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BARCLAY'S NEPENTHES, OR THE VERTUES OF TABACCO

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

Submitted to the Department of English
of Assumption University of Windsor
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

by

Walter H. Armes, B. A.

The Faculty of Graduate Studies
1961

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an edition of Nepenthes, or The Vertues of Tabacco, written by William Barclay of Edinburgh in 1614.

Shortly after the introduction of tobacco into England, which occurred probably within a couple of years of 1565, there were written, by divers people, a group of pamphlets dealing with the new habit of pipe smoking which had swept England. These pamphlets constitute an excellent example of Elizabethan and Jacobean pamphleteering and give a good cross-section of the various styles and methods used by the writers who are the direct ancestors of the later journalists. One of these pamphlets was written by no less eminent a person than King James I.

A search for some of these pamphlets revealed that none of them are readily accessible in modern issues. Only two, A Warning for Chimney-sweepers and King James's Counterblaste to Tabacco have been re-printed in this century. The pamphlet presented here has been only once re-issued since it was first published, and that was in 1841. Considering that these pamphlets are not only good examples of their genre and valuable social documents, but are almost inaccessible to the modern reader or student,

it seemed that a new edition of one of them, glossed for the modern reader, would be a valuable addition to available literature.

I have also included an extensive introduction which attempts to give a picture of the effects and controversy which tobacco gave rise to early in its career in England. Read in conjunction with Nepenthes it should give a well-balanced picture of this one aspect of Renaissance English culture.

PREFACE

While this thesis has been written as part of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts at Assumption University of Windsor, it also represents an interest in the subject which I have developed over a period of several years. The search for the perfect tobacco and the perfect pipe which must engross every dedicated pipe smoker has been a problem to me for at least five years. Efforts to solve these problems have led to an interest in the whole history of tobacco. An especial interest in the period covered here has developed in general from extensive studies in this period, and in particular, from my first meeting with Abel Drugger in Jonson's Alchemist three years ago. I was fascinated with the ideas concerning tobacco presented in that play, and began searching for similar ideas in other literature of the time. This led to a short paper two years ago which, in turn, was the basis for this thesis.

The decision to present an edition of one of the tobacco pamphlets arose from the scarcity of these interesting works in modern editions. It was my feeling, that, made available in a modern edition, at least one of these works would be useful both to the student of literature as well as the student of social history.

Likewise, it might be of interest to many smokers, particularly in light of the controversy which surrounds tobacco even today.

For its patience and advice, I would like to thank the English Department at Assumption, headed by Fr. C. P. Crowley. Special thanks must go to Dr. John F. Sullivan, my thesis director, for his assistance on the set-up of the paper and for his advice on many technical problems. Fr. D. J. Mulvihill, head of the History Department at Assumption, who was the third member of my graduate committee, along with Fr. Crowley and Dr. Sullivan, furnished helpful criticism when I was preparing my final draft. Valuable suggestions were also made by Allan Grant and Peter Freel. Herbert Cameron, my high school Latin teacher, helped translate the Latin and Greek passages which occur in the pamphlet.

Assistance in preparing the typed draft was gratefully received from Patricia Patterson. The excellent job of preparing the final copy is the work of Phil Phelps whose ability at typing has been exceeded only by his infinite patience in dealing with the many last minute corrections made by the author, who must be held responsible for any errors which may appear in the thesis. A final thanks must, of course, be tendered to my parents who have made it possible for me to undertake the work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
ABSTRACT	iii
PREFACE	v
CHAPTER	
I Introduction	1
II A Brief History	6
III Early Vocabulary and Customs	13
IV The Attack On Tobacco	21
V Tobacco On Stage	27
VI The Tobacco Pamphlets	35
VII Introduction to <u>Nepenthes</u>	60
NEPENTHES; OR THE VERTUES OF TABACCO	63
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89

I

Introduction

The arrival of tobacco in England represents one of those rare occasions where it is possible to observe the results of the introduction of a new social pastime to a nation. In England, this novelty of taking tobacco had a significant effect upon religious, economic, political, and even domestic life; it became the subject of a controversy which still flourishes today; and as a consequence, it took a prominent place in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. The effect, as far as religion goes, was that tobacco set another point of demarcation between the Established Church, in which it was common for the clergy to smoke, and the Puritan sectaries, who were greatly offended at the thought of a cleric defiling himself with smoke, thus aligning himself with the free-living court circles. Economically, it furnished a new business venture for merchants. By 1614, Barnabe Rich estimated that there were seven thousand businesses in London alone depending on the tobacco trade for an annual income of £319,375.¹ Although these

¹The Irish Hubbub (London, 1617), p. 46.

figures represent only a guess, and possibly a poor one at that, they do give an idea of the proportions of this new business. In politics, when King James I made his decision to have Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded, he may have been not a little influenced by the fact that Raleigh had done so much to promote that new fad which was particularly odious to the king. On the domestic front, there are numerous allusions to wives complaining about the unwelcome smell brought into the house by smokers. Mrs. Mulligrub, a character in Marston's play, The Dutch Curtezan (1605) commands her servant to perfume the parlour because it "do's so smell of prophane Tobacco" (Act ² III).

The controversy which developed around tobacco arose over the questions about how it affected a person's health; and how it influenced the moral tone of the nation. The moralists, who looked upon tobacco as a vice, attempted to have it suppressed by arguing that it was a menace to life. The smokers rebutted that tobacco was an herb which not only had nearly miraculous medicinal qualities, but was the companion of good fellowship. The number of cigarettes smoked today demonstrates that the smokers won, even though they were probably wrong in their claims that tobacco was healthful.

2

John Marston, The Plays of John Marston, ed. H. Harvey Woods (London, 1938), II, 108.

The excitement over tobacco carried into almost all branches of literature, including travel literature, poetry, history, character sketches, and pamphlets, the journalistic writing of the time. With the exception of the unique group of tobacco pamphlets, the richest source of literary reference to tobacco is found in the drama. Here, as well as in the other forms, we have an interesting documentation of the effects which this habit had upon those first generations of English smokers. In turn, the many allusions to tobacco occurring in this literature can often be confusing, or at least without meaning, because today we do not realize the importance of the tobacco controversy during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, and we are equally unfamiliar with the particular customs and vocabulary of those early smokers. By exploring the literary allusions to tobacco during approximately its first fifty years in England, I will attempt to clarify the Elizabethan tobacco controversy for the modern reader.

The extent of the interest in tobacco during this period is pointed out most effectively by the group of "tobacco pamphlets" which began to appear in 1595. The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature lists as a separate classification, twenty such pamphlets published by 1620. Furthermore, it does not take into consideration any works which may have been circulated in manuscript, a custom which was popular in those days as

a holdover from the era before printing.

This body of literature, which is singled out for mention in such standard works as the Cambridge History of English Literature and Douglas Bush's English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, has been curiously neglected by scholars, although these works are excellent examples of the less scurrilous Elizabethan pamphleteering. I am aware of only two articles on the subject which have appeared recently in the learned journals. In histories of tobacco, the literary influence of tobacco is invariably glossed over in one chapter. The best of these histories for literary examples was published in 1859 and has since become both scarce and

3

outdated.

Of the pamphlets themselves, only two have been reproduced in this century: the anonymous Work for Chimney-sweepers (1601) which was published in facsimile by the Shakespeare Association in 1936, and King James's A Counter-blaste to Tobacco which was published by Thomas Yoseloff of New York and was in print in 1959. Prior to this, the Counter-blaste was printed three times in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and another pamphlet, Nepenthes, or The Vertues of Tobacco (1614)

3

F. W. Fairholt, Tobacco: Its History and Associations (London, 1859). More recent books on the History of tobacco include The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through The Centuries, by Jerome E. Brooks, (1952), and Sublime Tobacco by Compton MacKenzie, (1957). Others will be found in the bibliography.

was published in London by the Spalding Club in 1841. The first two represent the anti-tobacco faction, whereas the last is in favour of using tobacco.

Considering the rarity of these tobacco pamphlets, I have prepared an edition of Nepenthes, in order that the modern student of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature may be able to familiarize himself with the smoking habits of this first generation of English smokers as well as with the controversy and literature which sprang from their use of the newly discovered weed. The edition is divided into two parts: in the first, consisting of introductory material, I have discussed the Elizabethan and tobacco under the headings of history, vocabulary and use, the arguments which arose over tobacco, tobacco on the stage, and the tobacco pamphlets in general: in the second part, I have presented the pamphlet Nepenthes.

It is my hope that in preparing this edition, I have produced a work which is not only informative, but entertaining as well, for it represents a pipe-smoker's tribute to those men, who, by writing about tobacco, either in praise or condemnation, helped to popularize the habit.

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II

A Brief History

In 1492, Europeans made their first acquaintance with tobacco, and a new social phenomenon was introduced -- a habit which has ever since been variously and continuously either eulogized or condemned. In the entry for November 6, 1492, in Columbus's journal, two scouts sent ashore to explore the coast report having seen "many people on the road going home, men and women, with a half-burnt weed in their hands, being the herbs they are accustomed to smoke."¹ This is the first record we have of tobacco, one of the many new plants found in the New World and one which proved to be economically very important. Perhaps because of the uniqueness of the habit, tobacco henceforth is consistently mentioned by explorers. An interesting example is Jacques Cartier, whom I will include partly for reasons of patriotism and partly because John Florio's translation of Cartier's Voyages for Hakluyt's Principal Voyages and Navigations (1580) helped introduce the English to Canada. With a delightful naïveté, the writer of the journal explains

¹ The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During his first voyage, 1492-93), trans. Clements R. Markham (London, 1893), p. 71. This journal is an abstract of Columbus's original journal (now lost) which was made with reference to the original by Bartolome De Las Casas.

of the Indians that after packing their pipes, which were made either of wood or stone, with tobacco, they lay a coal of fire upon them and

at the other ende sucke so long that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health; they never goe without some of it about them. We ourselves have tryed the same smoke, and having put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as pepper.²

Other early reports and accounts of tobacco can be found in any of the various histories of tobacco listed in the bibliography. Since we are interested here in tobacco as it was introduced into England, our first source is in the report of Sir John Hawkins's first voyage to the West Indies during 1562 and 1563. His description of the use of tobacco by the Indians in Florida is essentially the same as Cartier's, but he adds the curious fiction that these Indians were able to live on tobacco alone for four or five consecutive days.³

2

The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, in Early English and French Voyages Chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608, ed. Henry S. Burrage (New York, 1930), p. 68. This passage is from the journal of the second voyage, 1535-1536, and is the Florio translation.

3

Sir John Hawkins's First Voyage To The West Indies, Oct. 1562-Sept. 1563, A.D., in Voyages and Travels, Mainly During The 16th and 17th Centuries, ed. C. Raymond Beazley (Westminster, 1903), I, 74-75. This set is from a re-edited issue of Edward Arber's An English Garner (1877-1890).

The report of his voyage around the world in 1577 by Francis Drake mentions that the Indians of California, where he had stopped for some time to take on provisions, brought gifts of "feathers and bags of Tobacco",⁴ and the tone of this statement seems to indicate that the writer was sufficiently acquainted with tobacco to take it for granted.

By 1585, the New World was sufficiently known for Sir Walter Raleigh to send out a colony to Virginia with the hope that it would become a valuable commercial enterprise. The colony was led by Sir Richard Grenville, and among the troop was Thomas Hariot, who wrote A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia. This is an account of the plant and animal life of the country, in which he considered its commercial potential, and gave advice as to what new colonists could expect from it. Hariot's report tells how the Indians used tobacco as a sacrifice to their gods: "Sometime they make hallowed fires and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters. to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the water." He makes this comment about his own experience with tobacco:

⁴
The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and There Hence About the Whole Globe of the Earth, Begun in the Yeere of Our Lord 1577, cited in Sixteenth-Century English Prose, ed. Karl J. Holzknecht (New York, 1954), p. 467.

We our selves during the time we were there used to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a colume by itself: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Phistions also, is sufficient witness.⁵

The exact date when tobacco was introduced into England is not definitely known. Hawkins probably brought tobacco back with him in 1563 as is reported in Stowe's Annales, edited by Edmund Howes in 1615. The Annales adds that tobacco was not used for some years after this, and, which sounds contradictory, a few paragraphs earlier, it is stated that "Apricocks, Mellycatons, Muske-Millions and Tobacco came into England about the twentieth year of Queene Elizabeth."⁶ (The twentieth year of Elizabeth would have been from November 17, 1577, to November 16, 1578.) Considering the nature of the passage, this last statement may mean that tobacco was planted and grown in England for the first time in those years. To confuse the issue further, a sidenote mentions that Sir Walter Raleigh

5

Thomas Hariot, A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, facsimile edition of the 1588 Quarto with Introduction by Randolph G. Adams (Ann Arbor, 1951), C3r, C3v.

6

This is from a passage cited by F. J. Furnivall in Harrison's Description of England, pt. 2. (London, 1878), pp. 33-34.

"brought the first knowledge of Tobacco," a matter which foregoing material seriously disputes.

There is one other major reference which indicates that tobacco was being grown in England: William Harrison's An Historicall Description of the Iland of of Britaine which was written to prefix Holinshed's Chronicles (1577, 1586). There is a section which first appears in the 1586 edition on "Gardens and Orchards" in which Harrison attacks the vogue among English gardeners for new plants and herbs imported from the Indies and the Orient.

How doo men extoll the use of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution unto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they do write.⁷

If there is some question concerning how the tobacco habit was started in England, there is no question about popular belief on the matter. Tradition has given the distinction for introducing tobacco plainly and solely to Sir Walter Raleigh, although there is no record that he ever claimed this himself. There is no evidence that Raleigh was associated with the weed prior to the period of his colony in Virginia. His only mention of tobacco in his own writing is a passing reference in his report, The Discoverie of Guiana, written in 1596.

⁷ William Harrison, An Historicall Description of the Iland of Britaine, pt. 1 (1587) ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, 1877), p. 326.

But there is little question that Raleigh became an ardent pipe smoker and this, coupled with his eminence at Court, may account for the tradition.

Joseph Hall mentions in his unusual work, The Discovery of a New World (ca. 1605) that tobacco was brought into "Fooliana" (ie., England) by "one Rollo Warallador, an ungodly fellow of this country (though one of good place)."⁸ "Rollo Warallador" is an obvious anagram for Walter Raleigh. John Aubrey in his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh" says that "Sir Walter was the first that brought tobacco into England and into fashion" and mentions the legend that Raleigh took a pipe in order to settle his nerves just before going to the block.⁹ James Howell in a letter to Henry Hopkins dated January 1, 1646, gives Raleigh credit for introducing tobacco and recounts the story that Raleigh once wagered Queen Elizabeth that he could demonstrate how much smoke was contained in a pipe of tobacco. He filled a pipe, weighed it, and then smoked it. He then weighed the pipe again, demonstrating that the difference

8

The Discovery of a New World, Joseph Hall ca. 1605. Englished by John Healey, ca. 1609, ed. Huntington Brown (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 111-112.

9

Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Ann Arbor, 1957), pp. 256-259.

between the two weights must have been accounted for
by the weight of the smoke.¹⁰

10

James Howell, Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae, or, The
Familiar Letters of James Howell, Book III, letter number
vii, ed. Agnes Repplier (Boston, 1907), II, 333.

III

Early Vocabulary and Customs

Since tobacco was a plant unknown in European countries and smoking was an activity without a fore-runner, new words had to be coined and old ones made to do new service for this new discovery. The English word tobacco, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is an altered form of the Spanish tabaco, a spelling which was often used by sixteenth century English writers. The dictionary gives this information about the derivation of the word. Gonzalo Oviedo in his Historia de las Indias (1535) said that tabaco was the Carib Indian term for a Y-shaped pipe they used for smoking. Bartolome de Las Casas, who was Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico for some time and who edited Columbus's Journal, said that, instead, tabaco was a crude sort of cigar used by the Indians. However, the OED states that the word was in use by the Spanish to refer to both the plant and its processed leaves before either of these men mentioned it. There is a third derivation given by Nicholas Monardes, a Spanish physician who wrote a treatise on the herbs of the new world in 1565. This work was translated into English by John Frampton in 1577 under the title Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde World. Monardes

says, "for the name of Tabaco is given to it of our Spaniards by reason of an Ilande that is named Tabaco."¹ This derivation found favour among early English writers who must have thought it reasonable that tabaco should come from Tobago. Of these three sources, none can be positively ruled out. Thus we have two mysteries concerning tobacco: who first smoked it in England, and what was the origin of the word.

Tobacco was sold in several forms, and these various methods of preparation brought new additions to the tobacco vocabulary. It might be referred to by its place of origin, as "Trinidado," "Florida" and "Virginia." Other common synonyms derived from the manner in which the tobacco was processed. It might be in its natural form of "leaf," it might be compressed into "pudding" or "ball," containing molasses or some other binder, it might be twisted and called "roll," or it might be the stems of the plant and called "cane."

People who used tobacco--smokers we would call them--were referred to as "tobacconists," a word which has now shifted its meaning to refer to tobacco merchants. In a derogatory sense, a smoker might be called a "whiffler." The act of smoking was called "drinking tobacco" although the expressions to whiff and to inhale tobacco were also used. A tobacco merchant was either a "tobacco-seller"

¹ Ed. Stephen Gaselee (London, 1925), p. 76.

or a "tobacco-man". Apothecaries were the first tobacco dealers and so "apothecary" was often the equivalent of "tobacco-seller".

Tobacco was usually smoked in pipes made from clay or silver or from walnut shells equipped with a straw stem. Cigars were either unknown or were not smoked because their price would have been prohibitive. There is some reference to taking snuff (especially in some poems by Samuel Rowlands)² but this was then an uncommon way of taking tobacco which did not become popular until after the Restoration. Aubrey mentions in his "Life of Raleigh"³ that it was a custom in his grandfather's time to pass a pipe from hand to hand when gentlemen sat down to smoke.

The smoker had to provide himself with both a means for carrying his tobacco and of lighting his pipe. Tobacco boxes made of ivory or precious metals were favoured among the gallants who could afford them, as likewise were silver pipes. Leather bags with a draw-string were the common sort of tobacco container. The pipes were lit by laying a coal, of juniper where possible,

² For example, The Melancholy Knight, in The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, ed. Edmund Gosse (London, 1880), II, 13.

³ Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Ann Arbor, 1957), p. 257.

on the tobacco, or by using a taper of paper or wood which could be lit in an open fire. In Chapman's play, All Fools (1605), Dariotto says, "my boy once lighted a pipe of cane tobacco with a piece of a vile ballad, and I'll swear I had a singing in my head a whole week after" (V, 1).⁴ Out of doors, the smoker could use a burning-glass to kindle his pipe.

Tobacco was an expensive luxury for the early smoker. This accounts for its popularity among the courtiers and for some of the scurrilous practices of the tobacco-sellers which will be mentioned later. In 1604, King James, in order to suppress the habit, increased the import duty on tobacco from two pence per pound to a rate of six shillings, eight pence per pound, an increase of 4000 per cent.⁵ If we take G. B. Harrison's evaluation of the purchasing power of the Elizabethan pound in terms of our money at one shilling worth two dollars, this duty would amount to thirteen dollars per pound.⁶ The anonymous play, Everie Woman in Her Humour

⁴ Plays. The Works of George Chapman, ed. Richard Hearne Shepherd (London, 1874), Act V, 1, p. 73(a).

⁵ "Commissio Pro Tabacco" in Foedera, ed. Thomas Rymer, 2nd. ed. (London, 1728), XVI, 601-602.

⁶ Appendix 27: "Money Values", Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, 1952), pp. 1648-49.

(1609) prices tobacco at six pence for half an ounce or sixteen shillings per pound, while a "case of Tobacco pipes" is worth only four pence.⁷ Another play has tobacco, "the best in Europe" costing ten crowns an ounce,⁸ and while this is an obvious exaggeration, it does show how ruinous tobacco smoking was considered to be and why Scumbroath, the cook in Dekker's play, If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It (1612), could say:

But two sinnes have undone me, prodigalitie,
and covetousnesse: and three pees have
peppered me, the Punck, the Pot, and the
Pipe of smoake, out of my pocket my gold
did soake. (IV, ii, 129-131)⁹

But in spite of James's attempts to limit the tobacco trade it expanded steadily. New shops must have been opening daily if Rich's account (see p. 5 above) was accurate. It seems surprising that women apparently often set up in the tobacco business. In another play by Dekker, The Roaring Girl, the character Goshawke remarks that, "tis many a good woman's fortune, when her husband turns bankrout, to begin with pipes and set up again"¹⁰ (II, ii, 7-11).

⁷
A Collection of Old English Plays, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1885), IV, 357.

⁸
John Day, Law-tricks, or Who Would Have Thought It (1608) ed. John Crow with W. W. Greg and F. P. Wilson (Oxford, 1950), II, 324-325. \$200 by Harrison's evaluation.

⁹
The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1958), III, 183.

¹⁰
Ibid., III, 25.

A more extended passage in If This Be Not Good,... shows Bravo, a pimp, petitioning a magistrate to close up all the "shee-tobacco-shops" because:

They that had been wont to spend a crowne about a smocke, have now their delight dog-cheape, but for spending one quarter of that mony in smoake. (II, ii, 79-81)

The tobacco merchant was probably the most disliked and mistrusted business-man in London. He was railed at not only by the anti-tobacco faction, but by the smoker as well, because, even if he were honest, his stuff was too expensive, and quite often, judging from the literature, he was far from honest. He was universally suspected of adulterating his tobacco to make it go further. It was not uncommon to add aromatic spices or herbs, such as aniseed, to tobacco to improve its flavour and aroma, a practice still used in preparing pipe tobacco. Tobacco sellers also developed the technique of taking the leaves from a common weed, the dock, and adding this to their tobacco stock. The apothecaries who sold tobacco were probably the most ready to doctor their merchandise. This description of "Abel Drugger, a tobacco man" from Jonson's The Alchemist (1610) gives a good picture of the practices of some of his fellows as well as describing the tools of their trade:

This is my friend, Abel, an honest fellow; he lets me have good tobacco, and he does not sophisticate it with sack lees or oil,

nor washes it in muscadel and grains, nor buries it in gravel under ground, wrapped up in greasy leather or pissed clouts, but keeps it in fine lily pots, that, opened, smell like conserve of roses, or French beans. He has his maple block, his silver tongs, Winchester pipes, and fire of juniper. (I, iii, 22-31)¹¹

The maple block was used for cutting up roll or pudding tobacco into shreds that could be packed in a pipe; the silver tongs were for handling the coal to light the pipe; Winchester pipes were clay pipes which were famous for many years (most of the clay pipes used nowadays are made in Holland); and the fire of juniper was for providing the coal.

The reference to urine may be an exaggeration, but it occurs often. In the anonymous play, The Return to Parnassus (Part I, 1599), tobacco is called "nothing but a docke leafe stept in a chamberpot"¹² and in Middleton's play, A Fair Quarrel (1617) the tobacco-seller, Vapour, is cursed thus: "May thy roll rot, and thy pudding drop in pieces, being sophisticated with filthy

¹¹

Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1937), V, 309-310.

¹²

The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601) ed. J. B. Leishman (London, 1949), p. 186. (ll. 1051-1056).

urine!" (IV, i, 218-219).¹³ If this was not in fact a practise, at least it shows the public's opinion of these dealers.

¹³
The Works of Thomas Middleton, ed. A. H. Bullen,
(London, 1885), V, 233.

IV

The Attack On Tobacco

The medicinal quality of tobacco appears to have been the chief argument used by the smoking side in the controversy. The non-smokers' arguments were generally moralistic. King James openly stated his position in 1604 when he raised the import duty on tobacco. In the Commissio Pro Tobacco which established this increase, he says:

Whereas Tabacco, being a Drugge of late yeres found out, and by Merchants, as well Denizens as Strangers, brought from foreign Partes in small quantitie into this Realm of England and other of our Dominions, was used and taken by the better sort both them and nowe onlie as Phisicke to preserve Healthe, and is nowe at this day, through evell Custome and the Tolleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitye make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie, to the evill example and corrupting of others, and also do consume that Wages whiche manye of them gett by their Labour, wherewith there Families should be releived ... by wich great and imoderate takinge of Tabacco the Health of a great number of our People is impayred, and their Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor
.....¹

He makes approximately the same case, considerably

¹ Foedera, ed. Thomas Rymer, 2nd, ed. (London, 1728), XVI, 601-602.

expended, in his unsigned Counterblast to Tobacco.

Perhaps because tobacco had come from the heathen Indies, it was associated with the devil by those who would condemn it. Joyful Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde set this out in the beginning with the remark that:

And as the Devil is a deceiver, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of Hearbes, he did shewe them the Indians the vertue of this Hearbe, that by the means thereof, thei might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to them, and by that means doeth deceive them.²

Thomas Nashe, in his pamphlet, Pierce Pennilesse (1592), accounts for the Devil having a black face and being called the "Black Prince" by saying "It is suspected you have beene a great Tobacco taker in your youth which causeth it to come so to passe."³

One of the most productive writers on James's side was Samuel Rowlands, a poet noted for his satires and epigrams of contemporary men and customs. Two of his works were ordered burned in 1600 because of their scurrility. In one of his satires, entitled The Knave of Harts (1612) he describes a "prodigall knave" or gallant, who:

2

Nicholas Monardes, trans. John Frampton, ed. Stephen Caselee (London, 1925), p. 86.

3

The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (London, 1910), I, 181, II. 13-15.

But fire and smoke and stench, as we
do here. 6

The argument was raised that it was not in keeping with the advanced state of British civilization for Englishmen to ape the Indians by smoking and thus adopting a savage custom. In the Counterblast James asks:

And now good Countrey men let us (I pray you) consider, what honour or policie can moove us to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish Indians, especially in the use of so vile and stinking a custome?...Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes, to golde and precious stones, as they do? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Devill, as they doe?⁷

A third argument is echoed in this passage from Every Man in his Humor by Jonson (1598):

By God's me, I mar'l what pleasure or felicity they have in taking this roguish tabacco! It's good for nothing but to choke a man, and fill him full of smoke and embers...(III, V, 105-108).⁸

Or, as Rowlands puts it:

But this same poyson, steeped India weede,

6

John Ford, The Works of John Ford, ed. William Gifford and Alexander Dyce (London, 1869), I, 66.

7

King James I, A Counter-Blaste to Tobacco, ed. Ed. Goldsmid (Edinburg, 1884), pp. 12-13.

8

Ben Jonson, II, 356.

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In head, hart, lunges, doth soote and
 copwebs breede.⁹
 (Epigram 18)

While this is hardly a moral attack on tobacco, it does seem to echo the old saw that if man had been intended to smoke, nature would have equipped him with a chimney.

A fourth argument turned against the tobacco habit was that it produced an annoying odor or stench. "Stinking weed" was another synonym for the "divine herb."

There were also serious attempts to attack tobacco on medical grounds--Work for Chimny-Sweepers was the first in 1601. Although this pamphlet sinks in one place to denouncing tobacco by linking it with the Devil, it generally argues that the natural heat of tobacco was so great that it was too strong to be used as a curative. This pamphlet also defined the idea, then prevalent among the anti-tobaccoists, that smoking "dryeth up the sperme and seed of man" and was therefore a threat to the race.¹⁰

Fortunately for smokers, the chief results which came from the efforts of these non-smokers to

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Rowlands, Works, III, 24.

10

Work for Chimny-Sweepers, or, A warning for Tobaccoists, introd. S. M. Atkins (Oxford, 1936), Egr.

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cleanse the country of tobacco was that tobacco received further publicity, and the "evil weed" was preserved for future generations.

V

Tobacco On Stage

There are various reasons why tobacco became a popular allusion on the Elizabethan stage. It provided a means of identifying places and characters on the stage as well as adding realism in descriptions of taverns and ordinaries. It provided a source for satire, whether of the dishonest apothecary, the puritanical citizen who frowned on tobacco, or the courtly gallant who divided his time between the ordinary, the tobacco-shop and Paul's Walk. The stage was also a means through which the playwrights could participate in the popular tobacco controversy. Also, there was a custom among playgoers which must have made it almost impossible for players and writers to ignore tobacco.

Paul Hentzner, a German lawyer who made a diary of his observations on a trip through England in 1598 recorded that "at these spectacles [the theatre and bear-baiting pits] and every where else, the English are constantly smoking the Nicotian weed which in America is called 'Tobaca'.¹" It was the custom of the gallant to purchase a stool on stage and smoke his pipe there. Dekker in The Guls Hornbook (1608) tells his "students" that among

¹"Travels in England" in Life In Shakespeare's England: A Book of Elizabethan Prose, compiled by John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1915), p. 161.

the advantages of taking a sixpenny stool on stage is² that he can readily get his match lighted. The Scornful Lady (1616), a play by Beaumont and Fletcher, makes reference to gallants who "wear swords to reach fire at a play" (I, ii, 52),³ and in their play, The Knight of the Burning Pestle (ca. 1607), the Citizen's Wife, who sits along with her husband on the stage, complains: "this stinking tobacco kills men! Would there were none in England!" (I, ii, 142-142).⁴

The tobacco merchant was a popular conventional character on stage. Jonson's Abel Druggier in the Alchemist is probably the best known, but there are others such as Vapour in Middleton's A Fair Quarrel. These characters are the dupes of their customers and often the fools in the play.

The Puritans might be jibed at, as in this passage from Marston's The Dutch Curtezan (1605) where a house-wife, Mrs. Mulligrub, remarks;

²
The Guls Hornbook and The Belman of London
(London, 1936), p. 49.

³
The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher,
ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1904), I, 377.

⁴
Elizabethan and Stuart Plays, ed. Charles R.
Baskervill, Virgil B. Heltzel and Arthur H. Nethercot
(New York, 1957), p. 1110.

I could never endure this ungodly Tabacco, since one of our elders, assured me upon his knowledge Tabacco was not used in the Congregation of the family of love....(III)⁵

The gallant came in for the greatest display on stage as a tobacco-taker because of his immoderate use of tobacco. Captain Bobadill, "a Paul's man," in Jonson's Every Man in his Humor (1598) makes an impassioned speech about the marvels of tobacco, claiming that he has dined on tobacco alone for as many as twenty-one days, praising it as the antidote for all poisons and calling it "the most sovereign and precious weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man." Cob, a water-carrier, replies that tobacco is fit only to choke a man and that:

There were foure dyed out of one house,
last weeke, with taking of it, and two
more the bell went for, yesternight; one
of them (they say) will ne'er scape it: he
voided a bushell of soot yesterday, upward,
and downward. (III, V, 108-111)⁶

The most extended scene devoted to gallants and their tobacco is in Monsieur d'Olive, a play by Chapman dating from 1606, in which d'Olive, a courtier, is obliged to defend tobacco against the attacks of a Puritan, a weaver "parblind...with the Geneva spirit"

⁵
The Plays of John Marston, ed. H. Harvey Woods (London, 1938), II, 108.

⁶
Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1937), III, 356.

Beside these fairly conventional uses of tobacco on the stage, there are two unique cases where tobacco is personified on the stage and becomes an integral part of the play. The earliest is in an anonymous play Lingua: Or, The Combat of the Tongue, and the five senses for Superiority, which was printed in 1607. The play is set in Microcosmus, or the human body, and Lingua, the tongue, who is portrayed as a woman, along with her wily servant, Mendacio, tries, through a stratagem, to get herself included as a sixth sense in Microcosmus. The case is brought before a judge, and Olfactus (the sense of smell) presents, as part of his entourage, Tobacco:

apparelled in a taffeta mantle, his arms brown and naked, Buskins made of the peeling of osiers, his neck bare, hung with Indian leaves, his face brown, painted with blue stripes, in his nose swines' teeth, on his head a pointed wicker crown with tobacco-pipes set in it, plumes of tobacco leaves, led by two Indian boys naked, with tapers in their hands, tobacco-boxes and pipes lighted. (Stage direction, IV, iv.)

This "great and puissant God of Tobacco," who speaks only a Latinesque gibberish, is called by Olfactus "the mighty Emperor Tobacco, King of Trinidade, that, in being conquered, conquered all Europe, in making them pay tribute for their smoke." He is:

Son of the god Vulcan and Tellus, kin to the father of mirth, called Bacchus, ...
Genius of all swaggerers, sweet ointment for sour teeth, adamant of company, ...

and of so great deserts that, whoso is acquainted with him can hardly forsake him. (IV, iv.)⁹

In the end, because of her trickery, and because she is the mother of all lies, Lingua is refused her request.

The other example of this personification of tobacco is in The Masque of Flowers which was presented by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn in 1614 "being the last of the solemnities and magnificences which were performed at the marriage of the Right Honourable the Earl of Somerset and the Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain." It was dedicated in the printed version to Sir Francis Bacon, the dedication being signed by J.G., W.D., and T.B., who were probably the persons responsible for the play. The device of the masque is that the Sun appoints Spring and Winter to present the newly married couple with a pageant of various sports, and "more especially, that Winter for his part take knowledge of a certain challenge which had been lately sent and accepted between Silenus and Kawasha upon this point, that Wine was more worthy than Tobacco, and did more cheer and relieve the spirits of man. This to be tried at two weapons, at song and at dance..." (Preface). Kawasha was apparently an Indian god who was associated with tobacco.

9

A Select Collection of Old English Plays, originally published by Robert Dodsley, 4th. edition, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1874), IX, 420-421.

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After an introduction in which Winter and Spring announce the purpose of the masque, there follows the "Antick-Masque of the Song." Kawasha is costumed according to these directions:

...on his head a night-cap of red-cloth of gold, close to his skull, tied under his chin, two holes in top, out of which his ears appeared, hung with two great pendants; on the crown of his cap a chimney; a glass chain about his neck; his body and legs of olive-colour stuff, made close like skin; bases of tobacco-colour stuff cut like tobacco leaves, sprinkled with orcedure; in his hand an Indian bow-and arrows.

He was preceeded by a sergeant who carried on his shoulder "a great tobacco-pipe as big as a caliver" or small musket. Both sides, Silenus and crew, in defence of Wine, and Kawasha and his supporters, exchange a series of mildly insulting verses or songs, but the debate is never settled, and because the masque is for a joyful occasion, both sides agree to stop bickering and dance off, singing together. In the "Antick-Masque of the Dance" which follows, the same characters take part, but there is none of the controversy between tobacco and wine.

While the significance of these references to tobacco might be lost on a modern-day audience viewing one of these plays, there can be little doubt that they

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The Masque of the Flowers, in English Masques,
ed. Herbert Arthur Evans (London, 1897), pp. 100-112.

did add a note of immediacy which would have helped an early Seventeenth Century audience establish an identity with the plays.

I will mention here one other curious fact about tobacco on the Elizabethan stage. Shakespeare, in all his works, makes no reference to tobacco, nor even suggests that he is aware of it. Neither are there any outside clues as to what might account for this omission. Whether he smoked or not, whether he left tobacco out of his plays for political or aesthetic reasons, are unanswerable questions.

VI

The Tobacco Pamphlets

In this section, I will deal with the whole group of tobacco pamphlets. The first, Tabaco, which was almost certainly written by Anthony Chute, a protege of Gabriel Harvey, appeared in 1595. From then until 1620, there appeared another sixteen works on the subject. The subject matter varied from such down-to-earth topics as, An Advice how to plant Tobacco in England by the unknown author, T. C., to polemics against the weed such as John Deacon's Tobacco Tortured, or, the filthy fume of Tobacco refined: shewing all sorts of subjects, that the inward taking of Tobacco fumes, is very pernicious unto their bodies; too too profluvius for many of their purses; and most pestiferous to the public State. Exemplified apparently by most fearfull effects.

Generally speaking, these pamphlets were not written by men who have remained well known until today. The exceptions are King James, Joshua Sylvester, whose single tract on the subject was in verse, Barnaby Rich, and Richard Braithwaite.

However, the men who wrote these pamphlets were well acquainted with the other pamphlets, and often one

pamphlet would be written as a reply to another. Richard Braithwaite's The Smoking Age, or The Man in the Mist (1617) refers to the poem Tobacco Battered by Joshua Sylvester (1617), and includes as a sort of appendix a summary of Chute's Tabaco. The anonymous author of A New and Short Defense of Tabacco (1602) states that he has read "two severall Discourses lately putte downe by two singular exquisite learned Physitions, Con and Pro" which would likely be Work for Chimny-sweepers by H. J. which was entered at the stationers register 25 June, 1601 (contra) and A Defense of Tabacco with a friendly answer to the late printed book called Worke for Chimny-sweepers entered 4 January, 1602 (pro). John Deacon dedicated his book, Tobacco Tortured, to King James, who had made his position well known through his Counterblaste. This would point to a definite awareness in Londoners of the controversy and indicates the energy of the dispute.

The earlier pamphlets seem to be mainly of a medical nature. Anthony Chute's Tabaco is subtitled the distinct and severall opinions of the late and best Physitions that have written of the divers natures and qualities thereof. The main part of the outside material he presents is from Monardes and Nicot. However, the book is generally based on Chute's own observations such as this one concerning times when one should use tobacco.

I would not that any should receive it at any time but when he find himself not well

disposed, or beeing well, suspects either
that he hath surfaited, or something which
he hath in his stomack, may make him ill.
(pp. 10-11)¹

Or, replying to a comment by a London doctor that he had
seen a man die of tobacco, this comment: "...I am truly
resolved, that for that one which died, it hath saved
threescore" (p. 20). He also passes on the misinformation
that tobacco would cure syphilis:

They affirme that in France a man having
a sore ulcer, or impostume, caused by the
evil of Naples, that we cal in English the
French something, was immediately cured
thereof. (pp. 44-45).²

This pamphlet is the subject of one of the two
scholarly articles on this field. Robert J. Kane, work-
ing from clues in the pamphlet, as well as remarks about
the work and its author made by Thomas Nashe in two oth-
er pamphlets, Have with you to Saffron Walden, and Nashe's
Lenten Stuff, confirms that the A. C. who wrote Tabacco
was definitely Anthony Chute. Of the pamphlet itself,
Kane says:

Chute's little cento, then, has a double title
to distinction: it is the first treatise of its

1

(London, 1595), From a micro-film copy in the
Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is
now in the Huntington Library, San Merino, California.

2

I have been unable to find whom the Italians
held responsible for social diseases, a euphemism which
Chute might have found useful for replacing "the French
something."

kind in English literature, and it is probably the first in any literature to give proper importance to the custom of smoking.³

The contemporary estimate of this work is indicated by the fact that Richard Braithwaite, as noted earlier, appended a summarized version of it to his own work because Tabaco was in demand but unavailable.

As to the place which Tabaco took in the developing controversy, it is hard to align it on either side. Chute was attempting to write a factual and informative treatise on a new and, to him, a tremendously important drug. At the same time, he informs us that he is a smoker and on reading the book, one gets the impression that either he simply did not follow his own rules for the taking of tobacco, or he was often "not well disposed" or expected to become that way from a "surfait." This pamphlet does, however, establish most of the arguments which were later used by those who defended tobacco from a medical view point. Chiefly, he argues moderation in the use of tobacco, lists authorities, most of whom, such as Galen and Hippocrates, knew nothing of tobacco, and gives instruction for the various means of applying it as a medicament.

The first anti-tobacco pamphlet was published

3

Robert J. Kane, "Anthony Chute, Thomas Nashe, and the first English Work on Tobacco," Review of English Studies, VII (1931), 151-159.

pseudonymously by "Philaretos" entitled Work for Chimney-sweepers: Or A Warning for Tobacconists, describing the pernicious use of Tobacco, no lesse pleasant then profitable for all sorts to reade, with this encouraging note following: "Better be chokt with English hemp, than poisoned with Indian Tobacco." Robert Kane has also dealt with the authorship of this work in another article, "Joseph Hall and Work for Chimney-sweepers."⁴ There is a dedicatory poem in the work which is signed J. H. and from stylistic evidence Kane points out that it might well have been written by Joseph Hall. As to the authorship of the whole, however, he points out that while Hall sided with the anti-tobacco faction in his The Discovery of a New World and other works, there is not sufficient evidence to identify "Philaretos" with Hall.

The pamphlet sets out eight arguments against the use of tobacco, the majority of which are on a medical basis. For example, the third argument explains that tobacco can be injurious to health because "it is experimented and tryed to be a most strong and violent purge," (an effect which many have experienced after their first cigar).

Or, the fourth argument explaining that:

⁴
PMLA, LI (1936), 407-413.

...it witherith and drieth up natural
moisture in our bodies, thereby
causing sterility and barrenesse:
In which respect it seemeth an enemie
to the continuance and propagation
of mankinde.

But not all the arguments were scientific. The seventh is particularly interesting because it was further employed by other anti-tobacconists, including King James. It runs, "the first author and finder thereof was the Devil, and the first practisers of the same were Devil's Priests, and therefore not to be used by Christians."

In reply to this diatribe on the weed, there appeared anonymously two defenses of tobacco only a few months later. The most pointed was A Defense of Tobacco; with a friendly answer to the late printed book called
5
Worke for Chimny-Sweepers. The author, who mentions that he does not know who wrote Work for Chimny-Sweepers, takes the familiar stand of moderation. Referring to the author of Work, he says:

If his meaning be, onely to condemne
the abuse of Tabacco: in that I am
ready to take his part, and will most
willingly joyne with him hand and hand:
but yet so, as I do think, that a good
thing should be no more misliked, for
the abuse thereof. (Agv)

Then, proceeding like Chute before him and others after,

5
(London, 1602), From a micro-film copy in the Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Merino, California.

he defends the use of tobacco as a curative. His method is suggested by the pamphlet he is attacking. As it was laid out as a series of statements or arguments, so he replies by confuting them one by one, often turning the first author's authorities against him by a more rational interpretation. In the Work, the argument was brought forth that smoking would blacken a smoker's brain, to which the defender replies:

As for the reason that you bring, to prove Tobacco, to leave in our braine, a black, swarte, sootish tincture, because it doth all to be-blacke the Pipe wherein it is taken: O Lord, it is very weak reason.

Quite sensibly, he suggests that one only has to look into the mouth and throat of a smoker to disprove the other's claim.

The other defense written that year was A New and Short Defense of Tobacco⁶ which is one of the most entertaining of these pamphlets. The author proceeds in his defense of tobacco by putting his argument into a plan based on the mechanics of scholastic philosophy using charts and tables. He mentions that while he was a student at Oxford, he had become deathly ill and credits tobacco with returning him to health. Having thus experienced the medicinal properties of this herb, he says that, since then, he has used tobacco in moderation

⁶
(London, 1602). From a micro-film copy in the Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Merino, California.

as a means of keeping fit. He praises it as the greatest of simples and makes this comment about those who use tobacco immoderately.

Wherefore vigilant circumspection must be had, that Tabacco be handled considerably and respectively, not, phanatically, phantastically, insolently, excessively, and wantonly, as some humorous pragmaticall, Iocodocians (Vaine and vaser) use to doe, whose noses are like unto Mount Aetna, their mouthes and Lippes (as it were) th'out-brust of his Hellish smoake, flying, and flashing about their faces with every Huffe, Snuffe, and Puffe, spitting out their owne folly, to the great offence of many. (B2v)

He breaks down tobacco-taking into various categories and under "Uses" he finds these various applications.

	(Reforme and rectifie
	(what is emisse.
	(Provoke vomite
For it is profitable to	(upwards. Purge by
	(seige, humours
	(of any combination.
	(Cure wounds of
	(every condition.

For the first, it should be smoked; for the second, chewed, with four or five drops of the juice "drilled into the stomacke;" for the third, steeped in wine; and for the last, used in the form of ashes. He applies the same method to other aspects of the taking of tobacco. He also adds, that for smoking, "one grain at the least of oile of Anniseedes" be added to the tobacco, presumably to improve the taste. He thus aligns himself with those who favoured the use of tobacco as a medicine

to be taken carefully and judiciously.

After a lapse of about two years, there was published, again anonymously, what has become the most famous of the tobacco pamphlets. It was entitled, A Counter-Blaste to Tobacco, and, although its author did not acknowledge it until 1616, his subjects realized soon after its first appearance that it was written by the King. His attitude toward the weed was public knowledge. In a letter to Sir Amias Paulet tentatively dated in December of 1603, the year of James's accession, Sir John Harington reported an audience he had had with the King. He says:

His majestie muche askede concerninge
my opinion of the new weede tobacco,
and said "it woud, by its use, infuse
ill qualities on the braine, and that
no learnede man ought to taste it, and
wishede it forbidden."

Then, in October of 1604, James issued his Commissio Pro Tabacco, which not only publicly stated his opinion on tobacco, but raised the import duty to such an extent as he thought would effectively discourage smoking in England. Thus, the pamphleteer who wrote of tobacco as follows, was soon identified with the monarch.

A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull
to the nose, harmefull to the braine,
dangerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke

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Sir John Harington, Letters and Epigrams, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1930), p. lll.

stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling
the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that
is bottomelesse.⁸

James's pamphlet is interesting not only because of its author's rank, but also because it was the first of the tobacco pamphlets which made no real effort to deal with tobacco in medical terminology. To be sure, James does discuss the medical claims held out for tobacco, but primarily his is an emotional and quite unrestrained polemic against one of Satan's devices to lure men down hellish paths. Mainly, he argued that tobacco was a fad, an expensive waste of time which could bear no good because it was introduced from a nation of heathens.

And now good Countrey men let us (I pray you) consider, what honour or policie can moove us to imitate the barbarious and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stink-a custome?...Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes to golde and precious stones, as they do? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Devill, as they doe? (12-13)

James does seem to have fairly well understood tobacco and its effects as well as the medical nonsense put forward by the earlier writers. Not without humor he says of the power which tobacco was supposed to have as a cure for the pox:

As for curing of the pockes, it serves

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James I, Counter-Blaste, p. 32.

for that use but among the pockie Indian slaves, Here in England it is refined, and will not deigne to cure heere any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. Omnipotent power of Tabacco. (p. 25)

He recognized also that tobacco was habit forming explaining, correctly, that once the body becomes accustomed to it, as to other things such as alcohol and narcotics, its absence can cause a severe reaction. He also mentions a curious attribute of tobacco to which I find no other allusion: that tobacco smoke had power to exorcise devils, an idea which he rejects, remarking that if it did, it would "serve as a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out devills withall." (p. 25). However, his final tirade against tobacco seems to exemplify best the nature of his dislike for tobacco.

Moreover, which is a great iniquitie, and against all humanitie, the husband shall not bee ashamed, to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and cleane complexioned wife, to that extremitie, that either shee must also corrupt her sweete breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetuall stinking torment. (pp. 31-32)

While this does give an indication of James's attitude toward women, it also demonstrates that his enmity for tobacco arose from fear of it as a social evil. He may have been influenced on this particular point when he saw women smoking, for as I have indicated earlier, apparently women (at least, those women who had the

freedom to do so), on the introduction of tobacco, were only a puff away from the men in indulging in the new national vice.

To pass a final comment on this royal invective, it is the most readable of the tobacco pamphlets, while being at the same time one of the least typical of them. It is interesting because it is so strongly biased and emotional; and for these same reasons it is atypical. The majority of those who wrote against the use of tobacco complained because it was, to them, being wrongly used. They seem to have been mostly interested in correcting the abuse so that they might get the best use of a new herb. Their interest was more scientific, more questioning, than James's view, which was concerned almost completely with the ethical and moral aspects of smoking. In essence, he wrote what must be one of the first temperance pamphlets in the English language, a forerunner to the works of the Anti-Saloon League.

After the publication of James's work, the scene was quiet, at least in terms of recorded output, until 1610, when Edmund Gardiner, a physician and a Catholic, who had been imprisoned by the Court of King's Bench for reasons which I have not been able to unearth published his The Triall of Tabacco.¹⁰ This work was intended

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(London, 1610) From a micro-silm copy in the Assumption University of Windsor Library, An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

to be a most scientific and objective study of the herb in a distinct and plain style, and was not to be "too partial" as were the works of those others he had read on the subject. He gives a list of seventy-five different authors whom he has cited in his book, which ran to one hundred and sixteen pages. Some of these are quoted as authority on tobacco or medicine, but the most because they provided the author with a ready store of aphorisms. In the list there are such diverse names as Homer, Hesiod, Aristotle, Paracelsus, Terence, Martial, Albertus Magnus, Chaucer, and William Camden. Of writers who say much about tobacco he lists Monardes, Richard Hakluyt, and John Gerard, a Londoner who wrote, in 1597, a very famous English Herbal. He also mentions both Work for Chimney-sweepers and the reply, A Defense of Tobacco, and notes that he is not being compelled to write his work as the author of the Defense had said he was; Gardiner will take the more difficult path and follow a middle way between both extremes.

Before discussing the content of the pamphlet, it is worth noting that the author mentions having made several attempts to grow tobacco and gives advice for its cultivation, so it would seem that he had considerable experience with the plant. As an aside, tobacco grown in England has never been popular for its smoking qualities. This has kept the England dependent on col-

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onial and foreign sources of supply, and in James's time, caused him much embarrassment because the English insisted on buying Spanish tobacco which was especially favoured although extremely expensive.

It is evident from the first few pages of this pamphlet, The Triall of Tabacco, that the author is not particularly impressed with the curative powers of tobacco when taken as smoke. It would have its greatest effect when taken in the form of a syrup, which must have been in effect and taste not unlike the juice which forms from masticating a quid of "Bull Durham." Of smokers he says:

Some use to drink Tabacco (as it is tearmed) for wantonnes, or rather Custom, and cannot forbear it, no, not in the midst of their dinner or supper: which kind of taking is unholosome, and very dangerous, if not slovenly; although to take it seldom, and that physically may do some good, and is to be tolerated.
(p. 9)

But:

The weight of foure ounces of the juice of Tobacco being drunke, purgeth bothe upwards and downewards, and procureth after a long and sound sleep. (p. 20)

Therefore, it seems quite logical that a doctor, in an age when voiding the system was the first step in most cures, would favour the latter; it would take an astronomical amount of smoke to purge an accustomed smoker and then it would probably not act downwards.

To support his position towards tobacco, he

gives several recipes for various tobacco concoctions, one of which, for instance, "is good for an old pain in the head and sharpeneth the eye-sight."

The next pamphlet on tobacco came out the following year, 1611, and was entitled, The Perfuming of Tobacco, and the Great Abuse Committed in it. Although I have been unable to consult this work, or find description of it in secondary sources, I think it safe to presume that it was a smoker's complaint against those tobacco-merchants mentioned in an earlier chapter, who adulterated their merchandise. Following this came Nepenthes by William Barclay, in 1614, which is presented in a following chapter.

The year 1615 saw the publication of An Advice how to plant Tobacco in England, by T. C., another work to which I have not had access. Considering that domestic tobacco never won popularity in England, we might here assume that it was not a very good advice.

The next pamphlet was Tobacco Tortured, written in 1616 by John Deacon, a gentleman whose fame has not been preserved by the Dictionary of National Biography, but whom, from his style, I would gather to have had training for the ministry. In keeping with his title, Deacon dedicated his work to King James, but I have been unable to find whether it brought him any preferment. The complete title suggests the tone of what is to follow

in the book, which runs to 198 pages.

Tobacco Tortured, or, the filthie Fume of Tobacco refined: shewing all sorts of subjects, that the inward taking of Tobacco fumes is very pernicious unto their bodies; too too profluvius for many of their purses; and most pestiferous to the public state. Exemplified apparently by most fearfull affects: more especially, from their treacherous projects about the Gunpowder Treason; from their rebellious attempts of late about their preposterous desparking of certaine Inclosures: as also, from sundry other of their prodigious practises.¹¹

The book is written in the form of a dialogue between two imaginary gentlemen, Capnistus and Hydrophorus, one on either side of the tobacco controversy, and, as well as discussing the weed, they also dwell at length on wine. The results in both cases are that the one who indulges in these vices is logically convinced of his error and resolves to amend his ways. The writing is by far the most florid of that in any of these pamphlets. While the style tends to verbosity, it is nonetheless vivid and lively, and where the author overreaches himself, it can be highly amusing. Following a custom seen in other pamphlets, Deacon larded his work with references from Hebrew (the Bible being his principle source), Greek, Latin, and even English. He used Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates to substantiate the

11

(London, 1616), From a micro-film copy in the Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Merino, California.

Scriptures. He gives a lengthy account of the derivation of the word tobacco, but this is largely a compilation and repetition of other writers. He also repeats the story from Frampton's translation of Monardes, of the manner in which the Indians of Florida used tobacco to induce a fainting spell which was supposed to conjure up oracular visions.

He goes on to discuss the expense of tobacco, saying tobacco ran at least 40s. per pound. From this he figures that a tinker would spend 3s. 4d. per week for smoke. Then to drive home the evils of smoking, Deacon draws verbal pictures of a wife and son pleading with their sole support who has been victimized by nicotine. Here is an excerpt from the boy's lament:

Harke Dad, thou wert wont (when thou wentst to the Faires) to buy thy best boy, fine knacks, fine boxes, fine rattles, a fine feather, a fine gilden dagger, and a fine golden hobbie-horse: wert thout not, Dad? And wilt thou now let me thy white-headed boy runne barefoote and barelegged without hose and shoes? Why harke, Dad, hath the fire of Tobacco filched thy purse? Hath filthie Tobacco enforced all thy golden angels to creepe covertly out of thy coffers into thy profluvius pouch, and from thence to flie forth all about? (p. 160)

This expresses a typical Jamesian attitude toward tobacco --no quarter for this pernicious vice. It is by far the longest of the tobacco pamphlets, and one of the most irate in its denunciation of the weed, but, perhaps because of its tone of righteous indignation, it is, though long, still en-

tertaining and amusing.

As had been 1602, 1617, the year after Deacon's pamphlet, was a prolific season for writers on tobacco. Three pamphlets, all by men whose names will be well-known to students of Seventeenth Century literature, came out in that year. One, by Joshua Sylvester, who is remembered for his translations of the French poet, du Bartas, was written in verse. The complete title of this poem runs: Tobacco battered: and the Pipes shattered (About their Ears that idelley Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise over-love so loathsome a vanity.) by a Volley of holy Shot thundered from Mount Helecon. ¹² While I have been un-

able to read this in its entirety, a lengthy passage quoted in Edward Arber's reprint of James's Counter-Blaste gives sufficient testimony as to the outlook of the entire work.

A statement that Sylvester's translations demonstrate "a dogmatic and uncompromising Puritanic spirit" might well be applied here. ¹³ Of more significance to the subject

of pamphlets, if not to the matter of invective against tobacco, are the two other pamphlets of that year. Barnaby Rich is probably most famous for his Farewell to the Militarie Profession (1581), which is a main source for Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. He also published in 1617

12

The CEEL dates this work 1617. Edward Arber in his edition of the Counter-Blaste dates it 1614.

13

Alfred H. Upham, The French Influence in English Literature (New York, 1908), p. 158.

(the year of his death) a pamphlet entitled The Irish Hubbub or, the English Hue and Crie. Briefly pursuing the base conditions, and most notorious offences of this vile, vaine, and wicked age. ¹⁴ The most notorious offence was smoking. Although it was printed for sale in London, the book was written in Dublin. Only eleven of the book's fifty-six pages are specifically devoted to tobacco, but it is a subject of contention throughout this work of general indignation. Although willing, as were most others, to admit that tobacco had medicinal value, he comments:

But this I thinke, that the greatest number doth take Tobacco more for matter of custome, then for matter of maladie.
(p. 42)

As for the situation of the wife of a smoker, he suggests:

...that a woman were as good to thrust her nose into a close stoole, as to smell the unsavoury sent of her husbands stinking breath. (p. 32)

And of smoking in general:

There needes no other probation but this: It is smoake, and I never heard that smoake was good for any thing, unlesse to drye redde herrings. (p. 45)

Another of Rich's pungent remarks comments on the use of tobacco as a drug.

I will not say but that Tobacco may be

14

(London, 1617) From a micro-film in the Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

medicinable for some diseases and men that have infirmities (if they finde ease in it) may take and use it as an Apothecaries Drugge: but if all be diseased that doth use to take Tobacco, God helpe England, it is wonderfully infected, and his majestie hath but a few subjects that be healthfull in his whole dominions. (p. 46)

It is in this pamphlet that Rich makes his computation that 2319, 375 were spent yearly on smoke. This pamphlet may be included, along with the Counter-blaste and Tobacco Tortured, among those which deal with tobacco chiefly as a social evil and not as an herb which was being either properly or improperly used.

The other pamphlet of 1617, by Richard Braithwaite, was written in two sections; one dealing with drinking, the other with smoking. The section on tobacco was entitled, The Smoaking Age, or The man in the mist: with the life and death of Tobacco, and occupied pages 88 to 199 of the whole. He mentions having read Sylvester's poem Tobacco Battered, and uses the term Nepenthes to refer to tobacco, suggesting that he may have also been acquainted with Barclay's work. He also refers to Captain Whiffe, a character in Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour.

15

It might also be noted that, along with wine and tobacco, he includes the Papacy as another evil which was being inflicted upon England.

16

(London, 1617) From a micro-film copy in the Assumption University of Windsor Library. An original is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The Smoking Age is wordy, repetitious, and adds almost nothing new to the tobacco controversy. The language is particularly devoid of that colour which heightens the other works. The only good bon-mot seems to be this epigram on tobacco: "The Pox and Piles shall reverence thee." (p. 147). However, it is one of the last of these pamphlets and does present a good summation of the whole issue. Until recently, one of its main importances lay in the fact that Braithwaite included a condensation of Chute's early pamphlet, Tabacco, which was even then very scarce. In fact, for some time Chute's work was only known through this later work; Arber, in 1895, seems only to have been aware that a work on tobacco was licensed to be printed in 1595. Briefly put, Braithwaite's position was quite standard; tobacco should be a medicine, not a pleasure.

This takes us through at least the first fifty years that tobacco was known in England. There are four more items listed in the Cambridge Bibliography under the classification of "Tobacco Pamphlets"; one by T. Brentnor entitled Opiologia (1618), a medical book covering the opiates, among which he included tobacco; one by Edward Bennett, A Treatise Touching the Inconveniences that Tobacco hath brought into this land (c. 1620); another by Tobias Venner, A Briefe and Accurate Treatise concerning the Taking of the Fume of Tobacco (1621); and

a poem, in Latin, by Raphael Thorius, Hymnus Tabaci (1626). However, I have not been able to secure copies of these, and I feel that I have sufficiently covered the field for my purposes here.

There are left only a few minor facets of tobacco in English Literature to be covered. Aside from pamphlets devoted solely or extensively to tobacco, it was also used as a reference by other prose writers. Thomas Nashe often used illustrations involving tobacco in his pamphlets. Anthony Chute was a protégé of Gabriel Harvey, who has a disastrous literary clash with Nashe. In one of his pamphlets aimed at Harvey, Nashe leveled this remark at Chute. Referring to various subjects and styles chosen by writers in the Harvey clique, Nashe says: "A seventh setteth a Tobacco pipe in stead of a trumpet to his mouth, and of that divine drugge, proclaimeth miracles." ¹⁷ There are also notable references to tobacco by the same author in Pierce Pennilesse and Have with You to Saffron-Walden.

Thomas Middleton also made significant reference to tobacco in his pamphlet, The Blacke Rod (1604) in the section which he entitled, "The last will and testament of Lawrence Lucifer, the old wealthy bachelor of Limbo, alias Dick Devil-barn, the griping farmer of Kent." One

17

Thomas Nashe, Works, III, 177. "The Prayse of the Red Herring," in Nashes Lenten Stuffe.

of Lucifer's heirs is "Barnaby Burning-glass, Arch-tobacco-taker of England" whom I think might be Barnaby Rich. Although Rich's later pamphlets condemn tobacco, he might have been at that time a smoker, or Middleton may be accusing Rich of hypocrisy, denouncing tobacco while at the same time indulging in it. He says:

I am not a little proud...that you dance after my pipe so long, and for all counterblasts, and tobacco-Nashes (which some call railers), you are not blown away, nor your fiery thirst quenched with the small penny-ale of their contradictions, but still suck that dug of damnation with a long nipple, still burning that rare Phoenix of Phlegethon, tobacco, that from her ashes, burned and knocked out, may rise another pipeful.

Thus, he bequeathes Barnaby, among other things, "a brain well sooted, where the Muses hang up in the smoke like red herrings" and lungs "as smooth as jet, and just of the same colour, that when thou art closed in thy grave, the worms may consumed with them, and take them for black puddings."¹⁸

Tobacco was also a topic chosen by writers of "Theophrastian characters." In the works of John Webster, there is a character of "A Purveiour of Tobacco." As "Sir John Falstaff robb'd with a bottle of Sacke; so doth hee take mens purses, with a wicked roule of Tob-

18

The Works of Thomas Middleton, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1885), VIII, 42-43.

acco at his girdle." Webster also makes this remark about the tobacco seller, which has reference to James:

Hee does not love God, because God loves plaine dealing; and tis a question, whether he loves the King, because the King loves no Tobacco.¹⁹

Of a later date, 1626, there are descriptions of both a "taverne" and a "tobacco-seller" in John Earle's Microcosmographie. Concerning the tobacco-seller:

His shop is the Randevous of spitting, where men dialogue with their noses, and their communication is smoke. It is the place onely where Spaine is commended, and prefer'd before England it selfe.²⁰

There are also occasional mentions of tobacco in better Elizabethan poetry. Edmund Spenser made this reference to tobacco in The Fairie Queene:

Into the woods thenceforth in hast she went,
To seeke for hearbes, that mote him remedy;
For she of hearbes had great itendement,
Taught of the Nymph, which from her infancy
Her nourced in trew Nobility:
There, whether it divine Tobacco were,
Or Panachea, or Polygony,

19

Characters, p. 44, in The Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F. L. Lucas (London, 1927), Vol. IV. These characters of Webster were at first attributed to Sir Thomas Overbury, and printed in a collection of his Characters in 1615. Lucas gives substantial proof, however, that the characters added to this edition of Overbury (the sixth) were by Webster.

20

Character No. 38, in Microcosmographie, or, A Peece of the World Discovered; in Essays and Characters, ed. Edward Arber, English Reprints Series, No. 12 (London, 1895).

VII

Introduction to *Nepenthes*

The following section presents, as an illustration to the foregoing, and, I hope, as an interesting piece of literature in itself, an edition of William Barclay's *Nepenthes, or, The Vertues of Tobacco*, which was added to the corpus of early tobacco literature in 1614. My reasons for editing this particular pamphlet were partly its length, and partly because it is highly typical of the tobacco pamphlets. It was written by an educated man: its tone is civil, witty, and, in Renaissance fashion, reasonable and well-balanced. Its style, if to a degree pedantic, is still entertaining. To any question about it having been written in Scotland, instead of London, the center of the dispute, I reply that it not only well exemplifies the controversy, but illustrates the degree to which the controversy had covered the British Isles. Also, while on the one hand the author was well acquainted with his topic, on the other, his distance from the center may have improved his perspective of the subject.

Barclay (1570-1630) was born in Scotland, the younger brother of Sir Patrick Barclay of Towie. He took his degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine at

the University of Louvain, after which he became a professor of humanity at the University of Paris. Following this, he returned for a time to practise medicine in Scotland, probably the period during which he wrote this book, and then went back to Nantes in France to teach medicine. His other works were mainly medical books in Latin although he wrote some journalistic works dealing with the city of Aberdeen.¹

The pamphlet most obviously illustrates the physicians' view-point on tobacco. It is concerned with various ways in which tobacco may be used as a medicine, ways in which it acts upon the body, and the results it will produce. But, as well as this, his pamphlet shows a decided urbanity coupled with a pleasant wit, which aims the work not at the physician but at the man-about-town who was most likely to be interested in his tobacco as a pleasure. Perhaps he would hold up this and similar pamphlets as proof that tobacco was no bad habit, not one of Satan's many traps to catch the unwary Puritan, but a healthful commodity with which man had never before been privileged.

In preparing this edition I have tried to keep both the spelling and punctuation exactly as they appeared in the original. Much of the interest in reading

¹

s.v. Dictionary of National Biography.

this work comes in seeing how various words, many not often met with by the student, have changed in over three centuries, and how inconsistent was the Elizabethan spelling. Wherever possible, I have tried to gloss words which are unknown to the modern reader, but there are cases where certain words remain also unknown to me. This has been especially so with many of the herbs mentioned by Barclay. I have also attempted to clarify any references which Barclay used but have vanished from our modern stock of allusions. In the original, there were many words printed in italics, but because this practise did not influence the sense of the pamphlet, I have refrained from indicating these italicized words in my text.

NEPENTHES,

OR

THE VERTUES

OF TABACCO

BY

William Barclay Mr. of Art, and
Doctor of Physicke.

Edinburgh,

Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be
sold at his shop on the North side of
the high street, a little beneath the
Crosse. Anno. Dom. 1614.

A merie Epistle of the Author to the Printer

Good Master Hart, I have sent you here a parasiticall Pamphlet, which I am sure, will bee as farre ¹ben at every banket as Gnatho himselfe or Pseudolus. ² It will be a meet piece for Tipplers at Tavernes, and for Pedlars to helpe away with their rotten Tabacco. So that by this worke, I feare I shall be better loved amongst fine scoalers then famous schollers. But if I find favour in this Essay, I shal send you shortly Godwilling a scholasticall subject, and a curious little worke: fit onely for those which aspire to the top of Pindus. ³ The one wil bring to your shop the common sort of people, the other the most learned. I deliver this Scottish broode unto you, Per aes et libram, ⁴ make it your owne if you thinke it worthie, and esteeme me so long as I live also

Your owne from my heart

W. Barclay Doct. Med.

¹
Conspicuous

²
Gnatho was the parasite in Terence's Eunuchus. Pseudolus was a similar character in a play of the same name by Plautus.

³
A mountain chain which separated Epirus and Thessaly in Ancient Greece.

⁴
"Through counters and a Balance" meaning "For your judgement."

To The Right Worshipfull Patricke Barclay
sonne and heire to Sr. Patricke Barclay of Tolly Knight
William Barclay his uncle D.M. wisheth health and happnesse.

Verie worshipfull and my deare Nephew, I cannot but I must summond you, the processe beeing in matter of Tabacco, as a witnesse to testifie the worth thereof, and since you are charged, the custome requireth that you have a just copie of the Libell, which I present heere unto you, not so much that you may depose what you know of the vertues thereof, as that you may learne by this discourse to continue with discretion in the practise of this precious Plant, to the ende you may eschew by precepts of Art the dulefull heritage of a naturall and paternall disease, and that you may blisse the house of your nativitie with a long, holie and wholesome life, and that house feele some consolation by the counsell and care of him who beeing a bough of that old and unfading tree, shal endevoure to bring foorth such fruit as may both profite and pleasure all the branches and buddes thereof, and you before all as the principall stocke, which I wish may live longer than many long living Oakes, to the ornament of our race, and the comfort of

Your most affectionat and most serviable
Uncle W. Barclay Doctor of
Medicine.

NEPENTHES, or The Vertues of Tabacco by

William Barclay D. of Medicine and Master of Art.

Hercules to obey the commandement and will of Juno, busied himselfe to overthrow the most famous monsters of his time, his Armes were a bagge and a club. A most worthie Ladie, and, if I durst say so, the very Juno of our Ile hath commanded me to destroy some monstrous Diseases, so that to imitate the most chivalrous Chiftan of the worlde, I have armed my selfe with a boxe for his bagge, and a pipe for his club: a boxe to conserve my Tabacco, and a pipe to use it, by those two Godwilling, to overcome many maladies. If the hostes of such Diseases doe not betray my endevoures to their hating and hated guests by not using or abusing my weapons. But before I enter in the list, I must whet as it were my wits with these two points, First why doe I treat of a matter so often handled by so many, so odious to Princes,⁵ so pernicious to sundrie, and so costly to all?

Secondly why doe I as another Clodius reveale mysteria bonae Deae,⁶ and prophane the secrets of Physicke? I answere that a good master is not the worse to be maintained by many: and Plus vident oculi quam oculus.⁷ As

5

A reference the James I and his Counterblaste.

6

Publius Clodius, in female disguise, broke in upon the worship of an archaic deity named Bona Dea, whose rites were forbidden to men.

7

More is seen by two eyes than by one eye.

concerning the hatred of Princes, one mans meate is another mans poyson. The wine prince of liquors hateth vehemently colworts, and yet beere, aile, sider water, oyle, honey, and all other liquors doe well agree with colworts. The king of France drinketh never Orleans wine notwithstanding his subjects do love it well.

I know sundrie men that have such Antipathie with butter that they dare not smell it. It hath beene pernicious to sundrie I grant it, so hath wine, so hath bread, so hath gold, so hath land, and what so wholesome thing is that cannot be turned to abuse? If it be cost-ly use the lesse of it. What? is not Rheubarbe coastly? is not Maske coastly? is not Ambergreese coastly? as touching the second point of my revealing this secret of Physicke, I answeare, I meane but to reforme the harme which proceedeth of the abuse, and to shew to my countrey men that I am more willing to pleasure them then to profite my selfe, neither did I sweare to conceale that point when in a robe of purple⁸ I wedded the metamorphosed Daphne.⁹ It resteth now to unfold what moved me to entitule this treatise Nepenthes,¹⁰ because it hath

8

Purple

9

i.e. donned a wreath of bay-leaf, or took his doctorate.

10

OED "A drug of Egyptian origin mentioned in the *Odyssey* as capable of banishing grief or trouble from the mind."

a certaine mellifluous delicacie, which deliteth the senses, and spirits of man with a mindful oblivion, in-
 somuch that it maketh and induceth....¹¹ the forgetting of all sorrowes and miseries. And there is such hostilitie betwene it and melancholie, that it is the only medicament in the world ordained by nature to entertaine good companie: insomuch that it worketh never so well, as when it is given from man to man, as a pledge of friendshippe and amitie.

The countrey which God hath honoured and blessed with this happie and holy herbe, doth call it in their native language Petum, the Spaniards, who have given it the right of naturalitie, in their soyle terme it Tabacco, the Frenchmen which have received it in their countrey as in a colonie call it Nicotian, in this our Ile of Brittain, as in all other maritime parts, we use the Spanish name of Tabacco. But esteeming it worthie of a more loftie name, I have chosen for gossip the faire and famous Helena, and given to her the honour to name this most profitable plant Nepenthes.

Albeit this herbe disdaines not to be nourished in many Gardens in Spaine, in Italie, in France, Flanders, Germanie and Brittain, yet neverthesse only that which is fostred in India, and brought home by Mariners and Traffiquers is to be used, as after you shall heare the

11

I have omitted a Greek quotation which was partly illegible in my copy. This passage is approximately translated in the words which follow in the text.

reason is.

12

Non omnis fert omnia tellus.

But avarice and greedines of gaine have moved the Marchants to apparell some European plants with Indian coats, and to enstall them in shops as righteous and legittime Tobacco. Some others have tobacco from Florida indeed, but because either it is exhausted of spiritualitie, or the radicall humor is spent, and wasted, or it hath gotten moysture by the way, or it hath bene dried for expedition in the Sunne, or carried too negligently, they sophisticate and farde the same in sundrie sortes with blacke spice, Galanga, aqua vite, Spanish wine, Anise feedes, oyle of Spicke¹³ and such like.

So that the most fine, best, and purest is that which is brought to Europe in leaves, and not rolled in puddings, as the English Navigators first brought home.

The finest Tabacco is that which pearceth quick-¹⁴ly the odorat with a sharpe aromaticke smell, and tickleth the tongue with acrimonie, not unpleasant to the taste, from whence that which draweth most water is most vertuous, whether the substance of it be chewed in the mouth, or the smoake of it received, Skillie tasters of wine, Bacchus butlers, know the wine

12

Every land does not produce all commodities.

13

Galanga-Ginger. Aqua Vitae-alcohol. Oyle of Spicke-oil of lavender.

14

Odorat-Nose?

Odore, sapor, colore.

So they which traffique dayly with Tabacco doe know it by these same three senses. In a Goose there is nothing which doth not serve either for meat or medicine, no not so much as the doung: But in Tabacco there is nothing which is not medicin, the root, the stalke, the leaves, the seeds, the smoake, the ashes, and to be more particular, Tabacco may serve for the use of man either greene or dry, of greene Tabacco may be made Syrups, waters, oyles, unguents, plasters, or the leafe of it selfe, may bee used mortified at the fire to cure the asthma, or shortnesse of breath, dissolve obstructions, heale the olde cough, burning ulcers, wounds, migraim, Colioke, suffocation of the mother: and many other diseases, yea almost all diseases. If the Romanes durst have wanted so many yeares the helpe of Physick, using for all diseases only Colwoorts. Truelie I think the Romans might want now all Physitians eternally, if they knew the vertue of Tabacco, seeing the spring of al their diseases is defluxions and cathars for which the only antidot is Tabacco. I intreat here the Lector of this treatise, to have me excused if I do not set down in special the forme and maner to prepare

15

Odor, taste, and colour.

16

Hysteria

17

Reader

such remedies of green Tabacco, as I have mentioned, for I wold wish to do with Tabacco as Aristotles did with his Physicks, for he wrot to his scholler Alexander, that he had published and not published his physicall Philosophie: So I must assay to say, that I have revealed and not revealed the quintessence of Tabacco. As concerning the dry Tabacco, it may be used in infusion, in decoction, in substance, in smoke, in salt. Touching the infusion and decoction, because they are as dangerous and more, than Elleborus albus,¹⁸ or antimonium, I will forbear to particularize, remitting the practise of that part to the presence of some prudent Physician, except it be in some desperat case of unknown poyson. As for Tabacco in substance holden in the mouth, as an apophlegmatisme, or medicin to draw fleame¹⁹ out of the head by the mouth, I avow it to be one of the best and surest remedies in the world against Paralisie, epilepsie or apoplexie, that is, the falling ill, and Vertigo Idiopathica, the passion of dizzines in the head by wind, that ever was found out. These are foure of the most incurable diseases that besiege the braine of man: for understanding of the which cure I must remember the Lector, that since the dayes of Hippocrates, and in his dayes there have bene invented five sundrie sorts of vacuations to voyde this our body of filthy corruption

18

White hellebore.

19

Phlegm.

wherof it is the continual harbinger, that is phlebot-
²⁰omie, vomition purging by the stool, by urins and
 by sweating. Now in the latter dayes hath beene invent-
 ed a sixt way or maner of purging, which is also by the
 mouth, not vomiting, but spitting: The onely medicament
 which was wont to procure such spitting, or slavering,
 was Hydrargyrum, quicke-silver: but now of newe is found
 out this divine Tabacco, which if it be rightly used, is
 a soveraigne helpe, and a present purgation, and approov-
 ed preservative against the foresaid diseases, as also
 against Arthritis, the gowt, Lithiasis, or stone in
²¹reines or bledder, and Hydropisie. But because it is
 said that Tabacco and Hydrargyrum, worke bo[t]h after one
 sort, It shall not be amisse to speake somewhat of the one
 and the other: First, there is no vegetall in the world,
 hath such affinitie with any minerall, as hath Tabacco
 with Mercure, or quicke-silver, for as Mercure purgeth,
 κατῶ καὶ ἀνω above and under, being taken at the mouth,
 so doth Tabacco, and as Mercure being applyed exteriorlie,
²²purgeth all the body by slavering, so doeth Tabacco be-
 ing holden in the mouth. As the best Physicians, Philos-
 ophers and Alchemists that ever were, can not agree upon
 the qualities, neither first nor second of Mercure, some
 say it is both hote and colde, both drye and moist, that

²⁰

Blood-letting

²¹

Kidneys

²²

Slobbering or drooling

it can binde and loose, that it can rarifie and thicken,
 and in a word, that it is a Protheus,²³ or a Magician.
 So Tabacco is hote, because it hath acrimonie, it is
 cold because it is narcoticke and stupefactive, it maketh
 drunken, and refresheth, it maketh hungrie and filleth,
 it maketh thirstie, and quenbeth thirst: Finallie to
 bring man to health, it changeth as many formes as
 Juppiter doeth shapes to convey himselfe to his Mistr-
 esse: This difference onely there is, that Mercure be-
 ing applyed to any part of the body, provoketh spitting:
 But Tabacco purgeth by slaver onelie, being taken in the
 mouth in substance or in smoake. The Alchimists vaunt
 that they are able to drawe out of every thing Mercure,
 sulphure and salt, but truelie out of nothing can they
 be sooner or better separated, then out of Tabacco: I
 thinke that I durst be bold to say, that Tabacco is the
 Mercure of vegetals, and Mercure is the Tabacco of min-
 erals. Now to returne to our purpose, to wit, to the
 cure and preservation of an armie of maladies, Tabacco
 must be used after this maner. Take of leafe Tabacco
 as much as being folded together, may make a round ball
 of such bignesse that it may fill the patients mouth,
 and inclyne his face downward towards the ground, keep-
 ing the mouth open, not moving any whit with his tongue,
 except now and then to waken the medicament, there shall
 flow such a flood of water from his brain and his stomacke,

23

A sea-god, the son of Oceanus and Tethys,
 fabled to assume various shapes.

and from all the parts of his body that it shall be a wonder. This he must do fasting in the morning, and if it be for preservation, and the bodie very cacochyme, or full of evil humours, he must take it once a weeke, otherwise once a month: But if it bee to cure the Epil-
²⁴
 epsie or Hydorpisie once every day. Thus have I used Tabacco my selfe, and thus used Tabacco Jean Greis a venerable old man at Nantes in the French Britain, who lived whill he was six score yeares of age, and who was known for the only refuge of the poore afflicted souldiers of Venus when they were wounded with the French Pickes, I should have said Pockes. Thus much for the use of Tabacco in substance. As concerning the smoke, it may be taken more frequently, and for the said effects, but alwayes fasting, and with emptie stom-ack, not as the English abusers do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull, more fit to be caried under his arme that selleth at Paris dunoir a noircir ²⁵ to blacke mens shooes, then to carie the braine of him that can not walke, can not ryde except the Tabacco Pype be in his mouth. I chanced in company on a tyme with an English merchant in Normandie between Rowen and New-haven. This fellow was a merrie man, but at every house he must have a Cole to kindle his Tabacco: the Frenchmen wondered, and I laughed at his intemperancie. But there is one William

 24

Dropsy

25

Boot blacking

Anslop an honest man dwelling in Bishops-gate street,
 hard within the gate that selleth the best Tabacco in
 England, and useth it most discreetly. Because the matter
 of smoake taking is controverted and disputed, I will
 first decide this question of smoake before I enter to
 shewe the commoditie which proceedeth of it. Suffumig-
 ation or receaving of smoake, is not a newe invented
 remedie, it is an old and well approved forme of med-
 icine in many diseases, Hippocrates in his booke of the
 diseases of women teacheth many kindes of smoake which
 women should receave and specially of many unsavourie
 and stinking things at the nose and the mouth, to re-
 presse and thrust back the mother in the suffocation,
 a fearefull and dangerous disease. The most expert
 Physitians in our dayes admit with one consent the
 smoake of tussilago ²⁶ to be received at the mouth, by
 those which are ptisicke, ²⁷ or asthmaticke or have the
 cough of cold. Gordon a learned olde Physitian, the Vade
 mecum of practiti²⁸ans, ordaineth Trochisques of Amber-
 greis, Muske, and other Ingredients to be used after
 the forme as we take smoake of Tabacco for the Epilepsie.
 In the booke called Aphorismi tonsorum, or Schola Sal-
 erni, there is a suffumigation made of Leek seeds, and
 white Insquiam seeds for the tooth ache to be received

26

Coltsfoot

27

Consumptive

28

Troches

at the mouth. Leonardo Fioravanti an Italian practitian commendeth for deafenesse a suffumigation made with cinabar, frankincense and myrrhe, to bee taken at the mouth. Consider now good Lector, and repeat againe, Shall Hippocrates permit the smoake of stinking feathers, and of old rotten shooes from a Coablers dunghill? shall other Physitians permit the smoke of tussilago? shal Gordon prescribe the aromatical smoke of musk and ambre? shal Schola Salerni permit Insquiam to bee incensed in the mouth which is a venemous plant, shall Fioravanti command the smoke of cinabre, which is a present poyson to infect the braine? and shall wee onely banish the poore Tabacco which hath more vertue for all these foresaide Diseases, then each of the forenamed things hath for their severall sores. If the mother vexe and torment a woman, the smoake of Tabacco either above or under, shal ease her more, then feathers or lether. If thou be ptisicke, if thou be asthmaticke, if thou be urged to cough through defluxion, the smoake of Tabacco is better then tusilago: if the rage of toothache excarnificate the goomes, Tabacco is better then Insquiam: if there be sounding in the eares, it is fitter then cinabre. I ad further, that amongst so many thousands which use and abuse Tabacco at al occasions without observation of any physicall precept, there are very few found that can ascribe their death to Tabacco: so that if Tabacco were used physically and with discretion there were no medicament in the worlds comparable to it.

Now to returne from whence I did digresse to shew the commodities of Tabacco, I lay here as a ground to build upon, that by reason of the situation of mans head, which is above al the other members of the body, the most parte of diseases flow from the head, as from a fountain, that Tabacco going immediatly to the brain, it not only augeментeth and refresheth the animall spirites, but drieth the sourse of innumerable diseases, and fortifieth the braine. So that there is no man but may receive commoditie by the use of Tabacco, except only those which have their braine dry and hot, which is a temperament unnaturall to the braine, yea and a dangerous disease, and the next degree to reaving to furie, to madnesse. I know that every one will be curious to aske me how he shall know a hote and dry braine. Galen in his book which he calleth ars parva, declareth at large the signes of all intemperies, yet to satisfie the mindes of curious Lectors, it is evident that his braine is hot and dry who sleepeth very little or nothing, who reaveth waking, and formeth monstrous dreames sleeping, and whose nose distilleth nothing. It were a world of worke to specifie in particular all the diseases, and symptomes that are helped or prevented by Tabacco, but I will only set downe those which I know either by mine own experience, or by the faithfull reporte of learned Physicians or of credible patients. I will begin at the Epilepsie which is called by Hippocrates morbus sacer, the falling sicknes, and this plant

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is called by some nations herba sacra: then after legit-
time preparation, and such diet as a skilful Physio-
ianshal prescribe, let the patient be purged with in-
fusion of Tabacco in hidromel,²⁹ in the strained liquor
of this infusion dissolve foure graines of the salt made
of Tabacco and give it to the patient to drinke: herafter,
having a cauter³⁰ in his neck, he shal take every day
the smoke of a pipe of fine Tabacco fasting in the morn-
ing, and once every third day hee shall hold in his mouth
the apophlegmatisme³¹ of Tabacco in substance.

Now because this disease hath some occult ven-
ome and maligne qualitie, the olde Physicians by long
experience have found out some things which helpe this
disease by an indeclarable vertue, and for this cause
he shall take the smoake of this confected Tabacco every
day.

Take ambregreese, the seede of peonie, and stirax,³²

29

A liquor consisting of a mixture of honey and
water which is then fermented: mead.

30

A cauter is literally the heated iron used
to cauterize a wound. I cannot interpret Barclay's usage.

31

An apophlegmatisme was an agent which, held
in the mouth, would cause phlegm to be expelled. Thus,
here, a quid of tobacco.

32

A resin derived from a family of trees (Styrax
officinalis) of which the Quince is a member: Storax.

of every one halfe an ounce, of muske twentie graines,
of lignum aloes the weight of three crownes, of mag-
isterium cranii humani an ounce, of the sowing thereof,
halfe an ounce, of fine Tabacco as much as of them all,
make of all these a grosse powder, and take the smoake
of it every morning, and thus the epilepticke shall
attaine to his health rather then by galls of dogs and
superstitious characters used by a number of ignorant
deboshed Vagabondes and Montebanckes. The Hydropisie
is one of the ordinarie customers that commeth to
crave health at the shop of Tabacco, and specially if
it bee holden in the patients mouth in substance, or if
hee take now and then of the salt thereof, and every
day a pipe or two. The Arthritis or gowt, and gravell ³³
are prevented prettily, because the antecedent cause is
taken away: it preserveth from toothach: it cureth
the migraim, the colicke, the cough, the cold: It stay-
eth growing fatte: it is the antidote of Hypochondriacke
melancholie, it prepareth the stomacke for meat: it
maketh a clear voice, it maketh a sweet breath, it clear-
eth the sight, it opneth the eares, it putteth away the
punaise, ³⁴ openeth the passage of the nose, it is the
nourse of the lights, ³⁵ it comforteth nerves, and taken
in sirupe there is no obstruction that can abide it:

33

Stones, as gall-stones or kidney stones.

34

Bed-bug ?

35

The lungs.

Physician: for if the patient, as experience teacheth
 beginneth to feele the first hope of his health at the
 arrivall of his Physicien: how much more shall he be
 allevated when he giveth him out of his owne hand the
 Cuppe which containeth the Covenant of his restitution,
 the earnest of his Wellfare, and the weapon to destroy
 his disease. Happy were the land that had no need of
 Physicians, happy the lande which having neede of them
 hath of the best sorte, and happie were the Physicians
 whose lote were to come in the lande where the Law of
 good King Reuther were curiously kepted, that no man
 under paine of death should exercise physicke that could
 not shew a publicke testimonie of his lawfull Calling.
 But I must say of Physicke as a holy Father saide of
 the holie Scripture, hanc delirus senex, hanc garrula
 anus, hanc sophista verbosus putteth in practise, and
 is not punished. God save the Countrey from diseases, and
 God save the diseased from such Doctors

FINIS.

36

This doting old man, this babbling old woman,
 this verbose sophist.

it is present reliefe against the most part of poysons:
And in few words it is the princesse of physical plants:
To conclude this discourse I must excuse here my plain-
nesse and simplicitie with this caveat to the curious
Lector, that albeit the never too much commended Tab-
acco bee of sufficiencie to cure many diseases: yet it
is not of efficacie in al persons, in all seasons, in
al temperaments, but it must bee used by the direction
of some expert and prudent Physician. There was on a
time a diseased Gentleman, who for to recover his health
sent for a Physician, the which using prudently and art-
ificially his cure, the Gentleman became wel, and because
he was subject to that disease often in the yeare, hee
remarked well how the Physician had prepared his potion,
what herbes hee had decocted, what simples hee had in-
fused, what electuaries hee had dissolved, howe much of
every one, how long they seethed, or steeped, at what
a clocke he did minister it, how long hee fasted ther-
after, and at the next assault of the sicknesse hee tooke
the same potion, observing all Circumstances, but was
nothing the better: he sent againe for Master Doctor,
and inquired what the matter should be, seeing he was
diseased with the same maladie, hee had taken the same
potion, he used it very rightly with all the circumst-
ances and observations, he had not omitted one jote, No
said the Physician you lacked a principal point, a very
necessarie Circumstance and an essentiall Cause, that
is, you received not the potion from the hand of a

To the favourable Lector health.

There were some pages which I thought not meet
 37
 to leave emptie, good Lector, either for thy sake, or
 for Tabaccoes sake, or for mine owne sake: for thy sake,
 because I wearie not to talke with thee: for Tabaccoes
 sake, because the worth of it deserveth some verses:
 for mine owne sake, because I never having slept in
 Parnassus, but beeing a valley Poete, I persuade my
 selfe that my verses shall be read more for the merites
 of the matter, then for the value of the Workeman.
 Therefore I addresse my selfe first to gaze against
 a craig, from whence some musicall influence may bedew
 my braine.

38
 Ut sic repente Poeta prodeam.

37

In the original, the body of the pamphlet ended on leaf B4^r and so Barclay added these poems to fill up some of the remaining nine leaves.

38

In this manner the poet herewith sets out.

To his very worshipfull, and deare Cousing,
the Laird of Boine.

The Cut which Vulcan forged in his yre,
To punish those which follow Venus way,
Can finde nothing to quench that flaming fyre,
So fit as fine Tabacco sundrie say,
For prooffe of which great Pillar of my kin
Tell what thou knowest: for to conceale were sin.

To his good and olde friend, M. Alexander Craig,

Craig if thou knowes the vertues of this plant,

Why dost thou dye thy quill in Inke of blame?

If thou knowes not, for to supplie thy want,

Why followes thou the voice of feining fame?

Is it not slander to this plant and thee,

To speake of it so poeticallie?

To his good Cousing M. John Hay, of Ranasse.

Hanibal had a house in Bythinie,
Builded after his craftie owne conceat,
On every side a doore was privilie,
For to preserve his life and staggering state,
But when the Romanes came for to defait
The onelie one of whom they stood in doubt,
Hanibal would not fight against his fate,
Knowing the doores were known and siegde about,
Good Cousing Hay, the soule is Hanibal,
The house with many doores it is the head,
Death and disease as Romanes siege them all
To suffocat the life without remead:
Except divine Tabacco make defence,
Keepe open doores, and raise the siege from thence.

To the abusers of Tabacco.

Why do you thus abuse this heavenlie plant
The hope of health, the fewell of our life?
Why doe you waste it without feare of want,
Since fine and true Tabacco is not ryfe?
39
Olde Euclio wont foull water for to spair,
And stop the bellwes not to waste the Air.

39

A tight-fisted old man in Plautus' Aulularia.

To my Lord the Bishop of Murray.

The statelie rich late conquered Indian plaines,
Foster a plant, the princes of all plants.
Which Portugall after perill and paines,
To Europe broght, as it most justlie vants:
This plant at home the people and Priests assure,
Of his goodwill, whom they as God adore,
Both here and there it worketh wondrous cure,
And hath such heavenlie vertue hid in store.
A stranger plant shipwacked in our coast,
Is come to help this cold phlegmatick soyle,
Yet can not live for calumnie and boast,
In danger daylie of some greater broyle:
My Lord this sacred herb which never offendst
Is forcde to crave your favour to defend it.

To the most accomplished, and true Philoclea of this Yle,

L.E.L.L.F.

Some do this plant with odious crymes disgrace,
And call the poore Tabacco homicid,
They say that it, O what a monstrous cace!
Forestals the life, and kils man in the seed,
It smoaketh, blacketh, burneth all the braine,
It dryes the moisture treasure of the life,
It cureth not, but stupifies the pain,
It cuts our dayes before Atropus knife.
Good Ladie looke not to these raving speiches,
You know by proof that all these blames are lies,
Forged by scurvie leud unlearned Leiches,
As time hath taught, and practise that all tryes.
 Tabacco neither altereth health nor hew,
 Ten thousand thousands know that it is true.

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