
Abuse pell mell encounter with abuse:
Write hee againe, Ie write eternally.
Who feedes reuenge hath found an endlessse Muse.
If death ere made his blacke dart of a pen,
My penne his speciall Baily shall becum:

Somewhat I be reputed of mongst men,
By striking of this duns, or dead or dum.
Awaite the world the Tragedy of wrath;
What next I paint shall tread no common path.

*Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice.*

Tho. Nashe.
Obseruations for the Readers of this booke.

Item, whatsoever for the most part is here in this booke in change of letter, is our adversaries owne Text and unbarised words, either in this his convicted Foure Letters, or some other taste treatise, set forth by him heretofore.

Then, that I am wrested and utterly divorced from my owne invention, & constrained still still, before I am warme in any one baine, to start away sodainely, and follow him in his vanitie.

Finally, Printers haue many false stiches, which are thus to bee drawn vp.

In the second page of C. for Baboune brother, reade Baboune his brother. in the 7. for allegorized & Abdias, reade allegorized Abdias. in the 8. for set hand, reade set his hand. idem for headmen, read headman. in the first of D. for Liuor post quiescat, reade Liuor post fata quiescat. in the 5. for plaister of Doctourship, reade plaistrie or dawbing of Doctourship. in the 7. for insolent inckehorne worme, reade insolent incke worme. in the 2. of E. for Asse in present, read Asse in presenti. in the 3. for bestow vpon, reade bestow vpon him. in the 5. for effect, reade efficacie. in the 4. of F. for vertuous Syr John Norris, read victorious Syr John Norris. in the 5. page of H. for I introduce in a discontented Scholler, read I introduce a discontented Scholler. in the 8. for His assentriion, reade His assertion. in the 5. of I. for verie companie, reade verie timpanie. in the 5. page of K. for in this first case, reade first in this case.

FINIS.
THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

Entries in the Stationers' Register:

30 Junij [1593]
John Danter / Entred for his copie vnder the wardens handes. a booke intituled The Tyrroour of the night or a discourse of appari-
sions ........................................ vjd
(S.R., ed. Arber, II. 633.)

xxv Octobris [1594]
John danter Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of the wardens. a booke intituled The Tirroour of the night, or an appairision of Dreames ............... vjd /
(S.R., ed. Arber, II. 663.)

Editions: (1) Early:

1594. [Head ornament] THE | Terrors of the night | Or, |
A Discourse of Apparitions. | Post Tenebras Dies. | THO: 
NASHE. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by John Danter for 
William Iones, and are to be sold | at the signe of the Gunne 
nere Holburne Conduit. | 1594. |

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

R-T. THE EPISTLE | DEDICATORIE. (A 3)v blank.
(A 4) 'To Master or Goodman Reader, . . .' Ital. and Rom.
(A 4)v blank. B ' The Terrors of the Night . . .' Rom. and 
Ital. R-T. THE TERRORS | OF THE NIGHT. (H 3)v
blank. (H 4) wanting, probably blank.

Signatures in Roman, except B 2, which is Italic. A 3 and H 3 are not signed. No fourth leaves are signed.

I Z
THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

Catch-words: A 2. (be-)holding  A 2v. bee  B 1. (for-)mer  C 1. To  D 1. (tor-)ment  E 1. the  F 1. So  G 1. to  H 1. faster

Copy used: That in the British Museum (C. 40. d. 21), compared for the defective portions on A 2 and A 3 with the Britwell copy.

The British Museum copy wants portions of the upper, outer corners of the two leaves mentioned, as well as of the title-page: they have been supplied in (correct) facsimile.

(2) Modern edition:

Grosart says, 'For the exemplar of “The Terrors of the Night” I am indebted to the Bodleian,' but there is no copy in the Bodleian, nor has there ever been one. He probably used the copy in the British Museum, and was misled by the fact that it had belonged at one time to Malone.
THE
Terrors of the night
Or,
A Discourse of Apparitions.
Post Tenebras Dies.
Tho: Nashe.

London,
Printed by John Данter for William Jones, and are to be sold at the signe of the Gunmenere Holburne Conduit.
1594.
TO THE NEW KIND-
led cleare Lampe of Virginitie, and
the excellent adored high Wonder of sharpe Wit
and sweete Beautie, Mistres ELIZABETH CAREY;
sole Daughter and Heire to the thrice noble and re-
owned Sir GEORGE CAREY, Knight
Marshall, &c.

Are adorned Mistris, whom al that know admire,
and not malice it selfe but doth honor. True
Stemme of Nobilitie, out-flourishing your sexe or
your age; pure saint-like picture of Sobrietie and Modestie,
sacred and immaculate virgin Starre,cleare (if anie liuing)
from the originall sin of thought: giue me leaue (though
contemptible & abiect) once more to sacrifice my worthles
wit to your glorie. Manie feruent vowes and protestations
of obseruance, your bountifull gracious deserts towards
mee haue entrancedly extracted, which yet remaine in the
ore vnwrought and vntride. As touching this short glose
or annotation on the foolish Terrors of the Night, you
partly are acquainted from whose motiue imposition it
first proceeded, as also what strange sodaine cause neces-
sarily produced that motion. A long time since hath it
line suppressed by mee; vntill the vrgent importunitie
of a kinde frend of mine (to whom I was sundrie waies
be-[holding) wrested a Coppie from me. That Coppie A 2\*  
progressed from one scrueners shop to another, & at
length grew so common, that it was readie to bee hung
out for one of their signes, like a paire of indentures.
Wherevppon I thought it as good for mee to reap the
frute of my owne labours, as to let some vnskillfull
pen-man or Nouerint-maker startch his ruffe & new spade
his beard with the benefite he made of them. Accept of
them, exquisite Mistris, as the best testimonie I haue yet
to expres the dutie that I owe. A little more leasure and prosperitie will beget better labors; wherein I will enioyne my spirit to be a peremptorite combattant for your praises, against all vulgar deepe flattred mediocrifie and pale penurious beautie, which guies dull Painters store of gold to solder vp their leane dints of deformity. Against your perfections no tung can except. Miraculous is your wit; and so is acknowledged by the wittiest Poets of our age, who haue vowed to enshrine you as their second DELIA. Temperance her selfe hath not temperater behauiour than you; religious Pietie hath no humble hand-maide that she more delights in. A worthie Daughter are you of so worthie a Mother; borrowing (as another Phæbe) from her bright Sunne-like resplendaunce, the orient beames of your radiaunce. Into the Muses societie her selfe she hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine Petrarch another monument in England. Euer honored may she be of the royallest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore beadsmens distresses. Well may I say it, because I haue tride it, neuer liu'd a more magnificent Ladie of her degree on this earth. A number of men there | bee, who pursuing the high way to the Indies, haue perisht in lingring expectation before they could get thether; but a neerer Cut haue I found in her extraordinarie liberalitie and bountie: and to a companie of my malcontent companions will discouer if it please them, how to be gainfull and gain-coping nauigators if they will insist in my directions. Now I must tie my selfe to the Printers paper limits, and knit vp much thankfulnesse in few words. Deare Mistris, perswade your selfe, that no frowning misfortune or anye accident whatsoever, shall diuorce me from your reuerence. No more I craue in requitall, but that you would put me in the checke-roule of your remembrance, and not salute me as a stranger.

Your vertues immoueable Votarie:

THO: NASHE.

5 beautie, which] Gro.: beautie; which Q. 13 ]] after resplendaunce Q.
To Master or Goodman Reader, generally dispersed East or West.

Gentlemen (according to the laudable custome) I am to court you with a few premisses considered: but a number of you there bee, who consider neither premisses nor conclusion, but piteouslie torment Title Pages on euerie poast, neuer reading farther of anie Booke, than Imprinted by Simeon such a signe; and yet with your dudgen judgements will desperatelie presume to run vp to the hard hilts through the whole bulke of it. Martin Momus and splaefooted Zoylus, that in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie and first yere of the reigne of Tarlttons toies, kept a foule stir in Poules Church-yard, are now reviued againe: and like wanton Whelpes that haue wormes in their tungs, slauer and betouse euerie paper they meete withall. Yea, if they chance but on a moate or a wind bladder, they neuer haue done with it till they have cleane banded and tost it out of sight. For my part, I wish that I may be both out of their sight and out of their minde too: and if their winy wits must needs be working, that they would rather be Tailors to make, than botchers or coblers to amend or to marre. Come, come, I know their dull tricks wel inough, you shal haue them lie in child bed one and thirtie weeks and eight daies of three bad lines and a halfe, & afterward spend a whole twelue month in spunging & sprucing them, honest thriftie Peter Littleton discharging their commons all the while: but such poore fellowes as I, that cannot put out money to be paid againe when wee come from Constantinople, either must haue our

13 reviued Q.
work dispatcht by the weeks end, or els we may go beg: and yet I will not beg of them neither, go the world neuer so hard, no not so much as a good word: but if in word or deed I hear that they wrong me, Ile meet them right if I can. And so I leaue them to stop mustard pots with 5 my leaues if they will, or to their owne will whatsoeuer.

THOMAS NASHE.

a them neither go the Q: them, neither go to the Gro.
The Terrors of the Night.

OR

A Discourse of Apparitions.

A Little to beguile time idly discontented, and satisfy some of my solitary friends here in the Countrey, I haue hastily vndertooke to write of the wearie fancies of the Night, wherein if I weary none with my weak fancies, I will herafter leane harder on my penne and fetch the petegree of my praise from the utmost of paines.

As touching the terrors of the night, they are as many as our sinnes. The Night is the Diuells Blacke booke, wherein hee recordeth all our transgressions. Euen as when a condemned man is put into a darke dungeon, secluded from all comfort of light or companie, he doth nothing but despairfully call to minde his gracelesse former life, and the brutish outrages and misdemeanours that haue throwne him into that desolate horror; so when Night in her rustie dungeon hath imprisoned our ey-sight, and that we are shut seperatly in our chambers from resort, the diuell keepeth his audit in our sin-guilty consciences, no sense but surrenders to our memorie a true bill of parcels of his detestable impieties. The table of our hart is turned to an index of iniquities, and all our thoughts are nothing but texts to condemne vs.

The rest we take in our beds is such another kinde of rest as the wearie traueller taketh in the coole soft grasse in summer, who thinking there to lye at ease, and refresh his tyred limmes, layeth his fainting head vnawares on a loathsome neast of snakes.
Well haue the Poets tearmd night the nurse of cares, the mother of despaire, the daughter of hell.

Some Diuines haue had this conceipt, that God would haue made all day and no night, if it had not been to put vs in minde, there is a Hell as well as a Heauen.

Such is the peace of the subjectts as is the peace of the Prince vnder whom they are gouerned. As God is intitled the Father of light, so is the diuell surnamed the Prince of darknesse, which is the night. The only peace of minde that the diuell hath is dispaire, wherefore wee that Hue in his nightly kingdome of darknes, must needs taste some disquiet.

The Rauen and the Doue that were sent out of Noes Arke, to discouer the worlde after the generall Deluge, may well be an allegorie of the day and the night. The day is our good Angell the Doue, that returneth to our eyes with an Oliue branch of peace in his mouth (presenting quiet and securitie to our distracted soules and consciences); the night is that ill angel the Rauen, which neuer commeth back to bring anie good tidings of tranquilitie: a continuall messenger hee is of dole and misfortune. The greatest curse almost that in the scripture is threatened, is, that the rauens shal picke out their eies in the valley of death. This cursed rauen, the night, pecks out mens eyes in the valley of death. It hindreth them from looking to heauen for succor, where their Redeemer dwelleth: wherefore no doubt it is a time most fatall and vnhallowed. This being proved, that the diuell is a speciall predominant Planet of the night, and that our creator for our punishment hath allotted it him as his peculiar segniorie and kingdome, from his inueterate enuie I will amplifie the vgly terrours of the night. The names importing his mallice, which the scripture is plentiful of, I wil here omit; least some men shuld think I went about to coniure. Sufficeth vs to haue this heedfull knowledge of him, that hee is an auncient malecontent, and seeketh to make anie one desperat like himselfe. Like a cunning fowler, to this end he spreadeth
his nets of temptation in the darke, that men might not see to auyd them. As the Poet saith:

Quix nimis apparent retia vitat auis.
Too open nets euon simple birds doo shun.

Therefore in another place (which it cannot be but the diuell hath read) he counsaileth thus: |

Noctem peccatis & fraudibus obiice nubem.
By night time sinne, and cloake thy fraud with clouds.

When hath the diuell commonly first appeared vnto anie man but in the night?

In the time of infidelitie, when spirits were so familiar with men that they cald them Dii Penates, their houshold Gods or their Lares, they neuer sacrificed vnto them till Sunne-setting. The Robbin-good-fellowes, Elfes, Fairies, Hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former daies and the fantasticall world of Greece ycleaped Faunes, Satyres, Dryades, & Hamadryades, did most of their merry pranke in the Night. Then ground they malt, and had hempen shirts for their labours, daunst in rounds in greene meadowes, pincht maids in their sleep that swept not their houses cleane, and led poore Trauellers out of their way notoriously.

It is not to be gain-said, but the diuell can transforme himselfe into an angell of light, appeare in the day aswell as in the night, but not in this subtil world of Christianity so vsuall as before. If he doo, it is when mens mindes are extraordinarily throwne downe with discontent, or inly terrified with some horrible concealed murder, or other hainous crime close smothered in secret. In the day he may smoothly in some mild shape insinuat, but in the night he takes vpon him like a tyrant. There is no theefe that is halfe so hardie in the day as in the night, no more is the diuell. A generall principle it is, hee that doth ill hateth the light.

This Macheuillian tricke hath hee in him worth the noting, that those whom he dare not vnited or together
encounter, disjoined and divided hee will one by one
assaile in their sleepe. And euen as Ruptures and crampes
doo then most torment a man when the bodie with any
other disease is distemperd, so the Diuell when with any
other sickenes or malladie the faculties of our reason are
enfeebled and distemperd, will be most busie to disturbe
vs and torment vs.

In the quiet silence of the night he will be sure to sur-
prise vs, when he vnfallibly knowes we shall be vnarmed
to resist, and that there will be full audience granted him
to vndermine or perswade what he lists. All that euer he
can scare vs with, are but Seleucus ayrie Castles, terrible
bug-beare brags, and nought els, which with the least
thought of faith are quite vanished and put to flight.
Neither in his owne nature dare he come nere vs, but in
the name of sin, and as Gods executioner. Those that
catch birdes imitate their voyces, so will hee imitate the
voyces of Gods vengeance, to bring vs like birds into the
net of eternall damnation.

Children, fooles, sicke-men, or mad-men hee is most
familiar with (for he still delights to worke vpon the
advantage) and to them he boldly reuеaleth the whole
astonishing treasurie of his wonders.

It will bee demaunded why in the likenes of ones
father or mother, or kinsfolks, he oftentimes presents him-
selве vnto vs?

No other reason can bee giuen of it but this, that in
those shapes which hee supposeth most familliar vnto vs,
and that wee are inclined to with a naturall kind of loue,
we will sooner harken to him than otherwise.

Should he not disguise himselfe in such subtil formes
of affection, we would flie from him as a serpent, and
eschew him with that hatred he ought to be eschewd. If
anie aske why he is more conuersant & busie in church-
yards and places where men are buried, than in anie other
places, It is to make vs beleue that the bodies & soules
of the departed rest entirely in his possession, and the
peculiar power of death is resigned to his disposition. A rich man delights in nothing so much as to be vncesantly raking in his treasure, to bee turning ouer hys rustie gold euerie houre: the boanes of the dead, the diuell counts his chiefe treasure, and therfore is he continually raking amongst them; and the rather he doth it, that the liuing which heare it should bee more vnwilling to die, insomuch as after death their boanes should take no rest.

It was said of Catiline, Vultum gestauit in manibus, with the turning of a hand he could turne and alter his countenance. Farre more nimble and sodaine is the Diuell in shifting his habit, he can change and cogge as quicke as thought.

What do we talke of one diuel? there is not a roome in anie mans house, but is pestred and close packed with a campe royall of diuels. Chrisostome saith, the aire and earth are three parts inhabited with spirits. Hereunto the Philosopher alluded, when hee said, Nature made no voydnes in the whole vniversall: for no place (bee it no bigger than a pockhole in a mans face) but is close thronged with them. Infinite millions of them wil hang swarming about a worm-eaten nose.

Don Lucifer himselfe, their grand Capitano, asketh no better throne than a bleare eye to set vp his state in. Vpon a haire they will sit like a nit, and ouer-dredge a bald pate like a white scurffe. The wrinkles in old witches visages, they eate out to entrench themselues in.

If in one man a whole legion of diuells haue bin billetted, how manie hundred thousand legions retaine to a Tearme at London? If I said but to a Tauerne, it were an infinite thing. In Westminster Hall a man can scarce breath for them; for in euery corner they houer as thick as moates in the sunne.

The Druides that dwelt in the Ile of Man, which are famous for great coniurers, are reported to haue beene lousie with familiars. Had they but put their finger and
their thumbe into their neck, they could haue pluckt out a whole neast of them.

There be them that thinke euerie sparke in a flame is a spirit, and that the wormes which at sea eate through a ship, are so also: which may verie well bee; for haue not § you seene one sparke of fire burne a whole towne, & a man with a sparke of lightning made blinde, or kild outright? It is impossible the gunnes should goe off as they doo, if there were not a spirit either in the fier, or in the powder.

Now for wormes: what makes a dog run mad, but a 10 worme in his tung? and what should that worme bee, but a spirit? Is there anie reason such small vermine as they are, should deouere such a vast thing as a shippe, or haue the teeth to gnaw through yron and wood? No, no, they are spirits, or els it were incredible.

Tullius Hostillius, who tooke vpon him to conjure vp Ioue by Numa Pompillius bookes, had no sense to quake & tremble at the wagging and shaking of euery leafe, but that he thought all leaues are full of wormes, and those wormes are wicked spirits.

If the bubbels in streames were wel searcht, I am persuaded they would be found to be little better. Hence it comes that mares (as Columella reporteth) looking their formes in the water, run mad. A flea is but a little beast, yet if she were not possest with a spirit, she could neuer 25 leape and skip so as she doth. Froisard saith, the Earle of Fois had a familiar that presented it selfe vnto him in the likenes of two rushes fighting one with another. Not so much as Tewksburie mustard but hath a spirit in it or els it would neuer bite so. Haue wee not read of a number 30 of men that haue ordinarily carried a familiar or a spirite in a ring in stead of a sparke of a diamond? Why I tell ye we cannot break a crum of bread so little, as one of them will be if they list.

From this generall discourse of spirits, let vs digresse, & 35 talke another while of their seperate natures and properties.
The spirits of the fire which are the purest and perfectest, are merry, pleasant, and well inclined to wit, but nevertheless gyddie and vnconstant.

Those whome they possesse, they cause to excell in what euer they vndertake. Or Poets or boone companions they are, out of question.

Socrates Genius was one of this stampe, and the Doue wherewith the Turks hold Mahomet their Prophet to bee inspired. What their names are, and vnder whome they are gouerned, the Discouerie of witchcraft hath amplified at large, wherefore I am exempted from that labour. But of the diuinest quintessence of mettals and of wines are many of these spirits extracted. It is almost impossible for any to bee encumbred with ill spirits who is continually conuersant in the excellent restoratiue distillations of wit and of Alcumie. Those that rauenously englut themselues with grosse meates, and respect not the quality but the quantity of what they eate, haue no affinitie with these spirits of the fire.

A man that will entertaine them must not pollute his bodie with any grosse carnall copulation or inordinate beastly desires, but loue pure beauty, pure vertue, and not haue his affections linsey-wolsey, intermingled with lust and things worthy of liking.

As for example if hee loue good Poets hee must not countenance Ballet-makers, if he haue learned Phisitions he must not fauer horse-leaches and mountebanks: for a bad spirit and a good can neuer endure to dwell together.

Those spirits of the fire, howeuer I tearme them comparatiuely good in respect of a number of bad, yet are they not simply well inclinde, for they bee by nature ambitious, haughty, and proud, nor do they loue vertue for it selfe any whit, but because they would ouerquell and outstrip others with the vaineglorious ostentation of it. A humor of monarchizing and nothing els it is, which
makes them affect rare qualified studies. Many Atheists are with these spirits inhabited.

To come to the spirits of the water, the earth, & the ayre; they are dull flegmaticke drones, things that haue much mallice without anie great might. Drunkards, mizers, and women they usually retain too. Water (you all know) breedeth a medley kinde of licor called beere; with these watrie spirits they were possessed that first inuented the art of bruing. A quagmire consisting of mud and sand, sendeth forth the like pudly mixture.

All rheumes, poses, Sciaticaes, dropsies, and gouts, are diseases of their flegmaticke engendring. Sea-faring men of what sort soeuer, are chiefe entertainers of those spirits. Greedy vintners likewise giue hospitalitie to a number of them; who hauing read no more scripture than that myracle of Christs turning water into wine in Chanaan, thinke to doo a farre stranger miracle than euer he did, by turning wine into water.

Alehouses and cookes shadie pauilions, by watrie spirits are principally vpholden.

The spirits of the earth are they which crie, all bread and no drinke, that loue gold and a buttond cap aboue heauen. The woorth in nought they respect, but the weight, good wits they naturally hate; insomuch as the element of fire, their progenitor, is a wast-good & a consumer. If with their earth-plowing snowtes they can turne vp a pearle out of a dunghill, it is all they desire. Witches haue mane of these spirits, and kill kyne wyth them. The giants and chiefetaines of those spirites, are powrfull sometimes to bring men to their ends, but not a iot of good can they doo for their liues.

Souldiers with these terrestriall spirits participate part of their essence, for nothing but yron and golde (which are earths excrements) they delight in. Besides, in another kinde they may be said to participate with them, insomuch as they confirme them in their furie, & congeale their mindes with a bloodie resolution. Spirites of the earth
they were that entred into the heard of swyne in the Gospel. There is no citie merchant or country purchaser, but is haunted with a whole hoste of these spirits of the earth. The Indies is their Metropolitane realme of abode.

5 As for the spirits of the aire, which haue no other visible bodies or form, but such as by the vnconstant glimmering of our eies is begotten; they are in truth all show and no substance, deluders of our imagination, & nought els. Carpet knights, politque statesmen, women & childrë they most convers with. Carpet knights they inspire with a humor of setting big lookes on it, being the basest cowards vnnder heauen, couering an apes hart with a lions case, and making false alarums when they mean nothing but a may-game. Politique statesmen they priuily incite to bleare the worlds eyes with clowdes of common wealth pretences, to broach any enmitie or ambitious humor of their owne vnnder a title of their cuntries preseruation. To make it faire or fowle when they list to procure popularity or induce a preamble to some mightie peecce of prowling, to stir vp tempests round about, & replenish heauen with prodigies and wonders, the more to ratifie their avaritious religion. Women they vnnder-hand instruct to pounce and boulster out theirr brawn-falne deformities, to new perboile with painting | their rake-leane withered visages, to set vp flaxe shops on C 2

25 their forheads when all their owne haire is dead and rotten, to sticke their gums round with Comfets when they haue not a tooth left in their heads to help them to chide withall. Children they seduce with garish obiects and toyish babies, abusing them many yeares with slight vanities. So that you see all their whole influence is but thin ouercast vapours, flying clouds dispersed with the least winde of wit or vnderstanding.

None of these spirits of the ayre or the fire haue so much predominance in the night as the spirits of the earth and the water; for they feeding on foggie-braind melancholity, engender thereof many vncouth terrible monsters. Thus 24 flaxeshops Q.

I A A
much obserue by the way, that the grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humor, which in the spleene congealed whose office is to disperse it, with his thicke steaming fennie vapours casteth a mist ouer the spirit, and cleane bemasketh the phantastie.

And euen as slime and durt in a standing puddle, engender toads and frogs and many other vninsightly creatures, so this slimie melancholy humor still thickning as it stands still, engendreth many mishapen obiects in our imaginations. Sundry times wee behold whole Armies of men skirmishing in the Ayre, Dragons, wilde beasts, bloody streamers, blasing Comets, firie strakes, with other apparitions innumerable: whence haue all these their conglomerate matter but from fuming meteors that arise from the earth? so from the fuming melancholly of our spleene mounteth that hot matter into the | higher Region of the braine, whereof manie fearfull visions are framed. Our reason euen like drunken fumes it displaceth and intoxicates, & yeelds vp our intellectiue apprehension to be mocked and troden vnder foote by euerie false obiect or counterfeit noyse that comes neere it. Heerein specially consisteth our senses defect and abuse, that those organicall parts which to the minde are ordained embassadours, doo not their message as they ought, but by some misdiet or misgouernment being distempered, faile in their report, and deliuer vp nothing but lyes and fables.

Such is our braine oppressed with melancholy, as is a clocke tyde downe with too heauie weights or plummets; which as it cannot chuse but monstrously goe a square, or not goe at all; so must our braynes of necessitie be either monstrously distracted, or vtterly destroyed thereby.

Lightly this extreamitie of Melancholye neuer commeth, but before some notable sickness; it faring with our braynes as with Bees, who, as they exceedingly toyle and turmoile before a storme or change of weather, so doo they beate and toyle and are infinitelie confused before sicknes.
OF THE NIGHT

Of the effects of melancholy I need not dilate, or discourse how many encumbred with it haue thought thesclues birdes and beasts, with feathers, and hornes, and hydes; others, that they haue been turned into glasse; others, that if they should make water they should drowne all the world; others, that they can uner bleed inough.

Phisitions in their circuit euerye day meet with far more ridiculous experience. Onely it shall suffice a little by the way to handle one speciall effect of it, which is dreames.

A dreame is nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie, which the day hath left vndigested; or an after feast made of the fragments of idle imaginations.

How manie sorts there be of them no man can rightly set downe, since it scarce hath been heard there were euer two men that dreamed alike. Diuers have written diuersly of their causes, but the best reason among them all that I could euer picke out, was this, that as an arrow which is shot out of a bow, is sent forth manie times with such force, that it flyeth farre beyond the marke wherat it was aymed; so our thoughts intensiuely fixt all the day time vpon a marke wee are to hit, are now and then ouer-drawne with such force, that they flye beyonde the marke of the day into the confines of the night. There is no man put to any torment, but quaketh & trembleth a great while after the executioner hath withdrawne his hand from him. In the daye time wee torment our thoughts and imaginations with sundry cares and deuices; all the night time they quake and tremble after the terror of their late suffering, and still continue thinking of the perplexities they haue endured.

To nothing more aptly can I compare the working of our braines after we haue vnyoakt and gone to bed, than to the glimmering and dazeling of a mans eyes when hee comes newly out of the bright Sunne into the darke shadow.

Euen as ones eyes glimmer and dazle when they are withdrawne out of the light into darknesse; so are our |
thoughts troubled & vexed when they are retyred from labor to ease, and from skirmishing to surgerie.

You must giue a wounded man leaue to grone while he is in dressing: Dreaming is no other than groaning, while sleepe our surgeon hath vs in cure.

He that dreams merily is like a boy new breetcht, who leapes and daunceth for ioy his pain is past: but long that ioy stayes not with him, for presently after his master the day, seeing him so iocund and pleasant, comes and dooes as much for him againe, whereby his hell is renued.

No such figure of the first Chaos whereout the world was extraught, as our dreames in the night. In them all states, all sexes, all places are confounded and meete together.

Our cogitations runne on heapes like men to part a fray, where euerie one strikes his next fellow. From one place to another without consultation they leap, like rebells bent on a head. Souldiers iust vp and downe they imitate at the sacke of a Citie, which spare neither age nor beautie: the yong, the old, trees, steeiples, & mountaines, they con-found in one gallimafrie.

Of those things which are most knowne to vs, some of vs that haue moyst braynes make to our selues images of memorie: on those images of memorie whereon we buyld in the daye, comes some superfluous humour of ours, lyke a Jacke-anapes in the night, and erects a puppet stage, or some such ridiculous idle childish inuention.

A Dreame is nothing els but the Eccho of our conceipts in the day.

But other-while it falls out, that one Eccho borrowes of another: so our dreames (the Ecchoes of the day) borrow of anie noyse we heare in the night.

As for example; if in the dead of the night there be anie rumbling, knocking, or disturbaunce neere vs, wee straight dreame of warres, or of thunder. If a dogge howle, we suppose we are transported into hell, where we heare the complaint of damned ghosts. If our heads lye
double or vneasie, we imagine we vphold all heauen with our shoulders like Atlas. If wee bee troubled with too manie clothes, then we suppose the night mare rides vs.

I knew one that was crampt, and hee dreamt that hee was torne in peeces with wylde horses; and another, that hauing a blacke sant brought to his bed side at mid-night, dreamt he was hidden to dinner at Iron-mongers Hall.

Anie meate that in the day time we eat against our stomaches, begetteth a dismall dreame. Discontent also in dreames hath no little predominance: for euen as from water that is troubled, the mud dispersingly ascendeth from the bottome to the top; so when our blood is chased, disquieted, and troubled, all the light imperfect humours of our bodie ascend like mud vp aloft into the head.

The clearest spring a little tutcht, is creased wyth a thousand circles: as those momentarie circles for all the world, such are our dreames. When all is said, melancholy is the mother of dreames, and of all terrours of the night whatsoeuer. | Let it but affirme it hath scene a spirit (though it be Di but the moone-shine on the wall) the best reason wee haue cannot infringe it.

Of this melancholy there be two sorts; one that, digested by our liuer, swimmeth like oyle aboue water, & that is rightly tearmed Womens melancholy, which lasteth but for an houre, and is (as it were) but a coppie of their countenance: the other sinketh downe to the bottome like the lees of the wine, and that corrupteth all the blood, and is the causer of lunacie. Well moderated recreations are the medicine to both: surfet or excessiue studie the causers of either.

There were gates in Rome out of which nothing was carried but dust and dung, and men to execution: so, manie of the gates of our senses serue for nothing but to conueigh out excrementall vapors, & afrighting deadly dreames, that are worse than executioners vnto vs.

Ah woe be to the solitarie man that hath his sinnes
continually about him, that hath no withdrawing place from the diuell and his temptations.

Much I wonder how treason and murder dispense with the darknes of the night, how they can shrue themselves to it, and not raue and die. Me thinkes they shuld imagine that hell imbraceth them round, when she ouer spreads them with her blacke pitchie mantle.

Dreames to none are so fearfull, as to those whose accusing priuate guilt expects mischiefe euery hower for their merit. Wonderfull superstitious are such persons in obseruing euery accident that befalls them; and that their superstition is as good as an hundred furies to torment them. Neuer in this world shall he enjoy one quiet day, that once hath giuen himselfe ouer to be her slaue. His eares cannot glowe, his nose itch, or his eyes smart, but his destinie stands vpon her triall, and till she bee acquited or condemned, he is miserable.

A cricket or a rauen keepe him fortie times in more awe than God or the Diuell.

If he chance to kill a spider, he hath suppressed an enemie; if a spinner creepe vpon him, hee shall haue golde raine downe from heauen: if his nose bleede, some of his kinsfolkes is dead; if the salt fall right against him, all the starres cannot saue him from some immediate misfortune.

The first Witch was Proserpine, and she dwelt halfe in heauen and halfe in hell: halfe witches are they that pretending anie Religion, meddle halfe with God, and halfe with the diuell. Medling with the diuell I call it, when ceremonies are obserued which haue no ground from Diuinitie.

In another kinde witches may be said to meddle halfe with GOD and halfe with the Diuell, because in their Exorcismes they vse halfe Scripture and halfe blasphemie.

The greatest and notablest heathen sorcerers that euer were, in all their hellish adiurations, vsed the name of the one true and euer-liuing God: but such a number of 18 rauen [will] keepe Gro.
damned potestates they joined with him, that it might seeme the starres had darkned the Sunne, or the Moone was eclipsed by candle-light.

Of all Countries vnder the Skie, Persia was most ad
dicted vnto Dreames. Darius King of the Medes and Persians, before his fatall discomfiture, dreamt hee saw an Estritch with a winged crowne ouer-running the earth, and deouering his Iuel-coffer, as if it had beene an ordinarie peece of yron. That Iuel-coffer was by Alexander surprized, and afterward Homers Workes in it carried before him, euen as the Mace or Purse is customably carried before our Lord Chancelor.

Hannibal dreamed a little before his death, that hee was drowned in the poysonous Lake Asphalites, when it was presently his hap within some few dayes distance, to seeke his fate by the same meanes in a vault vnder earth.

In India the women verie often conceive by diuells in their sleepe.

In Island (as I haue read and heard) spirites in the lykenesse of ones father or mother after they are deceased, doo converse with them as naturally as if they were liuing.

Other spirites like rogues they haue among them, destitute of all dwelling and habitation, and they chillingly complayne if a Constable aske them Cheucla in the night, that they are going vnto Mount Hecla to warme them.

That Mount Hecla a number conclude to bee hell mouth; for neere vnto it are heard such yellings and groanes, as Ixion, Titius, Sisiphus, and Tantalus, blowing all in one trumpet of distresse, could neuer conioyned bellowe foorth.

Bond-men in Turkey or in Spaine are not so ordinarilye sold, as witches sell familiars there. Farre cheaper maye you buy a winde amongst them, than you can buy wind or faire words in the Court. Three knots in a thred, or an odde grandams blessing in the corner of a napkin, will carve you all the world ouer.

Wee when we frowne knit our browes, but let a wizard
there knit a noose or a riding snarle on his beard, & it is haile, storme, and tempest a month after.

More might be spoken of the prodigies this countrey sendes foorth, if it were not too much erring from my scope. Whole Ilands they haue of yce, on which they build and traffique as on the maine land.

Admirable (aboue the rest) are the incomprehensible wonders of the bottomlesse Lake Vether, ouer which no fowle flies but is frozen to death, nor anie man passeth but he is senselesly benummed like a statue of marble. 10

All the inhabitaunts round about it are deafned wyth the hideous roring of his waters when the winter breaketh vp, & the yce in his dissoluing giues a terrible cracke like to thunder, when as out of the midst of it (as out of Mont-Gibell) a sulphureous stinking smoak issues, that welnigh poysons the whole Countrey.

A poyson light on it, how come I to digresse to such a dull, Lenten, Northren Clyme, where there is nothing but stock-fish, whetstones; and cods-heads? Yet now I remember me, I haue not lost my way so much as I thought, for my theame is The terrors of the Night, and Island is one of the chiefe kingdoms of the night; they hauing scarce so much day there, as will serue a childe to ask his father blessing. Marry, with one commoditie they are blest, they haue Ale that they carry in their pockets lyke glue, and euer when they would drinke, they set it on the fire and melt it.

It is reported, that the Pope long since gaue them a dispensation to receiue the Sacrament in ale, insomuch as for their vncessant frosts there, no wine but was turned to red emayle, as soone as euer it came amongst them.

Farewell frost: as much to say as farewell Island, for I haue no more to say to thee.

I care not much if I dream yet a little more: & to say the troth, all this whole Tractate is but a dreame, for my
wits are not halfe awaked in it: & yet no golden dreame, but a leaden dreame is it; for in a leaden standish I stand fishing all day, but haue none of Saint Peter's lucke to bring a fish to the hooke that carries anie siluer in the mouth. And yet there be of them that carrie siluer in the mouth too, but none in the hand: that is to say, are verie bountifull and honorable in their words, but except it be to sweare indeed, no other good deeds comes from them.

Filthie Italionat complement-mungers they are, who would faine be counted the Courts Gloriosos, and the re fined judges of wit; when if their wardrops and the withred bladders of their braines were well searcht, they haue nothing but a fewe moath-eaten cod-peece sutes (made against the comming of Mounsier) in the one, and a few scraps of out-landish prouerbes in the other: and these alone doo buckler them from the name of beggers and idiots. Other-while perhaps they may keep a coyle with the spirit of Tasso, and then they folde their armes like Braggarts, withe their neckes alla Neapolitano, and turne vp their eye-balls like men intrauenced.

Come, come, I am entraunced from my Text, I wote well, and talke idlyle in my sleepe longer than I should: those that will harken any more after Dreames, I referre them to Artimidorus, Synesius, & Cardan, with many others which onely I haue heard by their names, but I thanke God had neuer the plodding patience to reade, for if they bee no better than some of them I haue perused, euery weatherwise old wife might write better.

What sense is there that the yoalke of an egge should signify gold, or dreaming of Beares, or fire, or water, debate and anger, that euery thing must bee interpreted backward as Witches say their Pater-noster, good being the character of bad, and bad of good?

As well we may calculate from euery accident in the day, and not goe about any busines in the morning till we haue seene on which hand the Crow sits.

O Lord, I haue heard many a wise Gentlewoman say,
I am so merry and haue laught so hartily, that I am sure ere long to bee crost with some sad tydinges or other; all one as if men comming from a Play should conclude, Well we haue seene a Commedie to day, and therefore there cannot choose but be a Tragedie to morrow.  

I doo not deny but after extremity of myrth, followe many sad accidents, but yet those sad accidents (in my opinion) wee meereely plucke on with the feare of comming mischiefe, and those meanes wee in pollicie most vse to preuent it, soonest enwrappe vs in it; and that was | Sathans tricke in the old world of gentillisme to bring to passe all his blind Prophecies.

Could any men set downe certaine rules of expounding of Dreames, and that their rules were generall, holding in all as well as in some, I would beginne a little to list to them, but commonly that which is portentiue in a King is but a friulous fancie in a beggar, and let him dreame of Angels, Eagles, Lyons, Griffons, Dragons neuer so, all the augurie vnder heauen will not allot him so much as a good almes.

Some will obiect vnto mee for the certainty of Dreames, the Dreames of Cyrus, Cambyses, Pompey, Caesar, Darius, & Alexander. For those I answer, that they were rather visions than Dreames, extraordinarily sent from heauen to foreshew the translation of Monarchies.

The Greeke and Romane histories are full of them, and such a stirre they keepe with their Augurers and Soothsayers, how they foretold long before by Dreames and beasts and birds intrayles, the losse of such a battaile, the death of such a Captaine or Emperour, when, false knaues, they were all as Prophet Calchas, pernicious Traytors to their Country and them that put them in trust, and were many times hyred by the aduerse part to disharten and discourage their Masters by such Conycatching Riddles as might in truth be turned any way.

An easie matter was it for them to prognosticate treasons
and conspiracies, in which they were vnderhand inlincked themselves, & how euer the world went it was a good pollicie for them to saue their heades by the shift, for if the treasons chaunst afterwards to come to light, it would not be suspected they were practisers in them, insomuch as they reueald them, or if they should by theyr confederates be appealed as practisers, yet might they plead and pretend it was done but of spite and mallice to supplant them for so bewraying and laying open their intents.

This tricke they had with them besides, that neuer till the verie instant that anie treason was to be put in execution, and it was so neere at hand that the Prince had no time to preuent it, would they speake one word of it, or offer to disclose it: yea, and euen then such vnfit seasons for their colourable discouerie would they picke foorth, as they would be sure he should haue no leasure to attend it.

But you will aske why at all as then they should step foorth to detect it? Marry, to cleare themselues to hys successors, that there might bee no reuenge prosecuted on their liues.

So did Spurina the great Astrologer; euen as Caesar in the midst of all his busines was going hastily to the Senate house, he popt a bill in his hand of Brutus and Cassius conspiracie, and all the names of those that were colleagues with them.

Well he might haue thought that in such hast by the high way side, he wold not stay to peruse any schedules, and well he knew and was assertained, that assoone as euer he came into the Capitoll, the bloudie deed was to be accomplished.

Shall I impart vnto you a rare secrecy how these great famous Coniurers and cunning men ascend by degrees to forecast secrets as they doo? First and formost they are men which haue had some little sprinkling of Grammer learning in their youth, or at least I will allowe them to haue been Surgeons or Apothecaries prentises; these I say
hauing runne through their thrift at the elbowes, and riotouslie amongst harlots and make-shifts spent the an-
nuite of halfpennie ale that was left them, fall a beating their braynes how to botch vp an easie gainfull trade, & set a new nap on an old occupation.

Hereupon presently they rake some dunghil for a few durtie boxes and plaisters, and of tosted cheese and candles endes, temper vp a fewe oyntments and sirrups: which hauing done, farre North, or into some such rude simple countrey, they get them, and set vp.

Scarce one month haue they staid there, but what with their vaunting and prating, and speaking fustian in steede of Greeke, all the Shyres round about do ring with their fame: and then they begin to get them a Library of three or foure old rustic manuscript books, which they them-

selues nor anie els can read; and furnish their shops with a thousand quid pro quos, that would choake anie horse; besides some wast trinkets in their chambers hung vp, which maye make the world halfe in iealouzie they can conjure.

They will euermore talke doubtfully, as if there were more in them than they meant to make publique, or was appliable to euerie common mans capacitie: when God bee their rightfull Iudge, they vtter all that they know and a great deale more.

To knit vp their knaueries in short (which in sooth is | E 14 the hang-mans office, & nones els), hauing pickt vp theyr crummes thus pretely well in the Countrey, they drawe after a time a little neerer and neerer to London; and at length into London they filtch themselues priuely: but how? Not in the hart of the Cittie will they presume at first dash to hang out their rat-banners, but in the skirtes and out-shifts steale out a signe ouer a Coblers stall, lyke Aqua vitæ sellers and stocking menders.

Manie pore people they win to beleue in them, who haue not a barreld Herring or a peece of poore Iohn that

24 Judges Q. 26 short, which Q. 34 Aqua vitæ-sellers Q.
OF THE NIGHT

lookes ill on it, but they will bring the water that he was steept in vnto them in an vrinall, & craue their judgment whether he be rottē, or merchant & chapmanable, or no. The brute of their cunning thus traveling frō ale-house to Ale-house, at length is transported in the great hiltes of one or other countrey Seruing-mans sword to some good Tauerne or Ordinarie: where it is no sooner arriued, but it is greedily snatcht vp by some dappert Mounsier Diego, who liues by telling of newes, & false dice, and it may be hath a pretie insight into the cardes also, together with a little skill in his Iacobs staffe and hys Compasse; being able at all times to discouer a new passage to Virginia.

This needie Gallaunt (with the qualities aforesaid) straight trudgeth to some Noble-mans to dinner, & there enlargeth the rumor of this newe Phisition, comments vpon euerie glasse and violl that he hath, rayleth on our Galenists, and calls them dull gardners and hay-makers in a mans belly, compares them to dogs, who when they are sick eate grasse, and saies they are no better than pack | or malt E2 horses, who if a man shuld knock out their brains will not goe out of the beaten high way; wheras his hors-leach will leap ouer the hedge & ditch of a thousand Dioscorides and Hippocrates, and giue a man twentie poysons in one, but he would restore him to perfit health. With this strange tale the Noble-man inflamed, desires to bee acquainted with him: what does me he, but goes imme-
diately and breaks with this mountebanke, telling him if he will diuide his gains with him, he will bring him in custome with such and such States, and he shall bee countenanast in the Court as he wold desire. The hungrie druggier, ambitious after preferment, agrees to any thing, and to Court he goes; where being come to interview, hee speaks nothing but broken English like a French Doctor, pretēding to haue forgotē his naturall tung by trauell, when he hath neuer been farther than either the
Lowe Countries or Ireland, inforced thether to flye either for getting a maid with child, or marrying two wiues. Suffiseth he set a good face on it, & will sweare he can extract a better Balsamum out of a chip than the Balm of Iudæa: yea, all receipts and authors you can name he syllogizeth of, & makes a pish at, in comparison of them he hath seen and read: whose names if you aske, hee claps you in the mouth with halfe a dozen spruce titles, neuer til he inuëted them heard of by any Christian. But this is most certaine, if he be of any sect, he is a mettle-bruing Paracelsian, hauing not past one or two Probatums for al diseases. Put case he be called to practise, hee excuseth it by great cures he hath in hand; & will not encounter an infirmity but in the declining, that his credit may be more autëtical, | or els when by some secret intelligence hee is throughlie instructed of the whole processe of his vnrecouerable extremitie, he comes grauely marching like a Iudge, and gies peremptorie sentence of death; whereby he is accounted a Prophet of deepe prescience.

But how he comes to be the diuells secretarie, all this long tale vnrips not.

In secret be it spoken, he is not so great with the diuell as you take it. It may be they are neere a kinne, but yet you haue manie kindred that will doo nothing for one another; no more will the diuell for him, except it be to damne him.

This is the Tittle est amen of it: that when he wexeth stale, and all his pispots are crackt and wil no longer hold water, he sets vp a coniuring schoole, and vndertakes to play the baud to Ladie Fortune.

Not a thiefe or a cut-purse, but a man that hee keepes doth associate with, & is of their fraternitie; only that his master when any thing is stoln may tell who it is that hath it. In petie trifles hauing gotten some credit, great Peeres entertaine him for one of their priuie counsaile, and
OF THE NIGHT

if they have anie daungerous enterprise in hand, they consult with him about successe.

All malcontents entending anie inuasiue violence against their Prince and Countrey runne headlong to his oracle. Contrarie factions enosome vnto him their inwardest complots, whilste he like a craftie Iacke a both sides, as if he had a spirite still at his elbow, reciprocallie embowelleth to the one what the other goes about; receiuing no intelligence from anie familiar, but their own | mouths. E

I assure you most of our chieffe noted Augurers and Soothsayers in England at this day, by no other Arte but this gaine their reputation.

They may verie well picke mens purses, like the vnskil-fuller cousning kind of Alchumists, with their artificiall and ceremoniall Magicke, but no effect shall they atchieue thereby, though they would hang themselues: the reason is, the diuell of late is growen a puritane, and cannot away with anie ceremonies; he sees all Princes haue left off their States, and hee leaues off his state too, and will not be innocated with such solemnity as he was wont.

Priuate and disguised he passeth too and fro, and is in a thousand places in an houre.

Faire words cannot anie longer beguile him, for not a cue of curtsie will he doo anie man, except it be vpon a flat bill of sale; and so hee chassers with wysards and witches euerie howre.

Now the world is almost at an end, he hath left forme and is all for matter; and like an Embroyderer or a Tailer he maketh hast of worke against a good time, which is the day of judgement: therefore you goodmen exorcisers, his olde acquaintance, must pardon him, though (as heretofore) he stay not to dwell vpon complements.

In diebus illis when Corineus and Gogmagog were little boyes, I will not gainsaye but hee was wont to iest and sport wyth countrey people, and play the good fellowe amongst kitchin-wenches, sitting in an euening by the fire

18 Prinees Q. 33 In diebus illis Q.
side making of possets, and come a woing to them in the likenes of a cooper, or a curmogionly purchaser: & | E 3r sometimes he would dresse himselfe like a Barbar, & wash and shaue all those that laye in such a chamber: otherwhile like a stale cutter of Queene hyue, hee would iustle men in 5 their owne houses, pluck them out of bed by the heeles, and daunce in chaynes from one chamber to another: now there is no goodnes in him but miserablenes and couetousnes.

Sooner he will pare his nayles cleanly, than cause a man to dreame of a pot of golde, or a money bag that is hid 10 in the eaues of a thatcht house.

(Heere is to bee noted, that it is a blessed thing but to dreame of gold, though a man neuer haue it.)

Such a dreame is not altogether ridiculous or impertinent, for it keepes flesh and bloud from despaire: all other 15 are but as dust we raise by our steps; which awhyle mounteth aloft, and annoyeth our ey-sight, but presently disperseth and vanisheth.

Senior Sathan when he was a yong stripling, and had not yet gotten perfect audacitie to set vpon vs in the day 20 time, was a sly Polititian in dreames; but those dayes are gone with him, and now that he is thoroughly steeled in his scutcherie, hee playes aboue-boord boldly, & sweeps more stakes than euer he did before.

I haue rid a false gallop these three or foure pages: now 25 I care not if I breathe mee, and walke soberly and demurely halfe a dozen turnes, like a graue Citizen going about tp take the ayre.

To make a shaft or a bolt of this drumbling subiect of dreames, from whence I haue bin tost off and on I know 30 not how; this is my definitiue verdit: that one may E 4 aswel | by the smoke that comes out of a kitchin gesse what meat is there a broach, as by paraphrasing on smokie dreames præominate of future euents. Thus far notwithstanding Ile goe with them; Phisitions by dreames may 35 better discerne the distemperature of their pale clients, than either by vrine or ordure.

3 some- c.w.
He that is inclining to a burning feuer shall dreame of frayes, lightning and thunder, of skirmishing with the diuell, and a hundred such like. He that is spiced wyth the gowte or the dropsie, frequently dreameth of fetters & manacles, and being put on the bilbowes, that his legges are turned to marble or adamant, and his feet, like the giants that scal'd heauen, kept vnder with Mount Ossa and Peleon, and earst while that they are fast locked in quagmyres. I haue heard aged mumping beldams as they sat warming their knees ouer a coale scratch ouer the argument verie curiously, and they would bid yong folks beware on what day they par'd their nayles, tell what luck euerie one should haue by the day of the weeke he was borne on; show how many yeares a man should liue by the number of wrinkles on his forhead, and stand descanting not a litle of the difference in fortune when they are turnd vpward, and when they are bent downward; him that had a wart on his chin, they would confidently assertaine he should haue no need of anie of his kin: marry, they would likewise distinguish beteweene the standing of the wart on the right side and on the left. When I was a little childe, I was a great auditor of theirs, and had all their witchcrafts at my fingers endes, as perfit as good morrow and good euen. 

Of the signification of dreames, whole catalogues could E 4v I recyte of theirs, which heere there is no roome for: but for a glaunce to this purpose, this I remember they would verie soberly affirme, that if one at supper eate birds, he should dreame of flying; if fish, of swimming; if venison, of hunting, and so for the rest: as thogh those birds, fish, and venison beeing dead and disgested, did flie, swim, and hold their chase in their braynes; or the solution of our dreames should be nought els but to expresse what meates we eate ouer-night.

From the vnequall and repugnant mixture of contrarious meates, I iumpe with them, manie of our mystic cogitations
proceede: and euen as fire maketh yron like it selfe, so the fire inflamations of our liuer or stomack transforme our imaginations to their analogie and likeness.

No humor in generall in our bodies ouer-flowing or abounding, but the tips of our thoughts are dipt in his tincture. And as when a man is readie to drowne, hee takes hold of anie thing that is next him: so our fluttring thoughts, when wee are drowned in deadly sleepe, take hold, and coessence themselues with anie ouerboyling humour which sourseth hiest in our stomaches.

What heede then is there to be had of dreames, that are no more but the confused giddie action of our braines, made drunke with the innudation of humours?

Just such like impostures as is this Art of exposition of dreames, are the artes of Phisiognomie and Palmestrie; wherein who beareth most palme and praise, is the palpa-blest foole and Crepundio. 

Liues there anie such slowe yce-braind beefe-witted gull, who by the riueld barke or outward rynde of a tree will take vpon him to forespeak how long it shall stand, what mishances of worms, cater-pillers, boughs breaking, frost bitings, cattells rubbing against, it shall haue? As absurd is it, by the external branched seames or furrowed wrinckles in a mans face or hand, in particular or generall to coniecture and foredoome of his fate.

According to euerie ones labor or exercise, the palme of his hand is wrythen and pleyted, and euerie daye alters as he alters his employments or pastimes: wherfore well may we collect, that he which hath a hand so brawned and enter-lined vseth such and such toyles or recreations; but for the minde or disposition, we can no more looke into through it, than wee can into a looking Glasse through the wooden case thereof.

So also our faces, which sundrie times with surfets, greefe, studie, or intemperaunce, are most deformedlye welked and crumpled; there is no more to bee gathered by their sharpe embossed Ioyners anticke worke, or ragged
ouer-hangings or pit-falls, but that they haue beene layd vp in slouens presse, and with miscarriage and misgovern-
ment are so fretted and galled.

My owne experience is but small, yet thus much I can say by his warrantize, that those fatall brands of phisio-
gnomie which condemne men for fooles and for idiots, and on the other side for trecherous circumueters and false brothers, haue in a hundred men I know been verefied in the contrarie.

So Socrates (the wisest man of Greece) was censured by a wrinkle-wyzard for the lumpishest blockehead that euer went on two legs: whome though the Philosopher in pitie vouchsafed with a nyce distinction of Art and nature to rayse and recouer, when he was vtterly confounded with a hisse and a laughter, yet sure his insolent simplicity might lawfully haue su’d out his patent of exemption; for hee was a forlorne creature, both in discretion and wit-craft.

Will you haue the summe of all: some subtill humorist, to feede fantasticke heads with innoations and nouelties, first inuented this trifling childish glose vppon dreames and phisiognomie; wherein he stroue onely to boast himselfe of a pregnant probable conceipt beyonde philosophie or truth.

Let but anie man who is most conuersant in the super-
stition of dreames, reckon me one that hath hapned iust, and Ile set downe a hundred out of Histories, that haue perished to foolerie.

To come to late dayes; Lewes the xj. dreamt that he swam in blood on the toppe of the Alpes: which one Father Robert (a holy Hermit of his time) interpreted to be present death in his next warres against Italy: though hee liu’d and prosperd in all his enterprises a long whyle after.

So Charles the fifth, sayling to the siege of Tunis, dreamt that the Citie met him on the sea like an Argosie, and ouerwhelmed his whole Nauie: when by Cornelius Agrippa the great Coniurer (who went along with him) it was ex-
pounded to be the ouerthrow of that famous ex-|pedition.
And thereupon *Agrippa* offered the Emperor (if it pleased him) to blowe vp the Citie by Art Magicke in the ayre before his eyes, without anie farther ieopardie of warre, or besieging. The Emperor utterly refused it and said, Since it was Gods warres against an Infidel, he would nouer borrow aid of the diuell.

Some haue memorized, that *Agrippa* seeing his counsaile in that case rejected, and that the Emperor (notwithstanding his vnfortunate presage) was prosperous and succesfull, within few dayes after dyed frantick and desperate.

*Alphonso* King of *Naples* in like case, before the rumor of the French Kings comming into *Italy*, had a vision in the night presented vnto him of *Aeneas* ghoast hauing *Turnus* in chase, & *Iuno Pronuba* comming betwixt them, and parting them; whereby hee gest that by marriage their iarring Kingdomes should be united: but far otherwise it fell out; for the French King came indeed, and he was driuen thereby into such a melancholy extasie, that he thought the verie fowles of the ayre would snatch his Crowne from him; and no bough or arbour that ouer-shadowed him, but enclosed him, and tooke him prisner; and that not so much but the stones of the street sought to iustle him out of his Throne.

These examples I alledge, to proue there is no certaintie in dreames; and that they are but according to our de-uisings and meditations in the day time.

I confesse the Saintes and Martirs of the Primitiue Church had vnfallible dreames fore-running their ends, as *Policarpus* and other: but those especially proceeded | from heauen, and not from anie vaporous dreggie parts of our blood or our braines.

For this cause the Turkes banish Learning from amongst them, because it is euerie daye setting men together by the eares, mouing straunge contentions and altercations, and making his professors faint hearted and effeminate. Much more requisite were it that out of our ciuill Christian
OF THE NIGHT

Common-wealths we seuerely banish and exterminate those fabulous commentaries on toyish fantasies, which feare-benum & effeminate the harts of the stoutest, cause a man without any ground to be jealous of his owne frends and his kinsfolkes, and withdraw hym from the search and insight into more excellent things, to stand all his whole life sifting and winnowing dry rubbish chaffe, whose best bottome quintessence prooues in the end but sandie grauell and cockle.

Molestations and cares inough, the ordinarie course of our life tythes of his owne accord vnto vs, though we seeke not a knot in a bulrush, or stuffe not our night pillowes with thistles to encrease our disturbance.

In our sleepe wee are agasted and terrifid with the disordered skirmishing and conflicting of our sensitiue faculties: yet with this terror and agastment cannot wee rest our selues satisfie, but we must pursue and hunt after a further feare in the recordation and too busie examining our paines over-passed.

Dreames in my minde if they haue anie premonstrances in them, the preparatiue feare of that they so premonstrate and denounce, is far worse than the mischiefe it selfe by them denounced and premonstrated.

So there is no long sickness but is worse than death, for death is but a blowe and awaye, whereas sickness is like a Chancerie sute, which hangs two or three yeare ere it can come to a judgement.

O, a consumption is worse than a Capias ad Ligatum; to nothing can I cōpare it better, thā to a repriue after a man is condemnd, or to a boy with his hoase about his heeles, ready to be whipt, to whom his master stands preaching a long time all law and no Gospel, ere he proceed to execution. Or rather it is as a man should be rosted to death, and melt away by little and little, whiles Phisitions lyke Cookes stand stuffing him out with hearbes, and basting him with this oyle and that sirrup.

Common-walths Q. 18 after Q. 26 three] thee Q.
I am of the opinion, that to be famisht to death is farre better, for his paine in seauen or eight dayes is at an end, whereas he that is in a consumption, continues languishing manie yeares ere death haue mercie on him.

The next plague and the neerest that I know in affinitie to a consumption, is long depending hope friuolously defeated, than which there is no greater miserie on earth; & so per consequens no men in earth more miserable than courtiers. It is a cowardly feare that is not resolute inough to despaire. It is like a pore hunger-starud wretch at sea, who still in expectation of a good voyage, endures more miseries than Iob. He that writes this can tell, for he hath neuer had good voyage in his life but one, & that was to a fortunate blessed Iland, nere those pinacle rocks called the Needles. O, it is a purified Continent, & a fertill plot fit to seat another Paradise, where, or in no place, the image of the ancient hospitalitie is to be found.

While I liue I will praise it and extoll it, for the true magnificence and continued honourable bountie that I saw there.

Farre vnworthie am I to spend the least breath of commendation in the extolling so delightfull and pleasaunt a Tempe, or once to consecrate my inke with the excellent mention of the thrice noble and illustrious Chieftaine vnder whom it is flourishingly governed.

That rare ornament of our Countrey, learned Master Camden, whose desertfull name is vniuersally admyred throughout Christendome, in the last repollished Edition of his Britannia, hath most elaborate and exactly described the souereigne plenteous scitution of that Ile; as also the inestimable happines it inherites, it beeing patronizd and carefully protected by so heroicall and courageous a Commaunder.

Men that haue neuer tasted that full spring of his liberalitie, wherwith (in my most forsaken extremities) right graciously hee hath deigned to reuiue and refresh

hungerstarvd Q.
mee, may rashly (at first sight) implead me of flatterie, and not esteeme these my fervent tearmes as the necessary repaiment of due debt, but words idly begotten with good lookes, and in an ouer-joyed humour of vaine hope slipt from me by chance: but therein they shall shewe themselves too vncluill injurious, both to my deuoted obseruant dutie and the condigne deare purchased merite of his glorie.

Too base a ground is this, whereon to embroyder the rich storie of his eternall renowne; some longer lyued Tractate I reserue for the full blaze of his vertues, which here onely in the sparkes I decypher. Manie embers of encumbrances haue I at this time, which forbid the bright flame of my zeale to mount aloft as it would. Perforce I must breake from it, since other turbulent cares sit as now at the stearne of my inuention. Thus I conclude with this chance-medley Parenthesis, that whatsoeuer minutes intermission I haue of calmed content, or least respite to call my wits together, principall and immediate proceedeth from him.

Through him my tender wainscot Studie doore is deliuered from much assault and battrie: through him I looke into, and am lookt on in the world; from whence otherwise I were a wretched banished exile. Through him all my good (as by a conduit head) is conueighed vnto me; and to him all my endeuours (like riuers) shall pay tribute as to the Ocean.

Did Ouid entitle Carus, a Noble-man of Rome, the onely constant frend hee had, in his vngratefull extrusion amongst the Getes: and writ to him thus,

\[ \text{Qui quod es id verē Care vocaris?} \]

And in another Elegie,

\[ \text{O mihi post nulos Care memorande sodales?} \]

Much more may I acknowledge all redundant prostrate vassailage to the royall descended Familie of the Careys: but for whom, my spirit long ere this had expyred, and my pen seru'd as a puniard to gall my owne hart.
Why doo I vse so much circumstance, and in a streame on which none but gnats and flies doo swimme, sound Fames trumpet like Triton, to call a number of foolish skiffes and light cock-boates to parley? | F 4

Fear (if I be not deceiud) was the last pertinent matter 5 I had vnder my displeinge; from which I fear I haue strayed beyond my limits: and yet fear hath no limits, for to hell and beyond hell, it sinks downe and penetrates.

But this was my position, that the fear of anie expected euill, is worse than the euill it selve; which by dyuers 10 comparisons I confirmed.

Now to visions and apparitions againe, as fast as I can trudge.

The glasses of our sight (in the night) are like the prospectiue glasses one Hostius made in Rome, which 15 represented the images of things farre greater than they were: each moate in the darke they make a monster, and euerie slight glimmering a giant.

A solitarie man in his bed, is like a poore bed-red lazer lying by the high way side; vnto whose displaied wounds 20 and sores a number of stinging flyes doo swarme for pastance and beuerage: his naked wounds are his inward hart-gripping woes, the waspes and flyes his idle wandering thoughts; who to that secret smarting paine he hath alreadie, do adde a further sting of impatience, and new 25 lanch his sleeping griefes and vexations.

Questionlesse this is an unrefutable consequence, that the man who is mocked of his fortune, he that hath consumed his braines to compass prosperitie, and meetes with no counteruaylement in hir likenesse, but hedge wine 30 and leane mutton, and peraduenture some halfe eid good looks that can hardly be discerned from winking; this G 1 poore piteous perplexed miscreant either final-|lie despaires, or like a lanke frost-bitten plant looseth hys vigor or spirit by little and little: anie terror, the least illusion in the 35 earth, is a Cacodæmon vnto him. His soule hath left his 33 despaire Q: despaire[s] Gro.
bodie; for, why, it is flying after these ayrie incorporeate Courtly promises, and glitt'ring painted allurements; which when they vanish to nothing, it lykewise vanisheth with them.

5 Excessiue ioy no lesse hath his defectiue and ioylesse operations, the spleene into water it melteth; so that except it be some momentarie bubbles of mirth, nothing it yeelds but a cloying surfet of repentance.

Diuers instances haue we of men, whom too much sodaine content and ouer-rauished delight hath brought vntimely to their graues.

Foure or fiue I haue read of, whom the very extremitie of laughter hath bereft of their liues: whereby I gather, that euen such another pernitious sweete, superfliuous mirth is to the sence, as a surfet of honnie to a mans stomacke, than the which there is nothing more dangerous.

Bee it as dangerous as it will, it cannot but be an easie kinde of death. It is like one that is stung with an Aspis, who in the midst of his paine falls delighted asleepe, and in that suauitie of slumber surrenders the ghost: whereas hee whom greefe vndertakes to bring to his end, hath his hart gnawen in sunder by little & little with vultures, like Prometheus.

But this is nothing (you will object) to our journys ende of apparitions. Yes, altogether; for of the ouer-swelling superabundance of ioy and greefe, wee frame | to G r our selues most of our melancholy dreames and visions.

There is an olde philosophicall common Prouerbe, Vnus-quisque fingit fortunam sibi, Euerie one shapes hys owne fortune as he lists. More aptly may it be said, Euerie one shapes his owne feares and fancies as he list.

In all points our brains are like the firmament, and exhale in euerie respect the like grosse mistempred vapors and meteors; of the more foeculent combustible ayrie matter whereof, afrighting formes and monstrous images innumerable are created; but of the slymie vnweeldier drossie part, dull melancholy or drousines.
And as the firmament is still mooving and working, so vncessant is the wheeling and rolling on of our braines; which euerie hower are tempring some newe peece of prodigie or other, and turmoyling, mixing, and changing the course of our thoughts.

I write not this, for that I thinke there are no true apparitios or prodigies, but to shew how easily we may be flouted if we take not great heed, with our own anticke suppositions. I will tell you a strange tale tending to this nature: whether of true melancholy or true apparition, I will not take vpon me to determine.

It was my chance in Februarie last to be in the Countrey some threescore myle off from London; where a Gentleman of good worship and credit falling sicke, the verie second day of his lying downe, hee pretended to haue miraculous waking visions: which before I enter to describe, thus much I will informe ye by the way, that at the reporting of them he was in perfect memorie; nor had sicknes yet so tirannizd ouer him to make his tongue grow idle. A wise graue sensible man he was euuer reputed, and so approou'd himselfe in all his actions in his life time. This which I deliuer, (with manie preparatiue protestations) to a great Man of this Land hee confidently avouched: beleue it or condemn it, as you shal see cause, for I leaue it to be censured indifferently.

The first day of his distemprature, he visibely saw (as he affirmed) al his chamber hung with silken nets and siluer hookes, the diuell (as it should seeme) comming thether a fishing; whereupon, euery Pater noster while, he lookt whether in the nets he should be entangled, or with the hookes ensnared; with the nets he feard to be strangled or smoithred, & with the hooks to haue his throat scracht out, and his flesh rent and mangled: at length, he knew not how, they sodainly vanished, and the whole chamber was clered. Next a copeanie of lusty sailers (euerie one a
sharker or a swaggerer at the least) hauing made a braue voyage, came carousing and quaffing in large siluer kans to his helth. Fellowes they were that had good big pop mouths to crie Port a helme Saint George, and knew as well as the best what belongs to haling of bolings yare, and falling on the star-boord buttocke.

But to the issue of my tale: their drunken proffers he ytterly put by, and sayd hee highly scorned and detested both them and their hellish disguisings: which notwithstanding, they tost their cups to the skies, and reeled and staggered vp and downe the roome like a ship shaking in the winde.

After all they danst Lustie gallant, & a drunken Danish| Laualto or two, and so departed. For the third course, G 2

rusht in a number of stately diuels, bringing in boystrous chests of massie tresure betwixt thē. As braue they were as Turkish Ianissaries, hauing their apparel all powdered with gold and pearle, and their armes as it were bemayled with rich chaynes and bracelets; but faces far blacker than anie ball of Tobacco, great glaring eyes that had whole shelues of Kentish oysters in them, and terrible wyde mouthes, whereof not one of them but would well haue made a case for Molenax great Gloabe of the world.

These louely youths and full of faouour, hauing stalkt vp and downe the iust measures of a sinkapace, opened one of the principall chests they brought, and out of it pluckt a Princely royall Tent, whose empearled shining canopie they quickly aduaunced on hie, and with all artificiall magnificence adorned like a state: which performed, pompous Lucifer entred, imitating in goodly stature the huge picture of Laocoon at Rome: who sent vnto him a gallant Embassadour, signifying thus much, that if hee would serue him, hee should haue all the rich treasure that he saw there, or anie farther wealth hee would desire.

The Gentleman returned this milde aunswere, that he knew not what he was, whether an Angell or a wicked 17 all Q.
feend: and if an Angell, he was but his fellow servuant, and no otherwise to be serued or regarded; if a fiend or a diuell, hee had nothing to doo with him, for God had exalted and redeemed him aboue his desperate out-cast condition, and a strong faith he had to defie & with-stand all his iugling temptations. Hauing vttered these words, all the whole traine of them invisibly auoyded, and hee neuer set eye on them after.

Then did ther, for the third pageant, present themselues vnto him, an inueigling troupe of naked Virgins, thrice more amiable and beautifull than the bright Vestals, that brought in Augustus Testament to the Senate, after hys decease: but no Vestall-like Ornament had they about them; for from top to toe bare despoyled they were, except some one or two of them that ware masks before their faces, and had transparent azur'd lawne veyles before the chiefe iewell houses of their honors.

Such goodly lustfull Bonarobaes they were (by his report) as if anie sharpe eyd Painter had been there to peruse them, he might haue learned to exceed diuine Michel Angelo in the true boske of a naked, or curious Tuns in quicke life, whom the great masters of that Art do terme the sprightly old man.

Their haire they ware loose vnrowled about their shoulders, whose dangling amber trammells reaching downe beneath their knees, seemed to drop baulme on their delicious bodies; and euer as they moou'd too and fro, with their light windye wauings, wantonly to correct their exquisite mistresses.

Their daintie feete in their tender birdlike trippings, enameld (as it were) the dustie ground; and their odori-ferous breath more perfumed the aire, than Ordinance would, that is charged with Amomum, Muske, Cyuet, and Amber-greece.

But to leaue amplifications and proceed: those sweet bewitching naked maides, hauing maestically paced about
the chamber, to the end their naturall vnshelled shining mother pearle proportions might be more imprintingly apprehended, close to his bed-side modestly blushing they approched, & made impudent profer vnto him of theyr lascious embraces. He, obstinatly bent to withstand these their sinfull allurements no lesse than the former, bad them goe seek entertainment of hotter bloods, for he had not to satisfie them. A cold comfort was this to poore wenches no better cloathed, yet they hearing what to trust too, verie sorrowfully retyred, and shrunk away.

Lo, in the fourth Act, there sallied out a graue assembly of sober attyred Matrones, much like the Virgines of Marie Magdalens order in Rome, which vowe neuer to see man ; or the chast daughters of Saint Philip.

With no incontinent curtesie did they greete him, but tolde him, if so hee thought good they would praye for him.

Therupon, frō the beginning to the ending he vnfolded vnto them, how he had been mightely hanted with wicked illusions of late: but neuertheles, if he could be perswaded that they were Angels or Saintes, their inuocations could not hurt him; yea, he would adde his desire to their requestes, to make their prayers more penetrably enforcing.

Without further parley, vppon their knees they fell most deuoutly, and for halfe an hower neuer ceased extensiuely to intercessionate GOD for his speedie recouerie.

Rising vp agayne on the right hand of his bed, there appeared a cleare light, and with that he might perceiue a naked slender foote offerng to steale betwixt the sheets in to him.

At which instant, entred a messenger from a Knight of great honour thereabouts, who sent him a most precious extract quintessence to drinke: which no sooner he tasted, but he thought hee saw all the fore-named Enterluders at once hand over head leap, plunge, & drowne themselues in puddles and ditches hard by, and hee felt perfect ease.

But long it lasted not with him, for within fouré howers
after, hauing not fully settled his estate in order, hee grewe
to trifling dotage, and rauing dyde within two daies following.

God is my witnesse, in all this relation, I borrowe no
essential part from stretcht out inuention, nor haue I one
iot abusde my informations; onely for the recreation of my Readers, whom loath to tyre with a course home-
spunne tale, that should dull them woorse than Holland
cheese, heere and there I welt and garde it with allusie
exornations & comparisons: and yet me thinks it comes
off too goutie and lumbring.

Bee it as it will, it is lyke to haue no more allowaunce
of English for mee. If the world will giue it anie allow-
aunce of truth, so it is: For then I hope my excuse is
alreadye lawfullye customed and authorized; since Truth
is euer drawne and painted naked, | and I haue lent her but a leathren patcht cloake at most to keepe her from
the cold: that is, that she come not off too lamely and
coldly.

Vpon the accidentall occasion of this dreame or appari-
tion (call or miscall it what you will, for it is yours as freely as anie wast paper that euer you had in your liues)
was this Pamphlet (no bigger than an old Præface) speedily
botcht vp and compiled.

Are there anie doubts which remaine in your mynde
vndigested, as touching this incredible Narration I haue unfolded? Well, doubt you not, but I am milde and tractable, and will resolue you in what I may.

First, the house where this Gentleman dwelt, stood in
a low marish ground, almost as rotten a Clymate as the
Lowe Countreyes; where their mystic ayre is as thicke as mould butter, and the deaw lyes like froathie barme on the
ground.

It was noted ouer and besides to haue been an vnluckie
house to all his predecessors, scituate in a quarter not altogether exempted from witches.

The abrupt falling into his sicknesse was suspitious,
proceeding from no apparant surfeit or misdiet. The outragious tyrannie of it in so short a time, bred thrice more admiration and wonder, and his sodaine death incontinent ensuing vpon that his disclosed dreame or vision, might seeme some probable reason to confirme it; since none haue such palpable dreams or visions, but die presently after.

The like to this was Master Allingtons vision in the beginning of her Maiesties raigne; than the which there is | nothing more ordinarilie bruted. Through Greeke and Romane common-places to this purport I could runne, if I were disposed to vaunt my selfe like a ridiculous Pedant, of deepe reading in Fulgosius, Licosthenes, and Valerius.

Goe no farther than the Court, and they will tell you of a mightie worthie man of this Land; who riding in his Coatch from London to his house, was all the waye haunted with a couple of Hogges, who followed him close, and doo what his men could they might not driue them from him: wherefore at night hee caused them to be shut vp in a barne, and commanded milke to be giuen them; the barne dore was lockt, and the key safely kept, yet were they gone by morning, and no man knew how.

A number of men there be yet liuing, who haue been haunted by their wiues after their death, about forsweering themselues, and vndoing their children, of whom they promised to be carefull fathers: whereof I can gather no reason but this, that Women are borne to torment a man both aliue and dead.

I haue heard of others likewise, that beside these night terrors, haue been (for whole months together, whether soeuer they went or rid) pursued by wesels and rats, and oftentimes with squirrels and hares; that in the traveling of three hundred myle, haue still wayted on their horse heeles.

But those are onely the expoytes and stratagems of witches, which may well astonish a little at first sight, but if a man haue the least heart or spirite to with-stand
one fierce blast of their brauadoes, he shall see them
shrinke | faster than Northren cloath, and outstrip time in
dastardly flight.

Fie, fie, was euer poore fellow so farre benighted in an
old wiues tale of diuells and vrchins. Out vp on it, I am 5
wearie of it, for it hath caused such a thicke fulsome
Serena to descend on my braine, that now my penne
makes blots as broad as a furd stomacher, and my muse
inspyres me to put out my candle and goe to bed: and
yet I wyll not neyther, till, after all these nights reuells, 10
I haue solemnly bid you good night; as much to saye as
tell you how you shall haue a good night, and sleep quietly
without affrightment and annoyance.

First and formost drinke moderately, and dice and
drabbe not away your money prodigally and then for- 15
swear your selues to borrow more.

You that be pore mens children, know your own fathers;
& though you can shift & cheate your selues into good
clothes here about Towne, yet bow your knees to their
leathern bagges and russet coates, that they may blesse 20
you from the ambition of Tiburne.

You that beare the name of souldiers, and liue baselie
swaggering in euery ale-house, hauing no other exhibition
but from harlots and strumpets; seeke some newe trade,
and leaue whoring and quarrelling, least besides the nightly 25
guilt of your owne banquorut consciences, Bridewell or
Newgate prove the ende of your cauelerie.

You, whosoeuer or wheresoeuer you be, that liue by
spoyling and ouer-reaching yong Gentlemen, and make
but a sport to deride their simplicities to their vndooin, | 30
Ha to you the Night at one time or other will prove terrible,
except you foorthwith thinke on restitution: or if you
haue not your Night in this world, you will haue it in hell.

You that are married and haue wiues of your owne,
and yet hold too nere frendship with your neighbours; set 35
vp your rests, that the Night will be an il neighbour to
your rest, and that you shall haue as little peace of minde
as the rest. Therefore was Troy burnt by night, because
Paris by night prostituted Helena, and wrought such
treson to Prince Menelaus.
You that are Macheuilian vaine fooles, and thinke it no
wit or pollicie but to vowe and protest what you neuer
meane, that trauell for nothing els but to learne the vices
of other countries, and disfigure the ill English faces that
God hath giuen you, with Tuscan glickes and apish trickes;
the night is for you with a blacke saunt or a matachine,
extcept you presently turne and convert to the simplicitie
you were borne too.
You that can cast a man into an Italian ague when you list,
and imitate with your diet drinkes anie disease or infirmitie,
the night likewise hath an infernall to act before yee.
Traitors that by night meete and consult how to walke
in the day vndiscouered, & thinke those words of Christ
vainly spoken, There is nothing done in secret but shalbe
revealed and laid open: to you no lesse the night shalbe
as a night owle to vexe and torment you.
And finallie, O you Judges and Magistrates, if there
bee anye amongst you, that doo wrest all the Lawe | into H
their owne hands, by drawing and receyuing every mans
money into their hands, and making newe golden lawes
of their owne, which no Prince nor Parliament euer
dreamed of; that looke as iust as Iehouah by daye,
enthronizing graue zeale and religion on the elevuated
whites of their eyes, when by night corrupt gifts and
rewards rush in at their gates in whole Armies, like Northren
Carriers comming to their Inne; that in steede of their
bookes turne ouer their bribes, for the deciding of causes,
adiudging him the best right that brings the richest present
unto them. If anie such there be I say, as in our Common-
wealth I know none, but haue read of in other States, let
them looke to haue a number of vnwelcome Clients of
their owne accusing thoughts and imaginations, that will
betray them in the night to euery idle feare and illusion.
Therefore are the terrors of the night more than of the day, because the sinnes of the night surmount the sinnes of the day.

By night time came the Deluge over the face of the whole earth; by night time Judas betrayed Christ, Tarquin ruisht Lucretia.

When anie Poet would describe a horrible Tragical accident; to adde the more probabilitie & credence vnto it, he dismally beginneth to tell, how it was darke night when it was done, and cheerfull daylight had quite abandoned the firmament.

Hence it is, that sinne generally throughout the scripture is called the workes of darknesse; for neuer is the diuell so busie as then, and then he thinkes he may aswel vn-discovered wilke abroad, as homicides and outlawes.

Had we no more Religion than we might derive from heathen fables, me thinkes those dolefull Queristers of the night, the Scritch-owle, the Nightingale, and croking Frogs, might ouer-awe vs from anie insolent transgression at that time. The first for her lauish blabbing of forbidden secrets, being for euer ordayned to be a blabbe of ill newes and misfortune, still is crying out in our eares, that we are mortall, and must die: the second puts vs in minde of the end and punishment of lust & rauishment; and the third and last, that we are but slyme & mud, such as those watrie creatures are bred of: and therfore why should we delight to addde more to our slyme & corruption, by extra-ordinarie surfets and drankennes?

But these are nothing neither in comparison: for hee whom in the daye heauen cannot exhale, the night wil neuer helpe: she onely pleading for her old grandmother hell, as well as the day for heauen.

Thus I shut vp my Treatise abruptly, that hee who in the daye doth not good woorkes inoough to answere the obiections of the night, will hardly aunswere at the daye of judgement.

FINIS.