

A CRITICAL EDITION OF
PHILIP STUBBES'S
ANATOMIE OF ABUSES

by

MARGARET JANE KIDNIE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Shakespeare Institute
Department of English
Faculty of Arts
The University of Birmingham
April 1996

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

SYNOPSIS

The Anatomie of Abuses by Philip Stubbes was printed four times between 1583 and 1595, each new edition undergoing thorough authorial revision. This old-spelling critical edition highlights the complicated textual history of the work and its slow development over a twelve-year period by presenting the text of the final 1595 edition but drawing attention to features of the three earlier versions throughout the critical apparatus. Readers interested in engaging with the work as set out in the original 1595 edition are offered a facsimile of the Huntington copy in an appendix to the thesis. The text of the *Abuses* has been supplemented with a full and detailed commentary which attempts, in particular, to flesh out the social and economic background in which Stubbes was writing and indicate the extent to which he borrowed material from other contemporary pamphleteers. The introduction includes an examination of the author's supposed Puritan leanings and draws out the fears of excess and social disorder implicit throughout his complaint.

This book is dedicated to my parents,
Marjorie and Hugh Kidnie

If we don't try we don't do, and if we don't do why are we on this earth?
- *Shenandoah*

PREFACE

My research into this topic began with the usual trawl through titles and abstracts of published and unpublished work in an effort to establish that there really is a need for a modern edition of *The Anatomie of Abuses*. Not only was I reassured that a new critical edition of this book is long overdue, I also took heart from the fact that there appeared to be practically nothing written on its author, Philip Stubbes. Once I actually started reading into the many areas of English life about which Stubbes complains, however, I quickly realised just how wrong this first impression was. Although the authoritative study of the work of Philip Stubbes remains yet to be written, thoughts on his opinions, as well as extracts and quotations from a variety of his pamphlets, turn up seemingly everywhere. I was especially struck by the wide range of scholars for whom the *Abuses* had proved in some way illuminating; not only those interested in Renaissance antitheatricity, but others, including religious and social historians, economic historians, and students of popular literature, all find cause to write on Stubbes.

This awareness that interest in the *Abuses* extends far beyond an audience comprised only of Shakespeare scholars encouraged me to aim this edition at a broad audience with widely diverse needs, and with this in mind, I have prepared a particularly full and detailed commentary to the text. Those who read and work regularly with the literature of the period will perhaps find the thorough annotation of now-obsolete usages excessive, but I would ask such scholars to bear with me, in much the same way I would ask specialists in the history of costume construction to bear with my lengthy explanations of mandilions, Venetians and cut-work lace.

This work has been funded by the University of Birmingham, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom, the Canadian Women's Club, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Without the financial support provided by each of these institutions this project would never have been realised. I am further indebted to a number of scholars and friends who have in different ways aided my research over the past five years. Dr. Susan Brock, the Head Librarian at the Shakespeare Institute, not only speeded my work time and again by introducing me to invaluable reference materials, but also supervised my editing of Stubbes's Latin and the use of Latin quotations in the commentary. Dr. John Jowett read and offered comments on my textual introduction and was always willing to bounce around ideas about editorial theory, pointing me in important new directions at various key stages of the

thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. James Binns, Professor Desmond Costa, Sergio Mazzarelli, and Solitaire Townsend for helping me to sort out Stubbes's garbled Greek and identify some of the more obscure classical allusions in the text. Janet Arnold offered prompt insight into my questions about sixteenth-century costume construction, while Anne and Paul Bailie managed to trace biblical allusions that I had all but given up on.

Special thanks are due to Gabriel Egan, who talked me through the pros and cons of alternative computer systems after a second hard-drive crash in my final year knocked me flat, and to Wyatt Rop who generously lent me his computer until I was up and running again. Jonathan Hartwell, Hugh Kidney, Kristin Lucas, Dawn Massey, and Janet Purkis took the time to read through and offer comment on various parts of the thesis when it was nearing a state of completion, a labour of love for which I will always be grateful. Caroline Cakebread and James Purkis should be awarded medals for their ability to calm nerves and boost confidence.

My 'but for whom' thanks, however, are extended to my supervisor, Professor Stanley Wells, whose quiet humour, gentle prodding, and sound advice sustained me through the ups and downs of nearly five years of research.

M.J.K.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

- Biography and Canon
- Stubbes's Reputation as a Puritan 8
- Bibliographical Introduction 14
 - Overview 15
 - Entry in the Stationers' Register 16
 - Bibliographical Descriptions of the early editions 17
 - Bibliographical Analysis
 - Relation of Editions 30
 - The Cancelled Leaf in Crynes 833 30
 - The Copy-Text 34
 - Modern Editions 37
 - The Process of Revision 37
 - Genre and Sources 53
 - The Anatomie of Abuses and Elizabethan Society 63
 - Stubbes as Stylist 77

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

- Copy-text 84
- Emendation 87
- Spelling and Punctuation 93
- Layout 97
- Collation Note 100

THE TEXT 101

COMMENTARY 292

APPENDIX I: Additional Passages 476

APPENDIX II: Neologisms 497

APPENDIX ID: Facsimile 503

ABBREVIATIONS

All quotations from the plays and poems of Shakespeare use the lineation of The Oxford Shakespeare, edited by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor with John Jowett and William Montgomery.

1. General Texts

Adagia Desiderius Erasmus. Adagia. 1703. Facsimile reprint. London: Gregg Press Ltd, 1962. Vol. 2 of Opera Omnia.

Annales John Stow. The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England ... continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne. vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614 by Edmund Howes, gentleman. London, 1615.

Chronicles John Stow. The Chronicles of England. from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ 1580. London, 1580.

Dent R.W. Dent. Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare. 1495-1616: An Index. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.

E.K. Chambers. The Elizabethan Stage. Rev. ed. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

Hughes & Larkin Paul L. Hughes, and James F. Larkin. Tudor Royal Proclamations. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1964-9.

E.K. Chambers. The Mediaeval Stage. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1903.

The Compact Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

- Proverbia Walther, Hans. Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina. 5 vols. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963-7.
- Proverbia, n.s. Hans Walther. Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii ac Recentioris Aevi. Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina. Nova series. 3 vols. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982-6.
- Second part Philip Stubbes. The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses. Containing the display of Corruptions. London, 1583[?].
- Sermons Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointe-d to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851.
- Statutes John Cay, ed. The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta. To the Thirtieth Year of King GEORGE the Second. inclusive. 6 vols. London: Thomas Baskett and Henry Lintot, 1758.
- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley. A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1950.

2. The Bible

The abbreviations used for the books of the Bible have been taken from the New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version and are listed below in alphabetical order; in the case of the apocrypha, abbreviations are provided only for those books cited in the thesis.

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Lam	Lamentations
Am	Amos	Lev	Leviticus
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Lk	Luke
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	1 Mace	1 Maccabees

Col	Colossians	2Macc	2 Maccabees
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	3 Macc	3 Maccabees
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	4Macc	4 Maccabees
Dan	Daniel	Mal	Malachi
Deut	Deuteronomy	Mk	Mark
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Mt	Matthew
Eph	Ephesians	Mic	Micah
Esth	Esther	Nah	Nahum
Ex	Exodus	Neh	Nehemiah
Ezek	Ezekiel	Num	Numbers
Ezra	Ezra	Ob	Obadiah
Gal	Galatians	1 Pet	1 Peter
Gen	Genesis	2 Pet	2 Peter
Hab	Habakkuk	Philem	Philemon
Hag	Haggai	Phil	Philippians
Heb	Hebrews	Prov	Proverbs
Hos	Hosea	Ps	Psalms
Isa	Isaiah	Rev	Revelations
Jas	James	Rom	Romans
Jer	Jeremiah	Ruth	Ruth
Job	Job	1 Sam	1 Samuel (1 Kingdoms)
Joel	Joel	2Sam	2 Samuel (2 Kingdoms)
Jn	John	Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
1 Jn	1 John	Song	Song of Solomon
2 Jn	2 John	1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
3 Jn	3 John	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Jon	Jonah	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Josh	Joshua	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Jude	Jude	Titus	Titus
Judg	Judges	Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith	Wis	Wisdom
1 Kings	1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)	Zeph	Zephaniah
2 Kings	2 Kings (4 Kingdoms)	Zech	Zechariah

INTRODUCTION

Philip Stubbes was not a writer given to subtlety of expression. In The Anatomie of Abuses, he roundly condemns such vices as usury, gluttony, promiscuity and excessive expenditure on clothing as behaviour unfitting a true Christian, and further denounces both popular entertainments and traditional rural festivals as enticements down the road to hell and damnation. This wide-ranging social critique is presented in the form of a dialogue between Philoponus, the educated, worldly-wise traveller and Spudeus, the country yokel, who meet in the road and converse as they walk along about the manners of the people who live in the foreign land of England. The Abuses has always interested scholars concerned to learn more about the socio-historical context of Elizabethan England but this work can also be read, not merely as a means to an end, but as a piece of popular literature in its own right. Published in four editions and two issues between 1583 and 1595, ridiculed by some and plagiarised by others, The Anatomie of Abuses was a book which captured its readers' attention and imagination. In order to read it, however, modern scholars have had to depend for the most part on facsimiles and microfilms, or on inadequate and scarce nineteenth-century editions. The goal of my thesis is to make The Abuses more accessible to readers through the provision of an annotated critical edition complete with full textual apparatus.

This introduction continues with an account of Stubbes's life and works before focussing more closely on the publication history of The Anatomie of Abuses. A bibliographical description of the editions and issues of the book leads into an analysis of the author's method of revision as evidenced by the printer's copy from which each edition seems to have been set, which is in turn followed by a summary of Stubbes's use of source material. Next I address the relation of the subject-matter of The Abuses to anxieties about social disorder current in early modern England, and conclude with a study of Stubbes's highly individual style of writing. The final section of the introduction is devoted to editorial procedures and includes a discussion of the choice of copy-text and principles of emendation.

Biography and Canon

Very little is known about the life of Philip Stubbes, our knowledge of him dating from 1581 with the publication of a ballad describing the untimely death of a blasphemer. A date of birth, however, was conjectured by F. J. Furnivall in light of internal evidence found in Stubbes's writings. At the

beginning of The Anatomie of Abuses, Philoponus, the voice in the book through which the author sets down his opinions on Elizabethan England, claims that he has led 'the life of a poore Traueller, in a certaine famous Iland ... called **Anglia**. wherein I haue liued these seuen winters and more, trauellling from place to place, euen all the land ouer indifferently' (219-23).¹ Reading this information as autobiographical, and further assuming that Stubbes began his journey around England upon reaching his majority at the age of twenty-one, Furnivall works back from the date of the first publication of the Abuses in 1583 to suggest that Stubbes was born in the year 1555 (Abuses, ii, 50, n.2). Equally speculative reasoning lies behind the author's supposed date of death. Believing that Stubbes wrote nothing more after A motiue to good workes in 1593, J.P. Collier concludes in the introduction to his edition of the Abuses that 'we may presume, from various circumstances, that he was carried off by the plague, which raged in 1592, and did not abate until the winter of the succeeding year' (ii). However, if the 1610 revised version of A perfect Pathway to Felicitie is not assumed to be a reprint of an earlier, now lost, edition, then it seems likely that Stubbes was alive until at least this date, himself enlarging the original text of the work by fifteen prayers.

Attempts to identify Stubbes's parents and place of birth have met with even less success. John Stubbes, the Protestant Englishman whose right hand was chopped off in punishment for writing The discouerie of a gaping gulf (1579) in opposition to the projected marriage between Queen Elizabeth I and the Duke of Anjou, was presented by Anthony à Wood in the revised edition of Athenae Oxonienses (1813-20) as '[n]ear of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip' (i, 646), but as Furnivall was able to find no mention of Philip in the wills of either John Stubbes or his father, this assumption is almost certainly unfounded (Abuses, ii, 53-5). Stubbes apparently took a degree at neither of the universities, à Wood declaring in his short biographical profile that the author 'was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and settled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Gloucester-hall' (i, 645). Described by both à Wood and Furnivall as a gentleman and titled as such in a number of his works from 1584, Stubbes was mocked by Thomas Nashe in the anti-Martinist pamphlet An Almond for a Parrat for having only

¹ unless indicated otherwise, all references to the Abuses in this and subsequent chapters of the introduction have been keyed to the critical edition.

pretensions to gentility.¹ If Nashe's overt purpose in mentioning Stubbes in this work had not been to prove him a zealous hypocrite, one might be tempted to credit his claim that 'his masterhippe in his minority plaide the Reader in Chesshire for fiue marke a yeare and a canuas dublet' (iii, 357). Appearing as it does, however, alongside less plausible reports of Stubbes gambling on the Sabbath and attempting - unsuccessfully - to persuade a widow to have sex with him in return for a Geneva Bible, this detail must be viewed with some skepticism.

Stubbes's career as a popular writer began in 1581 with the publication of a ballad entitled 'A fearefull and terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood.' The first edition of this work, a copy of which was formerly in the possession of J.P. Collier who included it in his collection of Broadside Black-letter Ballads (42-7), is no longer extant, but the ballad was reprinted, probably later in 1581, as part of a pamphlet by Stubbes entitled Two wunderfull and rare Examples. Of the vnderferred and present approaching iudgement. of the Lord our God: the one vpon a wicked and pemitious blasphemmer ... The other vpon a woman ... to whome the Deuill verie straungely appeared ... In lune last. 1581, a copy of which is held at Lambeth Palace (STC 23399.7).² Moralised as true examples of God's just punishment of sinners, these sensationalistic and immensely readable accounts of the gruesome death of a swearer and the assault made by the devil on a covetous woman were undoubtedly written as much to capitalise on the public's horrified fascination with the grotesque as to provide readers with suitably edifying literature. A third publication entitled A View of Vanitie. and Allarum to England or Retrait from Sinne, entered on the Stationers' Register on 9 October 1582 and printed in octavo by T. Purfoot the same year, is described by W. Carew Hazlitt in his Hand-Book to the Popular. Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain (581), but no copy of it is known today.

¹•Learning is a iewel, my maisters, make much of it, and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman euey haire of his head, whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet, I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulded out) amongst the number of those priuy *Martinists*, which he threatens to place in euey parish' (iii, 358).

²The story of the blasphemmer was recycled yet again in 1583, the author incorporating it into a chapter on swearing found in all of the revised editions of The Anatomie of Abuses (3861-83).

The Anatomie of Abuses (STC 23376), licensed to Richard Jones on the first of March 1583, was in print by May and its immediate success prompted Stubbes first to revise and expand the book for a second edition in August and then to write a sequel to it, which was registered to William Wright on 7 November and called, somewhat unimaginatively, The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses. conteining the display of Corruptions (STC 23380). This Second part continues the castigation of Elizabethan vice seemingly exhausted in the previous work, focussing in particular in the last half of the book on 'The Corruptions and Abuses of the Spiritualitie,' a chapter which is especially valuable for the light it sheds on the author's personal attitudes towards the English Protestant Church. Before writing the sequel to the Abuses, however, Stubbes first compiled The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for diuers Purposes. and also at diuers Times. as well of the day as of the Night which was entered on the Stationers' Register on 3 August 1583. Seen by Hazlitt and recorded in his Handbook as printed by John Charlewood in octodecimo (582), the work is no longer extant. The Anatomie of Abuses was thoroughly revised twice more for publication, once in October, 1584 and again in 1595.¹

After contributing in 1583 both a Latin poem to the introductory material of the fourth edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments with the title 'In sanguisugas Papistas' ('The Papist Bloodsuckers') and a preface to A Godlie and fruitfull Treatise of Faith and workes by 'H.I.J.,' Stubbes proceeded to write two pamphlets which are rabidly anti-Catholic in content. The first, printed in 1584, vilifies all things Catholic under the title The Theater of the Popes Monarchie (STC 23399.2). Maligning the Pope as 'that great Antichrist ... whom the Lorde shall destroy with the glory of his comming' (sig. C7v), Stubbes caricatures the ceremonies, vestments and institutions of the Catholic Church as 'a Satyricall stage playe of fooles consecrated to the Diuel' (sig. E1). The second pamphlet, The Intended Treason. of Doctor Parrie: and his Complices. Against the Queenes moste Excellent Maiestie (STC 23396), probably published in 1585, describes the manner in which William Parry was suborned by the Pope to assassinate the Queen. After printing in full a letter to Parry written by the Cardinal of Como dated 30 January 1584, Stubbes demands to know '[w]hat good subiect now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischief, of blood, and of treason, wil not abhor and detest both the one & ye other? ... would god papistry might be punished with

¹A summary of publication information, and bibliographical descriptions of each of the early editions of The Anatomie of Abuses follows at pp. 15-29.

death ... for take this for a **Maxime**, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soeuer otherwise they beare the world in hand' (sig. A3v-A4).

No record of any publication survives from the period 1586 to 1590, a fact which suggests that Stubbes stopped writing after marrying Katherine Emmes, the daughter of William and Katherine Emmes of London, in the fall of 1586.¹ Married at the age of fifteen, Katherine died of a fever only four and a half years later, six weeks after bearing their first child, John.² Within six months of her death Stubbes had written a biography of his wife entitled A Christal Glasse for Christian Women Containing. A most excellent Discourse. of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbs. who departed this life in Burton vpon Trent. in Staffordshire. the 14. day of December. 1590 (STC 23381).³ In documenting the life of Katherine Stubbes, her husband provides a telling insight into his own view of marital harmony and proper female submissiveness, relating with approval that '[i]f she saw her Husband to be merry, then was she merry: if he were heauy, or passionate, she would endeauour to make him glad: if he were angry, she would quickly please him: so wisely she demeaned her self towards him. She would neuer contrary him in any thing, but by wise counsell, and sage aduice, with all humility and submission, seek to perswade him' (sig. A3). If anything, this pamphlet was even more successful than the Abuses, running through at least twenty-four editions by 1637, and well-known enough to be alluded to on stage by Ricnard Brome and William Cartwright sixty years after its first publication.⁴

■ Their marriage licence, dated 6 September 1586, allows them to marry 'at any church or chapel in the diocese of London' (Furnivall, Abuses, ii, 51).

² According to the parish registers of Burton-upon-Trent, John Stubbs was baptised on 17 November 1590 and his mother was buried soon after, apparently on the same day as she died, on 14 December 1590 (Furnivall, Abuses, ii, 51).

³ This spelling of the title is that of the second edition of 1592. The pamphlet was entered on the Stationers' Register on 15 June 1591.

⁴ The Court Beggar (1653), Ill.i; The Ordinary (1651), Ill.v. Tessa Watt comments in Cheap Print and Popular Piety that the pamphlet's overwhelming sales suggest that it was popularly read as the life of a saint: 'If visual icons of saints were no longer allowed, neither were printed lives of saints ... Instead of worshipping ancient saints, the reader was invited to join a contemporary "saint" in worship. If Protestant women in labour could no longer appeal to Saint Margaret or the virgin Mary in childbirth, they had the companionship and inspiration of Katherine Stubbes' (284).

The next year, 1592, Stubbes compiled a collection of prayers under the title A perfect Pathway to Felicitie, Containing godly Meditations. and praiers. fit for all times. and necessarie to be practized of all good Christians (STC 23398) which was licensed to Humfrey Lownes on 22 March. ■ In this small book are printed prayers befitting all conceivable circumstances: there are prayers to be said before one falls asleep and upon waking, prayers against idleness and covetousness, prayers for pregnant women, travellers, servants and unmarried people, and there are even prayers to be said while washing one's hands and face. Another edition of this work, enlarged by fifteen prayers, was printed in 1610. Stubbes's final pamphlet, A motiue to good workes. Or rather. To true Christianitie indeede (STC 23397), reworks many of the same issues found in the Abuses. Entered on the Stationers' Register on 14 October 1593, the author explains in his dedication that after travelling around England for three months and finding many things badly out of order, he was moved to write 'to the end, that eyther by example, exhortation, or one meanes, or other, [he] might stirre vp the rnindes of men ... if not to doe goodworkes themselues, yet to maynteyne those which our predecessors haue left behinde them' (sig. A4v). His ensuing complaints about such faults as sumptuous homes, neglected churches, corrupt lawyers and a lack of traditional hospitality are familiar to the reader from his encyclopaedic attack on English society published ten years earlier. Ironically, in light of the scorn heaped on him by Thomas Nashe in The Anatomie of Absurditie and An Almond for a Parrat, Stubbes also finds space to criticise those 'scummes of the worlde' who slander others in print: 'albeit they neither knowe, nor in truth neuer heard anie euill of their brother, [those vile persons] will yet in the fulnesse of their mallice, coine and forge matter defamatorie agaynst him, and when they haue done, publish it to the view of the world in railing pamphlets, and paltrie libels, to his vniust infamie, and their owne perpetuall shame' (sigs. N2v-N3). At the time of writing this pamphlet Stubbes was resident in London, his dedicatory letter being dated 'From my lodging by Cheapeside this 8. of Nouember. 1593' (sig. A6).²

■ Hazlitt suggests that this is perhaps just a different name for The Rosary of Prayers printed in 1583 (Second Series, 586), but this seems unlikely, despite the apparent congruence of subject-matter, since in his dedicatory letter to Katherine Milward dated 10 April 1592, Stubbes mentions that he has only now agreed to publish A perfect Pathway to Felicitie on the insistence of a friend who paid for its printing (sigs. <J[3v-<J[4).

²Anthony a Wood also attributes to the author a tract entitled 'Praise and Commendation of Women,' which he admits he has not seen (i, 646); as no other record of the work exists, it has

With the success, in particular, of the *Abuses* in the early 1580s and *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women* in the early 1590s, Philip Stubbes emerges as a well-known and widely-read Elizabethan literary figure. This is not to say, however, that everyone who bought a copy of Stubbes's work necessarily agreed with his opinions. His fame amongst readers such as Thomas Nashe, for example, is probably best described not as popularity but notoriety. But the fact remains that he was read. Nashe, despite his antagonism towards Stubbes both as writer and alleged Puritan hypocrite, displays a good knowledge of his work, criticising his use of foreign writers in translation (*The Anatomie of Absurditie*, i, 20-1), pointedly (and ironically) commending Stubbes's arguments against such fashion innovations as 'short heeld pantoffles' (*An Almond for a Parrat*, iii, 356), and even justifying the format of *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell* with the tongue-in-cheek explanation that 'I bring *Pierce Penilesse* to question with the diuel, as a yoong nouice would talke with a great trauailer; who, carrieng an Englishmans appetite to enquire of news, will be sure to make what vse of him he maie, and not leaue anie thing vnaskt, that he can resolue him of. If then the diuell be tedious in discoursing, impute it to *Pierce Penilesse* that was importunate in demanding' (i, 240).¹ Other writers did not so much react against Stubbes's material as take it over wholesale, *The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses*, for example, providing an important source for the anonymous *Defence of Conny-catching* (1592) and Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592).² Such influence continued well into the seventeenth century. Besides the allusions of Brome and Cartwright to *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women* mentioned above, quotations from the *Abuses* appear in William Prynne's expansive *Histriomastix* (1633) and !.G.'s *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615), Prynne referring extensively throughout his tome to '*Mr. Philip Stubbs, his Anatomy of Abuses*,' and 'I.G.' (John Greene) quoting at length from Stubbes's account of the London theatres shaken by an earthquake in 1580 (sigs. F3-F3v), elsewhere in his

not been included here as part of the canon.

!Gabriel Harvey rushed to Stubbes's defence in 1593, writing in *Pierce's Supererogation* that many of those misused in print by Nashe, in particular, Thomas Deloney, Philip Stubbes and Robert Armin, may 'more disdainfully disdaine him; bicause he is so much vayner, so little learned, so nothing eleganter, then they; and they so much honest, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, then he' (Aal-Aal v).

²Parallels between these three texts are traced by Brian Parker in his edition of *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, ccii-ccvii.

pamphlet paying him the backhanded compliment of silently reprinting much of his chapter on stage-plays (sigs. G3-I2v). Stubbes's work may have met with a mixed reception, but that it had a significant impact on subsequent writers seems indisputable.

Stubbes's Reputation as a Puritan

Despite the fact that our knowledge of his life consists almost entirely of a marriage licence, a record of his son's baptism, a date of burial for his wife, and a few scraps of information gleaned from printed works written either by other contemporary writers or the author himself, Philip Stubbes is popularly known today as a sixteenth-century Puritan. François Laroque, in his outstanding study of Elizabethan festivity, introduces Stubbes's views on the lords of misrule as those of a 'Puritan pamphleteer' (95), while Joan Larsen Klein in her preface to the excerpts from A Christall Glasse for Christian Women printed in Daughters, Wives and Widows suggests that Stubbes 'was a Puritan, but perhaps not an extreme one' (139). Jonas Barish, commenting on such writers as Philip Stubbes, John Northbrooke and Stephen Gosson as 'English Puritans of the sixteenth century,' acknowledges in a footnote that the classification is ambiguous, and in the case of Gosson, inaccurate, but he opts to use the word anyway as a 'convenient shorthand term ... [standing] for a complex of attitudes best represented by those strictly designated as Puritans' (82, n.5). These three scholars have been singled out not because their assumption that Stubbes was a Puritan is in any way unusual, but rather because they indicate the extent to which this belief has become widely accepted.

But is the label accurate? The only really undisputed application of the term 'Puritan' is in the context of those who continued to push for further reform of the English church after the Elizabethan religious settlement of 1559. These critics of the Establishment were dissatisfied by the extent to which vestiges of Catholic doctrine perceived to be inconsistent with Protestantism had been carried over and incorporated into the reformed church; although wide-ranging, the debate focussed in the main on ecclesiastical vestments, practices such as the exchange of rings in marriage which were seen as superstitious, and ultimately, in the case of some extremists, on the institution of the episcopacy (Collinson, 'William Shakespeare,' 238). When, however, Stubbes comes to address this controversy in the last half of The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses, it becomes clear that his own theological opinions are entirely orthodox. Far

from calling for the abolition of the episcopacy, Stubbes, citing the example of Christ's apostles, baldly states that '[t]o doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe' (sig. O1). While maintaining that bishops are not superior in calling, function or office to less exalted ministers, Stubbes confidently argues that it is fitting and even necessary for them to assume a greater majesty and pomp, for 'who seeth not, that if there should be no superioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the same honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? ... And therefore take awaye authoritie, and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogether' (sig. O2v). Later in the chapter he reasons that although the first sign of a minister must be his ability to fulfil his duties to his congregation, the next distinguishing mark is his dress, specifically, the cap, tippet and surplice. These vestments, according to Stubbes, are a cause of offence only when particular holiness is attached to them; commanded to be worn by a Christian Prince, however, they should be tolerated (sig. P2v). Unlike the institution of the bishops, vestments are seen not as crucial elements of the Elizabethan English church but as *adiaphora* - matters 'mere indifferent' - and as such, Stubbes argues that ministers have an overriding responsibility to continue administering to their congregation: 'Those that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & constitutions of man, willeaue their flocks, and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the same, doe shew themselues to be no true shepherds, but such as Christ speaketh of, that when they see the Wolfe comming will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe' (sigs. P4v-P5).

Thus in terms of the ecclesiastical debate which raged in the second half of the sixteenth century and on into the next, Stubbes was no Puritan. However, as Patrick Collinson has eloquently argued, the term as used in Elizabethan England was by no means necessarily restricted to such a careful or objective assessment of doctrinal views: 'the evidence of reported speech at a more popular level suggests that from at least the 1570s, and certainly toward 1580, "Puritan" was a gibe hurled, as it were, in the vernacular at all too evidently religious persons, Protestants, by their less obviously religious or crypto-Catholic neighbors ... And it was in that kind of setting, rather than in learned ecclesiastical company, that the term mostly resided, for the next sixty years' (Collinson, Puritan Character, 20). Stubbes, it seems certain, would not have applied the label to himself. Intended, and taken, as an insult, the word was a polemical ruse by which Elizabethans of a less godly bent

tried to belittle, and thereby to neutralise through negative association, moral opposition to such popular activities as dancing, theatrical performances and seasonal festivals. The author of *The Anatomie of Abuses* was exactly the sort of busy, interfering killjoy, set apart from the rest of the community by extreme moral fervour and godly zeal, who was liable to be branded a Puritan.

So describing Stubbes as a Puritan perhaps tells us little more than that he was identified as such by his enemies. And yet to imply that he simply fell victim to bad press in his own lifetime is perhaps to beg the question.

Pamphlets such as *The Anatomie of Abuses*, *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women* and *A motiue to good workes* give the strong sense that this author held a perspective on Elizabethan life which was in some manner distinct from that of his neighbours; even if we choose to avoid labelling him as a Puritan, a satisfactory account of the ideology informing the work of Philip Stubbes must address the fact that the word seemed and still seems - to fit.

Peter Lake argues that 'both puritans and their contemporaries could recognise a member of the godly when they saw one,' and that their identifying characteristic was 'the seriousness with which they took entirely orthodox doctrines of election and reprobation and applied them to their own lives and experience' ('Puritan Identities,' 116). According to this construction, Puritans are just exceptionally keen Protestants who are known by the extent of their religious fervour - what Stubbes in his dedicatory letter to the *Abuses* describes as 'the zeale of my God.' What distinguishes then a writer such as Stubbes from other Elizabethans is the intensity with which he expresses conventional Protestant standards of morality and behaviour.¹ And certainly, the vitality of Stubbes's prose style and the impassioned commitment with which he embarks on a relentless denunciation of sin is still remarkable to a reader of the *Abuses* today, and accounts to a large degree for his continued popularity. Seemingly no abuse was considered too trivial to merit examination - from drunkenness to usury to church-ales, Stubbes condemned them all. The severity, moreover, with which the author would like to see sin punished, further testifies to the militancy of his attitudes. Railing against the current tendency to 'rappe out othes at euery worde'

¹In his review of *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* by Richard L. Greaves, Lake reflects on the extent to which Puritan attitudes towards morality and behaviour were consistent with those held by committed Protestants: 'Broadly, they were all opposed to sin and shared many common definitions of what, in fact, constituted sin ... Dr Greaves's book represents a massively documented disproof of the notion that under Elizabeth either puritans or Anglicans had anything like a distinctive social theory' ('Puritan Identities,' 115).

(3781), Stubbes argues that this vogue would quickly pass if swearers were stoned to death as commanded in the Bible or had their tongues cut out (3838-50). While the potential for an increased burden on poor rates implicit in the birth of children to unwed mothers caused parish authorities to adopt a particularly intolerant view of extra-marital sex between men and women, the punishment exacted by the ecclesiastical courts in the period suggests that few would agree with Stubbes that offenders should either be put to death or seared with a hot iron, 'to the ende that the Adulterous children of Sathan, might be discerned from the honest and chast Christians' (2722-3).¹ Stubbes's enduring reputation as a Puritan, therefore, seems to result from the vehemency and didacticism with which he expresses an uncompromising agenda of social and moral reform.

Lake's interpretation of puritanism is appealing since it allows for the existence in sixteenth-century England of a broad group of people who may not have been presbyterian or separatist but who were nonetheless regarded as a hotter sort of Protestant. As early as 1941, however, William Ringler pointed out the drawbacks of identifying strict morality as the distinguishing mark of Puritanism: 'We already have a word, asceticism, which refers to this attitude; to restrict or equate Puritanism to it would be a careless and uneconomical use of language' ('The First Phase,' 418). Moreover, it seems to me that readers of the *Abuses* need to keep in mind the derogatory overtones of the term. As Collinson puts it, 'a certain nastiness was inherent in the idea of puritanism, since the word was a broad and sticky brush with which to tar those who usually denied that they were puritans and insisted that they were nothing but orthodox and loyal protestant Christians, which they believed was more than could be said of those who defamed them as puritans' ('Ecclesiastical vitriol,' 155). Stubbes's status as a Puritan may well have resulted from his forcefulness of opinion on a wide variety of social and moral issues, but such a label nonetheless presupposes conflict and tension.

It seems to me that 'a certain nastiness' even now adheres to the word Puritan: used deliberately in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to stigmatise and engender ridicule, its application in this century to a writer

¹The punishments set in place by the Elizabethan 'bawdy courts' to deter adultery and pre-marital sex included fines and public penance in the church or market place (Laslett, 156). What we would now regard as homosexual interaction, on the other hand, remained largely invisible. According to Alan Bray, 'prosecutions for homosexuality were very rare occurrences, and the concern of the courts with the regulation of homosexual behaviour was only marginal' (*Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 71).

such as Stubbes reflects the extent to which we find ourselves in agreement with his opponents. The Anatomie of Abuses is perhaps best remembered today for the stand it takes against the theatres. In a short chapter consisting of just over five quarto pages the author cites Scriptural and classical authority to prove to his own satisfaction the wickedness of both theatres and players; raging against licentious audiences and pranked-up actors, Stubbes aggressively calls for immediate action. Returning to the larger issue of neglect of the Sabbath, the author moves from discussion of the theatres to a similar condemnation of lewd dancing, idolatrous May games and murderous football play. These so-called abuses, however, may not appear from a modern perspective as quite so heinous as Stubbes suggests; four hundred years on, the sight of morris dancers at a local village fete is more likely to provoke antiquarian interest in English traditions than outraged mutterings against the dance of the devil. The sense that Stubbes expends a great deal of energy attacking what are now regarded as essentially harmless pastimes, and resentment, moreover, of his opposition to an institution which produced the likes of Shakespeare and Middleton, inclines a reader of the Abuses, I would argue, to accept the view of Stubbes as a sometimes amusing, but nonetheless narrow, Puritan.

If, however, the consensus of opinion on these issues fell on Stubbes's side, or rather, if he was best known not for his desire to close the theatres but for some other of his proposed social reforms, then one might see this popular estimation of him begin to break down. It is more difficult, that is, to reconcile the author's hatred of bearbaiting and cockfighting - blood sports now roundly censured as inhumane and cruel - with the epithet 'Puritan.' Steps Stubbes takes towards outlining solutions to pressing economic problems in Elizabethan England have also tended to be largely overlooked. Condemning, for example, the bewildering variety and costly sumptuousness of clothing owned by a few affluent individuals, Stubbes does not hesitate to draw a clear correlation between such luxury and unrelieved poverty in the streets of London. A lack of universal health care also comes in for sharp criticism as Stubbes describes how servants who fall sick of the plague are taken by their masters and mistresses and thrown out of doors: 'and so being caried forth either in cartes, or otherwise, are layd down eyther in the streets, or els conuayd to some old house in the fields or gardens, where for want of due sustentation and good tending they end their liues most miserablie' (1425-9). Shocked by what he has seen, Stubbes bluntly demands of his readers how they can justify having 'millions of sute[s] of apparelllyng rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christ dye at their doores for want of

cloathing?' (1399-401) In a later chapter the author interrupts a discussion of usury to advocate reform of the prison system, arguing that there is no mercy in imprisoning men and women for debt without any hope of recovery: 'it griueth me to heare,' he writes, '(as I walk in the streetes) the pitifull cries and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meate, drinke (though of the meanest sorte) and clothing to their backes, lying in filthy strawe, and stinking litter, worse then any Dogge ... wishing and thirsting after death, to set them at liberty' (3591-8). Although the zeal with which Stubbes documents Elizabethan vice encourages a perception of him as a sixteenth-century Puritan, it is the readiness of his audience either to affirm or resist his attitudes which is finally at issue. Flatly contradicting assumptions of puritanism, John Carey chooses to describe Stubbes as an 'incisive social critic ... [with] moral convictions' (354), while John Dover Wilson admitted in 1917 (albeit in a chapter entitled 'The Puritan Attack upon the Stage') that Stubbes's discussions of rackrenting and prison reform 'would do credit to a modern socialist' (445).

The problem I have with continuing to refer to this author as a Puritan is two-fold. First, the imprecision with which the term is applied means that one might wrongly assume that Stubbes was in some way opposed to the Establishment when in fact his church politics were strongly conformist. In this case, the usage would not only be ambiguous but misleading. A far greater danger, however, is that calling Stubbes a Puritan in even a carefully qualified sense risks perpetuating the rhetorical tactic by which his views were undercut by his opponents in his own lifetime. Such bias is clearly registered in Dover Wilson's anthology of Elizabethan prose in which nearly every extract from the *Abuses* is prefaced by some variation on the cautioning words '(a puritan view).' Used as a term of abuse in the sixteenth century, the word remains polemically loaded still. Rather than adopt unquestioningly the verdict of contemporaries who found Stubbes's attitudes unpalatable if not even ridiculous, critics should attempt to engage with the *Abuses* on its own terms. To this end, I intend in this edition to avoid categorising Stubbes as a Puritan in order to allow readers the opportunity to assess for themselves the complex and often controversial attitudes towards Elizabethan England held by this extraordinary writer.

Bibliographical Introduction

In this chapter I move from a general discussion of Stubbes's life and canon to a study of the subject of this edition, *The Anatomie of Abuses*. As will have already been gathered, the *Abuses* is the most heavily revised of Stubbes's works, each of the four editions published between 1583 and 1595 differing significantly from the other three. Before offering any further comment on the content of the book it therefore seems important to describe the versions of the text and to account for the relationship between them. What follows is a detailed bibliographical description of one copy of each of the four editions and two issues of *The Anatomie of Abuses*, prefaced by a brief overview of the book's history of publication in the sixteenth century and its entry in the Stationers' Register transcribed from the Registers of the Stationers' Company.

The editions and issues are addressed individually in chronological order. First, each edition is given a designation based on its original format and placement in the sequence (01, 02, etc.) followed by its date of publication and STC number. Issues of editions are designated with a small case letter (i.e., 01a, 03a). I then note the location of each known copy of the edition or issue, placing an asterisk beside each copy I have viewed myself, and name which particular copy has been described. The title-page is described next. Where possible it has been photocopied, but when the title-page either does not provide a clearly legible print or is unavailable for photographic reproduction I have transcribed it exactly, recording all line breaks, printer's devices, shifts in type, etc. The contents list, which follows the collation and a transcription of the head-title, licence and colophon, accounts for every page in the book, including blanks. Each item in the contents list is to be assumed to extend to the next signature cited. Throughout this description I have used bold type for roman text, italic for italic text, and plain type for black letter. Line breaks are signified with a bar, and although ligatures have been separated, the long 's' *ch* has been preserved and swash italic letters are indicated in a note or parenthesis after the entry. Catchword irregularities within the copy, such as variations in spelling, punctuation and type, have been cited with the catchword itself given first, followed by the reading found on the next page given in brackets. If the first letter of the word on the next page is an ornamental capital, this is noted in square brackets. The usual running-title found throughout the book is provided after the signatures on which it appears, and any variations on this norm are cited underneath, followed by the signature(s) on which the variant

is found. Every edition of the Abuses splits the running-title over two facing pages and this division is indicated with a bar. Signatures in each edition have been described using the following formula: first, I cite the number of pages normally signed in a gathering (five in the octavo format editions, three in the quarto) followed by a record in parentheses of which signatures have been omitted. Next is a description of the type used in the signatures (i.e., black letter, roman) with any irregularities reported in parentheses, and lastly, the form of the numerals used is also cited (i.e., roman, Arabic), again with any deviations reported in parentheses.

The bibliographical descriptions are followed by a summary of the major differences between the four editions of the text and a discussion of a cancelled leaf found in a single copy of the first edition. The early edition used as copy-text for my critical edition is then noted along with an account of the condition of each of its extant copies, and corrections made to this version of the book as it was going through the press are appended beneath. The final section lists all modern editions of the Abuses with mention of the early edition used as copy-text in each instance.

Overview

The Anatomie of Abuses was entered on the Stationers' Register as licensed to Richard Jones on 1 March, 1583. The first edition, here designated O1, was published in octavo on 1 May of the same year and a variant issue appeared on 29 May. This first edition rapidly led to the publication of a second (O2) on 16 August, and a third (O3) in the following year on 12 October, both printed in octavo. A variant issue of O3 appeared in 1585. The fourth and final edition of the Abuses printed in the sixteenth century (Q1) appeared in quarto ten years later in 1595.¹ According to their imprints and colophons all four editions were printed in London by Richard Jones, but in an article entitled 'John Danter's Ornament Stock,' J.A. Lavin demonstrates by means of the ornament on sig. B1 and the ornamental letter 'R' on sig. A2 that the quarto edition of the Abuses was 'printed in whole or in part' by John Danter for Jones (39-40).² The Short-title Catalogue further suggests, but

¹ These dates of publication have been taken from the imprints on the title-pages to the editions.

² This conclusion is contested by The Short-title Catalogue which states in the 'Addenda and Corrigenda' to the first two volumes that Jones printed the fourth edition himself (iii, 310).

without citing any supporting evidence, that the first and second editions were printed by John Kingston for Jones (ii, 370).

A number of copies of each edition have been preserved and are located in collections around Britain and the United States. There are five copies of O1 in Britain and three more in the States, while the variant issue of this edition exists in a unique copy owned by Peterborough Cathedral which is on long-term deposit at University Library, Cambridge. There are also eight known copies of O2, five of which are located in England, the other three in the States. The only two known copies of the first issue of O3 are both found in the States, one at Harvard and the other at the University of Illinois, but five copies of its variant issue are extant, of which three are in England. Twelve copies of Q1 are known to exist, four in the States and eight in England, five of which are lodged at Oxford.

Entry in the Stationers' Register

Anno Domini 1582 [1583]. Annoque R. Rne. Eliz. xxvto
 primo die Martij
 Rich. Jones Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop
 of london and both the wardens. *The Anatomye*
of abuses. by Phillipe stubbes. vjd

[Liber B, 194; Arber ii, 421]

*Bibliographical Descriptions of the early editions*OL, 1 May 1583 (STC 23376)Copies Located:

Bodleian Library- *S269 Art (imperfect: sig. P6 missing); *Crynes 833;
 *Douce S655 (imperfect: sigs. <Jll-<Jl4v, 03-R2v missing); *Tanner I20;
 National Library of Wales;
 Folger Shakespeare Library (lacks colophon);
 *Huntington Library;
 Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia

Copy Examined: Bodleian Library, press-mark Tanner 120Title-page: See Fig. I (photocopied from the Huntington copy, but its title-page is invariant from Tanner 120)Licence: sig. R2: PeruJed, authoriJed, & I allowed, according to the order I appointed in the Queenes I MaieJties Inion- I ctions. = tailed Q in 'Queenes']Colophon: sig. R2: [Row of type om.] I At London I Printed by Richarde I Iones: dwellinge at the Signe of the I RoJe and the Crowne, neere vnto I Holborne Bridge. 11583. I [Row of type om.]Printer's device: sig. R2v: seated woman encircled with border which reads 'ACCENDO • ET • ARDO • QVEL • CHE • MI • MOLESTAVA' within outer rectangular border 102 mm x 79 mmCollation: go: <Jl8, A2, B-P8 (missing P8), Q4, R2 = 127leaves unnumbered

Note: I was unable to find a watermark on any page, but the direction of the chain-lines in gatherings A, Q and R supports the suggestion that the last gathering of the preliminaries (gathering A) was printed on the same sheet as the last two gatherings of the book. Further note that the final leaf of gathering P was cancelled, but is bound in Crynes 833; this leaf is discussed further in the Bibliographical Analysis.

Head-title: sig. B I: [Row of type om.] I The Anatomie of I the AbuJes in AILGNA.

A. Stubbes.
**The Anatomie
of Abuses :**

onfat?nin

A DISCOVERIE, OR BRIEFE

Summaric ot iuch No.tahle Vices and Im.
perfeaions J a:s now raigne in many Chri-
{tian· Countreyes of the Worldc :but (ef-
peciallte) in a verie tanlous I LANDE
called I-A I L G N A : . Together, with
moft fearefull :t;xamples -o Gods Iudge:\
mentestexecyp nthe-wi ed for t
fame, alwell tn·A I L G--N A oflate, as tn:
other places, elfewhere. yA" J[:.,.,.,. -

Uletic @ohlp, to be reab of all truct: bziffians,
euerie where :but mofl: needefull, to
be regarded in E N G L A N D E.

•abt bialoguc-1Dife, \? Phillip Stubbes.

Seene Ind allo, wed, ccording to order.

M.ATH.3.ver.1. Repe t, for the kir.gdorne of G(ld
is at hande.

LvC.I3.ver-5. I fay vnro you (fJit!1 Chrift) except
you fepenr, you llull all penth •

tpZtll t.'n st L \P, FR;ch;.rd

Jones. 1 1 . 15 S 3•

"

Fig. 1

Contents: <Jl1: Title-page (verso blank) <Jl2: Dedication [Row of type om.] |
 'To the Right Hono- | rable, Phillip Earle of Arundell ... ' signed 'PHILLIP
 Stubbes.' [followed by printer's device of a head with snakes and horns 37mm
 x 45 mm] <Jl5v: Preface [Row of type om.] I'A PREFACE | TO THE
 READER ... ' signed 'PHILLIP Stubbes.' | [Row of type om.] <Jl8v: Prefatory
 verse 'Phillippus Stubeus | CANDIDO LECTORI ... ' A1: Commendatory
 verses [Row of type om.] I'A.D. In comen- | dation of the Au- | thor and his
 Booke ... ' [Row of type om.] I'I.F. In Commen- | dation of the AVTHOR |
 and his Booke ... ' A2: Prefatory verse 'THE AVTHOR | AND HIS
 BOOKE ... ' [Row of type om.] B1: Head-title, text begins. R1: 'FINIS.'
 R1v: Errata sheet [Row of type om.] | '<[Faults eJcaped in printing ... ' [Row
 of type om.] R2: licence followed by colophon. R2v: printer's device.

Running-title: sigs. B1v-R1, The Anatomie | of AbuJes.

'The Anatomie,' BC |v, BEHM 2v, H 3v, CDGK 4v, K 5v, DF 7v, B 8v;

'The Anatomie.' G 1v, ELNQ 3v, FIP 5v, ELP 6v, FGHIN 8v;

'The Anato.' N 1v, P 4v;

'The Anato' O 1v;

'The Anat.' H 5v, H 6v;

'AbuJes.' G 2, G 5;

'of AbuJes' P 1, P 4, LN 5, LN 6, I 7, I 8;

Note: RT omitted: B 5, E 7v.

Catchword:

<Jl2v: wood, (wood)

<Jl6v: uey- (ueitouJnes,)

A2: THE (The)

B3: IeJus (Iefus,)

B8v: Apparell (of apparell)

C4: miJeries, frail- (frailties,)

C6: wayes (wayes,)

D1v: nie (nie)) D6v:

Lord (Lorde) E4v:

they) (they) E6v:

Philo (Phil.) F2v:

heard (heard,) F4: a

vir- (a Virgin)

G4: apparell, that (that)

<Jl3v: onely (onely,)

A1v: The (THE)

B1: Spud: (Spud.)

B3v: to de- (deftruction,)

C3: in- (force)

C5v: fences, (feces,)

C8v: ritie (rytie)

O4: weede (weede,)

O7: Jigns <fignes)

E5: Jeene (hauing)

F2: pendices (pedices)

F3v: much (muche,)

F5: breft (breft.)

G4v: Jelfe delfe,)

H2v: fwoorde, cfwoord,)	H5: yeres, (yeeres,)
11: in (in.)	17: fteth, (teth:)
18v: poore (poore,)	K4: withal faluted with the (the)
L4: day (day,)	L7: fons, (fons)
L7v: fides cfids)	M3: Philo (Philo.)
M4: Philo. (Philoponus.)	M7v: the (ye)
N3v: Adam (Adam,)	N5v: none (none,)
N6v: full (full,)	01: derfull (derful)
03v: but ((but)	06: Philo. (Philoponus.)
07: God (GOD?) P4:	Pl: the (Keeper)
maell, (maell) Q2v:	P6: For (For:)
Deuills (Deuils)	R1: ¶ Faults

Note: CW omitted <Jl5, <Jl8, Clv, C7v, C8, Flv, Glv, G2, H4, 13v, 14, R1v

Signatures: Sigs. 5 (<Jl5, E4, F5, G2, H4, H5, 14, K5, N4, 04, 05, P5, Q4, R2, omitted) black letter caps. with roman numerals (<JIHIMNO 2, <JIEHILMNO 3, <JIM 4, Arabic)

Type-faces: Dedication: roman with black letter valediction
 Preface: black letter with some roman
 Prefatory poems: first in roman, second in black letter with some roman
 Commendatory verses: first in black letter with some roman, second in roman
 Text: black letter with some roman for proper names, Latin, proverbs, etc.

Ola, (STC 23376.5)Copy Located:

*Peterborough Cathedral, on long-term deposit at University Library,
Cambridge Pet.F.4.15

Copy Examined: Peterborough Cathedral, press-mark Pet.F.4.15

Title-page: The Anatomie | of Abufes: | Contayning | A DISCOVERIE, OR
BRIEFE | Summarie of fuch Notable Vices and Im- | perfections, as now
raigne in many Chri-1 ftian Countreyes of the Worlde:but (ef-1 peciallie)
in a verie famous ILANDE | called AILGNA: Together, with | *moff*
fearefull Examples of Gods lodge- | mentes, executed vpon the wicked for
the | fame, afwell in AILGNA oflate, as in | other places, elfewhere.1 Verie
Godly, to be read of all true Chriftians, | euerie where: but *moff* needefull, to
| be regarded in ENGLANDE.I Made dialogue-wife, by Phillip Stubbes. |
Seene and allowed, according to order. | MATIL3.ver.2. Repent, for the
kingdome of God | is at hande. | Lvc.13.ver.S. I Jay vnto you {faith Chrift)
except | you repent, you Jhall all periJh. IJ[Printed at London, by Richard |
Iones. 29. Maij. 1583.

Collation: so: <J8, A2, B-P8 (missing P8), Q4, R2 = 127 leaves unnumbered

Note: The colophon is identical to that printed in 01. Besides the change of date on the title-page, the only other difference between this issue and 01 is that the page heading and running-title to sig. H7v read 'Knowen whores kept openly. The Anat.' instead of 'Impunitie for whordome. The Anatomie'.

02, 16 August 1583 (STC 23377)

Copies Located:

The British Library - *G.10369; *697.a.34;
 Bodleian Library- *Mal. 526 (slightly damaged, but complete); *Mal. 528
 (imperfect: gathering A missing, sigs. R7-R8v missing);
 John R. Hetherington Collection (imperfect);
 Folger Shakespeare Library;
 Huntington Library (imperfect);
 Newberry Library, Chicago (imperfect)

Copy Examined: British Library, press-mark G.10369

Title-page: The Anatomie | of Abufes: | Containing, | A DISCOVERIE, OR
 BRIEFE | Summarie of fuch Notable Vices and Im- | perfections, as now
 raigne in many Conn- | treyes of the World: but (efpecialye) in a | famous
 ILANDE called AILGNA: | Together, with *moft* fearefull Examples | of
 Gods lodgements, executed vppon the | wicked for the fame, afwel in
 AILGNA | oflate, as in other places, elSewhere. | Very Godly, to be reade of
 all true ChriStians: | but *moft* needefull to be regarded | in ENGLANDE. |
 «J[Made Dialogue-wife by Phillip Stubbes. | Seene and allowed, according to
 order. | [rule] | Math. 3.Verf. 2. | Repent, for the Kingdome of God is at
 hande. | Lvc.13. Verf. 5.1 | Jay vnto you daith Chrif) except you | repent,
 you fhall all perifh. | [rule] | <| [Printed at London, by Richard | Iones. 16
 Auguft. 1583.

Licence: sig. R8: Perufed, aauthorifed, and al- | lowed, *accordyng to the*
order | appointed in the Quee- | nes Maiesties | Iniuncti- | ons. [Note: Swash
Q in '*Queenes*,' swash Min '*Maiesties*']

Colophon: sig. R8: [Row of type orn.] | At London | *Printed by Richard*
Jones: dwellyng | at the Signe of the Rofe | and the Croune, neere | vnto
 Holborne | Bridge. | 1583. | [Row of type orn.] = Swash Pin '*Printed*,'
 swash *R* in '*Richard*,' swash *I* in '*Iones*'

Printer's device: sig. R8v: stooped man holding gloves walking through
 countryside within rectangular border 71 mm x 49 mm (Avis, 32)

Collation: so: <|4, B-R8, [8 leaves unnumbered] ff. 1-125 [124] (= 132leaves)

Head-title: sig. B3v: The Anatomie I of Abufes in Ailgna.

Contents: A1: Title-page (verso blank) A2: Dedication [Row of type om.] I
'To the Right Hono- l rable, Phillip EARLE of Arundell ...' signed 'P.
Stubbes.' B1: Prefatory verse ' }t **Philippus** Stubeus I CANDIDO LECTORI
... ' B1v: Commendatory verses 'C.B. In commendation of I *the Auctors
lucubrations ...* ' (swash A) 'A.D. In commendation I *of the Auctor and his
Booke ...* ' (swash A) 'I.F. In commendation of I *the Auctor and his Booke ...* '
(swash A) B3: Prefatory verse 'THE AVTHOR AND I HIS BOOKE ... '
B3v: Head-title, text begins. R7v: 'FINIS.' R8: licence followed by colophon.
R8v: printer's device.

Running-title: sigs. B4-R7v, The Anatomie I of Abufes.

'The Ana.' M 1v

Note: RT omitted: B 7, E 8v

Catchword:

<J[3: ly (ly,)

B2v: The (THE)

C2: wordes: woordes:

E5: be (bee)

F6: God (God,)

G3: finne cfynne,)

G7v: with (withall)

H1: newe (new)

H8: till (til)

I8v: the

K5: could (could,)

L8v: goodes, (gooddes,)

M2: hartes, (harts,)

M6: meates, (meates.)

N4v: bawdy (bawdie)

O2v: Philo. (Philonus.)

P2: Which (Whiche)

Q8v: betymes,

<J[3v: **th**(the)

B6: againe, (again,)

07: You (YOu [ornamental Y])

F1v: demnatorie (demnatore)

G2: cian (cian,)

G7: mucche (much)

G8v: Lorde, (Jorde,)

H6v: terie, (terie)

H8v: vnfiled, (vnfiled)

K4v: moriam (moriame,)

K8: weth (weth,)

M1: haue (haue))

M5: great (greate)

N1v: worfhip, (worfhippe,)

N8v: couthe (couthe,)

P1v: ping (pyng)

P4v: great (greate)

R2v: And (AND [ornamental A])

Note: CW omitted <J[4v, R7v

Signatures: Sigs. 5, black letter caps. (B 1, BF 2, B 3, Q 4 [tailed 'Q'] roman caps.) with roman numerals (II 2, 3, 4 Arabic)

Type-faces: Dedication: roman, with italic valediction
Prefatory poems: roman
Commendatory poems: first two black letter with some roman and italic, third italic with some roman in title
Text: black letter with some roman and italic for proper names, quotations, Latin, etc.

Q3, 12 October 1584 (STC 23377.5)

Copies Located:

*Harvard University;
University of Illinois

Copy Examined: Harvard University (from microfilm)

Title-page: See Fig. 2.

Licence: sig. R4: **Perufed, aucthorifed, and al-** | *lowed, accordyng to the order | appoincted in the Quee- | nes Maiesties | Iniuncti- | ons.* [Note: Swash *Q* in '*Queenes*,' swash *Min* '*Maiesties*,' swash *I* in '*Iniunctions*']

Colophon: sig. R4: [Row of type orn.] | **At London** | *Printed by Richard Iones: dwellyng | at the Signe of the Rofe | and the Crowne, neere | vnto Holborne | Bridge. | 1584. |* [Row of type orn.] [Note: Swash *R* in '*Richard*,' swash *I* in '*Iones*']

Printer's device: sig. R4v: stooped man holding gloves walking through countryside within rectangular border. Dimensions unclear from MF but identical in design to O2 and 03a (Avis, 32).

Collation: so: A4, B-Q8, R4, [8leaves unnumbered] ff. 1-124 [120] (=128 leaves)

Head-title: sig. B3v: **The Anatomie | of Abufes in Ailgna.**

Contents: A1: Title-page (verso blank) A2: Dedication [Row of type orn.] | '<J[**To the Right** | *Honorable, and his /inguler good Lorde,* | Phillip Earle of Arundell ... ' signed '**PIDLLIP Stubbes.**' B1: Prefatory verse '**PHILIPPS STV-** | **BEVS CADIDO** | **LECTORI...** ' B1v: Commendatory verses '**III** | **C.B. In commendation** | *of the Auctors lucubrations ...* ' (swash *A*) '**A.D. In commendation | of the Auctor and his Booke ...** ' '**I.F. In commendation of** | *the Auctor and his booke ...* ' B3: Prefatory verse '**THE AVTHOR AND | HIS BOOKE ...** ' (swash *R*) B3v: Head-title, text begins. R3v: '**FINIS.**' | [Row of type orn.] R4: licence followed by colophon. R4v: printer's device.

The Anatomie of Ahuf J

Containing

A Discouerie, or briefe Sum-
marie of such Notable Vices and Corrupti-
ons, as nowe raigne in many Christian Coun-
treies of the Worlde; but (especially) in the
Country of AILGNA; Together with most
fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgements, ex-
ecuted vpon the wicked for the same, as
well in AILGNA of late, as in
other Places, else-
where.

*Very godly, to be read of all true Chri-
stians, euery where: but most chiefly, to be
regarded in England.*

Made Dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STYBS.
And now newly reuised & recognized, and aug-
mented the third time by the same Author.

MAT. 3. VER. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LUK. 13. VER. 5.

I say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perish.

Printed at London, by Richard
Jones 12. October. 1584.

Running-title: sigs. B4-R3v, The Anatomie I of Abufes.

'The Anotamie' B 5v, BC 6v

'The Auatomie' C 7v, EM 4v

'The anatomie' D 3v

'The Anatomie.' M 1v, N 2v, O 3v, P 8v, Q 7v

'of Abufes' E 1, E 6

Catchword:

A4: anie (any)	B2v: The (<i>THE</i>) B7:
B3v: Philo (Philo.)	which (whiche) B8:
B7v: Maiefty (Maieftie)	<i>should</i> (<i>shoulde</i>) C4:
C2: tes (tes,)	before) (before()) C7v:
C5: apparell (apparell)	vaine (vayne) D6v:
D5: meanly (meanely)	fteeple cfteeple,)
E1v: tions (tions,)	E2: inuented (inuented,)
E3: Iegge (Iegge,)	E6v: Iy (ly:)
E7: parell (parell,)	E8: creation (creation?)
E8v: Pride (Pride,)	F1: metuunt (metuunt.)
F5v: fearfull (fearefull)	G2: figie (figie,)
G3: Sathan (Sathan))	G3v: Ieffe <i>Oeffe.</i>)
H2: amitie (amitie,)	H4: own (owne)
H4v: ly (ly,)	H5: cubines (cubines?)
H5v: fand cfande)	H6v: fay, cfaie,)
H7v: fheete cfheete,)	H8: fore (force)
Bv: fubiect (fubiecte)	15: ly (ly,)
16v: Spirites (Spirites,)	18: heede (heede,)
K2v: an (An)	K5v: llers (lers)
L1: worfhipfull (worfhipfull,)	L3v: be (bee)
L4v: brethren (brethren,)	L8v: fayth cfaieth)
M4v: blyng (bling)	M5: baoth (baoth,)
M6v: ter (ter:)	M8v: dies, (dies)
N2: perfon (perfon:)	N4v: As (AS [ornamental A])
N5v: fwaie cfwaie,)	O1v: ioyes (ioyes,)
O4: ioy (ioye)	O5: alone (alone,)
O6v: Conifitory, (Conifitorie,)	P4: therfore (therefore)
P5: with (withall)	P5v: <i>fir</i> dir?)
P7: daies (daies))	Q3: from ((from)
Q6v: in (bookes)	

Note: CW omitted A4v, R3v

Signatures: Sigs. 5 (C5, E5, F5, G5, H5, 15, L5, M5, O5 omitted) black letter caps. (ABH 2, A 2 [A 3], BF I, B 3 roman caps.; GK 4, L 3, Q 5 [tailed 'Q'] italic caps.) with roman numerals

Type-faces: Dedication: roman with some italic and black letter in salutation and valediction
Prefatory poems: first roman, second roman with some italic in title
Commendatory poems: first two black letter with some roman and italic, third italic with some roman in title
Text: black letter with some roman and italic for proper names, quotations, Latin, etc.

03a, 1585 (STC 23378)

Copies Located:

*British Library 697.a.35 (1) (imperfect: sig. Q6 missing);

*University Library, Cambridge Syn.8.58.18 (imperfect: sigs. E6-E6v, F6-F6v, F8-F8v, P4-R4v missing);

*Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon 14, 610;

Folger Shakespeare Library;

Yale University

Copy Examined: Shakespeare Centre, press-mark 14, 610

Title-page: The Anatomie | of Abufes: | Containing | A Difcouerie, or
 briefe Sum- | marie of fuch Notable Vices and Corrupti- | ons, as nowe
 raigne in many Chriftian Coun- | treyes of the Worlde: but (efpecially) in
 the | Countrey of AILGNA: Together, with *moft* | fearefull Examples of
 Gods Iudgementes, ex- | ecuted vpon the wicked for the fame, af- | well in
 AILGNA oflate, as in | other places, eife- | where. | Very godly, to be read
 of all true Chri= | /tians, *euery where: but mo/t chiefly, to be | regarded in
 England.* | Made Dialogue-wife by PmLLIPSTVBS.I And now newly reuifed
 recognized, and aug= | mented the third time by the fame Author. |
 MATH.3.ver.2. | Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande. | LvKE.13.ver.5. |
 Jay vnto you, except you repent you Jhall all periph. | ☞ Printed at *London*, by
Richard | Iones 1585.

Colophon: sig. R4: [Row of type orn.] | At London | *Printed by Richard
 Iones: dwellyng* | at the Signe of the Rofe | *and the Crowne, neere* | vnto
 Holborne | Bridge. | 1585. | [Row of type orn.] [Note: Swash *R* in '*Richard*,'
 swash *I* in '*Iones*']

Printer's device: sig. R4v: stooped man holding gloves walking through
 countryside within rectangular border, 70 mm x 49 mm (Avis, 32)

Note: This issue is in all other respects identical to 03.

QI. 1595 (STC 23379)

Copies Located:

*British Library C.25.c.12;

Bodleian Library - *Douce S221 (imperfect: gathering O missing and replaced with handwritten pages); *S37 Jur.; *Mal. 707 (damaged: top comers of sigs. K1-K2v torn); *Wood 653 (slightly mutilated sigs. 03-03v);

*St. John's College, Oxford *L.4.36* (bottom of some pages badly cropped);

*Emmanuel College, Cambridge S 9.3.50;

*Thomas Hall Collection, Birmingham Reference Library, THL 09411595/2;

*Folger Shakespeare Library (appears on MF to be slightly damaged where signature should be printed sigs. L2-M3);

*Huntington Library;

*Harvard University;

*University of Wisconsin Library

Copy Examined: Thomas Hall Collection, Birmingham Reference Library, press-mark THL 094/1595/2

Title-page: See Fig. 3 (photocopied from the Huntington copy, but its title-page is invariant from the Birmingham copy)

Licence: not printed

Colophon: not printed

Collation: 4^o: A-T4 [8 pages unnumbered] pp. 1-144 (= 152 pages)

Head-title: sig. B1: [ornament: owl bracketed by two grotesques on each side 18 mm x 71 mm] | The Anatomie of A- | bufes in England.

Contents: A1: Title-page (verso blank) A2: Dedication [Row of type om.] | 'To the Chriftian Magiftrates | and godly Gouvernors of England ... ' signed 'P. S.' A4v: Commendatory verse [Row of type om.] I I.F. In commendation of the Authour and his Book ... ' B1: Head-title, text begins. T4v: 'FINIS. | God haue the praife, both now and alwaies. *Amen.*'(swash A)

Running-title: sigs. B1v-T4v, The Anatomie | of Abufes.

- he · Anat6rllie of Abufes.

Containing

A Defcriprion of fuch ilora";

ble ViCes and enormities, as raigne *in* many Coumrie of
tbt w rld, bHt t fpeci CUie in this l(tAime fEngland: Togethr
-- with moll fearefull example of Godheauie Iudge-
mems inflieled vpon the wicked for the fame
as well in *E zgt.u: J <?flate*, as in other places
el!e where.

ette Uoblto betea) of an true <!*J.: tatan*
- cuqy where, but molt chidiy, to bee
rtguie J in En, gl4nd

— *MAJe Ji Alogue-wife". J Philip Stubs Gmt.'*

Now, the fourth time, newly correffed and
j, !u_ gra t: Jtbtj Amt Autb•r.



JQipdnted at London *by* Richard Iohnes, at the figh oft .
Rofe and Crowne next about *S.. Andryts* Church
o. !n o; horne. .! \$ 9 *S•flt*

Catchword:

A2: man (man,)	B1: Philo. (Phil.)
B3: grieuous (grieuous,)	B4: all (al)
C1v: faties (faties,)	C4: cellentest (excellentest)
D1v: calling (calling,)	D2v: fpeclall (pe ciall)
E3v: Nether (Costly)	F4v: die
G3: gallantly (gallantly,)	H2: Spud. (The)
I1: perceiued (perceiued,)	12: Libertines (Libertines,)
13v: liuing (liuig)	K2: Yea, (Yea)
L1v: bee (be)	L2: Tabernacle (Tabernacle,)
L4: Tam (tam)	L4v: peopl (people)
M3: vpon (vppon)	M3v: Philo. (Phil.)
M4v: it (it,)	N4v: God
O2v: plain (plaine)	04: leaf, (leaf)
O4v: faith cfayth,)	P1 v: orhers. (others.)
P4: Teftament (Teftament,)	Q1: tonneffe, (tonnef.)
R4v: daughter	S3v: foulders cfoulders,)
T1: dealing (dealing?)	T3: firie (firy)

Note: CW omitted A4, S4

Signatures: Sigs. 3 (A3, M1 omitted) black letter caps. (A 2 roman caps.)
with Arabic numerals

Type-faces: Dedication: roman with some italic
Commendatory poem: italic with roman title
Text: black letter with some roman and italic for proper names,
quotations, Latin, etc.

*Bibliographical Analysis*Relation of Editions

Each of the four editions printed in the sixteenth century is substantially different from the others: word substitution is made, word order is rearranged, sentences and paragraphs are partially or completely rewritten, and perhaps most importantly, additions and cuts of varying length are found in all of the editions subsequent to the first in 1583. The second edition, for example, lacks the 'Preface to the Reader,' but is otherwise much longer than the first, the author's decision to enlarge the text for the second printing and thereafter to publish even more material in *The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) seemingly prompted by an enthusiastic reception of the first edition. Passages added to O2 include the commendatory poem by 'C.B.;; the two anecdotes about drunkards who were punished by God as well as another anecdote about a woman whose ruff was set by the devil, and the chapters on gardens, swearing, and the daily exercises of women in England. The third edition supplements much of the new material found in O2 with sidenotes and page headings. In the fourth edition of 1595, recent fashion innovations are worked into the chapters on hats and ruffs, fewer page headings appear as a result of the larger quarto format but more chapter breaks are incorporated into the main body of the text, the extensive prefatory material is cut back to include only the dedicatory epistle and a short commendatory poem by 'I.F.,' and the example of two adulterers burned in London along with a brief digression on the consequences of a luxurious diet are omitted. Proper names are no longer spelled backwards and in Latin as they were for the most part in the earlier editions, and the text, previously dedicated to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, is rededicated to the Magistrates of England, presumably as a result of Howard's arrest in 1585 as a recusant Catholic. In light of the consistent nature of the changes made to each edition after the first and the fact that the third and fourth editions explicitly state on their title-pages that these extensive revisions are authorial, there seems little reason to doubt that all four versions were written and revised by Philip Stubbes.

The Cancelled Leaf in Crynes 833

Of the five copies of the first edition that I was able to examine, Crynes 833 is the only one to contain intact a cancelled final leaf of gathering

P.¹ Douce S655 is imperfect, ending at sig. 02v, S269 Art has a narrow scrap of paper in the gutter between sigs. P7v and Q1 that appears to be the remains of a leaf that has been cut out, while sigs. P8-P8v have been tom out of Tanner 120, the remnants of the leaf, approximately 1 em wide at the bottom and narrowing to the top, extending the length of the book. It is impossible to tell from microfilm if there is any evidence of the cancelled leaf in the Huntington copy.² A knife cut in the leaf in the Crynes 833 copy which extends vertically from the centre of the page to the bottom clearly indicates that it was supposed to have been removed from the finished bound product. The recto side of the leaf is blank, but on the verso is printed a full page of text complete with running-title, page heading and catchword; a facsimile of this cancelled leaf is included in the editions of the Abuses published by the Johnson Reprint Corporation and the English Experience Series, and the page is reprinted in this edition as part of Appendix ■ (Passage F).

The curious thing about the material printed on sig. P8v is that although its style, vocabulary and subject-matter are absolutely typical of the Abuses, these lines are not found in any of the four versions of the book, or indeed, in any other of Stubbes's extant works. Moreover, while one would not expect any continuity of sense between sigs. P7v and P8v given that the intervening page was not printed, it seems odd that the catchword on sig. P8v 'they' - does not lead into the text printed on sig. Q1, which opens with the word 'thorow'.³ It is the catchword to sig. P7v which instead reads 'thorow,' the sense of the book flowing smoothly from sig. P7v to sig. Q1. The material printed on the cancelled leaf apparently comes out of nowhere and goes nowhere.

The blank recto page can be explained, however, if one assumes that the outer forme of gathering P was set first; presumably then, the error was discovered during the composition of the inner forme, after sig. P8v had been set, and perhaps even printed, with the wrong material. The fact that it was not found necessary to reset the outer forme indicates that there were *iw* problems with the material printed on the preceding page in the outer forme, sig. P7. Since all of the text printed on sig. P8v is out of place, the compositors therefore must have begun setting the wrong manuscript material

■ I have seen the four copies of O1 held at the Bodleian and the Huntington copy on microfilm.

²No remains of the cancelled leaf are found in the extant copy of the variant issue of O1.

³The equivalent location of this cancelled page in the quarto text is between the words 'hurt' and 'through' at line 5551.

somewhere in sigs. P7v or P8. If one assumes that while setting the inner forme of gathering P the compositors realised that there was something seriously wrong with the material intended for sig. P7v (the error thus extending through sig. P8 to the already composed sig. P8v), then it seems reasonable to expect that they would have either reset this page or rectified the mistake before the page was composed. The verso of signature P8 already having been composed, the recto was left blank with the expectation that the leaf would simply be cancelled. If, on the other hand, there were no problems with the text printed on sig. P7v, then the material intended for sig. P8 probably opened in the same manner as the extant sig. Q1, but then went off at some point in a different direction. As in the previous scenario, sig. P7v would be printed correctly and sig. P8 left blank, the text following directly from sig. P7v to sig. Q1.

The question next arises as to why the material originally intended perhaps for sig. P7v, and certainly for sigs. P8, P8v and Q1 (as suggested by the catchword 'they' on sig. P8v) was cut. One possibility is that this material represents a misplaced page of the manuscript. The difficulty with this hypothesis is that there is no disjunction of sense earlier in the book to indicate from where this page may have been taken. It seems highly unlikely that this much material could be moved accidentally to the end of the book without any noticeable impact on the preceding text. Moreover, if the page was misplaced and consequently cut, it seems strange that it was not replaced in its correct, intended position in a subsequent edition; given that three new chapters as well as a number of shorter passages were added to the second edition, one would expect the author to have taken the trouble to reinsert a lost manuscript page. A second suggestion is that the material was censored, but the bit of cancelled text we have offers no reason to believe that this was the case. Although the speaker mentions the probable existence of 'vile **Atheists** ... who in their hearts say **non est Deus**, there is no God at all,' and discusses the former 'time of papistrie ... when God was dishonored euerie way,' there is no opinion expressed on this page that has not been voiced previously in some form in the book. In the chapter on whoredom, for example, Philoponus compares those who defend extramarital sex to 'Lybertines who thinke all things lawfull, or Atheistes, who denie there is any God' (O1, sig. G8), while elsewhere he asserts that there is no merit in dressing in the same attire as Adam and Eve, 'as our Papistes, Papists? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments, & Romish raggs' (O1, sig. C5v). This attack on Catholics is renewed and developed in later editions in the added chapter on swearing,

where Philoponus compares 'professors of Papisme' to 'sedicious Vipers,' **'Pythonicall Hydraes,'** and ultimately, 'ranck Traitors' (Q1, 3701-8).

What seems most probable is that this material represents a false start that was marked for deletion by the author himself. Working on the assumption that the error must have been introduced on the inner forme (i.e., after sig. P7 but before sig. P8v), it becomes difficult to imagine the false start occurring before sig. P8, since in the copies without the cancelled leaf, a chapter on wicked books begins on sig. P7 and extends all the way through sig. P7v to the top of sig. Q1. This chapter is very tightly argued: Philoponus moves from the complaint that nowadays anyone can get a book licensed, to the observation that this leniency on the part of the authorities accounts for the current popularity of smutty pamphlets over godly books, to the conclusion that 'hethnicall' books are the devil's work and that those responsible for their production will be punished by the Lord on Judgement Day. The text printed on sig. P8v has nothing to do with books, wicked or otherwise, and it therefore seems certain that it and the missing page of text which preceded it must have followed the chapter on books. The logical place then for such a false start to occur is immediately after the chapter on books, but before the ensuing discussion of magisterial corruption (see the equivalent place in the quarto text between lines 5553-4). My sense, therefore, is that if sig. P8 had been set as originally intended by the compositors, it would have opened with the first three lines printed on sig. Q1 which conclude the chapter on books, and then have launched into the false start marked by the author for deletion. As it is, the decision was taken to salvage the first seven leaves of gathering P, cancel the final leaf, and set the end of the chapter on books at the top of sig. Q1, this time skipping over the deleted material before picking up the author's intended narrative thread.

My only concern about this hypothesis is the length of the false start. If I am right in arguing that it begins after the chapter on books, then this false start extends over nearly two printed octavo pages, plus whatever may have followed the catchword 'they' on sig. P8v. The text printed on the cancelled leaf is unfocussed and generalised, but as the material is nonetheless characteristic of Stubbes's usual quality of writing, the decision to cut it rather than develop it in a particular direction seems drastic. But perhaps Stubbes found himself winding down to a conclusion too soon, moving immediately from an itemised catalogue of specific abuses to a lament of universal irreligion, when he wanted yet to address the question of how to reform the manners of the English, ending ultimately with a topical description of recent manifestations of God's anger towards humankind and a discussion of true

repentance. It may have been that he was unable to get the close of his book back on track without starting all over again. Given the extraordinary trouble to which Stubbes went in subsequent editions to rewrite and shape passages of his book with which he was dissatisfied, it seems not impossible that he might have marked a passage of this length for deletion in his original manuscript.

The Copy-Text

The copy-text selected for this edition is Q1; the reasoning underlying this decision is discussed in the Editorial Procedures set out at the end of the Introduction. Examination of the twelve extant copies of the fourth edition shows that five of them are imperfect: Douce S221 at the Bodleian replaces gathering O with handwritten pages, while Mal. 707, also at the Bodleian, lacks the top corners of sigs. K1-K2v with the subsequent loss of the first two sidenotes printed on sig. K1. The bottom of the pages of the copy held at St. John's College, Oxford have been badly cropped and the final line of text on some pages is thus missing. Wood 653, a third copy held at the Bodleian, is very slightly mutilated at sigs. 03-03v, while the Folger copy appears on microfilm to be damaged where the signature should be printed on sigs. L2-M3. The printing of this edition was of a usual standard for the period. There are a number of obvious misprints (i.e., 'exaseperate' for 'exasperate' at line 2277, and 'lhing' for 'thing' at line 1125) as well as a few readings that appear to be compositor's errors (i.e., 'faire' for 'fairer' in the sidenote to line 761 and 'Numer. 24' for 'Numer. 25' in the sidenote to line 2566). In three places the type has shifted, in one instance as the result of a pulled letter; these variant readings are recorded below after the press-corrections.

Collation of all of the copies of Q1 resulted in the discovery of only a handful of press-variants. Only eleven formes show evidence of press-correction: the outer forme of gatherings A, B, F and M, the inner forme of gathering E, and the inner and outer formes of gatherings K, L and Q. All of the variants are grouped below by forme:

Sig.	Line Number ¹	Corrected Reading	Uncorrected Reading
A3	99	holdeth	holdeq.h
B3	running title page heading 366	Abuses charitie Philo.	Absues charitei Philip.
E2	1204	speech prefix before and on same line as chapter title	chapter title on line above speech prefix
E3v	1299-1300 SN	diuers & sundrie	di- and sundrie
F1	1413 1423-4	There is a certaine Hell, and sealed an Obligation	Ther is a ceitaine hell, and sealed an an obligation
F2v	1519	Womens	Womans
F3	1530-1 1551 SN 1559	I be vnable faces & a Cobbler should presume	I be be vnable fnces and a Cobler should presum
F4v	1667 1679 1694-5	& cunningly faces owne natural Haire: and vppon ... Haire	and cunning- faaces owne owne natural haire: and vpon ... haire
K1v	2662	feare it	feare it it
K4v	2914 SN	those	..those ²
L2	page number	75	74
L4v	page number	80	88
M1	signature	M1	omitted
Q3	page heading	followed	followad
Q4	4704	thinke	tinke
Q4	4704	dances	daunces

¹The line numbers cited here are those used in the critical edition. Where a line is either not included or is unnumbered in the critical edition, the location of the press-correction has been described (i.e., running title, page heading, page number, signature).

²A bullet signifies a gap in the text approximately equal to one em.

The following differences between the extant copies of the quarto are examples of drifting and/or pulled type. These variant readings have been silently emended and are not recorded as press-corrections in the collation line of the critical edition:

Sig.	Line Number	Variant Readings
A2v	48	wh•ether, whether
D3	956	speciall, •peciall, pe•ciall
N2v	3667	dish•onoured, d•ishonoured, d•ish•onoured

One is thus able to determine the proportion of corrected and uncorrected sheets in each of the copies. The Bodleian's Mal. 707 is identical to the British Library copy, the outer forme of gatherings A, B, and Q and the inner forme of gatherings E and Q standing in a corrected state. Wood 653 at the Bodleian varies from the BL copy only in that the outer forme of gathering Q is uncorrected, while the Bodleian's S37 Jur. and the copies at Emmanuel College and the Birmingham Reference Library vary from the BL copy in that both the inner and outer formes of gathering Q are uncorrected. The first four variant sheets in Douce S221 at the Bodleian are uncorrected and the rest corrected, while the Wisconsin copy differs from Douce S221 only in having the third sheet, the inner forme of gathering E, in a corrected state. The Huntington copy is largely made up of corrected sheets, only the outer forme of gatherings B, F and Q standing in an uncorrected state. In the copy held at St. John's College, Oxford, the inner forme of gathering K and the outer forme of gatherings K, L and Q are uncorrected (the outer forme of gathering M is indeterminate since the catchword has been trimmed). The outer forme of gatherings A, F and Q, and the inner forme of gathering E are uncorrected in the Harvard copy, and finally, the Folger copy has only four corrected sheets, the outer forme of gatherings B and K, and the inner forme of gatherings E and Q (the outer forme of gathering M is indeterminate since the page appears on microfilm to be damaged where the signature is printed on the corrected sheets). All press-corrections have been recorded in the collation line at the bottom of the appropriate page of text.

Modern Editions

This is the first critical edition of The Anatomie of Abuses undertaken this century. The earliest modern edition of the Abuses is a reprint of the text of O3 produced in 1836 under the superintendence of W.B.D.D. Turnbull in a limited issue of one hundred copies. A reprint of O1 was published in 1870 with an introduction by J.P. C[ollier] as part of *Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. 1*, while F.J. Furnivall's edition for The New Shakspeare Society, a text which is based on O1 but includes variants from the three later editions either within the main text or footnoted at the bottom of the page followed in 1877-9 and was reprinted in 1965 by Kraus Reprint Ltd. Two facsimile reprints of O1 were published in 1972. The first, a reproduction of Crynes 833 held at the Bodleian Library, was published by the Johnson Reprint Corporation with an introductory note by Peter Davison, and the second, a reproduction compiled from all four copies of O1 held at the Bodleian Library, was published as part of the English Experience Series (no. 489). Another facsimile of O1, this time prepared from the Huntington copy, was published for the Garland Press in 1973 with a short preface by Arthur Freeman.

The Process of Revision

Even a superficial perusal of the four versions of The Anatomie of Abuses makes it clear that each successive edition is heavily dependent on the versions printed previously. Stubbes added, cut and rephrased but his revisions always grew out of existing work. However, although one can therefore conclude that the first edition must have been printed from either authorial or scribal manuscript, and the second edition from a revised manuscript or printed copy of the first edition, the copy underlying the revised third and fourth editions is less immediately apparent. Despite the importance of the Abuses to English Renaissance studies, no full-length textual study of it has yet been undertaken. This chapter tracks the development of the book from its first publication in 1583 to its last in 1595 and from this evidence establishes the nature of the copy used in the printing-house for each of the revised editions.

When preparing the Abuses for press the third time, Stubbes had two different versions of the book on which he could base his revisions. What quickly emerges through comparison of the first three editions is that most of

the revisions that were made in the second edition also appear in the third.¹ Most importantly, O3 follows O2 in omitting the preface and in including a number of large blocks of text that did not appear in the Abuses until publication of the second edition? This fact in itself proves that O3 could not have been based on the first edition without at least recourse to O2, or the copy from which O2 was printed, to retrieve the passages not available in O1.³ The third edition also reproduces many small additions, substitutions and deletions found in the second edition but not in the first. For example, Spudeus's second speech on the first page of the first edition reads: 'I am glad to see you in good health, for it was bruted abroad euery where in our countrey (by reason of your discontinuance, I thinke) that you were dead, long agoe' (sig. B1). In the second edition, the words 'euery where' have been omitted and the words 'from thence' added after 'discontinuance' (sig. B3v). The third edition (sig. B3v) accepts these revisions and adds one more of its own. In the chapter on whoredom, there is a line in the first edition which reads: 'This filleth the land with such store of poore people' (sig. H5). In the second edition, Stubbes dropped the word 'people' and substituted in its place: 'Mendicantes, or to speake plainely, of Beggars as wee call them' (sig. 11). As in the previous example, the third edition, rather than reverting to the original reading, prints a revised version of the O2 reading: 'This filleth the lande with suche store of Mendicants, or to speak plainlyer, of Beggars as we call them' (sig. H7v). In the chapter on bear-baiting, Philoponus speaks of 'great mastiues and badogs' in O1 (sig. P2v), but only about 'greate Mastiues' in O2 and O3 (sigs. Q6 and Q2 respectively). There are also instances where sentences have been completely reworked for the second edition, and it is significant that it is always the revised reading that is reproduced in some form in O3. An example of this occurs when Spudeus speaks in favour of the use of perfume in O1: 'sweet smels are bothe corroboratiue to the sences and confortatiue to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body

1 Spelling and punctuation vary greatly from one edition to the next and a systematic study of these features does not produce an immediately meaningful pattern, alterations apparently introduced to maintain line justification or resulting from compositorial whim. Consequently, I will focus on substantive changes made to the text, and when citing examples from each edition, spelling and punctuation will only be treated as significant if they affect meaning.

2 The longest of these added passages are listed in the Bibliographical Analysis in the section entitled 'Relation of Editions' (p. 30).

3 The possibility that O2 may have been printed from the author's marked-up manuscript is discussed at p. 44.

as the minde' (sigs. F8v-G1). The second edition is revised to read: 'sweete smelles doe corroborate the sences, comfort the spirits, and recreate both the body & mynd of man greatly, doe thei not so' (sig. G3), and this exact phrasing is reprinted in O3 (sig. G1v). The same type of revision occurs in the chapter on Maygames, where Philoponus says in the first edition that, 'Against **May, Whitsonday** or other time, all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues, hils & mountains' (sig. M3v). In O2, this passage is revised and expanded to read: 'Against Maie, Whitsondaie, or some other tyme of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village, assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the Rilles and Mountaines, some to one place, some to an other' (sig. N8). The third edition repeats the version of the sentence found in O2. In the chapter on music, Philoponus draws a comparison between music and honey: 'it is very il for yung beds ... so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it self, for as honie and such like sweet things receiued into ye stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make the stomack so quasie, nice and weake, that it is not able to admit meat of hard digesture. So sweet Musick, at the first delighteth the eares' (O1, sig. O3v). For the printing of the second edition, Stubbes rewrote this sentence to read: 'it is very ill for yong heades ... muche like vnto Honey: for as Honey and suche other sweete Conserues receiued into the stomacke, doth delight at the first, but afterward maketh the stomacke quasie, and vnable to receiue meate of hard digesture. So sweete Musicke, at the first delighteth the eares' (sig. P7v). As in the previous examples, the third edition prints a revised version of the O2 reading.

Stubbes was in a similar position when he came to revise the Abuses for the final edition of 1595; presumably, he could have prepared any one of his three previous editions for publication of the fourth. However, Q1, while including the blocks of text first printed in O2 (thus, as in the third edition, making it impossible for O1 to have been the sole text underlying Q1) also reproduces or further revises the revisions that had been newly printed in the third edition. To take but a few examples from many, the phrases 'which they call **Mandilians**' (Q1, sig. E4v), 'in steed of a shooing-horne' (Q1, sig. M1v), and 'that is lent vs in this life' (Q1, sig. Q2) all appeared first in the third edition, and are reprinted in the fourth. The poem 'In Commendation of the AVTHOR and his Booke' by 'I.F.' was unchanged from the first to the second edition, but in O3 two revisions were introduced: the line 'Apparent to thy eye'

became 'Apparent to the eye,' and the line 'A Godlyer booke was neuer made' was changed to 'A Godlier Booke hath not beene made.' Q1 keeps both of these revisions, adding one more of its own. Near the beginning of the chapter on usury, there is a short passage in O1 and O2 which reads, 'for euery man to put awaie their wiues, that would, for euery light trifle. And yet the Iawes there' (O2, sig. L4v). The third edition made five revisions to these lines, all of which are found in Q1: 'for euery *one* to put away *his wife*, that would, for *any* light *offence*. And yet *thepositiu*e Iawes there' (Q1, sig. M4, italics added). Similarly, words and phrases found in O1 and O2, but taken out of O3, very rarely reappear in Q1.¹ Finally, it is worth noting that part of the opening sentence of the chapter describing the collapse of Paris Garden was rewritten for the third edition. The passage which reads, 'the People, Men, Women and Child&', both yong and olde, an infinite number, flocking to those infamous places' in O2 (sig. Q6v) was revised in O3 to, 'there resorted an infinite number of people men, women, and children, of each sort to those infamous places' (sig. Q2v). The final edition (sig. S3v) reprints this passage as it is found in the third.

Although Q1 contains many readings found in the first edition, and many revisions that were made for publication of the second, these readings and revisions always find their way into the last edition by way of O3. This can be demonstrated through reference to two examples, the first involving a passage in the chapter on facepainting, where arbitrary changes made in O3 to a revised passage in O2 are included in Q1. One of Spudeus's speeches in O1 was augmented by three sentences in O2. These added lines read,

And when thei haue doen all that thei can, and the cuningest
artist that euer liued besides, yet shal thei neuer be able to
make so splendent, so orient, and so naturall a colour, as dame
Nature hath giuen to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath
imprinted suche an excellent colour in the grasse of the feeld,
which to day is standing, and to morow is cut doune: how
muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the

■ for example, the phrases 'they know what I meane' (Q1, sig. G4v), 'there is scarcitie' (Q1, sig. M2), and 'male and female' (Q1, sig. 12v) read 'thei knowe *best* what I meane,' 'there is *greate* scarcitie,' and 'male and female *ofbothe kindes*' in O1 and O2 (O2, sigs. G3, L1, H4v, emphasis added). The few instances that can be found of words and phrases reappearing in Q1 after having been omitted from either the second or third editions are discussed later in this chapter.

excellentest creature of all others? Therefore ought euery one
to content himself with the shape that God hath giuen hym,
without sekynge of alteratio or change (sig. F3).

These lines are reprinted verbatim in O3, except for four insignificant alterations: 'herbes in the feeld' becomes 'hearbes of the field,' 'is standing' becomes 'standeth,' 'others?' reads 'other?' and 'the shape' is changed to 'that shape' (sig. F2). All four of these changes are picked up by Q1 (sig. F4), which makes one more of its own ('of alteratio' becomes 'for alteration'). None of the four changes made in O3 have an effect on the meaning of the passage, yet all of them are carried over into Q1. The second example is taken from the chapter on dancing where in the first two editions Spudeus makes the transfer into music by asking, 'What saie you of Musicke, is it not a laudable science?' (sigs. O3v, P7v) A compositorial error, however, is introduced in O3 and the line instead reads, 'What saie you ot Musicke, is it not a laudable science?' (sig. P4) Apparently, the compositor has made the easy mistake of setting a 't' in place of the 'f.' In the fourth edition it is clear that either Stubbes or a compositor has made sense of the O3 version without reference to an earlier version because instead of correcting the mistake that was made from O2 to O3, the 'o' and the 't' have been simply reversed: 'What say you to Musick, is it not a laudable science?' (sig. R3v) The line makes sense again, but it is not the same line that is found in either O1 or O2 and seems certainly to have been developed from the reading printed in the third edition.

Close examination of the four versions of The Anatomie of Abuses indicates that, with one exception which is discussed below, O3 and Q1 consistently reproduce the revisions made in the version of the book that had been last printed (O2 in the case of O3 and O3 in the case of Q1). If one hypothesises that the new revisions printed in O3 and Q1 were appended to any editions other than O2 and O3 respectively, then it becomes very difficult to explain how the huge number of revisions that had been newly printed in O2 and O3 find their way into O3 and Q1 respectively. As I have tried to indicate through the use of a number of examples taken from all over the book, the scale on which the text was revised for each edition precludes the possibility that Stubbes happened to make all of the same changes more than once. The least complicated and most likely explanation for this pattern of revision is that the third edition of the Abuses was largely based on a marked-up copy of O2, while the fourth edition was entirely based on a marked-up copy of O3.

Only once did Stubbes not base his revisions on the text that immediately preceded the edition he was preparing. Both the second and third editions print revised versions of the title-page and 'Epistle Dedicatorie'; however, unlike the pattern that is found in the rest of the book, where a revision made in O2 is picked up and built on in O3, the third edition in these two sections ignores most of the changes made in O2 and reverts to the readings found in O1, while making a number of completely different revisions of its own. The second edition makes twenty-eight revisions to O1 and the third edition makes fifty-six: only three of these revisions are common to O2 and O3, and each of these could have been made in O3 without reference to O2.¹ Clearly, the title-page and 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of O3 have been printed from a revised copy of O1, rather than from a revised copy of O2. One can only speculate why this would be the case. Maybe Stubbes initially considered the first edition of his *Abuses* the most authoritative, perhaps because it was the one closest to his original manuscript, but then quickly realised that, short of collating together the whole of O1 and O2, he would lose the revisions he made to the second edition, and therefore switched over to O2 as the base text for O3. Then again, more prosaically, perhaps for some reason he just did not have immediate access to a copy of these two sections from the second edition when he sat down to prepare the text for O3, and therefore used the version available from the first. Whatever Stubbes's motivation was for basing the title-page and 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of O3 on the versions found in O1, it did not affect his treatment either of the rest of the third edition, which was based on O2, or his treatment of Q1, which was based on O3.2

Working with the conclusion that each successive edition of *The Anatomie of Abuses* was printed from a marked-up copy of the edition immediately preceding it (the title-page and 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of O3 set aside), it emerges that the development of the *Abuses* from the first to the last edition was a process of slow, cumulative change, each revised edition building on revisions that had been made previously. To illustrate this, I

■ The three revisions to O1 common to both O2 and O3 are the substitution of 'consulting with himself' for 'aduysing himselfe' (O3, sig. A2), the printing of the word 'MICROCOSMOS' in Greek characters (O3, sig. A2), and the addition of the word 'this' in the phrase 'accept of this my poore contribution' (O3, sig. A2v).

2The Latin poem, 'Candido Lectori,' remained unchanged in the first three editions, and it is therefore impossible to determine whether it was a copy of O1 or O2 that was used in the setting of O3. The rest of the prefatory material in O3 preserves revisions made in O2.

would like to examine two sentences, both of which appear in all four editions of the Abuses. What I want to show is that Stubbes did not drastically rewrite either of these sentences at any point, but instead, slightly revised them in successive editions to create the final versions as they stand in Q1. The first appears in the chapter on 'Wakesses.' In O1 there is a line that reads 'For, these be the ends wherto these feastes, and wakesses doo tende' (sig. M7). O2 repeats the line, but adds the tag, 'as farre as euer I could iudge' (sig. O3v). O3 keeps the O2 reading, but substitutes 'learne' for 'iudge' (sig. N8v), and Q1 reprints the sentence as it stands in O3, augmenting it still further: 'For, these be the endes whereto these feastes, and Wakesses doe tend, as far as euer I could learne, & the best fruits that they bring foorth' (sig. Q1). The second example is taken from a passage in the opening chapter, in which Philoponus explains to Spudeus why he cannot ignore other people's sins. In the first edition of the Abuses this sentence reads, 'Which thinge in the balance of Christian charity, consideratly weighed, may moouue any good Man to mourn for their defection, and to assay, by all possible means, to reduce them home again, that their soules maie be saued in the daye of the Lord' (sig. B4). Although this is clearly the prototype of the version that appears in the final edition of 1595, the sentence undergoes thorough revision. O2 makes three changes to the original sentence: 'may moouue' becomes 'ought to moue,' the word 'Christian' is added before 'Man,' and the phrase 'by all possible means' is removed. The sentence now reads, 'which thyng in the baliice of Christian charitie, cosideratly weighed, ought to moue any good Christian man to mourne for their defection, and to assay to reduce them home again, that their soules maie be saued in the daie of the Lorde' (sigs. B6-B6v). Stubbes continues to tinker with this line in the third edition, and makes four more revisions. The words 'mooueth me, and' are inserted before 'ought to moue' and the words 'and to assay' are changed to 'assaying,' with the phrase 'by al meanes possible' placed immediately after. Although 'by al meanes possible' resembles the phrase revised out of O1 for printing of O2 ('by all possible means'), it is unlikely that the O1 reading influenced this later emendation. Instead, what I think has happened is that Stubbes has caught the phrase and its wording as it stands in O3 from an earlier line (compare lines 334-5 and 339-40 in the critical edition). Finally, the verb 'reduce' is strengthened by the addition of the words '& to bring.' Therefore, this sentence in O3 reads: 'Which thing in the balance of Christian charitie, consideratly weighed, mooueth me, and ought to moue any good Christian man to mourne for their defection, assaying by al meanes possible to reduce & to bring them home againe, that their soules may be saued in the day of the Lorde' (sig. B6).

When Stubbes comes to revise this sentence for the printing of Q1, he makes only one change: 'reclaime them' is substituted for 'reduce' (sig. B2v). Tracing in this way the changes made to two short passages in the Abuses from one edition to the next demonstrates the manner in which Stubbes tended to develop each new version of the book out of the version immediately preceding it.

Although Stubbes's revisions were nearly always based on the most recent version of the text available to him, it is possible - if unlikely - that instead of sending a printed copy of the book containing manuscript revisions to the printing house, Stubbes copied out a manuscript version of the whole book, complete with revisions, from which the new edition was to be printed. Furthermore, it is possible in the case of the second edition that his revisions were appended to the original manuscript, rather than to a printed copy of the first edition.¹ If either of these scenarios in fact occurred, then one would not expect to find printing errors made in one edition repeated in the next; it is significant, therefore, that although many of the printing errors made in one edition are caught and corrected for the next version, some are missed in each edition after the first.

I was able to find four errors in the original printed version of the text that were preserved in the second edition. The first occurs in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' and is an easily-made typographical error: 'infagitable' for 'infatigable' (sig. '1[3v). While it is possible that Stubbes could have transposed the 't' and the 'g' in his manuscript, this type of error is more commonly associated with a printing-house compositor who may not be familiar with the word or even following the sense of the passage being set. I would argue that the corruption of the word derives from the printing house rather than from any fault in Stubbes's manuscript and, therefore, that the repetition of the mistake in O2 is evidence that the second edition was set from an imperfectly-corrected printed copy of O1.

A second compositorial error made in the first edition can be found at sig. G6, where Philoponus describes how Antiochus was punished by God for pride: 'his belly brust and filthy wormes crawled out, moste lothsomly, and in fine, beganne so to stinke and swell, as neither his Seruants nor he himselve cold abide his owne sauoure.' The same reading is given in O2 (sig. G8), but in O3 'stinke and swell' is changed to 'stincke & smell' (sig. G6v). Although

¹ Given the extent to which the Abuses was reworked for each new edition, it is unrealistic even to speculate that the original MS could have been revised a second or third time and used in the printing-house after the publication of O2. Such a document would be illegible.

the reading given in the first two editions makes some sort of sense (if one assumes that rotting bodies bloat), the swelling is tangential to what Philoponus is describing; namely, Antiochus's disgusting odour. The reading found in O3 (which is picked up in Q1), on the other hand, reinforces through repetition. Moreover, the passage which Philoponus is discussing as it appears in the Geneva bible uses both of the words 'smell' and 'stink', but not 'swell.'¹ I believe this is another example of an easily-made compositorial error introduced during the printing of O1 (a 'w' put in place of an 'm,' perhaps as a result of foul case), which is carried over into the second edition because O2 was set from a printed copy of O1, rather than from the revised original manuscript or from an authorially transcribed copy of either the revised original MS or the revised first edition.

The last example of an error introduced in the printing of O1 carried over into the next edition is particularly interesting because it is carried over again from O2 to O3. It occurs in the section on women's clothing, when Philoponus describes how some parents not only give their daughters all the clothes they ask for, but also more besides (O1, sig. F7). The sidenote to this passage reads, 'Our remisse leuitie of Parents to their Children.' Clearly, 'leuitie' is a misprint for 'lenitie,' and this error is corrected in O2 (sig. G1v), which otherwise prints the sidenote exactly as it is found in the first edition. What is less immediately obvious is that 'Our' is also a misprint, and should read 'Ouer,' a mistake which I believe was overlooked when O2 was printed, since the passage as it stands in O1 sounds right. That it is a mistake is attested to both by the fact that it was eventually corrected to 'Ouer' in Q1 (sig. O4), and by the fact that this sidenote is supposed to paraphrase Spudeus's response to Philoponus's speech, but does so inaccurately: 'This ouer great lenitie, & remisse libertie in the educatio of youthe ... maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly pitie of them towards their children' (O1, sigs. F7-F7v). The mistake can perhaps be attributed to a simple misinterpretation of the author's manuscript on the part of the compositor. With no lexical distinction made at the time between the letters 'u' and 'v,' the compositor of O1 could have read 'ouer' in the manuscript and set it as 'our,' thinking that he was only imposing an alternative spelling, never considering that the word Stubbes had actually intended was 'over.' Although it is possible

12 Mace. 9:9-10: 'So that the wormes came out of the bodie of this wicked man in abundance: & whiles he was aliue, his flesh fell off for paine and torment: and all his annie was grieved at his smell. [The sidenote here reads 'Or, rottennesse.'] Thus no man could beare because of his stincke, him that a little afore thought he might reach to the starres of heauen.'

that the compositor setting O2 could have independently made this same error if the original manuscript were being used again in the printing-house, it is more likely that the mistake was unwittingly picked up from O1. Moreover, because the original manuscript almost certainly could not have been used a third time in the printing house, the repetition of this error in O3 is convincing evidence that O3 was set from the printed text of O2, rather than from an authorially transcribed copy of the printed text, for whereas it is quite possible that Stubbes could have overlooked this error when correcting and revising a printed copy of the second edition for publication of the third edition, if he had actually transcribed the text, the mistake would surely have become immediately obvious to him.

There are also at least three examples of errors first introduced into the second edition being carried over into later editions. The first occurs when Philoponus chooses not to cite further authorities against face-painting, saying, 'for **pauca sapienti**, To a wiseman few woords are sufficient' (O1, sig. F2). In all subsequent editions 'sapienti' is misprinted 'sapientia.' Later, in the chapter on gluttony, there is a sidenote in O1 (sig. I1v) which cites '1.Reg.2' as the source of the biblical story about the destruction of Eli and his sons, which in the second and all following editions is incorrectly printed as '3.Reg.2.' A third example of an error introduced into O2 is found in one of the sidenotes to the chapter on dancing which reads, 'A custome daunce in praise of God' (sig. P2). The sidenote in O1 reads, 'A custome to daunce in prayse of God' (sig. N6). It is possible that the sidenote as it stands in O2 can be interpreted to mean 'a customary dance' but it then has very little to do with the passage it accompanies: Philoponus is speaking not about a particular dance that was used at that time, but about how people commonly used to dance to express their thanks to God. O3, rather than correcting O2, picks up the mistake and further compounds the error by dropping the words 'in praise of thereby removing the sense of the sidenote even further from the text (sig. O6v). When O3 was revised for the printing of the last edition, this sidenote was omitted entirely, quite possibly because Stubbes realised it no longer made sense in its context.

There are also a number of instances in which the fourth edition reprints errors first made in the third edition. The first example is in the chapter on usury, where Spudeus observes in the second edition that 'if Usurie be not lawfull, by the Lawes of the Realme, then is it not lawfull by the Iawes of God' (sig. L5v). In the third edition (sig. L3), the word 'it' was dropped from the second half of the sentence, and this mistake is also found in Q1 (sig. M4v). The chance that Stubbes would not have caught this error while

incorporating his revisions into a transcription of the printed text of O3 is slight. Another mistake is found in the chapter on 'sanctifying the Sabbath.' While explaining the origins of the Sabbath to Spudeus, Philoponus says that after God had created the world in six days, he rested, and commanded that the seventh day should always be kept holy. Two thousand years later, God 'iterated this Commaundement, when he gaue the lawe in Mount Horeb to Moyses, and in hym to all the Children of Israeli, saiynge: Remeber (forget it not) that thou keepe holy the seuenth day, &c.' This is the reading given in O2 (sig. M7v). However, O3 prints, ' ... and in him to call the Children of Israeli ... ' (sig. M4v). This is one of those insidious misprints that actually appear to make sense until they are examined closely: the meaning of this sentence is not that God told Moses to 'call' to the children of Israel to hear his commandment, but that God gave his law to Moses, and through Moses, to all of the children of Israel. The substitution of 'call' for 'all' is an error, and it is an error that finds its way into Q1 (sig. 02) by way of the printed text of O3. A third error of transmission found first in O3 and then later in Q1 is a misassigned speech prefix near the end of the book. In the third edition, Spudeus is given three speeches in a row, and it is apparent from the context that the second of them belongs to Philoponus (sigs. Q4v-R1 v). The same mistake is found at the equivalent place in Q1 at signatures T3-T3v. It is surprising that such a careless error was not caught before the printing of the last edition, but this oversight may perhaps be attributed to the length of the book.

The reappearance of printing errors in the last three editions of the *Abuses* leads to the conclusion that O2, O3 and Q1 were set from marked-up printed copies of O1, O2 and O3 respectively. This finding is consistent with what we know of contemporary printing-house practices.¹ However, it is possible that during the process of revision, Stubbes occasionally, or even consistently, consulted either his manuscript or editions other than the one most recently printed. If this were the case, then O1 readings not found in O2 could sometimes appear in O3, and similarly, O1 and O2 readings not found

¹J.K. Moore discusses the use of printed editions as printer's copy, saying that 'Authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would annotate a printed copy of their work to serve as printer's copy for the next corrected edition ... [This was] felt to be preferable to rewriting the work and incorporating the changes. Despite the cramped pages that resulted, the printer may have asked for the annotated copy because the ease of working from type would have compensated for slowness in setting manuscript additions and because a corrected copy also eliminated decisions about design' (31).

in O3 could sometimes be found in Q1. It is difficult to be absolutely certain of completeness with a book the size of the Abuses, but to begin with the third edition, I have found that sixteen readings in O1, that were subsequently dropped in O2, reappear in O3. Although this figure may initially appear significant, it represents a tiny proportion of the total revisions made to O3, and moreover, all of the sixteen revisions could have been made in O3 without reference to O1 or the manuscript, especially since the corrector/author presumably had a disposition to his own original readings. What has often happened, is that O2 made a poor substitution for a word in O1, which is simply replaced in O3 with a better reading that happens to be the reading given in the first edition. For example, in the chapter on pride in the first edition, Philoponus compares pride of heart to 'the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman' (sig. B6v). In O2, this reading is changed to 'a polluted clothe, of a menstruous woman' (sig. B8v), but is changed back in O3 (sig. B8). The O1 and O3 reading is less generalised than the one given in O2, and therefore, is the more powerful image. Likewise, in the chapter on women's clothing, Spudeus comments in O1 that only people 'drunke with Cyrces cups, or poysoned with the exorcisins [sic] of Medea' would behave like the English (sig. F5v). In the second edition, Spudeus refers to the 'exorcisme of Medea' (sig. F8), but the plural form is reinstated in the third edition (sig. F6v). Again, the form the word takes in O1 and O3 is arguably preferable, because it is both more accurate (the sorceress had many spells she could cast, not just one) and rhetorically more effective as the plural form balances 'Cyrces cups.' Another example can be found in O1 in the chapter on dancing where Philoponus speculates that dancing may have been invented by the pagans who danced while offering 'sacrifices victimats and holocaustes to their false Gods' (sig. O2v). Although this is the reading given in the third edition (sig. P3v), O2 dropped the word 'victimats' (sig. P7). Three examples are rhetorically more effective than two, and it is not surprising that Stubbes would have felt that the O2 version sounded incomplete when he revised it for the third edition. That he chose exactly the same word found in O1 is also not surprising since this particular combination of words was one Stubbes had used before: in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of the first three editions Stubbes tells the reader that God commanded Moses to build a tabernacle that therein 'his !awe might be read, his Ceremonies practised, Sacrifices, Victimates & Holocaustes offred, and his glorious Name called vppon and obeyed' (O1, sig. !J{2v).

Sometimes Stubbes makes an indifferent revision in O2 that is reversed in O3. For example, in the chapter on church-ales, Spudeus asks in

O1 and O3 if it were not better that 'euery one contributed somewhat according to his abilitie' (sigs. M5v, N7). In O2, however, 'contribute' is substituted for 'contributed' (sig. O2v). The verb form has little substantive impact on the meaning of the sentence, yet it was changed twice. Similarly, in the chapter on dancing in O1 and O3, Philoponus quotes 'Theophilus' (i.e., Theophylact) saying, 'This is a wonderful deceit' (sigs. O1-O1v, P2), but in O2 this line reads, 'There is a wonderfull deceite' (sig. P5v). Again, Stubbes made an indifferent revision twice, the second time returning to the original reading. These examples, however, do not necessarily imply that Stubbes was aware when he was revising O2 for O3 that he was returning to the original reading of O1. In fact, I suspect that this event was coincidental: Stubbes made hundreds of revisions to his book every time a new edition came out after O1, and it is reasonable to expect that in a few instances the author would happen to reverse an earlier indifferent revision. Returning to the church-ales chapter, for example, Philoponus states in O1 that the parishioners buy the ale until they are 'as drunke as Apes' (sig. M5). In O2, Stubbes changes his simile to 'as dronke as Rattes' (sig. O1v), and this reading is kept in O3 (sig. N6), but in Q1, Stubbes revises his simile again to read 'as drunke as Swine' (sig. P3v). All of these versions are equally good, none of them change the meaning of the sentence, and Q1 clearly was revised independently of O1. However, because these revisions are completely indifferent, there is no reason why Stubbes could not have emended 'Rattes' in O3 back to 'Apes' in Q1 without recourse to O1 or his manuscript. But because he happened to choose a third alternative, this passage is not singled out as a possible instance of Stubbes consulting an early version for a revision found in a later edition. Although this illustration is taken from the fourth, rather than the third, edition, the principle is the same in both texts and I would argue that my two earlier examples of indifferent O1 readings not found in O2, but showing up in O3, are no more significant than this 'Apes/Rattes/ Swine' example.

Similar cases can be found in the printed text of Q1, where readings found in O1 and O2, but not in O3, tum up in the last edition. Again, this cannot claim to be a complete list, but I was able to find nineteen readings dropped from O1, and eight readings dropped from O2, that reappear in Q1. All of the examples of readings dropped after the second edition could easily have been added to Q1 without reference to O2, O1 or the manuscript. One reading, however, needs some discussion and this is the inclusion of a sidenote in Q1 that is missing from O3. Although this sidenote is found in O1 and O2, the passage to which it is attached occurs at a page-break in O3, perhaps explaining how it could have been unintentionally omitted. However,

rather than having checked the reading of this missing sidenote in his manuscript or in a copy of O1 or O2, it is just as likely that Stubbes, while revising O3, simply noted its absence and put it back in according to the prevailing pattern found on the page. The first five sidenotes in O3 on sig. L5v read: 'An Vsurer worse then a Iewe,' 'An Vsurer worse then Iudas,' 'Vsurers worse then Hell,' 'An Vsurer worse then death,' and 'An Vsurer worse then the Deuill.' The sentence to which the missing sidenote corresponds opens with the words, 'An Vsurer is worse then a Theefe' (sig. L5). Not only is it obvious that the sidenote is missing, but an obvious wording for it is also available, and not surprisingly, this is the wording that appears in Q1: 'An Vsurer worse then a theefe' (sig. Nl v).

None of the readings dropped after O1 which reappear in Q1 provides convincing evidence that Stubbes revised O3 for the printing of Q1 with one eye on the first edition or manuscript. Three instances involve Greek words that were printed in roman type in O1 and Q1, but in Greek type in O2 and O3: a formatting decision affecting the whole book which could easily have been reversed for the printing of Q1 without reference to an earlier version. Another four examples involve a word or words added in Q1 that had been revised out of O1, but in each case, the word(s) either pad out or add emphasis to the line: 'all other euils' rather than 'all euilles,' 'demonstrate and shew forth' rather than 'demonstrate,' 'describe vnto me more particularly' instead of 'describe vnto me particularly' and 'strawe the ground rounde about' instead of 'strawe the grounde aboute.' Rather than say that Stubbes has picked up the O1 readings, it would be more accurate to say that in the fourth edition, Stubbes has happened to have expressed himself the same way in these particular instances as he did in the first. There are also a few instances where Stubbes substituted one synonym for another in O2, and made the same substitution in reverse in Q1. I was able to find this happening six times, and in a book the size of the Abuses, and with an author who revised his work as thoroughly as Stubbes, this is not a significant occurrence.¹

¹•Euer commorante or abiding' in O1 becomes 'euer commorante' in O2 and O3, but 'euer abiding' in Q1; 'sinne of presumpti6' in O1 and Q1 reads 'sinne in presumption' in O2 and O3; 'effeminat condition' in O1 and Q1 reads 'effeminacie of condition' in O2 and O3; 'recount' in O1 becomes 'expresse' in O2 and O3, and 'recompt' in Q1; 'for now adaies' in O1 and Q1 reads 'And now a daies' in O2 and O3; and 'sweet thinges' in O1 and Q1 reads 'sweet Conserues' in O2 and O3. There is one other example of a substitution made in O2 being reversed in Q1 that is interesting because it shows that although the Q1 text prints what is essentially an O1 reading, the Q1 version clearly derives from O3: the word 'gaily-hose' in O1

There are only two instances that I feel need any discussion. The first involves a substitution Stubbes made in a Latin passage in the second edition which was later reversed in Q1. The passage which Stubbes translates as, 'From the mouth outward, they may be saide to be good Christians, but in life and maners, farre worser then the Heathen or Pagans' is found at the very beginning of the chapter on dancing (Q1, sig. Q1v). The Latin version of the second half of this sentence reads in O1: 'But [sic] **vita & moribus Ethnicis, & paganis peiores reperietur**' (sig. M7v). In O2 'inueniantur' is substituted for 'reperietur,' and O3 picks up the O2 reading (sigs. 04v, 01). The verbs 'invenire' and 'reperire' are synonyms, but whereas Stubbes uses the future tense in O1 (literally, 'they will be found to be worse') he uses the subjunctive tense in O2 and O3 ('they may be found to be worse'). When Stubbes came to revise O3 for Q1, he may simply have wanted to express himself in Latin in a more forceful way, and therefore chose 'reperientur' in place of O3's 'inueniantur.' Moreover, this particular revision was only part of a larger revision made to the third edition, as he at the same time revised the previous word, substituting the synonym 'deteriores' for 'peiores.' Rather than returning to the O1 or manuscript reading, Stubbes seems to be completely rethinking the sentence as he finds it in O3. That all of these substitutions are ultimately insignificant, is attested to by the fact that they have no effect whatsoever on the English translation. The second example is of a phrase revised out of O1 that reappears in Q1. At the very beginning of the book in the first edition, Spudeus tells Philoponus not to worry about the men in England 'for they are such, as the Lord hath cast of into a reprobate sence, & preiudicat opinion, & preordinat to destruction' (sigs. B3v-B4). In the second edition, the words 'reprobate sence, &' are dropped: 'for ... they are suche, as the Lord hath cast of into a preiudicat opinion, and preordinate to destruction' (sig. B6). This is also the version picked up by O3 (sigs. B5v-B6). In the fourth edition, however, 'reprobate sence' is substituted in place of 'preiudicat opinion' (sig. B2v). It at first seems unlikely that Stubbes could have happened to have made this substitution without reference to the first edition or manuscript since 'reprobate sence' is not a necessary or obvious synonym for 'preiudicat opinion.' However, these two expressions in the context of the

was replaced with 'Gallie' in O2 and O3, which was in turn replaced with 'Gallie hosen' in Q1. Although the Q1 reading may initially seem to resemble more closely that given in O1, the form it takes in the last edition- the spelling and capitalisation of the first word, and the lack of a hyphen between the two words - suggests rather that Q1 was developed from O3 independently of O1.

idea of the Lord 'casting off' sinners seem to have been coupled in Stubbes's mind since he repeats the phrase 'the Lord hath cast off into a reprobate sence' a few pages later in the same chapter, a phrase which is found in the last three editions (sigs. C8v, C8, C4v). Moreover, in the fourth edition, at this later point in the text, Stubbes adds the words 'and preiudicate opinion.' Although for a modern reader this language may sound unfamiliar, and it therefore may seem unlikely that Stubbes could have happened to return to the same expression years later without reference to the first edition or original manuscript, Stubbes's repeated use of these same expressions in a similar context later in the book indicates that for him, they formed part of his usual vocabulary and were interchangeable.

Moreover, at least two revisions made to the book in successive editions suggest very strongly that Stubbes did not consult versions of the text printed before the one which he was currently revising. The first is found in the chapter on whoredom, where Philoponus describes sexual behaviour in the animal world. Philoponus claims in the first edition that once birds have found a partner, they 'wil neuer after ioyne them selues wt any other, til the one be dissolved fro the other by death' (sig. H1). Stubbes decided to change this line for the second edition by adding the word 'thei' at the beginning, and dropping the word 'after' (sig. H5). In the third edition the word 'after' is replaced, but not, however, in the same position as it was found in O1: 'they wil neuer ioyne th'eselues after with any other, til the one bee dissolved from the other by death' (sig. H3v). The re-placement of 'after' can mean one of two things: either Stubbes saw the O1 version and preferred the line with 'after' reinstated in a different position, or he saw only the O2 version, decided that the word 'after' was needed, and placed it following the words 'them selues,' which just happens to read differently from O1. It is important to consider that the particular placement of the word 'after' in O1 and O3 has no substantive effect on the line. If Stubbes decided to reverse an earlier revision, and was revising the whole of O2 with an eye on an earlier version, there would be no reason for him to take the trouble not simply to replace 'after' in his marked-up copy of O2 where he finds it in O1. I would argue that 'after' happens to appear where it does in O3 because Stubbes is unaware of where it appeared in O1. The second example involves a passage that has already been considered at some length: the sidenote in the chapter on dancing that is corrupted in O2, further corrupted in O3 in an attempt to correct the reading, and finally deleted from Q1 altogether. The error made in O2 is unintentional, as the omission of 'to' from the line 'A custome to daunce in prayse of God' (O1, sig. N6) makes nonsense of the sidenote, as has been

demonstrated. However, instead of simply looking up the sidenote in the first edition or manuscript and making the necessary correction, Stubbes tries to correct the compositorial error by making sense of the passage as it presents itself before him in the edition he is currently revising. Stubbes saw that there was a problem with this sidenote as it was printed in O2 and tried to correct it; the fact that he only made the mistake worse is strong evidence against the hypothesis that he had a copy of an earlier version on hand and used it while revising either O3 or Q1.

What emerges from detailed study of the four versions of the text is that O2, Q1 and most of O3 were printed from marked-up printed copies of the edition most recently published. That each of the revised editions was set from a printed text explains how printing errors introduced in one version could be carried over into later versions; Stubbes simply failed to catch these mistakes while he was revising the copy. Inferring that Stubbes chose not to consult his manuscript or versions of the text printed before the one he was currently revising explains why there are so few instances where one finds previously-abandoned readings in a later edition and why the author was sometimes unable to correct compositorial errors made in an earlier edition. Barring the anomalous use of the first edition's title-page and 'Epistle Dedicatorie' as copy for the revised third edition, Stubbes's working attitude towards his text was that a new, revised edition made obsolete any version that preceded it.

Genre and Sources

It is extremely difficult to classify the Abuses as a piece of writing since the book draws on a variety of literary traditions without being wholly representative of any one of them. Stubbes calls it an 'anatomy,' a genre of writing which Devon Hodges describes in Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy as a sixteenth-century 'fad' (1), and undoubtedly, the urge to dissect and catalogue abuses in an effort to address and thereby cure the moral failings of the English provides a strong organising influence on the work. 'You haue borne me in hande of many and grieuous abuses, raining in **England,**' Spudeus comments after listening to Philoponus's opening disquisition on pride, 'but nowe setting apart these impertinent and superfluous vagaries, I pray you describe vnto me more particularly, the sundrie abuses of apparell there vsed, running ouer by degrees, the whole state thereof, that I may see, as it were, the perfect anatomie of that Nation in apparell, which thing I greatly desire to know' (1094-1100). The dialogue up to this point, one senses, has

been little more than an extended introduction to the real topic of discussion which is about to follow; only with Spudeus's demand for exhaustive detail, for a 'perfect anatomie,' does Stubbes finally get down to the business at hand.

This self-proclaimed anatomy shades in a number of places, however, into a style of writing which approaches modern journalism. Reports, for example, of the collapse of Paris garden on 13 January 1583, or of the shocking and mysterious deaths in the same year of two adulterers in London are scattered throughout the Abuses as evidence of God's wrath towards those who flout his power. Advertised on the title-page of each of the four editions, these news stories were clearly expected to draw customers and boost sales. According to Sandra Clark, popular moralistic pamphleteers regularly seized upon this sort of topical material as illustrative of God's 'providential control of human affairs and his careful and constant warning of the inevitable consequences of sinful living' (89). But yet other features of the book such as the chance encounter between the world traveller and a local inhabitant, the dialogue format, the discussion of the peculiar manners of a remote land, and (at least in the first three editions) the spelling of proper names such as 'London' and 'Congleton' in reverse and often in Latin (i.e., 'Munidnol' and 'Notelgnoc') are strongly reminiscent of utopian literature. ■ The Abuses, however, differs significantly from a more typical piece of utopian writing such as Thomas Lupton's Siuqila. Too Good. to be True (1580) in that instead of recounting a visit to an idealised and imaginary land of 'Nowhere' where the traveller is shown around by a local guide, Philoponus, the author's mouthpiece, assumes the powerful role of both traveller and guide, introducing his fellow countryman to the corrupt and immoral customs practised in the far-away country of England (known as 'Ailgna' prior to the fourth edition). Thus, instead of positing the merits of what might be, Stubbes berates the wickedness of what is.

The genre on which the Abuses seems most closely patterned, however, is the complaint literature of the late sixteenth century. Related to satire, complaint is set apart perhaps most importantly by its earnest desire to incite readers to repentance and amendment of life.² This proselytising bent is apparent throughout the Abuses. Not interested simply to amuse his readers

¹The characteristic features of utopian literature are analysed by Northrop Frye in 'Varieties of Literary Utopias.'

²A much fuller discussion of the differences between satire and complaint and the difficulties involved in distinguishing between the two is found in the opening chapter of *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* by John Peter.

with sharply ironic portrayals of human foibles, Stubbes instead mounts a broad attack on English behaviour and attitudes with the overt intention of swaying all who pick up a copy of his book from wickedness and pride (this goal is most clearly expressed in Philoponus's speech at 325-57 in which he justifies the project of exposing to view the faults of one's 'brethren and sisters in the Lord'). Social commentary thus acts as the vehicle through which the author disseminates his particular brand of moral and religious ideology. Tracing the development of complaint literature from the Middle Ages, John Peter concludes that '[t]he mode persisted throughout the sixteenth century, and beyond it, and the familiar themes come up again and again ... the Puritans particularly, are obviously in their element and quite ready to outdo their predecessors in severity. Such is Stubbes, the stem critic of any touch of vanity, who cites with apparent satisfaction the case of a philosopher who spat in a king's face "to withdraw the king from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine glistening shewe, either of apparell or any thing els." Here certainly, whatever else we may feel, we cannot complain that tile old moral rigour has grown flabby' (104-5). Significantly, when Stubbes decides to supplement his own work with other writers' material it is almost always contemporary complaints addressing some specific feature or features of English society to which he turns. The extent of his dependence on certain polemical pamphlets, as well as his use of source-texts in general, is worth further discussion for the light it sheds on his manner of composition.

In his dedicatory letter to the fourth edition, Stubbes writes that he 'collected' his book 'with paines & good will ... for the benefit of [his] cuntry, the pleasure of the godly, and amendment of the wicked' (121-3). As he apparently had no qualms about incorporating the work of other writers into his own material, his choice of verb is apt. Annotating The Anatomie of Abuses has been in places also to provide a commentary to passages from a range of Elizabethan pamphlets antedating Stubbes's book, most notably, A Treatise wherein Dicing. Dauncing. Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes &c ... are reprobued (c. 1577) by John Northbrooke and Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions (c. 1582) by Stephen Gosson. An awareness of the author's manner of composition is not new, Jean Howard, for example, noting in her study of antitheatrical texts that Stubbes 'steals great pieces of Gosson's tract' (*Stage and Social Struggle*, 40). But plagiarism in the Abuses is by no means limited to Stubbes's work on stage-plays, and the purpose of the rest of this chapter is to identify those passages which are most heavily derivative of other writers and to describe the manner in which the author adapts his source-texts to his own purposes.

The largest category of borrowing found in the *Abuses* consists of citations from the classics, the patristics, and the writings of contemporary Church leaders. Learned quotations which Stubbes seems to have introduced himself are mostly limited to instances of proverbial wisdom, extracts from the Vulgate, and sententiae gleaned from such classical authors as Horace, Ovid and Vergil who were commonly read at grammar school. These latter passages, whether quoted in Latin and English or only in English, are scattered throughout the *Abuses* presumably in order to lend the author's opinions an added authority, the inference being that his views on a particular subject are not merely personal, but a matter of common knowledge. ■ Where possible I have tried to provide a reference for each of these sayings in the commentary, but, as Walter Ong comments, original sources for commonplace material, passed on through an oral tradition from one generation to another, are often not available: 'In this morass of commonly shared mnemonically structured knowledge there is no footing for anyone seeking an answer to the question, "Who first said ... ?" Everybody is quoting everybody else, and has been for tens of thousands of years before the written records began, on purpose and with a feeling of achievement' (102). In these instances, I have instead made an effort to demonstrate the proverbial status of the saying through reference to scholarly collections of proverbs.²

But the lengthier references to such authorities as John Chrysostom (Church Father, c.347-407), Alexander Severus (Roman Emperor 222-35 A.D.), Tirus Maximus (Greek rhetorician and philosopher, second century A.D.), and Lodovicus Vives (Spanish scholar, 1492-1540), cited explicitly as corroboration for Stubbes's own views, were for the most part lifted from intermediary texts.³ Consequently, although such prompting is not always

¹Compare, for example, the Latin quotation from Vergil's *Eclogues* in the sidenote to 1726-8, the proverbial saying at 400-2 which derives originally from the apocryphal book of Sirach (also known as Ecclesiasticus), and the allusions to Horace and Ovid at lines 2614-7 and 3963-6.

²In English these include M.P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, and R.W. Dent, *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare. 1495-1616: An Index*, while for the purposes of tracing proverbs in Latin I have mainly relied on A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. and Hans Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*.

³The only authorities cited in the *Abuses* which I have not been able to trace to contemporary secondary sources are the words of St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose on facepainting (1558-1628). St. Augustine, however, cites all but one of these quotations as examples of the majestic style

necessary, interest expressed by Spudeus in the judgements of 'Fathers and Councelies' (4916) or in the opinions of 'good men from the beginning' (4091-2) invariably signals a transition from original to plagiarised work. The text to which Stubbes turned most frequently for such erudition is John Northbrooke's *Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes &c ... are reproofed*.

Northbrooke's *Treatise*, like the *Abuses*, is written 'dialogue-wise' between two people who happen to meet in the road; whereas Stubbes gives his speakers Greek names which translate into English as 'hard worker' and 'earnest student,' Northbrooke calls his speakers simply 'Age' and 'Youth.'¹ As the title of the *Treatise* suggests, Stubbes and Northbrooke address a number of the same issues and it is in those chapters that the parallels between the two books are most obvious. Stubbes's method, for example, of refuting Scriptural support for dancing by having the evidence voiced by Spudeus and examined and subsequently discredited by the more knowledgeable Philoponus is a technique picked up from Northbrooke (compare lines 4586-619 and pages 147-9). Likewise, the laws cited against gaming at 5230-77 and the holy and secular decrees against dancing at 4922-78 were all first printed in the *Treatise* (119, 130-7, 157-72). The arguments presented in opposition to the theatres at lines 4073-148, on the other hand, were cobbled together from extracts copied out of both the *Treatise* and Gosson's *Playes Confuted*.²

The extent of Stubbes's borrowing from *Playes Confuted* is almost entirely limited to this single chapter on stage-plays and interludes. The one exception to this is a sentence inserted in the chapter on women's apparel entitled 'Doublets for Women in England,' where Stubbes modifies Gosson's attack on the crossdressed boy actor to apply it to the crossdressed woman in the streets of London: 'Our apparell was giuen as a signe distinctiue, to discerne betwixt sexe and sexe, and therefore one to weare the apparell of

of speech in his treatise *On Christian Doctrine* (Book 4, chapter 21), a fact which suggests that Stubbes even in this instance may not have read the primary texts; sources for these passages are discussed further in the commentary in the notes to 1558-64 and 1609-16.

■ There seems a strong possibility that the conversational format was suggested to Stubbes by the *Treatise*, but as this device was used in a number of other prose works from the period including Thomas Lupton's *Siugila. Too good. to be true* (1580) and Christopher Fetherston's *Dialogue agaynst light. lewde. and lasciuious dauncing* (1582) this resemblance may be only coincidental.

²Precise verbal similarities between the *Abuses* and its source-texts are explored at length in the commentary and will not for the most part be repeated here.

another sexe, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde' (1859-62).¹ Oddly enough, although Stubbes inveighs at length against the theatres much later in the book, he fails to return to the issue of crossdressing, making no mention of the boy actors. This omission is surprising in itself, but especially so given that he found Gosson's views on the subject memorable enough to adapt to the issue of women in men's clothing. It seems fair to infer, however, that Stubbes would have been as hostile to transvestism on the popular stage as he was to it on the streets.

The influence of another work by each of these same two authors can also be traced. Gosson's first antitheatrical pamphlet, *The School of Abuse* (1579), provided a few examples from the classics against music at 5034-46, while testimonies against usury printed in Northbrooke's *The poore mans garden* (1571) were neatly slotted into Stubbes's discussion of the same topic at 3631-41. Northbrooke's text further suggested the series of comparative statements which begins, 'An Vsurer is worse then a Theefe' (3610-30). The inclusion of the words of St. Ambrose at 3631-2 demonstrates that Stubbes must have been working from one of the later editions of *The poore mans garden*, as this quotation was not printed as part of the book before the third edition of about 1575.

The classical authorities cited in the opening chapter on pride (967-91) were taken from the *Homily against Excess of Apparel* (Sermons, 331-3), Stubbes adapting his source only slightly by making some of the examples, which in the sermon are specific to women, pertain to both sexes. I have noted in the commentary a number of further similarities between this homily and the *Abuses*, but there are two sentences in particular which Stubbes lifted nearly verbatim: the first, at 940-5, darkly threatens what would happen if people were compelled to wear apparel according to their degree, while the second, at 1077-89, is an ironic list of the store of outfits required for one to be considered fashionably dressed (compare *Sermons*, 326-7). While passages from the *Book of Common Prayer* and other Church homilies were not incorporated into the *Abuses* to quite the same extent, the influence of these works can nonetheless also be discerned. The explanation of animals' disobedience to humans at 5406-17, for example, can be traced back to a sentence printed at the beginning of the *Homily against Disobedience and*

■ The parallel sentence from Gosson's text reads, 'garments are set downe for signes distinctiue betwene sexe & sexe, to take vnto vs those garments that are manifest signes of another sexe, is to falsifie, forge, and adulterate, contrarie to the expresse rule of the worde of God' (sig. E3v).

wilful Rebellion (Sermons, 587), while the purposes of matrimony which are set out at 2431-42 form part of the traditional wedding ceremony (BCP, 290-1, 296). Likewise, the paragraph describing the punishments of whoredom amongst the heathen (2475-85) may have been developed from a similar but more detailed account printed in the Homily against Whoredom (Sermons, 137). This list is by no means exhaustive, but all such influences on individual passages have been noted and discussed in the commentary as they arise.

Because Stubbes for the most part had not read, but only read about, the classical and patristic authorities he cited in support of his views, he was prone both to misunderstand and thus misquote his secondary sources and to reproduce their errors.¹ At lines 3636-8, for example, Philoponus alludes to the 'sharpe Iawes against Vsurie' passed by 'Claudius Vespasianus' and 'Alexander Seuerus,' apparently unaware that Claudius I and Titus Flavius Vespasian were in fact two different Roman emperors. This is a careless misrepresentation of *The poore mans garden* which reads, 'Claudius, and after him Vespasian, and after him Alexader Seuerus, made sharpe Iawes against vsurers, which were put in execution with all diligence, and seueritie' (sig. LL6). In the chapter on dancing Stubbes again seriously misquotes his source-text - in this instance the *Treatise* - by failing to distinguish a law passed by Justinian concerning the due observance of holidays from Northbrooke's specific application of this law to dancing, paraphrasing the whole passage as printed in the *Treatise* as if it were taken directly from the Code: 'The Emperour Justinian decreed, that for no respect in feastes or assemblies, there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the beholders, and inticing men to sinne' (4976-8). His lack of familiarity with the primary texts and inability to recognise and correct mistakes printed in his immediate sources is a problem at such places as 4962-4, where Stubbes accurately reproduces Northbrooke's summary of Marlorat's supposed views on dancing, but remains ignorant of the fact that Marlorat is himself quoting Calvin.

Stubbes's single most important source-text, however, and one about which he had a great deal of direct knowledge, was the Bible. Although the influence of the Bible on the language and imagery of the Abuses is pervasive, I want to focus in particular in this chapter on the author's habit of drawing on biblical testimony in order to support his attack on modern abuses. As in the

■ The manner in which I have dealt with such errors in the critical edition is outlined in the discussion of Editorial Procedures (p. 92).

passages which incorporate the writing of such authors as Gosson and Northbrooke, Stubbes's use of biblical authority tends to follow a certain recognisable pattern. The chapters on whoredom, drunkenness and covetousness, for example, begin with a debate as to whether or not each of these features of contemporary English society should be considered an abuse. In each instance Spudeus half-heartedly attempts a brief defence before being quickly swayed to Philoponus's reasoning, in the end requesting his travelling companion to show him 'out of the word of God, wher this so detestable a vice is reprooued' (3344-5, see also 2971-4 and 2486-8). This evidence is then followed by examples from the Bible of people who were punished for these faults. Sometimes one or the other half of this basic formula will be left out: in the chapters on pride and gluttony, for example, only lists of punishments are rehearsed, whereas in the material on usury, the reader is provided with only the words of God against the practice.¹ The essential point, however, is that Stubbes collects material out of the Bible in the same manner as he borrows material from contemporary writers; the effect in both cases is to overwhelm the reader with classical, patristic or biblical testimony.

Although Stubbes does not commonly misquote the Bible out of ignorance, he does at times stretch his interpretation of a passage in order to make it better suit his argument. In his discussion of punishments of whoredom, for example, Philoponus states that Judah 'vnderstanding that his daughter in Lawe was **impregnate**, and great with childe, and not knowing by whome, commaunded that she should be burned, without any further delay' (2546-9). What Stubbes neglects to mention is that Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law, was in fact pregnant with Judah's child. Far from being burned, Tamar is in the end justified, Judah acknowledging that she 'is more righteous then I: for *she hath done it* because I gaue her not to Shelah my sonne' (Gen.xxxviii. 26). Similarly, in the chapter on gluttony, Philoponus implies that Balthazar's kingdom was taken from him solely as a result of his sumptuous banqueting, when in fact the Lord was angered by the King's idolatry and pride in eating and drinking from the temple vessels (compare 2836-40 and Dan.v.22-3). At 2773-6, Philoponus establishes the worthiness of 'godly hospitality' by naming hosts from the Bible who have 'receiued Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by using the same,' citing Tobias as the last of his three examples.

¹The one major exception to this pattern is found in the chapter on dancing where Philoponus refutes biblical evidence cited by Spudeus in support of the activity; as discussed above, the particular format of this chapter was probably suggested to Stubbes by Northbrooke's Treatise.

A quick look at the apocryphal book of Tobit, however, reveals that the angel Raphael was not entertained by Tobias in his home but rather employed as a guide to Media; this example was presumably included simply because it represents another unwitting encounter with an angel.

Biblical and classical authority in the *Abuses* is often set alongside News of the World or National Enquirer type news events which are intended to demonstrate, as noted earlier, the just judgement of the Lord on unrepentant sinners. Some of them are along the lines of the supposedly true account of the drunkards in Germany who, on the 8 of February 1578, were served alcohol during the time of church services by the devil himself, while others are more general tokens of the Lord's wrath such as blazing stars, monstrous births, and wheat falling from the sky. Most of these tales either cannot be traced at all, Stubbes's immediate sources for them having long since disappeared, or else they surface in so many extant pamphlets and chronicle histories that it is impossible to identify which - if any - the author read. It seems likely that in many instances these reports circulated London and even the country through ballads and word of mouth. Sources for two or three of them, however, can be suggested with some confidence. The story about the Jew who chose to die rather than be rescued from a privy on the Sabbath, cited at 3997-4005 as an extreme example of the due observance of the day of rest, was probably taken from the chronicle histories of either Stow or Holinshed.¹ Verbal parallels, on the other hand, between the account of the collapse of Paris Garden found in the *Abuses* and that given in A godly exhortation by John Field (January, 1583) strongly suggest that Stubbes based his report on Field's pamphlet.² The author also borrowed material from his own work, the

¹The inclusion of the words of the Earl of Gloucester in Holinshed's Chronicles, 'christians should doo as much reuerence [as he] to their sabboth which is sundaie' (254), makes explicit the relevance of this incident to Stubbes's discussion of sanctifying the Sabbath. The otherwise almost identical phrasing printed in each chronicle history, however, means that it is impossible to determine which book was drawn on by the author; as John Stow was one of the contributors to the 1577 edition of Holinshed's Chronicles it seems likely that he wrote both versions (Patterson, 3).

²Field, for example, describes the spectators as 'being now amidst their iolity' (sig. B8) and the injured as 'some hauing theyr legs and armes broken, some theyr backes, theyr bodies beeing sore brused' (sig. C2), while Stubbes writes of these same people as 'being ... in midst of all their iolitie and pastime' (5332-4), and 'bruised and crushed, almost to death. Some had their brains dasht out, some their heads al to quasht, some their legges broken, some their arnes, some their backes, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another'

description of the death of the man who swore by God's blood having been published separately, as Stubbes points out, 'about two yeares agoe in verse' (3863).¹

Finally, there was a book by a writer named Iacobus Stuperius entitled '**lib. de diuersis nostrae aetatis habitibus**' ('the book about the different apparel of our age') on which Stubbes drew heavily in the chapters on pride of apparel. This is the second of only two source-texts which the author acknowledges (the other, as mentioned above, being one of his own ballads), and he refers to it repeatedly to demonstrate the contrast between the simple attire worn by foreigners and the gorgeous clothing worn by the English (503-16, 2119-57). Unfortunately, despite the fact that Stubbes cites the author, title, and even a page reference at line 507, I have not been able to identify this book, and its provenance and precise contents therefore remain a mystery.²

Thus, while there is much that is unique and original in the Abuses, there is also a certain amount that has been taken, sometimes verbatim, from other tracts. Writing about the 'vast amount of unacknowledged and uncensored plagiarism' in literature of this period, Sandra Clark comments that 'the Elizabethans, and the pamphleteers in particular, had a conception of literary borrowing that is not necessarily to be identified with stealing ... They had not yet developed the sense of exclusive rights that belongs to the professional attitude, and they seemed also to feel that using someone else's material, especially if it was older, would lend their own work an extra authority' (33). It is this desire for 'extra authority' which seems to have led Stubbes to dip into such texts as the Bible and the Church homilies, Gosson's Playes Confuted, and Northbrooke's Treatise, to copy down those excerpts which supplement and reinforce his ideological views on Elizabethan life. Clark's point that such unauthorised borrowing was widely practised in the period is worth emphasising as Stubbes was not in this an exceptional author. Northbrooke's Treatise, for example, prints material which can in turn be traced to Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Gouemour and Rychard Hyrde's translation of A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the Instruction

(5338-42).

■ The ballad to which Stubbes refers, 'A fearefull and terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement,' is no longer extant, but what we know of it is discussed at p. 3.

²The Short-title Catalogue, The British Library Catalogue, the National Union Catalogue and the Bibliothèque Nationale have all been searched under variant spellings of the author's name in English, Latin and French, with no success.

of a christen woman by Lodovicus Vives (compare the notes to 5230-46 and 4941-54).¹ Passages of borrowed authority in the Abuses represent what seems to have been considered legitimate engagement with current moral and political debates; instead of being dismissed out of hand as derivative and even unethical, they are perhaps more appropriately viewed in terms of the author's attempt to gain credibility for his highly polemical reading of sixteenth-century English society. The controversial stand Stubbes takes on a number of contemporary issues as well as some of the preoccupations which can be seen as underlying his opposition to certain features of Elizabethan life will form the subject of the next chapter.

The Anatomie of Abuses and Elizabethan society

The Abuses opens with a lengthy and astoundingly detailed scrutiny of sixteenth-century fashion. Itemising first men's and then women's clothing and working systematically from their embroidered taffeta hats down to their pinked velvet pantofles, Philip Stubbes denounces rich apparel on those who do not belong to the nobility, gentry or magistracy as wicked extravagance which will in the end lead to dearth and financial ruin throughout the commonwealth of England. The sin, so the reader is told, out of which this excess has grown is pride, and specifically, pride of apparel, which is demonstrated by the wearing of clothing 'more gorgeous, sumptuous, and precious then our state, calling, or condition of life requireth, whereby we are puffed vp into Pride, and induced to think of our selues, more then we ought, being but vile earth and miserable sinners' (461-5). As such statements make clear, it is not sumptuous clothing in itself to which Stubbes is opposed, but rather, its indiscriminate use by low ranking members of society. Pride of apparel, according to the author, is far more dangerous than either mental or verbal glorification of one's condition since the fault remains written on the body for all to see (465-74), a visual transgression which, as Marjorie Garber observes, was especially disturbing in a culture in which ideally, 'a person's social station, social role, gender and other indicators of identity in the world could be read, without ambiguity or uncertainty' (26). Adorned in their finery, social upstarts - or 'dunghill gentlemen' as they are termed in the text - not only tempt others to similar excess, but, more frighteningly, are impossible to

¹ Ringler, who describes Northbrooke as 'a quotation-monger of some industry,' cites further sources for the Treatise in his biographical and critical study of Stephen Gosson (Stephen Gosson, 59).

situate within the social hierarchy: 'there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in **England**,' Stubbes protests, 'and such horrible excesse thereof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparell he listeth himselfe, or can get by any meanes. So that it is very hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a Gentleman, who is not ... And this I accompt a great confusion, and a generall disorder in a Christian common wealth' (591-602).

The hierarchy of degree, which assigned to each person a social ranking which was construed as an essential and immutable aspect of identity, provided Elizabethans with a comprehensive and popular model of a stable, well-ordered society.¹ In the words of David Underdown, '[b]elief in a divinely-ordained cosmic order, linking the entire universe from inanimate matter to God himself, provided every individual with a natural place or degree. A chain of reciprocal authority and obedience joined King to humblest labourer in a series of interlocking hierarchies ... To tamper with any one of these hierarchies was to threaten them all, to invite confusion and social disintegration' (9). The supposedly rigid boundaries of rank separating the 'better' from the 'meaner' sort of person were blurred, however, when commoners dressed themselves in the silks and velvets appertaining to the upper orders; exceeding the prescribed limits, these social aspirants seemed in danger of erasing the boundaries altogether. Struggling against the chaos threatened by such crossdressing, Stubbes attempts to impose order on the situation by fervently insisting that apparel is abused when it no longer stands as the true outward manifestation of social position. In this, his thinking was consistent with that of the state authorities. Numerous sumptuary proclamations issued throughout the Tudor reign carefully limited the use in clothing of certain fabrics and forms of trimming on the basis of wealth and status, while the Homily against Excess of Apparel read out in churches around the country during the reign of Elizabeth I drove home to its listeners the precept that 'all may not look to wear like apparel, but every one, according to his degree, as God hath placed him' (Sermons, 326-7).²

¹ The transition made in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries from the language of a society of estates to the hierarchy of degree and the more informal notion of 'sorts' of people is traced by Keith Wrightson in 'Estates, degrees, and sorts: changing perceptions of society in Tudor and Stuart England.'

² The attempts to restrict legally the use of luxury consumer goods to a small segment of society were not only intended to preserve distinctions between social ranks but also to alleviate the detrimental economic consequences of buying products manufactured for the most part abroad (Elizabeth Baldwin, 212, 224); Stubbes's advocacy at 546-59 of domestic

The end of the sixteenth century, however, was marked by widespread movement both up and down the social scale.¹ As luxury consumer goods such as beautiful and expensive clothing became increasingly affordable to many outside of the nobility and gentry, the premise that everyone's position in society was fixed and God-given began to appear less self-evident. On the contrary, wealthy commoners dressed up in the clothes assigned to the gentry were regularly demonstrating that admission to the elite depended on little more than being able to perform the role with conviction. Discussing the 'blunt realism' underpinning William Harrison's definition of the ever-expanding category of mere gentlemen, Keith Wrightson concludes that gentle status was not awarded solely- as Stubbes would have it- or even primarily, on the grounds of birth or virtue: 'Gentility, then, was ultimately a matter of relative wealth and lifestyle, and any who could sustain the "countenance" of a gentleman would be "called master ... and reputed for a gentleman" (firming up his claims "good cheape," if he so desired, by purchasing a coat of arms from the heralds, who would readily "pretend antiquitie and service and manie gaie things" on his behalf)' ('Estates, degrees, and sorts,' 39-40).² Stubbes's single-minded determination to preserve the function of clothing as a clear marker of social rank thus serves to put off the more deeply disturbing possibility that degree may not in fact be fixed at all that individuals could shape or transform their identity simply by changing their clothes. The irony of this tactic, as Jean Howard points out, is that it only served to highlight further the highly performative dimension of social station: 'by insisting that particular subjects express their real social identities by outward signs, the antitheatricalists and the state threatened to lay bare or make explicit the theatricality at the very heart of the traditional social order. Insisting that one's real social place and one's real nature are what matter, the antitheatrical tracts reveal that these things can only be expressed "theatrically," by recourse to the very materials (fabrics, colors, ornaments) with which actors and

wools and kerseys over foreign silks and velvets reflects this concern to 'buy British.'

1 The increased social mobility in the period is discussed by Laslett (chapters 2, 10), Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy* (chapter 2), and Wrightson, *English Society* (chapter I).

2 Harrison's definition of gentility in *A Description of England* (1587) reads as follows: 'Who soeuer ... can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds ... and therevnto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after' (128-9).

upstarts performed their self-transformative and deceptive magic' (Stage and Social Struggle, 33).¹

Committed nonetheless to policing transgressions of dress, Stubbes begins his campaign by stigmatising excessively rich clothing as an unnatural perversion: 'doe not the most of our **fond Inuentions**, and **newfangled fashions** rather deforme, then adorne vs: disguise [i.e., disfigure] vs, then become vs: making vs rather to resemble sauage beastes, and bruitish monsters, then continent, sober and chast Christians?' (481-5) What represents lawful display of birth and authority in the nobility, gentry and magistracy becomes shameful deformity in anyone else, a cloak contrived to conceal one's true social identity which only succeeds, however, in making the offender monstrous. This language of disfigurement runs throughout the chapters on apparel: peascod-belly doublets 'disproportion the bodie of man' (1284) and mandilians, which were jackets fashionably worn turned through ninety degrees, 'hid[e] the dimensions and lineaments of the body' (1388-9), while women laden with their petticoats, kirtles and gowns can only be described as dolls: 'not naturall women, but artificial women, not women of flesh and bloud, but rather **Puppits** or Mawmettes consisting of ragges and clowtes compact together' (1904-7).

But as the author embarks on his itemised inventory of Elizabethan costume, concerns about the blurring of distinctions of rank become overlaid with equally pressing anxieties about the blurring of gender differences. Pampered in luxurious and richly ornamented clothing, men, Stubbes claims, are becoming effeminate and weak. Thus, after describing the gorgeously embroidered shirts made out of cambric, holland or lawn supposedly worn by practically all men in England, Philoponus comments that such indulgence 'transnatureth' men, making them 'weaker, tenderer, and neshier [more delicate], then otherwise they would be if they were vsed to hardnesse' (1232-51). Concurring with his travelling companion's opinion, Spudeus responds by making explicit just what such men risk being changed - or 'transnatured' into: 'through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, wee haue brought our selues into such a pusillanimity and effeminat condition, as we may rather seeme

Ion insecurities about the immutability of degree raised by the sight of actors crossdressed as their social superiors, see also Kastan, 'Is There a Class in This (Shakespearean) Text?' My understanding of the anxieties surrounding disruptions to the traditional hierarchies of rank and gender implicit in Stubbes's attack on shapeshifting is indebted to Jean Howard's study of the Renaissance antitheatrical tracts in The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England, which ■ would recommend for further reading.

nice dames, and wayrish girles then puissant, valorous and hardy men, as our forefathers haue bene' (1258-61). The sight of men dressed, albeit not in woman's apparel, but nonetheless in beautiful and delicate and therefore womanish apparel, provokes the fear that men are not only adopting the clothing but also the manners and characteristics of the opposite sex.

The sense, however, in which Stubbes uses the term 'effeminate' to disparage male dandies needs to be carefully qualified. While the adjective could at times imply that men who dress and behave in a luxurious and womanish fashion are attracted to other men, 'effeminate' could also suggest the exact opposite, that such men are overly inclined to women (OED, adj. 3). Thus, as Alan Bray notes, citing Nicholas Breton's caricature of the 'Effeminate Foole' as a man who keeps a mistress, effeminacy was frequently associated with immoral sexual conduct between men and women: "That is Breton's point: the "effeminate" young man he is caricaturing has become so obsessed with his mistress and indolent feminine ways that the robust manly virtues have been forgotten ... In all these instances, whether they involve homosexuality or heterosexuality, effeminacy is associated with luxurious living and sexual vice in general, which is primarily what is implied, not homosexuality alone' (Homosexuality in Renaissance England, 131, n.77). A like example can be found in the Abuses itself, where Stubbes criticises music using similar terminology to that with which he describes the effect of costly linen shirts on men - as 'alluring the hearers to a certaine kind of **effeminacie, & pusillanimitie**' (5024-5). When used to facilitate 'filthy dauncing' between men and women, music literally maddens a man: 'it estrangeth the minde, stirreth vp filthy lust, womannisheth the mind, rauisheth the heart, inflameth concupisc ce, & bringeth in vncleannes' (5060-2). Losing all control over his mind and heart, a man who dances with a woman to music becomes both effeminate and lecherous, and is driven to satisfy his furious lust through sexual intercourse. Stubbes's recommendation that this spark of lust be contained through men dancing by themselves and women dancing by themselves (4891-909) strongly suggests that in his view, 'womanish' men are not so much in danger of engaging in sexual relations with other men as of becoming inordinately given to sexual pleasure with women. The effeminate man thus seems to be defined in the Abuses, not by homosexual desire, but by a more general proclivity to material and sexual indulgence; virility, by contrast, resides in a stoic renunciation of luxury, beauty and passion.¹

¹This point is supported by Gary Spear's analysis of the manifold connotations and implications of the idea of effeminacy in the early modern period; see especially pages 416-8.

According to Stubbes, a slavish adherence to fashion makes men victim to an enervating voluptuousness and incapable of embodying the authority and pre-eminence over women conferred on them by the patriarchal order. This disruption of the traditional hierarchy of the sexes with the loss of male power and status which such disorder entails, is figured in the powerful metaphorical image of men degenerating into women.

By contrast, lavishly dressed women are read not as men, but whores, as if sumptuary licence gives rise to sexual licence as a matter of course. Whereas in men excessive attention to dress threatens to provoke frailty and wantonness - attributes explicitly gendered female - the same self-indulgent behaviour in women merely allows their supposedly inherent nature, otherwise kept firmly in check, to emerge. Berating parents' misguided indulgence of their daughters' desire for luxurious apparel, Stubbes fumes that this 'ouer great lenity ... may rather be counted an extreame cruelty, then a fatherly loue or pittie of them towards their children: For what maketh them so soone Whoores, Strumpets, Harlots and Baudes, as that cockering of them doeth? ... Nothing in the world so much' (1934-40). Two new concluding chapters were added by the author to the material on costume in the second edition of the *Abuses* printed in August, 1583: 'The dayly exercises of the Women of England' and 'Gardens in Englande.'¹ Although conducted within the context of Elizabethan fashion excesses, these revisions in fact constitute an attack on the assumed licentious behaviour of the fashionably dressed woman, and reveal more fully what in the first edition is only glanced at with the abusive epithet 'whore': the immense anger directed towards women who are perceived as a challenge to patriarchal authority.

Describing their typical day, Stubbes writes that these women lounge in bed until nine or ten in the morning, eventually rising only to spend the next two or three hours getting dressed. Once clothed in their finery, they descend to dinner and spend the afternoon either chatting to their friends or sitting in their doorways 'to make knowne their beauties ... and to acquaint themselues with the brauest fellowes' (2316-8). Some women, fired with lust, go so far as to walk out of their houses to private walled gardens in the suburbs where they meet their lovers for sex: 'These gardens are excellent places, and for the

¹ Included in the last three versions of the book, these additions were only separated with chapter headings from the rest of the text in the fourth edition. In the revised versions the completion of the 'discourse of the apparell of England' is signposted by Spudeus at the end of the chapter on gardens (2384-8). Major differences between each of the four editions are discussed in the *Bibliographical Analysis* at p. 30.

purpose,' Stubbes relates ominously, 'for if they can speake with their dearlings no where els, yet there they may be sure to meet them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines, they knowe what I meane' (2344-8). Forever arguing with their family and neighbours, sitting in their doorways to see and be seen, going out in public to participate in illicit, extra-marital trysts, these women forcefully assert their independence from male control. Refusing to stay home, silent and chaste, these assertive, self-possessed women appropriate to themselves the power perceived to have been lost by their male counterparts. In a society in which female chastity is jealously guarded by fathers and husbands as a valuable and transferable commodity, it is perhaps inevitable that the assumption of the male prerogatives of unregulated speech, movement and sexuality by women will be interpreted and demonized as harlotry.¹

Regarded in this light, the seemingly inconsistent conviction that excessively rich clothing provokes effeminacy in men but promiscuity in women resolves itself into two sides of the same coin: by each manifesting the attributes considered inherent, but under proper circumstances suppressed, in the female sex, fashionable men and women seem poised to upset the structures of power in Elizabethan England organised on the basis of gender. It is worth emphasising again that this vision arises in the Abuses out of the confusion generated by the disruption of the hierarchy of degree. In the words of Sir Thomas Elyot in his The Boke Named the Governour, 'take away ordre from all thynges what shulde than remayne? Certes nothyng finally, except some man wolde imagine eftsones *Chaos*' (i, 3). Once men and women abandon their 'natural' and ordained rank anything might happen; capitalising on the very different cultural preoccupations surrounding the behaviour of men and women in early modern England, Stubbes conjures up for his reader the worst imaginable case scenario: womanish men and sexually insatiable women.

¹ As Susan Dwyer Amussen has shown, the urgency with which the behaviour of unruly women was either suppressed or marginalised as deviant within the community was to a significant extent the result of the interconnectedness of the hierarchies of gender and rank: 'Because of the ideological relationship between family and state, the control of gender disorder symbolically affirmed all social order. It may have been impossible to make all poor villagers accept the authority of their neighbours of "credit and estimation," but the affirmation and insistence on the father's role asserted the position of those local governors' (182).

The threat of woman's usurpation of male power is imagined most vividly, however, in a chapter entitled 'Doublets for Women in England.' Apoplectic at the sight of women dressed in masculine apparel, Stubbes storms that 'if they could as wei change thetr sexe, and put on the kind (sex] of man, as they can weare apparell assigned only to man, I thinke they would as verily become men indeed, as now they degenerate from godly sober women, in wearing this waton leud kind of attire, proper only to man' (1850-4). Lisa Jardine has, I believe, accurately pinpointed what exactly Stubbes in this passage is reacting against so violently: 'It was not that the doublet was indecent- it was actually more decorous than a "feminine" low-cut gown. But it was morally indecent because it announced absence of difference between the sexes in a language only too readily understood by a contemporary' (Still Harping, 155). Not content merely to dress beyond their degree, which would be bad enough, these women desire to 'verily become men indeed.' Thinking herself the equal of man, woman inscribes on her body through costume the sin of overweening pride.

But female-to-male crossdressers, according to Stubbes, are neither men nor women, nor even - despite his accusations of lewd and dissolute behaviour - whores, but monsters. Paraphrasing a line from Stephen Gosson's discussion of the transvestite boy actor in Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions, Stubbes asserts that, 'Our apparell was giuen as a signe distinctiue, to disceme betwixt sexe and sexe, and therefore one to weare the apparell of another sexe, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these women may not improperly bee called **Hermaphroditi**, that is Monsters of both kindes, halfe women, half men' (1859-64). As Laura Levine has drawn out in her recent study of Renaissance antitheatrical tracts entitled Men in women's clothing, this passage stresses not only that clothing is the sign of gender but, more crucially, that gender could be transformed by apparel (21-2). That is, women walking around in doublets in the streets of London do not merely misrepresent their true gender to the casual observer, but by dressing in men's clothes 'adulterate,' or contaminate, their feminine identity.

Investigating the obsession with effeminate men expressed in antitheatrical tracts, Levine argues that writers against the stage perceived the self as fundamentally unstable, 'inherently monstrous and inherently nothing at all' (12). The lack of any sense of a fixed identity coincided with a belief in magic to generate the notion that 'doing' what another person does inevitably leads to 'being' that person; specifically, that doing what a woman does dressing in woman's clothes or becoming sexually aroused watching an all-

male theatrical performance - transforms a man into a woman. Positing that it is specifically the masculine identity which is presented in these pamphlets as under threat of dissolution (8), Levine's position is that writers such as Stubbes dealt with their fears about the self by fixating on the issue of effeminacy: 'By projecting conflicts about monstrosity and indeterminacy onto boys on stage, anti-theatrical pamphleteers made the contradictions in themselves more manageable, and in this way the fear of effeminization which came to dominate anti-theatrical tracts disguised a profound conflict about the nature of the self (24).

This thesis is intriguing, and with regard to many of the antitheatrical tracts even compelling, but as a reading of the *Abuses*, Levine's analysis of the effeminate man as a repository for the author's insecurities about identity is limited by the fact that the crucial passage she repeatedly quotes from Stubbes's work is taken from the chapter on doublets for women - a chapter which attacks female, not male, crossdressers. Levine forces Stubbes's material to fit her argument by presenting and interpreting his discussion of gender instability as though he were explicitly addressing the issue of men in drag. Thus Levine writes that 'Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomic of Abuses* calls men who wear women's clothes "monsters, of both kindes, half women, half men." He defines the monstrous itself in terms of that which has no essential nature because it has no essential gender ... For writers of these tracts, the hermaphroditic actor, the boy with the properties of both sexes, becomes the embodiment of all that is frightening about the self (19). Although his claim that costume has the power to alter gender is undoubtedly relevant to the controversy surrounding the boy actor, Stubbes, notably, makes no mention at any point in the *Abuses* of the male actor dressed in woman's clothes.¹ Moreover, his vilification of transvestite women is hardly evidence that the antitheatricalists quelled their fears about the instability of identity by fixating

¹Stubbes's silence on this subject tends to be elided fairly regularly in studies of Renaissance antitheatricality, critics presumably assuming that his opposition on the one hand to the theatres and on the other to crossdressed women in the streets of London may be conflated and presented as open opposition to the boy actor in woman's clothes. Jean Howard, for example, writes that "[w]earing women's clothing, as opposed to merely ornate clothing, represented [for men] a further step in debasement. Transvestite actors appalled Stubbes because they contaminated the boundary separating male and female "kinds," mixing high with low. This is such a debasement of man's proper place that Stubbes and other antitheatricalists could only make such men into monsters, sometimes by implying they were sodomites' (*Stage and Social Struggle*, 100).

exclusively on the effeminate man who seemed in danger of slipping into wh:It Levine terms 'the default position' of femaleness (8). On the contrary, when read in conjunction with each other, Stubbes's chapters on womanish shirts for men and masculine doublets for women clearly express the anxiety that both male and female gender could be perverted through clothing: where men risk adopting the nature of woman (the inferior sex), women risk degenerating into hermaphrodites. Significantly, the author's view of gender as radically unstable is related to his anxieties about social position: in both instances, a fearful concern that the self is infinitely malleable and therefore susceptible to alteration through apparel underlies an obstinate demand that costume must be the true and clear expression of personal identity.

According to Stubbes, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between nobles and commoners, men and women, and this fundamental uncertainty opens the floodgates to further social abuses, the common feature of which is excess. The English are groping after too much money, too much food and drink, they swear incessantly about the slightest trifling matters, they flock to bear-baitings, dancing schools and theatrical performances night and day, day in and day out. Pursuing sensual gratification and material indulgence, the English are neglecting the more sober pleasures on which their spiritual well-being depends. 'The only **Summum bonum,**' Stubbes writes, 'wherein a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Iesus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sinnes, and the contemplation of the ineffable ioyes and beatitudes after this life, prepared for the faithful in the blood of Iesus Christ. This is the only thing wherein a Christian man ought to reioyce, and take delight in' (4555-61). Not surprisingly, many forms of popular recreation failed to meet these austere standards and were consequently attacked as abuses, but Stubbes seems particularly phobic about controlling activities which provide potential outlets for the expression of human sexuality. Apprehension about the consequences of casual and unsupervised personal interaction is especially noticeable in the chapters grouped together as abuses of the Sabbath.

May games, for example, permit men and women to come together in informal and unregulated surroundings and thus provide an unaccustomed opportunity for sexual licence. Describing how in the spring men and women of all ages spend a night in the hills and groves, returning to the village with a maypole the next morning, Stubbes bitterly concludes that 'men of great grauity, credite, and reputation' have informed him personally 'that of fourtie, threescore, or a hundred Maides, going to the wood ouernight, there haue

scarcely the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled' (4349-52). Similarly, the author's primary criticism of dancing is that in its modern form men and women paired together in large assemblies of people dancing provokes lechery and lustful love: 'For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and bussing, what smouching & slabbering one of another? what filthy groping & vnclean handling is not practised euery where in these dauncings? Yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall bee purtrayed and shadowed foorth in their bawdy gestures of one to another. All which, whether they blow vp **Venus** coale, or not, who is so blind that seeth not?' (4541-8) Asserting that he is not opposed to dancing altogether, Stubbes maintains that the activity would be 'more tollerable' if it were practised not every day but occasionally, in praise of God's mercies rather than for our own wanton enjoyment, each person either alone or in groups consisting of men by themselves or women by themselves (4876-903). When pressed by Spudeus to justify the need for men and women to dance separately, Philoponus makes his concerns explicit: 'Because otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence, and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of Whoredome and Fornication' (4906-9).

The spectre of uncontrolled and uncontrollable sexual appetite, however, is perhaps summoned with most force in the author's comments on the theatres. Stubbes's complaints against both plays and players are numerous: religious plays abuse the word of the Lord and therefore mock the Lord himself (4042-81), secular plays tend to idolatry and sin (4081-90), all plays draw crowds away from sermons and offer a bad example to life (4166-77, 4191-209), and actors, no better than beggars, dress sumptuously in apparel above their rank (4229-31). But in a key and oft-quoted passage, Stubbes charges that the theatres give rise to 'vncleannesse' and lewd behaviour in the audience itself: 'Nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maidenly Virginitie and chastity? For prooffe whereof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters and Curtens ... to see Playes and Enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdy speeches, such laughing and flearing, such kissing and bussing, such clipping and culling, such wincking and glauncing of wanton eies, and the like is vsed, as is woonderfull to beholde' (4179-86). The verbal similarities between his descriptions of theatre audiences and dancers are not likely to be coincidental, and this resemblance reinforces the likelihood that Stubbes's account of London play-goers is based more on

convention than personal observation.¹ His criticism, quite simply, is that both of these activities give potential and eager sexual partners the occasion to meet. In this respect, the cause for which such a disorderly congregation of people has gathered is largely unimportant - the opportunities for 'wanton gestures' and 'filthy gropings' were, in the author's mind, the same whether one was attending a theatrical performance or a public dance.

After detailing the lewd goings-on in the theatre audience, Stubbes continues, 'Then these goodly **Pageants** being ended, euery mate sortes to his mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way very friendly, and in their secret conclaues (couertly) they play the **Sodomits**, or worse' (4186-90). Stubbes's evocative phrase 'they play the **Sodomits**, or worse' has been interpreted by some critics as alluding specifically to sexual intercourse between men. In Homosexuality in Renaissance England, for example, Alan Bray cites this passage as graphic evidence that the London theatres provided a venue in which male prostitutes could pick up male clients (54). Laura Levine's idea is that the theatre was perceived by the antitheatricalists to have a magical power over spectators, inciting them to repeat compulsively what they see on the stage. Thus Levine writes that this passage from the *Abuses* involves the assumption that 'the spectator will go home and imitate the actor, will replicate the actions he has seen on the stage. And unless we want to dismiss as mere convention that boys play women's parts, what the spectator has seen on stage is boys in an embrace' (22).² Lacking a stable masculine identity, the male spectator watching boys in an embrace will himself become effeminate; lusting after the boy actor beneath the woman's costume, the effeminized male subject will go away from the theatre to assume the woman's role in a relationship with a man. Levine thus interprets the antitheatricalists as equating effeminacy, the corruption of masculine identity, with homosexual desire (19-20).³

1Sheldon Zitner has demonstrated that a similar indictment of audience behaviour in Gosson's *The Schoole of Abuse* (sig. C1 v) relies heavily on Ovid's Amores and is therefore unlikely to represent an eyewitness account of the Elizabethan theatre. Although Stubbes appears to have developed his description of audience behaviour independently of Gosson's earlier work, it is nonetheless derivative of the same tradition of complaint.

2Claiming that the passage in question immediately follows Stubbes's description of transvestites as hermaphroditic monsters, Levine silently elides more than fifty quarto pages of text, thus falsely implying that the concept of sodomy in the Abuses is presented by the author himself as intimately tied up with fears of gender instability.

3Stephen Orgel similarly read this passage as a reference to sex between men in his 1989

But the concept of effeminacy in the early modern period, as previously discussed, signified a far broader range of meaning than what we today describe as homosexuality, and I would argue that in his description of the post-performance behaviour of the audience- as in the chapters on May games and dancing - Stubbes is focussed primarily on interactions between members of the opposite sex. Jonathan Goldberg, similarly taking issue with readings of this passage as sex between men, argues that even the idea of same-sex intercourse is beyond Stubbes: 'Sodomy, for Stubbes, is a debauched playing that knows no limit - that has violated the proprieties of male/female married sex - or whose limit can only be gestured towards in a supplementary addition, "*Sodomits, or worse*"' (Sodometries, 121). Goldberg here almost certainly overstates the case, as it seems impossible that Stubbes would not have been aware of the concept of same-sex intercourse from the Bible, where it is made explicit, for example, that this is the sin which epitomised the disorder in human relations in Sodom and Gomorrah.¹ But it does seem significant that Stubbes chooses nowhere else in the *Abuses* to address the issue of sex between men or sex between women, even when citing passages from the Old Testament in which this is of primary concern. In particular, after detailing improprieties of sexual behaviour between men and women current in his own day, Stubbes concludes his chapter on whoredom with a summary of biblical examples of the punishment of illicit sex. In this section, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen.xix) is read simply as God's punishment of 'Whoredome, Adulterie and fornication' (2540), while even more strikingly, the crime committed at Judges xix, verses 22-8 is glossed as 'the Adultery done with one **Leuits** wife' (2555-6), Stubbes remaining silent

article 'Nobody's Perfect: Or Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women' (16-7), but in a revised version of the paper published this year, he acknowledges that Stubbes is more likely to have had in mind 'heterosexual fornication' (*Impersonations*, 29). Maintaining his earlier position that 'the deepest fear in antitheatrical tracts ... is the fear of a universal effeminization,' Orgel argues in *Impersonations* that writers against the stage understood the cause of this effeminization as emanating from an attraction on the part of the spectators, not simply, as suggested in 'Nobody's Perfect,' to men, but to 'an undifferentiated sexuality, a sexuality that does not distinguish men from women and reduces men to women' (29).

■ compare, in particular, the gloss on the destruction of these two cities found at Rom.i.26-7: 'For this cause God gaue them vp to vile affections: for euen their women did change the naturall vse into that which is against nature. And likewise also the men left the naturall vse of the woman, and burned in their lust one toward another, and man with man wrought filthinesse, and receiued in themselues such recompence of their errour, as was meet.'

about the fact that the men of Gibea originally intended to gang rape the Levite himself. This highly selective use of biblical authority in the chapter on whoredom is indicative, not of a lack of awareness of the concept of same-sex attraction, but rather, of an overriding preoccupation with abominations committed between men and women.

Returning then to the chapter on stage-plays, the author's choice of the word sodomy to describe the consequences of lewd behaviour which endangers 'maidenly Virginitie and chastity' almost certainly points towards sexual attraction between men and women. This interpretation is consonant with the insight offered by Bray elsewhere in his book that sodomy in this period need not necessarily refer to sex between men: 'What sodomy and buggery represented - and homosexuality was only part of these - was rather the disorder in sexual relations that, in principle at least, could break out anywhere' (25). To 'play the sodomites' is therefore probably no different than to 'play the filthy persons,' an activity in which Stubbes accuses women of indulging with their lovers in banquetting houses in the liberties of the city (2338). This also explains Stubbes's use of almost exactly the same phrase when recounting the supposedly true story of William Bruster and Mary Breame who were struck dead by the Lord in an instant as they were 'playing the filthy **Sodomites** together' (App.I-E, 20-1). Included in the version of the chapter on whoredom printed in the first three editions, the overt purpose of this anecdote is to warn the reader away from adulterous affairs; for Stubbes, as Goldberg emphasises, extra-marital sexual intercourse between men and women clearly constitutes a form of sodomy.

The idea of 'sodomy' in the Abuses thus approaches the sense in which Donald Mager finds the word being used in the plays of John Bale: '[Bale's] categorical opposition is simply between procreative sexuality sanctioned by marriage on the one hand, and all nonsanctioned nonprocreative sexualities on the other. Sodomy means nonmarital nonprocreative desires and the behaviors which express those desires' (155). Stubbes's overwhelming preoccupation is with the idea that, enflamed with sexual desire, spectators are going to leave the play to go home to engage not necessarily in homosexual, but sodomitical, activity; that is, to have sex for fun with someone to whom they are not married. The likelihood is that members of the same sex did pick each other up at the theatre, and I would not rule out the possibility that Stubbes at least nods towards the idea of same-sex intercourse in his use of the term 'Sodomits.' But the heavy and exclusive emphasis placed on transgressive sexual interaction between men and women elsewhere in the book strongly suggests that in this chapter on stage-plays the possibility of

lewd behaviour between men or between women is not the author's primary concern.

Stubbes's obsessive determination to control lust between men and women- whether it erupts in the woods in May, while dancing the cinque-pace, or while attending a theatrical performance - stems from a conviction that intimate association between the sexes has the same deleterious effect as dressing in luxurious, fashionable clothing. Thus Stubbes concludes his diatribe against music and bawdy dancing with the following promise to parents: 'if you would haue your sonne soft, womannish, vncleane, smooth mouthed, affected to baudry, scurrility, filthy rimes, and vnseemly talking: briefly, if you wold haue him, as it were transnated into a woman, or worse, & inclined to all kind of whordome and abhomination, set him to dancing schoole, & to learne Musicke, and then shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would haue your daughter whorish, baudy and vncleane, and a filthy speaker, & such like, bring her vp in musicke and dauncing, & my life for yours, you haue wonne the goale' (5090-8). The disorder and confusion to society threatened by gorgeously dressed men and women who are victim to their own ungoverned sexual desire is figured in the *Abuses* in the vision of the effeminate man and whorish woman 'playing the sodomites' together.

Stubbes as Stylist

The Anatomie of Abuses is valued today primarily as a 'background' text to Shakespeare's England, historians, literary critics and social historians alike regularly plundering this book for the information it may offer about, amongst other things, the costumes, traditional pastimes, and prevailing anxieties of late sixteenth-century English society. The *Abuses* undoubtedly provides a fascinating window onto the concerns and attitudes of its day, but its usefulness as a social document should not be allowed to overshadow entirely the literary merit of the author's engaging and idiosyncratic writing style. Avoiding- at least for the most part- dry, terse prose, Stubbes apprehends and responds to what he describes as the abuses of contemporary England with an unexpected immediacy that is refreshing and often, albeit unintentionally, humorous.

Stubbes's main strength lies in his ability to engage the reader's active interest in his subject through a variety of stylistic devices. Not content simply to catalogue his complaints, Stubbes excels, for example, at enlivening his discourse with verbal pictures which vividly capture an instance of the particular abuse under examination. Thus, he not only ridicules current trends

in men's footwear by outlining the extravagant choice of colours, materials, and styles of trimming currently available to consumers, but illustrates his argument against fashion excesses by conjuring up an image of the smartly dressed man, who, legs covered in mud, hobbles down the city street in elevated slippers shorter than the length of his foot, struggling even to remain upright as his pantofles ·goe flip flap vp and downe in the dirt' (1369-76). This technique can backfire, however, as the author's dynamic representations at times have the unintended effect of attracting readers to, rather than repelling them from, the focus of attack. His vignette of a minister's sermon abruptly interrupted when the congregation jump up on their pews to gape at the Lord of Misrule's entourage entering the church is perhaps the best example of this. Adorned with brightly coloured scarves and ribbons and with twenty or forty bells tied to each leg, the morris men dance wildly up and down the aisles to the music of pipes and drums, eventually drawing the villagers out of the church to further revelry in the churchyard (4259-88). As François Laroque puts it, 'Stubbes' description presents us with a veritable fireworks-show of sound and colour' (133); perhaps not surprisingly, the more powerfully Stubbes portrays the excitement of such events, the more difficult it becomes to turn one's back on them.

This is the greatest irony of the work: passionately committed to stamping out the abuses of Elizabethan England, Stubbes is remembered now for having preserved in print the very practices he so strongly opposed, and his anatomy, containing minutely detailed accounts of various aspects of late sixteenth-century English life, inadvertently provides the means by which the customs and fads under scrutiny may be perpetuated, or even reconstructed.¹ His usefulness as a witness to a style of life now lost to modern scholars results from a near obsessive concern for description and detail. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of the language of the *Abuses* is perhaps its proliferation of words, paralleling the book's proliferation of abuses. The relish with which the author draws out his account of the injuries suffered by players engaged in a 'murthering' football match is typical of his treatment of vice as a whole: 'by this means, sometimes their necks are broken, sometymes their backes, somtimes their legs, sometime their armes, sometime one part

¹ Since Stubbes's goal is to see these practices abolished, or at the very least heavily reformed, readers need to use the information he provides with caution, always making allowance for his overt political agenda; as Patrick Collinson notes, 'the historian of culture has to live with the paradox that much of his knowledge of traditional custom comes from the writings of reformers heaven bent on its destruction' (*Religion of Protestants*, 203).

thrust out of joint, sometime another sometimes their noses gush out with blood, sometimes their eyes start out of their heads, & sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But who so euer scapeth away the best, goeth not **scotfree**, but is either sore crushed and bruised, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly' (5493-500). It is apparently insufficient simply to remark that football should be avoided because of the likely occurrence of serious injury; instead, Stubbes embarks on a lengthy elaboration on the numerous, and often gory, types of injury which have been known to occur. The extent to which he savours, even revels in, his writing is obvious. Although the sincerity of his views is never in question, it strikes me that the impassioned fervour with which he chooses to express himself is symptomatic, not only of a moral duty to dissuade his reader from wickedness, but also of an underlying, unconscious fascination and emotional entanglement with his subject-matter. Stubbes is a severe critic of disorder, whose unchecked verbal profusion reveals him to be himself tainted by the very excess against which he writes, and the immense energy of his prose style to a large extent derives from the tension which exists between his imaginative identification with, yet intellectual rejection of, vice.

The author occasionally makes recourse in his book to difficult or erudite language, but more typically he captures both the nature of the abuse and his attitude towards it using everyday words and earthy images and metaphors. Gaming houses, for example, are characterised as 'the **slaughter houses, the shambles, or Blockhouses of the Deuil**, wherein he butchereth Christian mens soules infinite wayes' (5222-5), while women's looking glasses are figuratively described as the bellows of the devil, those who use them being said to 'looke in the Deuils Arse, whilst he infuseth the venemous winde of Pride into their soules' (2038-9). Word-play also features in the text, Philoponus, for example, repeatedly coming out with one word only to deliberately correct himself with a rhyming word that he supposedly meant to use in the first place, as in the following description of morris dancers: 'Then euery one of these his men, he inuesteth with his **Liueries of Greene, Yellow**, or some other light wanton collour. And as though that were not (bawdy) gawdy ynough, I should say, they bedecke themselues with Scarffes, Ribbons and Laces' (4259-63). The direction taken during the process of revision, moreover, was towards the use of an increasingly colloquial vocabulary as unusual, bookish terms tended to be replaced with more familiar synonyms.¹

¹ Between the third and fourth editions, for example, 'tractation' was revised to 'discourse,' 'obnubilate' became 'obscure,' 'tremble' was substituted for 'Euibrate,' and 'Metamorphosed'

Having said this, however, it must at the same time be acknowledged that Stubbes had an extraordinary predilection towards inventing new words. Many terms found in the first edition or included as revisions in one of the later versions of the book are neologisms which are not recorded by the Oxford English Dictionary as being in circulation in print in the sense in which Stubbes uses them before their appearance in the Abuses. In the context of the passage on gaming houses cited earlier, for instance, 'blockhouses' seems to mean the same thing as 'slaughter houses' or 'shambles' (a sense perhaps deriving from the butcher's block?), but this sense of the word is unique and not recorded in OED. Similarly, adjectives and verbs such as 'impotionate' (poisoned), 'huggle' (to hug), 'brothellous' (whorish), and 'thriple' (to practise small economies) are all original to the Abuses. In some instances, however, it is difficult to determine if a particular word is considered a foreign term or if a new English usage has been derived from a Latin root. The noun 'signitor' at line 3967, for example, is not listed in OED. While this may be an incorrect spelling of the Latin word 'signator,' meaning witness (as to a will or marriage), the context suggests that Stubbes may have coined a word in English, meaning 'signifier,' from the Latin root 'signum,' which translates as 'mark' or 'token.' The noun 'Chorusses,' on the other hand, is used at line 4729 to mean 'dances', which is not a sense recorded in OED; in this instance, although the word carries a meaning available only in Latin, the fact that Stubbes uses it in the English plural form confirms that he has adopted 'Chorusses' into the vernacular. In total, I located nearly two hundred neologisms in the Abuses, many of which gained currency in the language for at least a period of time, a few of which were never seen again; a complete list of first usages has been collected for quick reference in Appendix II.

As this discussion of the ambiguities of meaning surrounding certain words suggests, Stubbes made use when writing the Abuses of his ability to read and write Latin.¹ The only sustained passage in Latin found in the book is a prefatory poem from the author to the reader which was cut from the

was revised to 'straight waies changed.' Revisions between the four editions are discussed more fully in the Bibliographical Analysis and the chapter on Copy-text (pp. 30, 84).

■ Foreign languages other than Latin do not figure in the Abuses to any great extent, but one will occasionally come across the odd word in Greek such as '*Microcosmos*' at line 39, or, in a single instance, a proverbial saying quoted in French: 'Qui aime lean, aime son chien, that is. Loue me, loue my Dog' (5302-3). Significantly, the only two sentences printed in Greek, neither of which were included in the fourth edition, are garbled gibberish (see App. I, Passages C and F).

fourth edition and is included in this edition as part of Appendix I (Passage C).¹ However, individual Latin terms turn up fairly regularly, while the most common pattern of usage, and one employed by a number of writers from the period, consists of a phrase or quotation in Latin followed immediately by a translation in English. Thus Stubbes, quoting Stuperius in his discussion of pride of apparel, writes 'Non enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnquam consuevit incola: which in English verse is thus much in effect, *The Gennaine people neuer vse at all to chop and chaunge, Their customes old, or els attire, wherein abroade they raunge*' (512-16), and concludes his description of Londoners' barbarous treatment of the poor with the proverb, 'But they say, Vnus testis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti. One eye witsesse is better to be beleueed then a thousand eare witnesses besides' (1431-4). Readers of the Abuses who are not conversant with Latin should be aware that in many instances the English translation significantly amplifies the Latin original. The passage from Stuperius as quoted above in Latin, for example, makes no mention of the attire which, according to the English version, the Germans wear out of doors. Moreover, the words 'at all' in the opening line of the verse were substituted in the fourth edition for 'lightly' (the reading found in the three previous versions), the author thus strengthening his argument by deliberately deviating from the meaning of the Latin quotation in his English translation. All such notable departures from the sense of a text in its original language have been pointed out and discussed in the commentary.

The vitality and urgency of Stubbes's prose style is reinforced through the strong visual impact of the words on the page. Foreign words and phrases with their translations, many neologisms and quotations, and expressions on which the author has decided to place added rhetorical emphasis, are set apart from the rest of the text in each of the four versions through the use of contrasting type.² The effect this has is to interrupt the smooth flow of words past the reader's eye, thus imposing on the work heavy verbal inflections which influence one's reception of the views being expressed; the author, that is, not only controls the words that constitute his book, but also attempts to control the manner in which they are read. The number of passages

¹A translation of this poem into English is offered in the commentary but the linguistic ambiguities of the original text have not been discussed.

²Although opening the book at almost any page will produce examples of such shifts in type, this technique is particularly conspicuous at sigs. I2v, O2, and S2; compare also the facsimile of the quarto found in Appendix III.

highlighted in this manner steadily increased throughout the process of revision, particularly between the second and third editions. Shifts in typeface have in all cases been reproduced in the modern edition.

The Anatomie of Abuses is a long book, and Stubbes's highly individual manner of writing is more successful in some places than others. In particular, he struggles when he attempts carefully reasoned argument, much of the logic underlying his opening material on pride, for example, coming across as forced and at times nearly impenetrable. The following extract from his lengthy discussion of pride of apparel is a case in point: 'But admit that there be holinesse in apparell (as who is so infatuate to beleuee it) then it followeth that the holinesse pretended is not in them, and so bee they plaine Hypocrites, to make shewe of that which they haue not. And if the holinesse by their attire presaged be in themselues, then is it not in the garmentes: and why doe they then attribute that to the garmentes, which is neither adherent to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it were so, why doe they glorie of it to the world but I leaue them to their folly' (889-97). By the time he reaches the end of his rebuttal, Stubbes himself seems lost in a bewildering sequence of premises and conclusions. Significantly, however, the flaws of this passage are the product of the same lack of cool detachment which typifies Stubbes's best writing.

Throughout my introduction, and in this chapter in particular, I have attempted to demonstrate that the Abuses is not merely of socio-historical, but also aesthetic, interest, as Stubbes's fervour and imaginative engagement with his material raise him to highly enjoyable heights of eloquence. Stubbes, in short, is an entertaining writer, probably far more entertaining than even he - or perhaps especially he - ever intended to be. But the determination to afford the literary merits of the work due recognition must be balanced by the acknowledgement that one's enjoyment of Stubbes's irrepressible voice is qualified by such factors as, for example, the scarcely concealed anger and fear underlying his attitudes towards women and the vitriol with which he attacks all things Catholic; crucially, advocacy of the text should not be read as an endorsement of the author's views. One of my goals as an editor has been to move the Abuses from the margins of English Renaissance studies to centre stage, encouraging those who may have encountered the book only in the form of fragmented anthologised passages to read it in its entirety as a particularly interesting example of Elizabethan popular literature. As suggested in my earlier discussion of Stubbes's so-called puritanism, there is evidence that plenty of his contemporaries read, engaged with, and perhaps even enjoyed the Abuses without necessarily agreeing with his

uncompromising stands on life in the community. This spirit of skeptical, yet receptive, interest is one which seems particularly appropriate to a modern readership.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

Copy-text

It is important to emphasise that the majority of Stubbes's revisions to the book are relatively minor, mostly involving the rephrasing of sentences and substitution of one synonym for another. One does not often get the sense that these changes reflect a new outlook on the part of the author; on the contrary, he seems to have reworked and embellished the existing material simply in order to present the same views more forcefully. However, although he may not have set out to rewrite the *Abuses*, Stubbes's endless tinkering nonetheless has an impact on one's reception of the book. The third and fourth editions, for example, print increasingly more words and phrases in contrasting Roman type rather than in the standard black letter type, thus causing the reader to attribute particular importance to words that may have been skimmed over lightly in the previous editions. Similarly, while few readers of the first three editions would be unaware that 'Ailgna' is really 'England' in Latin spelled backwards, the discarding of this device in the quarto edition creates the effect of a more immediate and hard-hitting commentary on contemporary life in England. Further, as F.J. Furnivall notices in the introduction to his edition of 1877-9, 'inkhorn terms' such as 'acuate,' 'intruite,' and 'fucate' were consistently replaced in later editions with less challenging words such as 'whette,' 'entrance,' and 'counterfeit' (*Abuses*, ii, 62-3). The cumulative impact of Stubbes's revisions in each successive edition of the *Abuses* after the first has impressed on me the need to present this work not as a single unified text but as a series of four related, but distinct, versions.

Rejecting, therefore, the idea of a conflated edition, I considered presenting a parallel texts edition or developing a system of markers which would allow the variant readings of all four versions to be displayed simultaneously in the main body of the edition. Both of these alternatives, however, seemed cumbersome and alienating to the reader interested not so much in the textual status of the book as in its unique content.¹ Given that this

¹ Although not ideally suited to my purposes, immensely useful and important editions of other writers' work have been constructed on the aforementioned models. See, for example, Michael Warren's *The Complete 'King Lear' 1608-1623*, Paul Bertram and Bernice W. Kliman's *The Three-Text Hamlet*, and H.W. Gable's edition with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior of J. Joyce, *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition*.

is the first critical edition of the Abuses to appear this century, it seemed to me that readability should be a primary consideration. In the end, I chose to edit only one of the versions of the Abuses but to highlight and discuss the book's fundamentally unstable textual character in the introduction, commentary, and appendices. As this approach inevitably privileges the version of the work printed in full over the other three relegated to the critical apparatus, the choice of copy-text became of utmost importance.

Arguments can be presented in favour of editing any one of the four versions of the Abuses. And yet, precisely because the versions are different, varying in content and presentation, and published in changing socio-historical circumstances, it is possible to find reasons why one may be preferred over the others. The first edition has the merit of most closely embodying the text as originally written by the author, but this seemed in my opinion a weak choice of copy-text for a modern edition, partly because O1 does not include a significant number of passages found in the three later versions, but also because reprints and facsimiles of it are already widely available. The third edition, on the other hand, is an interesting option given its placement in the sequence and original date of publication. It was the last edition published in rapid succession within a year and a half period between 1583 and 1584, and while it incorporates many of Stubbes's revisions, the author's comments on, for example, clothing fashions would not have seemed particularly out of date, the controversy surrounding the theatres was yet in its early stages, and incidents referred to in the book such as the collapse of Paris Garden in 1583 or the London earthquake in 1580 would still have been relatively fresh in the minds of its readers. However, this version was also set aside, not only because it had provided the copy-text for Turnbull's reprint of 1836, but because of the three revised editions, it was the one that most resembled a straight reprint; I had the sense that for this printing Stubbes had very little to add to what had already been said in the previous edition. This left a choice between the second and fourth editions. As noted elsewhere, the second edition marks a major departure from the original version, large passages of text being newly incorporated into the book and inconsistencies such as the inclusion of a preface at odds with the rest of the book finally being ironed out. Printed just months after the first edition, O2 has much to recommend it; indeed, F.J. Fumivall worked the major additions found in the second edition of the Abuses into his text of O1 in square brackets, thus creating an edition of O1 that in fact looks much like O2. But compelling as considerations surrounding the second edition may be, I remained intrigued by the fact of the book's reappearance in a new format with revised preliminaries

a decade after its third publication, and wanted to present an edition of the book which included the author's final revisions. For these reasons I chose in the end to edit the quarto text of 1595.¹

I was concerned, however, by the degree of editorial intervention implicit in such a presentation of the Abuses. A critical edition of an early modern work is a potentially invaluable resource since it attempts to facilitate the reader's understanding and interpretation of the text by means of the editor's specialist knowledge of both the period and the author's canon of work. However, this type of edition has its limitations.² For example, without the original documents to examine, readers of a critical edition have little choice but to accept the textual decisions taken on their behalf by the editor. Moreover, a critical edition erases what de Grazia and Sallibrass have termed the 'materiality of the text' (256): characteristic features of an original printed work such as printing errors, old typefaces, and irregular letter and word spacing which attest to the document's specific historical context. The value of presenting texts as they were originally printed is concisely articulated by Randall McLeod: 'I advocate merely that we attend to the dynamic of the actual how texts were written, transmitted and read in the Renaissance, that we recognize this dynamic not as an airy adjunct to textual study, but as something rooted so deep in texts of the period that it is ineradicable (Unless, of course, you *edit* them.), because, simply, it *is* text' ('Information Upon Information,' 278-9). Considerations such as these persuaded me to include a facsimile reproduction of the quarto as an appendix to the emended critical edition. This compromise reflects the fact that I find myself pulled in mutually exclusive directions. The quarto text is not the tidy, regularised, easily-accessible creation that the critical edition presents it as, but at the same

¹The extent to which a variety of influences can be brought to bear on choice of copy-text is discussed by Hans Zeller: 'From a historical point of view the different versions are in theory of equal value ... [F]or the historian, for the editor, the alterations mean an adaptation of the work to suit the altered circumstances, ideas and purposes of the author. For the editor there is no "best version" ... In specific cases the choice of version for the edited text may depend on very different factors' (245).

²Drawbacks of conventional methods of editing are discussed by A.R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space'; Margreta de Grazia and Peter Sallibrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text'; Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey in the 'General Introduction' to The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke; and Randall McLeod (a.k.a. Random Clod), 'Information Upon Information,' and 'UnEditing Shak-speare.'

time, not everyone wants to have to make sense of a facsimile. My goal has been to allow the reader the freedom to experience Stubbes's work in two very different formats.

In order that the facsimile edition should provide as unmediated a text as possible, I have not created a hypothetical ideal copy of the quarto from the twelve still in existence but simply reproduced from microfilm the copy of the text housed at the Huntington Library. ■ Admittedly, this facsimile can only suggest textual irregularity within a single copy rather than within the group of extant copies as a whole, but press-corrected readings printed as part of the critical edition have been recorded in the collation line and all variants between copies of the quarto have been collected in the Bibliographical Analysis (pp. 35-6). As the critical edition is the text in which the bulk of my editorial work has been located, the rest of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the principles guiding its construction.

Emendation

A consequence of Stubbes's practice of correcting and revising a copy of the version of his book that had been most recently printed without consulting either his original manuscript or the printer's copy is that non-authorial readings passed unnoticed into the next printed edition. The 1595 text of the Abuses is a palimpsest of at least four different compositorial habits of spelling and punctuation and includes a number of other potentially non-authorial alterations such as the transposition of words and word substitution. Due to the immense difficulty in determining the provenance of every new reading it is impossible to quantify with precision the extent of the compositors' impact on the text. One wonders, for example, if Stubbes intended the word 'squasht' in the first edition (sig. P3) to be replaced with the graphically-related synonym 'quasht' in all subsequent editions (Q1, sig. S3v), or if the change derives from a compositorial substitution. Similarly, did Stubbes believe that the phrase 'state of godly Matrimonie' (Q1, sig. I2v)

■ And yet this facsimile remains a mediated document: not only has it been made available through the agency of modern technology, but the printed edition it reproduces is itself a mediated representation of the author's original manuscript. Gary Taylor discusses this inability to get back to the unedited text in the 'General Introduction' to William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion (ed. Wells and Taylor, with Jowett and Montgomery, 3-7). For a clear discussion of the limitations of reproductions and the inadequacies of facsimiles by comparison with original texts, see Tanselle, 'Reproductions and Scholarship.'

which has a very slightly different meaning from 'godly state of Matrimonie' (O, sig. H3) more accurately expressed his mind, or did the compositor simply confuse the order of the words? Was it the author or the compositor who decided in 1595 to substitute '**Abrahams** wife' (sig. 14) for '**Abraham** his wife' (O3, sig. H5)? Changes such as these are as likely to have been made by a finicky author as a careless compositor.¹

But by consistently choosing to send to the printing-house for publication a marked-up printed copy of the most recent version of his book, the author at least tacitly, if not explicitly, accepted the readings that had been introduced to the text during the previous printing. If Stubbes had objected to printing-house influence on his work, or felt that the printed documents inadequately recorded his intended text, he could have collated each subsequent edition against the previous edition. The fact that he chose instead to correct only those changes that appear manifestly wrong in the context of the particular version currently under revision suggests that Stubbes did not consider it necessary to weed out every instance of non-authorial alteration. Consequently, the revised versions cannot be regarded as becoming progressively more corrupt simply because of the probability of compounded compositorial input.

Printing-house influence, moreover, actually provided the catalyst in some instances to changes in subsequent versions, a fault in one version of the work sometimes prompting a new reading that otherwise might never have been introduced to the text. Such an example, already mentioned in the context of printer's copy, involves the transformation of the word 'of' at the end of the chapter on dancing in the second edition to the word 'to' in the fourth edition (see page 41). As noted previously, this particular correction could have been made by an attentive compositor as easily as the author, but the fact that compositorial and authorial correction are in many places indistinguishable only emphasises the seminal role potentially played by the agents of production in the printing house in the creation of each version of the text. A second example is found in the chapter on sanctifying the sabbath, where Philoponus has a line that in the first two editions reads, 'And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the seuenth day to be kept holy, for

■ The possibility that each of these changes may represent deliberate revision is supported by E.A.J. Honigmann's work on authorial revision in The Stability of Shakespeare's Text: 'It will be observed that quite often trivial substitutions outnumber those with any real significance; less apparent, because my extracts are short, is the fact that one substitution often leads to another- if only because the author cannot stop tinkering' (63).

four causes especially' (sigs. L3, M7v).¹ In the third edition, however, the opening bracket of the parenthesis was omitted (sig. M4v). The error is corrected in the fourth edition, not through the insertion of the missing bracket back into the text, but through the substitution of a comma for the closing bracket (sig. O2). The sentence as reworked for the fourth edition thus becomes a more forceful expression of opinion, but there is very little reason to believe that this particular revision would have been effected had the book not been subject to printing-house mediation. Similarly, when in the chapter on whoredom Spudeus suggests that sex outside of marriage is both natural and supported by Scripture, Philoponus, outraged, answers in the second edition, 'Cursed be those mouthes, that thus dare to blaspheme the mightie God of **Israeli**' (sig. H4). In the third edition 'dare' is changed to 'care' (sig. H2v), a reading which is far less emotionally charged and also somewhat at odds with the overall import both of the sentence and the rest of the speech. The suggestion that this change represents an easily-made compositorial error is supported by the fact that it is revised out of the quarto; instead of returning to 'dare,' however, Stubbes substitutes yet another reading: 'Cursed be those mouthes, that thus do blaspheme the mighty God of **Israeli**' (sig. I2). The tone of the O2 version has been restored but the sentence is different. I would argue that the revised Q1 reading is the direct result of printing-house influence in a previous version. The compositors and printers were thus permitted to contribute in a variety of ways to the shape of subsequent versions of the book; to draw a sharp distinction between compositorial alteration and authorial revision in an attempt to filter out the former while preserving the latter would be to run counter to the author's own practices of composition.

And yet, while the author was tolerant of much printing-house input, neither the author nor the printers deliberately perpetuated manifest error. Their concern to remove faults from the printed text is amply demonstrated by the errata sheet appended to the first edition, the series of press-corrections made to the fourth edition, and the on-going efforts to catch printing mistakes made in one version before publication of the next. One of my goals has similarly been to present the quarto version of the Abuses free of textual fault. The obvious problem for me, however, has been in developing a consistent definition of error that balances a desire for textual accuracy with an awareness of the important and pervasive role of the printing-house in the production of the work. One option I considered was to emend the quarto text

¹Differences in spelling between the two versions have not been noted.

in the same manner as corrections had been carried out on the three previous editions: that is, to correct only those mistakes that could be discerned without reference to a previous edition. Collation of the four editions, however, indicated that this method would necessarily lead to the loss of a number of passages almost certainly omitted through eye-skip.¹ Determined to maintain to a large extent the highly socialised character of the quarto edition I nonetheless felt that these unintended changes were another form of corruption that, although unnoticed and uncorrected by the author, should not be carried over into a modern edition of the quarto.

I thus chose in the end to define error as changes to the text that either obscure or impoverish meaning. This admittedly subjective definition allowed me to isolate four separate categories of error: straight-forward misprints such as turned or wrongly placed letters or misassigned speech prefixes; mistakes in punctuation such as misplaced brackets and turned question marks; omissions from the text which result from eye-skip or faulty memory on the part of the compositor(s); and finally, errors introduced by the author himself during the process of revision. Mistakes that were overlooked and therefore perpetuated in subsequent authorised editions have been emended in the same manner as those errors introduced for the first time in the fourth edition on the grounds that failure of execution on the parts of the author and printers is not the same as tacit approval. Potential examples of compositorial misreadings and eye-skip such as the substitution of 'slibbersawces' for 'sibbersawces' at 1567, 'wel fitting' for 'wei sitting' at 5320, and 'plague' for 'torture' at 2198 have on the whole been left as printed in the quarto since the new readings may equally represent authorial revision. Such substitutions, however, are noted and discussed in the commentary to the text.

Having once identified textual corruption, the next problem was to decide what to do about it. Although there is no reason to assume that mistakes in the quarto would necessarily have been replaced with the originally intended reading since subsequent versions of the Abuses were

¹ At lines 916-25, for example, Stubbes applies the proverb 'Take away the cause and the effect fayleth' to his discussion of pride with the explanation that 'The externe efficient cause of pride, is gorgeous attire, the effect is Pride it selfe, ingenerate by attyre: but to begin to plucke away the effect, to wit, Pride, and not to take away the cause first, namely sumptuous attire, is ... working altogether preposterously.' When setting the fourth edition, however, the compositor's eye apparently skipped from the first occurrence of 'attire' in his copy to the second, printed immediately below it on the next line, thus omitting the intervening clause. Similar examples can be found at lines 1712-15 and 5493-7.

corrected without benefit of the printer's copy, for lack of a better alternative, most errors in Q1 have been emended on the authority of one or more of the previous editions in the belief that at the very least, these corrected readings are known to have formed constituent parts of the author's vocabulary and manner of usage. This policy has been of particular use in resolving those instances where an emended reading is not immediately apparent from context. In the chapter on usury, for example, Philoponus complains that the scrivener 'hath a great more Vsurie to himselfe [sic], of him who borroweth the money' (sig. N2v). The word that 'great' is supposed to qualify is missing, and as one could speculate endlessly as to how the text might have been authorially corrected, I simply restored the reading found in O3, the edition which provided the printer's copy for the quarto. The emended passage thus reads, 'hath a great deale more Vsurie to himselfe, of him who borroweth the money' (3660-1). Another corrupt reading without an obvious emendation is found at the end of the book when Spudeus says, 'And therefore, we must repent dayly and hourly, and did not deferre our repentance to the last gaspe, as many do, then which nothing is more perillous' (sigs. T4-T4v). In this instance I again emended in accordance with the evidence provided in the third edition, the passage in the critical edition reading, 'And therefore, we must repent dayly and hourly, and not to deferre our repentance to the last gaspe, as many do, then which nothing is more perillous' (5704-7).

I have not returned to a previous reading, however, when it can be argued that corruption has been introduced as a direct consequence of authorial revision. In these cases, I have instead tried to make sense of the process of revision initiated by the author. An example of this occurs in the section on apparel, where Philoponus says, 'the **Egyptians** are said neuer to change their fashion, or altered the form or fashion of their attire' (Q1, sig. C1). This same line in the third edition reads, 'the **Egyptians** are saied, neuer to haue changed their fashion, or altered the forme of their first Attire' (sig. C2). It seems that Stubbes decided to put this sentence in the present rather than in the past tense, but only incompletely executed the revision. Rather than reinstate the O3 reading, the text has been corrected through the substitution of the verb 'alter' for the past participle 'altered.' A similar example is found in the chapter on drunkenness, where Philoponus describes a group of men who resolved to go to the tavern one Sunday 'in con pt of the Lord and his **Sabboth**': 'And comming to the house of one **Anthony Hage** an honest godly man, who keep a **Tauerne** in the same town, called for **burnt wine**' (Q1, sig. L3). The third edition reads 'kepte' instead of 'keep' (sig. K2). Substituting 'keep' for 'kepte' seems an unusual error for a compositor to make

since the two words are not graphically similar and the sentence which results is ungrammatical, but it seems equally unlikely that the Q1 reading as it stands represents intentional authorial revision. What seems most probable is that a revision was inserted into the printer's copy, and that 'keep' derives from a compositorial misreading of 'keeps.' The possibility that Stubbes revised 'kepte' to 'keeps' is supported both by his presentation of the anecdote as a factual recent incident ('keeps' implying that Anthony Hage is even now still tending bar in Swaben) and the fact that Philoponus uses the present tense to conclude his next anecdote about drunkards punished by God: 'And in this place, and in the same pitifull case you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this day vnremouueable, till it please the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy to release him' (Q1, sig. L4).

While prepared to correct manifest printing errors and concerned to emend passages showing evidence of incomplete authorial revision in keeping with the author's inferred intentions, I have been careful not to correct errors that result from Stubbes's ignorance of his material. Passages of varying length in the Abuses can be traced back to the printed works of authors such as John Northbrooke and Stephen Gosson and it is not unusual to find Stubbes either misquoting his sources or unquestioningly reproducing their errors. In the chapter on dancing, for example, the words of Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida are misattributed in all of the editions to Theophilus. Cited accurately in Stubbes's source-text, this mistake seems to me more likely to have resulted from a copying error made by the author than from a printing error made by the compositor, and therefore, although I have noted the mistake in the commentary, the text itself has been left uncorrected. A few lines earlier in the same chapter a marginal note incorrectly refers the reader in all four editions to Ecclesiasticus 13. In this instance Stubbes has unwittingly picked up an error printed in his source, and again I have not emended the reading but simply noted the correct citation in the commentary. A slightly different example is found in the sidenote to line 2826 which in all of the editions cites Genesis 24 instead of Exodus 32. Stubbes is not relying on a faulty source-text and the error is unlikely to be compositorial; as the author did not make a practice of quoting his Bible inaccurately, this mistake seems therefore to have resulted from a simple memory failure. Factual errors such as these have been preserved as integral features of the text, being characteristic of both the author's scholarship and manner of composition.

Spelling and Punctuation

Once the decision was made to include a facsimile of the quarto as part of my thesis, the arguments in favour of modernised spelling and punctuation in the critically edited text became more insistent. Stanley Wells has very clearly and convincingly argued the merits of modernised play texts in Re-Editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader, but different considerations are brought to bear on works intended for silent and private perusal than on those prepared as performance texts, the spelling and punctuation of which are for the most part subject to artistic licence and modern norms of pronunciation. Not only does standardised spelling limit the reader's ability to recognise the potential for ambiguity of signification and force the editor to constrain meaning where a plurality of meanings may well be available, but, as Michael Warren points out in 'Repunctuation as Interpretation in Editions of Shakespeare,' the imposition of modern punctuation amounts in many instances to textual reinterpretation. An awareness that the spelling and punctuation of the quarto is not likely to be an accurate representation of Stubbes's original manuscript is beside the point since, as has already been discussed, these features of Q1 are authorised insofar as the author tacitly approved them for each subsequent printing of the text. These considerations eventually prompted me to reproduce the original spelling and punctuation of the quarto in the critical edition with printing errors emended and noted in the collation line.¹

Most instances of apparently corrupt spelling have been sorted out through recourse to the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (1989; compact edition, 1991). However, no similarly comprehensive resource exists to which one can appeal in instances of apparently corrupt punctuation. The text of the Abuses as printed in the quarto edition is for the most part meaningfully pointed with commas, colons, full-stops, question marks and parentheses, but the non-standardised use of these symbols can appear strange and even whimsical to a modern reader. Aware that the particular complexion of the quarto punctuation is a composite of usages both inherited from earlier versions and introduced by the Q1 compositor(s), I have

¹Readings have been emended as far as possible without disturbing the spelling, punctuation, capitalisation or font type found in the quarto text. Where the emended reading is based on, but not identical to, the evidence found in one or more of the earlier editions, the abbreviation '*subst*' ('substantially') is included in the collation line. An example of this procedure is offered in the collation note at p. 100.

set out grounds for emendation of punctuation in conjunction with a brief account of the manner in which these symbols are generally applied throughout the book.¹ The following point-form guideline describes the various contexts in which particular symbols of punctuation could be expected to appear:

Full-stop The full-stop occasionally separates a Latin phrase from its translation and punctuates dates, but it is mostly used to indicate abbreviations and point the ends of sentences. Full-stops used in the middle of sentences as alternatives to commas are very uncommon and probably represent compositorial error since they were consistently corrected in the first three editions.²

Comma The comma marks a short pause within a sentence but its frequent omission, particularly from long lists of items, implies that its use was not always considered essential. Those printed at the ends of sentences in the first three editions were changed in subsequent editions to full-stops, colons or question marks, a fact which suggests that commas in this position in the quarto are probably straight-forward printer's errors.

Colon Colons are used to link related, but distinct, thoughts and are followed by either a small case or capital letter.

Question Mark As exclamation marks were not yet in common use in the period, question marks in the Abuses signal both interrogatory and exclamatory statements and are followed by either a capital or a small case letter. It is not unusual to find rhetorical questions, or the last in a long series of questions, marked with a full-stop.

¹This analysis is particularly indebted to the discussions of the use and development of punctuation in the Elizabethan period found in Anthony Graham-White, Punctuation and Its Dramatic Value in Shakespearean Drama; M.B. Parkes, Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West; Anthony G. Petti, English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden; and Percy Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation.

²I was able to find only one instance in which a full-stop used in an early edition to mark a short medial pause was not corrected in a later edition; significantly, the full-stop was introduced in O2 as the direct consequence of authorial revision (see the note to 1322-3).

Parentheses Brackets are used in pairs to mark a parenthetical statement, or more unusually, to provide emphasis or indicate irony. Given the sorts of corrections made to the first three editions, those instances in the quarto where an opening or closing bracket is missing, reversed or misplaced probably result from compositorial error. Closing brackets seem not to have been considered sufficient in themselves to mark the end of a sentence. ■

Semi-colon The semi-colon was not commonly used at the time and is not found in the fourth edition of the *Abuses*.

Diple The diple, which is a comma or series of commas placed vertically in the margin to mark important passages, is found in the first edition but was omitted from all later versions of the text.²

On their own, these rules of thumb can be of only limited assistance, as the key to interpretation usually depends on an understanding of the manner in which each particular sentence has been patterned. M.B. Parkes suggests that '[t]he fundamental principle for interpreting punctuation is that the value and function of each symbol must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation' (2). Relatively speaking, the colon will signal a heavier pause than a comma, but a lighter pause than a full-stop. In the following sentence, for example, commas differentiate between various colours and fashions available in round hats while the colon is reserved to mark the larger shift from description to criticism:

Another sort haue round crownes, sometimes with one kind of
bande, sometimes with another, now blacke, now white, now
russet, now red, now greene, now yellowe: now this, nowe that,

■ of the eight instances in the fourth edition where a parenthesis falls at the end of a sentence, half print either a colon or a period within the final bracket, while the other four have omitted full-stops found in the previous editions, two as a result of authorial revision.

²Diples in the first edition mark, for instance, Cyprian's injunction against facepainting, the words of Christ cited against usury, and Lactantius's opposition to stage plays as quoted in Latin (compare the corresponding passages in the critical edition at lines 1609-20, 3517-21, and 4110-11).

neuer content with one collour or fashion, two moneths to an end. (1112-6)

A few lines later, commas and colons are used to structure a long, run-on sentence that progresses through three separate stages beginning with a statement, followed by an elaboration on the statement, and concluding with a final elaboration on the elaboration:

And as the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stuffe whereof their hattes be made diuers also: for some are of silk, some of Veluet, some of Taffeta, some of Sarcenet, some of Woolle, and which is more curious, some of a certaine kind of fine haire: These they call Beuer hattes of xx. xxx. or xl. shillings a peece, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides. (1118-24)

As in the previous example, commas mark short pauses, whereas colons signal important shifts within the sentence; added emphasis is given to the description of beaver hats by capitalising the first word, and the train of thought is brought to a close with a full-stop. Sometimes, although less often, a full-stop is used instead of a colon to provide emphasis within a sentence, thus creating two sentence fragments, as in the next example found in the chapter on perfumes:

They are so farre from comforting the braine, or reuiuing the spirits of man, that as mistes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodies, and are drawne vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moone and starres, do obscure and darken the beames of the Sunne. So these (in a maner) palpable odours, fumes, vapours, and smelles of Musks, Ciuets, Pomanders, Perfumes, Balmes, and such like ascending to the braine, doe rather darken and obscure the spirites and sences, then either lighten the, or comfort them any maner of way. (2004-12)

A similar effect was achieved in the third edition through the use of a colon in place of the full-stop found in the other three editions.

While a certain amount of irregularity is typical of the book and similar types of sentences can be pointed in a number of different ways, some

examples of punctuation, such as the missing colon in the passage which follows, seem almost certainly the result of compositorial error:

Then these delicate hosen must be cunningly knit, and curiously indented in euery point, with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly: whereto they haue Corked shoes, Pinsnets, Pantoffles, and Slippers: some of black Veluet, some of white, some of green, and some of yellow some of Spanish leather, and some of English stitched with silke and imbrodered with golde and siluer all ouer the foot, with other gewgawes innumerable: (1959-66).

The lack of any punctuation between the phrases 'and some of yellow' and 'some of Spanish leather' to mark the shift in subject matter from colours of velvet to types of leather is unusual given that some sort of pause after the description of velvets seems implicit in the overall construction of the sentence. The argument in support of compositorial oversight is strengthened by the evidence provided by the three early editions, all of which print a colon in this place.

Compositors sometimes mispunctuated their copy in the same way that they occasionally set a wrong letter or overlooked a word, but one must be wary of emending punctuation that appears wrong only because its use has not been properly understood. As a precaution against this type of editorial intrusion, I have emended instances of apparently misplaced and incorrect punctuation cautiously, and I have used the commentary freely to discuss instances of difficult or unusual punctuation which have been either emended or left unchanged.

Layout

The layout of the quarto has not been exactly reproduced in the critical edition, partly because this information can be more accurately conveyed in facsimile, but also because I felt it was important to avoid implying an absence of editorial mediation. The following, therefore, is a brief summary of the manner in which I have adapted the original quarto format, although the extent of the changes can be visually registered through comparison of the critical edition against the facsimile.

Sidenotes, page and chapter headings, and the use of multiple type-faces and type-sizes have been preserved, but other features such as running

titles, page numbers, original line breaks and justified margins have not been indicated; press-corrected running titles and page numbers are included with other press corrections in the Bibliographical Analysis at p. 35. Ligatures both in English and Latin have been separated and the long 's' has been adapted to its modern equivalent. Sidenotes have been positioned to the left of the page instead of on alternating sides but their placement relative to the text otherwise corresponds as closely as possible with the quarto printing. A double slash in the text indicates a page break, and page signatures are printed in the margin of the same line. Irregular catchwords have been collected together and printed as part of the bibliographical description of Q1, while page headings printed in the quarto are printed at the foot of the page in order to avoid interrupting the flow of the book in its modern format. Conventional capital letters have been substituted for ornamental letters.

Spaces between words, and between words and punctuation have been standardised and unambiguous examples of two words being run together ('&creation,' 'placesoeuer,' 'cloggedwith') have been silently emended. All words split over line breaks without appropriate hyphenation have been silently emended. The gap between the text and a title within the text has also been standardised since the tendency of the compositor(s) was to place a variant number of empty lines between the two to create the effect of a double space; instances in the quarto where no gap is left between the two apparently result from the need to conserve space on a cramped page (compare in the facsimile sigs. G2v, I3v, S4).

The variety of type-faces found in the quarto is reflected through a parallel use of modern fonts. The edited text has been printed in Times font: black letter in plain Times, italic in italic Times, and roman in bold Times. Twelve point has been chosen to stand for the pica type-size used in the main body of the text, with nine point representing the long primer found in the sidenotes and fourteen point representing the english type-size used in the prefatory material and chapter and page headings. The size of type found in chapter headings and speech prefixes has been standardised since smaller type was only occasionally used as a space-saving measure; otherwise, all shifts in type-face and type-size printed in the quarto have been reproduced, with instances of apparently unintentional shifts emended and noted in the collation. Where a single-line chapter heading has extended over two lines in the critical edition, the quarto practice of printing the second and third lines predominantly in pica italic has been adopted; this adaptation has not been noted in the collation line.

End-stop punctuation of page and chapter headings has been left as found in the quarto or emended and noted in the collation, but end-stops in the sidenotes are marked with full-stops throughout this edition for the practical reason that the long primer type-size used in the quarto sidenotes makes it impossible to determine variant end-stop punctuation with accuracy in every instance.

Collation Note

Minor correction of compositorial error such as the replacement of missing letters as well as more substantive editorial changes such as the substitution of 'Bastardes' for 'Bastardes a peece' at line 2607 have been noted in the collation line. The corrected reading printed in the edited text is placed after the number of the line on which it appears within a closing square bracket, followed by the authority for the emendation, a semi-colon, and the incorrect Q1 reading. Emendations have been mostly based on the readings found in O3, the text that provided the printer's copy for Q1, but if O3 is also incorrect, I have defaulted to the O2 reading and in tum to the O1 reading. If editions previous to the one on which the emendation is based print the same correct reading, they are also cited. When none of the previous editions can provide the grounds for emendation either because they are afl incorrect or the passage in question incorporates authorial revision between O3 and Q1, then, unless the corrected quarto reading has already been provided in the footnotes to Furnivall's text of O1, in which case Fumivall is cited as the relevant authority, the emendation is marked in the collation line with the abbreviation *'This ed'* ('this edition'). As noted previously in my discussion of quarto spelling and punctuation, readings in the fourth edition have been emended as far as possible without disturbing the spelling, punctuation, capitalisation or font type of the fourth edition, and therefore, where the emended reading has been based on, but is not identical to, the evidence found in one or more of the earlier editions, the abbreviation *'subst'* ('substantially') is included in the collation line. Therefore, in the example '1988. Perfumes] O1-O3 *subst*; Persumes' the reader is to understand that the word 'Perfumes' at line 1988 originally read 'Persumes' in Q1 and has been corrected on the evidence provided in all of the previous editions, one or more of which printed the word in a slightly variant manner, perhaps using a different type face or spelling, or without the capital letter. If a reading was press-corrected, then the corrected state is placed within the closing square bracket followed by the abbreviation *'cor'* ('corrected'), and the uncorrected state is placed after the semi-colon followed by the abbreviation *'uncor'* ('uncorrected'), as in the following example: '1413. There is a certaine] *cor*, Ther is a ceitaine *uncor'*. Where a long 's' appears to have been printed in place of an 'f' the reader is warned in square brackets after the emended reading of the possibility of broken type. Shifts in type face and font size found in the text are not reproduced in the collation line.

THE TEXT

The Anatomie

AI

of Abuses.

Containing

A Description of such nota-

ble Vices and enormities, as raigne in many Countries of *the world, but especially in this Realme of England: Together* with most fearefull examples of Gods heauie lodge-ments inflicted vpon the wicked for the same as well in *England* of late, as in other places else where.

10

Uerie godly to be read of all true Christians

euery where, but most chiefly, to bee
regarded in England.

Made dialogue-wise by Philip Stubs, Gent.

Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and
inlarged by the same Author.

[PUBLISHER'S DEVICE]

Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the
Rose and Crowne next aboute S. *Andrewes* Church
in Holborne. 1595. //

A2

To the Christian Magistrates 20
 and godly Gouvernors of England, whose authority & offices are to reforme vice and maintain vertue, P.S. wisheth the
 fauour of God, increase of godly honour,
 reward of laudable vertue, and eternal
 felicity through Iesus
 Christ.

Right Honourable, worshipfull and welbeloued, the Lord
 our God hauing by the power of his worde, created heauen
 and earth with all other thinges, for the benefit, comfort
 and vse of man: the last of all other (euen the sixt day) he 30
 made man after his owne similitude and likenesse, to this
 end, that in him he might be glorified aboue all other
 creatures. And therefore, whereas in making of other
 things, he vsed onely this word *Fiant*, bee they made, or let
 them be made: when he came to make man, consulting with
 himselfe, and as it were, asking counsell at his wisdome,
 he said, *Faciamus hominem*, let vs make man, that is, a
 woonderfull creature, and therefore is called in Greeke
Microcosmos, a little world in himselfe. And truly he is no
 lesse, whether we consider his spirituall soule, or his 40
 humaine body. For what Creature is there vpon the face of
 the earth comparable to man, either in body or soule? For
 what creature hath an immortall soule but only man? what
 Creature can foresee things to come, remember thinges
 past, or iudge of thinges present, but only man? what
 creature beareth the Image of God but man? what creature
 is made so erect to behold the heauens as man? what
 creature may bee likened to // man, whether we respect A2v
 the lineaments, the demensions, and proportion of the
 body, or the giftes and graces of the mind. And finally, 50
 what creature hath the promise of the resurrection and

glorification of their bodies, and of eternalllife, but only man. Then seeing the Lord hath made man thus glorious, & preferred him by many degrees, aboue all other creatures (the Angelicall creatures set apart,) it is manifest he hath done it to some end and purpose, namely, that he might be glorified in him, & by him aboue all other his works, according to the measure of his integrity, excellency and perfection. And hereby we may learne that it is the wil of God, that we should bend al our force to the aduancing of his glory, the edification of his people, and the building vp of his Church, which he hath redeemed with the blood of his deare sonne.

60

Which thing (me thinke) is notably figured fourth vnto vs in the 25. of *Exodus*, where the Lord commanded *Moises* to build him a Tabernacle, or house of prayer, to this ende & purpose (doubtlesse) that therein his Law might be read and preached, his ceremonies duly practized, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed, and his glorious name called vpon & obeyed. To the erection wherof, euery one conferred somewhat, some brought gold, some siluer, & som brasse, lead & tin: other brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought somewhat, namely skins, haire, sand, lime, morter, wood, stone, and such like. Euen so wold the lord haue euery one to confer somewhat, eue such as he hath, to the building vp of his spiritual house the Church purchased with the blood of Christ. Wherefore seeing it is so, that euery one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power: I haue rather chosen with the simplest & meanest sort to bring, though but haire, sand, skinnes, lime, morter, wood and stones, then altogether to sit idle and contribute nothing.//

70

80

A3

Not doubting, but that the chiefe Maister and builder of this house, Christ Iesus will not dislike, but rather accept of this my poore contribution, no lesse the he did of the poore widowes Mite, to whome it was imputed that she had cast more into the treasury of the Temple, then all the rest: for what she wanted in effect, that she supplied in affect. And for that also the Lord our God committing his talents to euery one, whether more or lesse, not onely requireth of vs the same againe simply, but also, as a strait computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs: and for that not onely, he is a murtherer and a Homicide before God, who slayeth or killeth a man with materiall sworde, but hee also, who may preuent the same murther, and will not. And for that not only, he is guilty of hainous transgression that committeth any euill actually, but also he who consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might auoid it, & either through negligence will not, or for feare of the world dare not. Therefore, albeit, that I haue receiued, but one poor talent, or rather but the shadow of one yet least I might be reprooued (with that vnprofitable seruaunt) for hiding my small talent in the earth, not profiting therewith at all, either my self or others, I haue aduentured the contriuing of this Iitle treatise, intituled, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, hoping that the same (by diuine assistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building vp, and erection of this spirituall house of the Lord.

And although I be one, that can doe least in this godlie course of life, palpable barbarisme forbidding me so much as once to enter into wisdomes schoole, yet for that some wil not, for feare of loosing worldly promotion (though in the meane time they loose the kingdome of heauen) other

some dare not for displeasing the worlde: I say, for these and semblable causes together, with the zeale and goodwill I beare vnto my cuntry, & feruent desire of their conuersio // and amendement, I haue taken vpon me the publishing of this booke. Which God grant may be with like plausible alacrity receiued, as with paines & good will, I haue collected it, for the benefit of my cuntry, the pleasure of the godly, and amendement of the wicked. And I doubt not, that as none, but the wicked and peruerse, whose gawld backs are tutchted, will repine against me, so the Godlie and vertuous, will accept of this my labour, and trauell herein sustained, whose gentle fauour and goodwil, shall counterpoize the maligne stomackes and austere countenances of the other.

A3v
120

After that I had fullie perfected this book, I was minded notwithstanding, both in regard of the strangenesse of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my pen, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and sundry causes, and neuer to haue offered it to the viewe of the world. But notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunate request, and infatigable desire of my friends, I graunted to publish the same, as now you see it extant.

130

And because this my booke is subiect to as many reproches, taunts, and reproofes, as euer was any little book subiect vnto (for that few can abide to heare their faults discouered) I thought it most meetest to be dedicated to all good Magistrates and men in authoritie, to reforme vice, & maintaine vertue: Vnto whom, in al humble dutie I doe willinglie present the same. And therefore, as the Lorde God in mercy hath giuen you his power & authority to reforme vices and abuses, so I beseech him to giue euery one of you a hungry desire to accomplish the same: for as you know, reformation of manners and amendement

140

of life, was neuer more needfull. For, was pride (the
 chieftest argument of this booke) euer so ripe? Doe not
 both men and women (for the most part) euerie one in
 generall goe attired in Silkes, Veluets Damasks, Sattens,
 and what not els? which are attire only for the Nobility
 and Gentry, and not for the other at any// hand. Are not
 vnlawfull games, playes, Enterludes, and the like euerie
 where frequented? Is not whoredome, couetousnesse,
 vsurie and the like dayly practized without all punishment
 of Iawe? Was there euer seene Jesse obedience in Youth of
 all sortes, both men-kinde and women-kind towards their
 superiours, Parents, Masters and gouernors?

But hereof I need to say no more, referring the good
 consideration as well of these as of the rest, to your Godlie
 Wisdomes, beseeching you to pardon my presumption in
 speaking thus much, for, *Zelus Domini hue adegit me*, the
 zeale of my God hath driuen me hither.

Thus I cease to mollest your eares any further with my
 rude speaches, most humbly beseeching you, not onely to
 admit this my booke into your protection, but also to
 persist, the iust defenders thereof, against the swinish
 erne of railing and slaunderous tongues, so shall I
 acknowledge my selfe most bounden to pray vnto god for
 the prosperous & good estates of you all, whom I beseech
 for Christ his sonnes sake, to blesse and prosper you in all
 your godly procedings now and for euer.

Your Honours and Wisdomes
 most bounden,

P. S. //

I.F. In commendation of the Authour and his Book.

Shall men prophane, who toyes haue writ 180
and wanton Pamphlets store:
Which onely tend to nourish vice,
and wickednes the more:
Deserue their praise, and for the same,
accepted be of all:
And shall not this our Authour then,
receiue the Laurell palle?
Who for good will in sacred breast,
he beares to natiue soile,
Hath published this godlie booke, 190
with mickle paine and toile?
Wherein, as in a mirrour pure,
thou maist beholde and see
The vices of the world displaid,
apparent to the eie.
He flattereth none, as most men doe,
in hope to get a price:
But shewes to all their wickednesse,
and Gods diuine Justice.
A Godlier booke hath not beene made, 200
nor meeter for these dayes:
Oh reade it then, thanke God for it,
let th'Authour haue his praise. II B1

The Anatomie of Abuses in England.

The Interlocutors, or Speakers:

SPVDEVS. PHILOPONVS.

God giue you good Morrow, Maister Philoponus.

Philo. And you also good Brother Spudeus.

Flying fame
oftentimes a
lyer. Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was reported 210
in our country (by reason of your discontinuance from thence I
thinke) that you were dead, long agoe.

Philo. Indeed, I haue spent some time abroad els where, than in
my natiue countrey (I must needs confesse) but, how false that
report is (by whomsoeuer it was first broched, or how farre so euer
it be dispersed) your present eies can witness.

Spud. I pray you what course of life haue you led in this your
long absence, foorth of your owne countrey?

The place
where the
Author hath
traueUed. Philo. Trulie (brother) I haue led the life of a poore Traueller,
in a certaine famous Iland, once named Albania, after Britania, 220
but nowe presentlie called Anglia, wherein I haue liued these
seuen winters and more, traueUing from place to place, euen all the
land ouer indifferently.

Spud. That was to your charges I am sure, was it not I pray
you?

TraueUing
chargeable. Phi. It was so: but what then? I thank God, I haue atchiued it,
and by his diuine assistance prosperously accomplished it, his
glorious name, (worthy of all magnificence) bee eternally praised
therefore.

Spud. To what end, did you take in hand this great traueU, if I 230
may be so bold as to aske you? //

B I v

- The causes
that moued
the Author to
take this tra-
uel in hand.
- Phil. Trulie to see fashions, to acquaint my self with the
natures, qualities, properties and conditions of all men, to break my
selfe to the world, to learne nurture, good demeanour, and ciuill
behauour: to see the goodly scituation of Cities, Townes, &
countries, with their prospectes, and commodities: and finallie, to
learne the state of all things in generall: all which, I coulde neuer
haue learned in my owne countrey at home. For (in my poore
iudgment) hee that sitteth at home, euer abiding in one place,
knoweth nothing, in respect of him, that trauelleth abroad: and he 240
that knoweth nothing, is a bruit beast. But he that knoweth all things
(which thing none doth but God alone) he is (as it were) a God
amongst men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge, as in
euery thing els, euery man ought to desire that perfection aboue al
other things: for in my iudgment, there is as much difference
betwixt a man that hath trauelled much, and him that hath dwelt euer
in one place (in respect of knowledge, and science of things) as is
betweene a man liuing, and one dead in graue. And therefore I haue
had a great felicitie in traueilling abroad all my life long.
- The differece
betwixt a ma
that hath
trauelled, and
a man that
hath not.
- Spud. Seing that by diuine prouidence, we are met together, let 250
vs (vntill we come to the end of our iourney) vse some conference
of the state of the world now at this day, as wei to recreate our
mindes, as to cut off the tediousness of our iourney.
- The benefite
of a good
Companion
to trauel
withal!.
- Phil. I am very wei content so to do, reioycing not a little of
your good company: For Comes facundus in via, pro
vehiculo est. A good companion to trauell withal, is in steed of a
wagon or Chariot. For as the one doeth ease the painfulnesse of the
way, so doeth the other alleuiate the yrkesomnesse of the Iourney
intended.
- Spud. But before I enter into dispute with you, (because I am 260
a Countrey man, rude and vnlearned: and you a Ciuilian, indued

A request to
auoid scandal
or offence.

with great wisdom, knowledge, and experience) I most humbly
beseech you, that you will not be offended with me, though I talke
with you somewhat rudely, without either polished wordes, or
fined speeches, which your wisdom peradventure doth require,
and my insufficiency and inability being such, is not able for to
yeelde.

Philo. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not be // B2
offensive to me, if they be not offensive to God first.

Spud. I pray you then, what manner of Country is **England**, 270
where you say you haue travelled so much?

England a
goodly
Country.

Phil. A pleasant and famous Ilande, immured about with the
sea, as it were with a wall, wherein the aire is temperate, the
ground fertile, the earth abounding with all things, either needfull
for man, or necessarie for beast.

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite that
Country?

The people
of England.

Philo. A strong kind of people, most audacious, bolde, 280
puissant, and heroically, and of great magnanimity, valiance, and
prowes, of an incomparable feature of body, of an excellent
complexion, and in all humanity, inferior to none vnder the Sunne.

Spud. This people whom God hath thus blessed, must needs
be a very godly people, either else they be merely ungrateful to God,
the author of all grace, and of these their blessings especially?

The liues of
the people of
England.

Philo. It grieueth me to remember their liues, or to make
mention of their workes: for notwithstanding that the Lorde hath
blessed them, with the knowledge of his truth about all other Lands
in the world, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wicked, or
perverse, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

Spud. From whence spring all these evils in man? for we see 290
euery one is inclined to sinne naturally, and there is no flesh

B2. PH: *England described*,

265. speeches] 01-03; speeches

which liueth, and sinneth not.

Phil. All wickednesse, mischiefe, and sinne (doubt you not
From whence brother **Spud.**) springeth from our auncient enimie the deuill,
all euilles the inueterate corruption of our nature: and the intesrine malice of
spring in our owne hearts, as from the efficient causes, and stinking puddles
mi. of all vncleannes and filthinesse whatsoever. But wee are now new
creatures, and the adopted children of God created in Christ Iesus
to good workes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in, and
therefore we ought to haue no fellowship with the workes of 300
darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, to walk in newnes of
We ought to life, *and to work our saluation with fear and trembling*, as the
haue no Apostle speaketh. And our sauior Christ biddeth vs, *so to work as*
dealing with *our works may glorify our heauenly father*. But the contrary is
the works of most true, // for there is no sin, which was euer broached in any
the flesh. age, that flourisheth not now. And therefore the fearefull day of the
Lord cannot be farre off: at which day, all the world shall stand in
flashing fire, and then shall Christ our Sauior come martching in
the cloudes of heauen, with this dreadfull **Taratantara** sounding 310
in each mans eare: *Arise you dead, and come to iudgment*, and then
shal the Lord reward euerie man according to his workes. But how
little this day is feared, and how slenderlie regarded in **England**, it
would grieue any Christian hart to consider.

Spud. It is but a follie to grieue for them, who sorrow not for
themselues. Let them sinke in their owne sinne: liue wei your self
and you shall not answer for them, nor they for you. Is it not
written? **Vnusquisque portabit onus suum**. Euerie one shall
Euerie man beare his owne burthen. **Anima quae peccauerit, ipsa**
must answer **moriatur**. The soule that sinneth shall die? Wherefore cease to 320
for himselfe. sorrow or grieue any more for them: for by all likelihood they are

B2v. PH: *The original ofsinne*

298. adopted] *This ed*; adoapted 310. Taratantara] 01-03; Tara tantara 317. you. Is it not] 01-03;
you, Is it no

such, as the Lord hath cast into a reprobate sence, and destinate to destruction, that his power, his glorie, and his iustice, may appear to al the world.

Phil. Oh brother, there is not any Christian man, in whose heart shineth scintillula vlla pietatis, any spark of Gods grace, but will grieue, seeing his brethren and sisters in the Lord, members of the same bodie, coheires of the same kingdome, and purchased with one and the same inestimable price of Christ his blood, to run desperately headlong into the gulfe of destruction and perdition both of body and soule for euer. If the least or meanest member of thy whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatrized, or bruised, doth not the heart, and euery member of the bodie feele the anguish and paine of the griued part, seeking and endeouoring by all means possible (euery one in his office & nature) to repaire the same, & neuer ioying, vntil it be restored again to his former integritie & perfection? Which thing in the ballance of Christian charitie considerately weighed, moueth me, and ought to mooue any good Christian man to mourne for their defection, assaying by all means possible to reclaime them, and to bring them home againe, that their soules may be saued in the day of the Lord. And the Apostle commaundeth vs, to the vttermost of our power, vt simus alteri emolumento. That we should be an aid and help one to another. And that we do good to all men, dum tempus babe-// mus, whilest we haue time. To weep with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and to be of like affection one towards another. And common reason teacheth vs, that we are not borne for our selues onelie: for Ortus nostri partem patria, partem amici, partem Parentes vendicant. Our countrey challengeth a part of our birth, and brethren and friends require another part, and our parents (and that optimo

The mutuall harmonie of one member with another. 330

No man borne for himselfe. 340

B3

350

B3. PH: *Of Christian charitie.*

PH. charitie] *cor*; charitei *uncor*

iure) do vindicate a third part. Wherefore I will assay to doo them good (if I can) by discouering their abuses, & laying open their enormities, that they seeing the grieuousnes of their maladies, & daunger of their diseases, may in time seek the true physition of their souls, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued.

Spud. Seeing that so many and so hainous inormities doe raigne and rage in England, as your words do import, & which moouue you to such intestine sorrow and grieffe of rinde: I pray you describe vnto me more particularly some of those capitall abuses, and horrible vices which are there frequented, and which displease the Maiesty of God most in your iudgment? 360

A particular discription of Pride, the principall
abuse in England, and how manifold it is.

Philo.

You do wei to request me to describe vnto you some of those great abuses, and Cardinali vices which are vsed in England, for no man (in any competent volume) is able to comprehend the sum of all the abuses there practised. And whereas you would haue me to speake of those capitall and chiefe abuses, which both are deadly in their own nature, and which offend the Maiesty of God most: Me think you herein shake hands, with the swome enemies of God the Papists, who say, there are two kinds of sins, the one Venial, the other lethal or deadly. But you must vnderstand, that there is not the least sinne that is committed, either in thought, word or deed (yea, *Vae vniuersae iustitiae nostrae si remota misericordia iudicetur.* Wo be to al our righteousness, if mercie put away, it shuld be iudged) but it is damnable, *Dempta misericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be taken away. And againe, there is no sinne so lethall or deadly: nor yet any offence 370 380

352. vindicate] 01-03 *subst*; vindicate 356. onelie] 01-03 *subst*; ouelie 366. Philo.] *cor*; Philip. *uncor*

so // grievous, but the grace and mercie of God is able to pardon
and remit, if it be his good pleasure so to do. So that you see nowe,
there is no sinne so Venial!, but if the mercie of God bee not
extended, it is damnable: nor yet any sinne so mortall, which by the
grace and mercie of God, may not be done away. And therefore, as
we are not to presume of the one, so are wee not to dispaire of the
other. But to returne again to the satisfying of your request. The
greatest abuse, which in my iudgement both offendeth God most,
and is there not a little aduanced, is, the execrable sinne of Pride,
and excesse in Apparell, which is there so rotten ripe, as the filthy
dregges thereof, haue long since presented themselues, before the
throne of the Maiestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day
and night incessantlie.

B3v

The greatest
abuse which
offl!deth
God most,
is pride.

390

Spu. Wherefore haue you intended to speak of Pride the first of
all, giuing it the first place in your discourse? because it is euil in it
self & the efficient cause of euill, or for some other purpose?

Pride the
beginning
of all euils.

Philo. For no other cause, but for that I thinke it, not onely
euill and damnable in it owne Nature, but also the very efficient
cause of all euils, and therefore the wise man was bolde to call it,
Initium omnium malorum. The beginning and welspring of all
euilles. For, as from the roote all naturall things doe grow, and take
their beginning: so from the cursed roote of pestiferous Pride, do
all other euils sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therefore, may
Pride be called not improperly, Matercula & origo omnium
vitorum, The Mother and nurse of all mischief. For, what fact so
haynous, what crime so flagicious, what deede so perillous, what
attempt so venterous, what enterprize so pernicious, or what thing
so offensiue to God, or hurtfull to man is there in all the worlde,
which man will not willinglie commit, to maintaine his pride
withall? Hereof euery dayes successe ministreth prooffe sufficient.

400

What is it but
Pride dares
attempt it.

410

Pride is three

Spud. How manifold is this sinne of Pride, whereby the glorie

B3v. PH: *Pride the mote of all vices.*

385. damnable] 01-03; damnabl 409. offensiue] 01-03; offense

fold, pride of
the heart,
pride of the
mouth, and
pride of
apparell.

of God is defaced, & his Maiestie so grievously offended?

Phil. Pride is threefold: namely, the pride of the hearte, the pride of the mouth, and the pride of apparell, the last whereof (vnlesse I be deceiued) offendeth God more then the other two.

For as the pride of the hearte, and of the mouth, are not opposite to the eye, nor visible to the sight, and therefore cannot intice others // B4
to vanitie & sin (notwithstading they be grievous sins in the sight
of God) so the pride of apparell which is obiect to the sight, as an 420
exemplary of euill induceth the whole man to wickednes & sinne.

Spud. How is the pride of the heart committed?

Philo. Pride of the heart is committed, when as a man lifting himselfe on high, thinketh of himselfe, aboue that which he is: dreaming of a perfection in himselfe, when there is nothing lesse: and in respect of himself contemneth and despiseth al others thinking none comparable to himselfe, whose righteousnesse, notwithstanding, is like to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therefore the pride of the heart, may be saide to be a rebellious elation, or lifting vp of the mind, against the Lawe of 430
God, attributing and ascribing that vnto himselfe, which is proper to God onelie. And although it be the Lord, *Qui operatur in nobis & velle & posse*, Who worketh in vs both the will and power to doe good. *Ne gloriaretur omnis Caro*, least any flesh should boast of his owne power and strength: Yet Pride with his Cosin germain *Philautia*, which is Self-loue, perswadeth him, that he hath need of no mans help but his owne: that hee standeth by his owne proper strength and power, and by no mans els, and that he is all in all, yea, so perfect and good as no more can be required of him in this life. 440

Spud. How is the pride of wordes, or the pride of the mouth committed?

B4. PH: *Three sorts of Pride.*

Philo. Pride of the mouth, or wordes, is, when we boast,
 How pride of bragge, or glorie, either of our selues, our kindred, affinitie,
 words, or of consanguinitie, birth, parentage, and such like: or when we extol
 the mouth is our selues in respect of some vertue, sanctimony, synceritie,
 committed. integrity or perfection, which either is in vs, or which we pretend
 to be in vs. In this kind of Pride (as in the other) almost euery
 one offendeth: For shall you not haue all (in a maner) boast and
 bragge of their auncestors and progenitors? Saying and crying 450
 vainglorious aperto ore, With open mouth: I am a Gentleman, I am worshipful,
 ostentation I am Honourable, I am Noble, & I cannot tel what: My father was
 of births, this, my father was that: I am come of this house, and I am come of
 and parent- that: I was born of this race, & I was borne of that, I am descended
 age, &c. of this stocke, and I of that: Whereas Dame Nature bringeth vs all
 into the world after one sort, & receiueth // al againe, into the womb B4v
 of our mother (the bowels of the earth) all in one and the same order
 and maner, without any difference or diuersitie at all, whereof more
 hereafter shal be spoken.

Spud. How is pride of Apparell committed? 460

Phi. By wearing of Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, and
 How pride of precious then our state, calling, or condition of life requireth,
 apparel is whereby we are puffed vp into Pride, and induced to think of our
 perpetrate & selues, more then we ought, being but vile earth and miserable
 committed. sinners. And this sin of Apparell (as I haue saide before) hurteth
 more then the other two, for the sin of the heart hurteth none but the
 Authour in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not forth into
 outward shew and appearance. And the pride of the mouth, though
 it be meere vngodly in it own nature, yet is it not so permanent (for
 Verba cito auolant, & euanescunt in aerem, words soone 470
 fly away, and vanish in the aire, not leauing any print or
 Character behind them to offend the eies withal.) But this sinne of

B4v. PH: *Pride vainglorious.*

450. progenitors?] 01-03; progenitors.! 461. gorgeous] 01-03; georgeous 463 SN. apparel] 01-03 *subst*; a.pparel

the excesse of Apparel, remaineth as an example of euill before our eyes, & is a prouocation to sin, as experience dayly prouoeth.

A Decorum to
be obserued.

Spud. Would you not haue men to obserue a decency, a comelines, and a decorum in their Attire? Doth not the word of God commaund all things to be done decenter, & secundum ordinem ciuilem: decently and after a ciuill order.

Our apparel
rather defor-
meth then
adorneth vs.

Phi. Yea trulie. I would wish, that a decency, a comely order, and as you say, a decorum were obserued, as well in attire, as in all thinges els: But wold God the contrare were not true: For doe not the most of our fond Inuentions, and newfangled fashions rather deforme, then adome vs: disguise vs, then become vs: making vs rather to resemble sauage beastes, and bruitish monsters, then continent, sober and chast Christians?

480

Circes cups
and Medeas
pottes haue
made Eng-
land drunke
with pride.
No country
so drunken
with pride as
England.

Spu. Hath this contagious infection of Pride of Apparel, infected & poysoned any other countries besides Englad suppose you?

Phil. No doubt, but this poyson of Pride hath shed forth his influence, and poured forth his stinking dregs ouer all the face of the earth, but yet I am sure, there is not any people vnder the face of heauen, how sauage or brutish soeuer, so poysoned with this Arsnecke of Pride, or that hath drunke so deep of this impotionate cup, as England hath, with grieffe of cunscience I speak it, with sorrow ■ see it, and with teares ■ lament it. //

490

C1

Spud. But I haue heard them say, that other nations passe them for exquisite finenesse and brauery in apparell: as the Italians, the Athenians, the Spaniards, the Chaldeans, Heluetians, Zuitzers, Venetians, Muscouians, and such like: Nowe whether this be true or not, I greatly desire to know.

500

Philo. This is but a visour or cloak, to couer their own shame withall: onely spoken, not proued: forged in the deceitfull mint of

C1. PH: *Newfanglenesse in England.*

483 SN. then] 02-03; them 500. not, II 01-03; not. I

their own lying braines: for (if credit may bee giuen to auncient
 writers) the Egyptians are said neuer to chaunge their fashion, or
 alter the form or fashion of their attire, fro the beginning of the
 world to this day: as Iacobus Stuperius, lib.de diuersis
 Stuperius. nostrae aetatis habitibus.pag.16. affirmeth. The Grecians
 are saide to vse but one kind of apparel without any change: that is
 to wit, a long gown, reaching down to the ground. The Ger-
 maines, are thought to be so precise, in obseruing one vniform
 fashion of apparel, as they haue neuer receeded from their first
 originall: as the said Stuperius saith in these wordes: Non enim
 mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnquam
 consueuit incola: which in English verse is thus much in effect, *The*
Germaine people neuer vse at all to chop and chaunge, Their
customes old, or els attire, wherein abroade they raunge. The
 Muscouians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians,
 Affricanes, Asians, Cantabrians, Hungarians,
 Ethiopians, Dutch, French, or els what nations soeuer vnder the
 Sunne, are so farre behinde the people of England in
 AI Nations 520
 inferiour to
 England for
 pride of
 apparell. exquisitnesse of apparell, as in effect, they esteeme it little or
 nothing at all, so it repell the colde, and couer their shame: yea,
 some of them are so smally addicted thereto, that setting apart all
 hunestie and shame, they go deane naked. Other some meanly
 apparelled, some in beasts skinned, some in haire, and what euer
 they can, some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding
 either hosen, shooes, bandes, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And
 the ciuilest nations that are, be so farre estraunged from the pride of
 apparell, that they esteeme him as brauely attired, that is cloathed in
 our Carzies, Prizes, Rugges, and other kindes of cloath, as we do
 him that is clad all ouer in silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damaskes,
 Grograins, Taffaties, and such like. So that hereby you see, that
 they speake vntruly that say, that other Nations exceed them in
 530

brauery of apparel!. For it is manifest that all //other nations vnder C1v
the Sunne, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comely
No people so curious in newfangles as they of England.
soeuer they thinke their fashions to be, when they bee compared
with the diuers fashions, and sundry formes of apparel in
England, are most vnhandsome, brutish and monstrous. And
hereby it appeareth, that no people in the worlde are so curious in
newfangles, as they of **England** be. But graunt it were so, and 540
admit that others excelled them (which is false) shall wee doe euill,
because they do so? Shall their wickednesse excuse vs of sinne, if
we commit the like & worse? shal not the soule that sinneth dy?
Wherfore let vs not sinne of presumption with the multitude,
because they doe so, least we be plagued with them, because we
doe the like. Moreouer, those countries are rich and wealthy of
themselues, abounding with all kind of precious ornaments, and
rich attire, as Silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damaskes, Sarcenet, Taffeta,
Chamlet, and the like (for all these are made in those forren
countreyes) and therefore if they weare them, they are not to be 550
blamed, as not hauing any other kinde of clothing to couer
themselues withall. So if we would content our selues with such
kinde of attire as our owne countrie doeth yeeld vs, it were
somewhat tollerable. But we are so captiuat in Pride, that if it come
not from beyond the seas, it is not woorth a strawe. And thus we
impouerish our selues in buying their trifling Merchandizes, more
pleasant than necessary, and inritch them, who laugh at vs in their
sleeues, to see our great folly in affecting of trifles, and parting with
good wares for them. And how little they esteeme of Silkes,
Veluets, Satens, Damaskes Taffetaes, and such, we may easily see, 560
in that they sell them to vs for our Woolles, Frizes, Rugges,
Carzies, and the like, which they would neuer, if they esteemed of
them as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessitie, to
weare such rich attire, wanting other thinges (whereof wee haue
store) to inuest themselues withall. But who seeth not (except

C1v. PH: *Brutishfashions in England.*

548 SN. be] 01-03; be 549. are] 01-03; are are

wilfullie blinde) that no necessitie compelleth vs to weare them, hauing aboundance of other thinges to attire our selues with all both handsomner, warmer and comelier then they in euery respect? but farre fetched and deare bought, is good for Ladies, they say.

Spu. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, hauing store of other necessarie cloathing, to weare Silkes, Veluettes, Taf- // faties, and other such rich attire, of what calling soeuer they be. 570
C2

Euerie man
may weare
apparell
according to
his calling.

Philo. I doubt not, but it is lawfull for the nobilitie the gentry and the Magistery, to weare rich attire, euery one in their calling. The Nobilitie and Gentry to inoble, garnish, and set fourth their birthes, dignities and estates. The Magisterie to dignifie their callinges, and to demonstrate and shew fourth the excellencie, the Maiestie and worthynesse of their offices and functions, thereby to strike a terrour and feare into the hearts of the people, to offend against their office and authority: but yet wold I wish, that what so is superfluous or ouermuch, either in the one, or in the other, shuld be distributed and erogate, to the help and subuention of the poore members of the body of Christ Iesus, of whom an infinite number dayly perish, through want of necessary refection, & due sustentation to their bodies. And as for priuate subiectes, it is not at any hand lawfull that they should weare silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damaskes, golde, siluer, and what they list (though they be neuer so able to maintaine it) except they being in some kind of office in the common wealth, doe vse it for the dignifying and innobling of the same: Or at the commandement of the chiefe Magistrate for some speciall consideration, or purpose. But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in **England**, and such horrible excesse thereof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparell he listeth himselfe, or can get by any meanes. So that it is very hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a

The nobiHtie
may weare
gorgious at-
tire, and why.

580

Magistrates
may weare
sumptuous
at'ire,
&why.

Not lawfull
for priuate
subiectes to
weare sump-
tuous attire.

590

C2. PH: *Sumptuous Attire.*

574-5. calling. The] 02-03 *subst*; calling The 595. knowe, who is noble, who] 01-03 *subst*;
knowe, who

hard to know
a gentleman
from another
by apparell.

Gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue those, which are neither of the Nobilitie, Gentilitie, nor Yeomanrie, no, nor yet any Magistrate or officer in the common wealth, goe daylie in silkes, Veluettes, Satens, Damaskes, Taffaties, and such like: notwithstanding, that they be both base by birth, meane by estate, and seruile by calling. And this I accompt a great confusion, and a generall disorder in a Christian common wealth.

600

Spud. If it be not lawfull for euery one to weare silks, veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffaties, gold, siluer, precious stones, & what not, wherfore did the Lord make and ordaine them?

Wherfore
the Lord
made rich
ornaments.

Phil. I deny not, but they may be worne of them, who want other things to cloath themselues withal, or of the Nobility, Gentry, or magistrery, for the causes aboue said, but not of euery proud Thraso indifferetly, that hath store of other attire ynough: & yet did // not the Lord ordaine these rich ornaments, & glorious vestiments, to be worne of all men, or of any, so much as to splendidish, beautifie, and set foorth the maiestie and glorie of this his earthly kingdom: for, as cloath of gold, Arase, Tapestry, and such other rich ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a house of estate, serue not onely to manuall vses and seruile occupations, but also to decore, to beautifie, and adorne the house, and to shew the rich estate and glorie of the owner: so these rich ornaments, & sumptuous vestments of the earthly territorie of this world, do not only serue to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but also to shewe foorth the power, wealth, dignitie, riches, and glorie of the Lorde, the author of all things. And herein the Prouidence and mercie of God appeareth most plainlie, for where there is store of other clothing, there hath he giuen lesse store of silks, Veluets, Satens Damaskes, and such

C2v

Whereto rich
ornaments
do serue.

620

C2v. PH: *By whom apparell was giuen.*

617. these rich] 01-03 *subst*; these. rich

like: and where there is plenty of them, there is no clothing els almost, and thus the Lord hath dealt, for that euery country should be content with their owne kind of attire: except necessity inforce the contrary, for then wee are to vse our libertie in the feare of God.

Spud. I pray you let me intreat you, to shewe me wherefore our apparel was giuen vs, and by whom? 630

Philo. Your request is both diffuse and intricat, and more then my weake and infirme knowledge is able to performe: yet least I might be adiudged vnwilling to doe good, I will assay to doe the best that I can.

When, where
and for what
cause our
apparell was
geuen vs.

When the Lord our God, a spirituall, intellectible vnderstanding substance, incomprehensible, immensurable, and inaccessible, had by his word and heauenly wisdome Christ Iesus, created and made the world, and all things therein contained, the sixt day he created man, after his owne similitude and likenesse, in innocencie, holinesse righteousnesse, and all kind of perfection: 640

And placing him in Paradice terrestriall, commanded him to till and manure the same. Then the deuill, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angell in heauen, and through the sinne of Pride, in arrogating to himselfe the seate and throne of Gods Maiesty, cast downe into the lake of Hell, enuying mans glorious estate, which he then had lost, came vnto man in Paradise, and inticed him (like a torteous Serpent) to eat of the forbidden fruit, whereof the Lord // C3
God had forbidden him to taste, on paine of his life: notwithstanding Adam condescending to the perswations of his wife, or rather 650
of the serpent in his wife, hauing buzzed his venemous suggestions into her eares, tooke of the Apple, and did eat, contrary to the expresse commandement of his God. This done, their eies were opened, they saw their nakednesse, and were not a little ashamed (and yet before sinne was committed, they being both naked, were

The fal of
man by the
maHce of
the deuill.

C3. PH: *The fall of Adam*

630. intreat you] 01-03 *subst*; intreat yon 636-7. vnderstanding] 01-03 *subst*; vnderstanging

not ashamed, but sinne once contracted, they became vncleane, filthy, lothsome, and deformed) and sewed them garments of Figge leaues together, to couer their shame withall. Then the Lord pittying their miserie, and loathing their deformitie, gaue them beasts felles and skinned to make them garmentes withall, to the ende that their shamefull parts might lesse appeare: Yet some are so brazen faced, and so impudent, that to make the deuill and his members sport, will not sticke to make open shew of those parts, which God commandeth to be couered, Nature willeth to be hid, and honestie is ashamed once to behold or looke vpon.

Spud. I gather by your words three speciall points. First, that sinne was the cause why our apparel was giuen vs. Secondly, that God is the author, and giuer therof. Thirdly, that it was giuen vs to couer our shame withall, and not to feed the insatiable desires of mens wanton and luxurious eyes?

Phil. Your collection is very true. Then seeing that our apparell was giuen vs of God to couer our shame, to keepe our bodies from cold, and to be as prickles in our eyes, to put vs in minde of our miseries, frailties imperfections and sinne, of our backsliding from the commandements of God, and obedience of the highest, & to exercise vs the rather to contrition, and compunction of spirite, to bewaile our misery, and to craue mercie at the mercifull handes of God, let vs be thankfull to God for them, be sory for our sinnes (which were the causes thereof) and vse them to the glorie of our God, and the benefit of our bodies and soules at the last. But (alas) these good creatures, which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respectes before rehearsed, we haue so peruerted, as nowe they serue in steed of the deuils nets, to intangle poore soules in: For euery one now adayes (almost) decke and paint their sepulchres (their bodies I meane) with all kinde of brauerie, whatsoever can be deuised, to delight the eyes of the vncha te beholders,

Impudent
beastes that
shew their
prouities.

660

Wherefore
our apparel
was giuen vs.

670

Mens bodies
liuing
sepulchres.

680

whereby // God is dishonored, offence ministred, and much sin
 daily committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare. C3v

Spud. Did the Lord cloath our first Parents in leather, as not
 hauing any thing more pretious to attire them withall, or for that it 690
 might be a perpetual rule or patteme vnto vs (his posterity) for euer
 whereafter we are of force to make all our garmentes, so as it is not
 nowe lawfull for vs to goe in rich attire, without offending his
 Maiestie?

Phil. Although the Lord did not cloath them so meanly, for that
 he had nothing els, more precious to attire them withall (for Domini
 est terra & plenitudo eius, The earth is the Lordes,
 and the fulnesse thereof, saith the Lord by his Psalmist, and by his
 Prophete, Gold is mine, siluer is mine, and all the riches
 of the world is mine owne) yet no doubt, but he woulde that 700

In our apparel
 we ought
 rather to obey
 necessity,
 thto feed
 vanitie.

this their meane and base attire should be as a rule or pedagogie
 vnto vs, to teach vs that we ought rather to walke meanly and
 simply, then gorgeously or pompouslie: rather seruing present
 necessity, thregarding the wanton appetites of our lasciuious
 mindes: notwithstanding, I suppose not, that his heauenly maiesty
 woulde, that those garments of leather, should stand as a rule or
 pattern of necessity vnto vs, whereafter we should be bound to
 shape all our apparell for euer, or els grieuously to offend: but yet
 by this we may see his blessed wil was then, & is now, that we
 shuld rather go an ace beneath our degree then a iote aboue. And 710
 that any simple couering pleaseth the Godly, so that it repell the
 colde, and couer the shame, it is more then manifest, as well by the
 legendes of prophane Historiographers, Chronologers, and other
 Writers, as also by the censures, examples & liues of all Godly
 Adamhls
 mean kind of
 attire was
 a signe of

vnto vs, hee both in mercy would, and in his mighty power could

C3v. PH: *The right vse of apparell.*

691. (his posterity) for euer] 01-03 *subst*; (his posterity for euer) 696-700. (for ... thereof, saith ...
 owne) yet] 01-03 *subst*; (for ... thereof) saith ... owne: yet 716. mediocritie] 01-03; mediocritiy

mediocrity
vnto vs in
our apparell.

haue inuested them in silks, Veluets, satens, grogaines, gold, siluer,
and what not els? But the Lord our God foresaw, that if he had
clothed man in rich and gorgious attire: (such is our proanesse to
sinne) he would haue bene proud thereof, and so purchase to
himselfe, his bodie and soule eternal damnation. 720

Spud. Then it seemeth a thing material, and of great moment
that we resemble our first Parentes in austerity of apparell and//
simplicity of attire, so much as may be possible, doth it not? C4

No religion
reposed in
apparell.

Phil. I put no religion in going, or not going in the like simple
attire of our parents Adam and Eua (as the Sorbonicall Papists
doe, placing all their religion in heathen garmentes and Romish
ragges) so that we obserue a meane, and exceed not in pride. But
notwithstanding, if we approached a little nearer them, in godlie
simplicity and Christian sobriety, both of apparell and maner of
liuing, we should not only please God a great deale the more, and
enrich our cuntry, but also auoyd many scandalles and offences,
which growe dayly by our excessiue riote, and riotous excesse in
apparell. For doth not the apparel stir vp the heart to pride? doth it
not intice others to sinne? and doeth not sinne purchase hell the
guerdon of pride. 730

The fruit of
pride.

Spud. But they say they please God, rather then offend him in
wearing this gorgious attire, for thereby the glory of his
workmanship in them doth more brauely appeare. Besides that, it
maketh a man to be accepted, and esteemed of in euery place:
whereas otherwise, they should be nothing lesse. 740

The Lord
accepteth no
man after his
apparell.

Philo. To thinke that the Lorde our God is delighted in the
splendent shew of outward apparell, or that it setteth forth the
glory of his creatures, and the maiesty of his kingdome, I suppose
there is no man (at least no perfect Christian man) so bewitched or
assotted. For that were as much, as to say, that stinking pride, and

C4. PH: *Hell the reward of Pride.*

filthy sinne, tended to the glory of God, so that the more we
 sinne, the more we increase his praise and glorie. But the Lord our
 God is so farre from delighting in sinne, that he adiudgeth them to
 etemall death and damnation, that commit the same. Then who is
 hee that will take pleasure in vaine apparell, which if it be wome
 but a while will fall to ragges, and if it bee not wome, will soone
 rot, or els bee eaten with Mothes. His wayes are not our
 waies, his Iudgementes are not our Iudgementes, as hee sayeth
 by his Prophete: And whereas they holde, that apparell setteth
 forth the glory of his Maiestie in his creatures, making them to
 appeare fairer, then otherwise they woulde of themselues, it is
 blasphemouslie spoken, and much derogateth, from the
 excellencie and glory of his name. For saith not God by his
 Prophete Moises, that after he had made all creatures, hee behelde
 them all, and beholde, they were (and especiallie man the ex- //
 cellentest of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own
 similitude and likenesse) exceeding good. And were all creatures
 good and perfect, and onely man not perfect nor faire ynough? **If**
 these their speeches were true (which in fulnesse of their
 blasphemy they shame not to speake) then might we easily
 conuince the Lord of vntruth, who in his sacred word teacheth vs,
 tLat man is the perfectest creature, and the fayrest of all others that
 euer he made (excepting the heauenlie Spirites, and Angelicall
 creatures) as before. But **O** man, who art thou that
 reasonest with thy creator? Shall the clay say vnto the Potter,
 why hast thou made me thus? Or can the clay make himselfe
 better faouered then the Potter, who gaue him his first stampe and
 proportion? Shall wee thinke that stinking Pride can make the
 workmanship of the Lord seem fayrer? Then why did not
 the Lord cloath vs so at the first? or at least, why gaue he not

750

No attire can
 make the
 creature of
 God seeme
 fairer.

760

C4v

770

Euery one is
 to content
 himself with
 his creation
 and to praise
 God for it.

C4v. PH: *Man comelie of himselfe.*

761 SN. fairer] 01-03 *subst*; faire 762-3. excellentest] 01-03; ex-excellentest 770-1. made
 (excepting...creatures) as before.] 02-03 *subst*; made, excepting... creatures as before) PH. Man]
 01-03 *subst*; Mau

commandement in his will and testament, which he sealed with the blood of his Sonne, to cloth our selues in rich and gorgeous apparel, to set fourth this glory the more? But away with these sauage dogges and hellish haggas, who are of this mind, that cursed pride glorifieth God, and setteth forth or beautifieth his workmanship in his creatures. In vaine is it, for me to expostulate with them, for doubtlesse none holde this, but such miscreants (or deuils incarnate) as the Lord hath cast off into a reprobate sence, and preiudicate opinion, whom I beseech the Lorde in the bowels of his mercy, eyther speedily to conuert that they perish not, or els confound, that they hurt not, that peace may be vnto Israeli. Thus hauing sufficiently, I trust refelled their false suppositions, I leaue them to the Lord, beseeching them, as they tender their owne saluation, *Linguae corupescere digitis*, to stoppe their sacrilegious mouthes with their fingers, & not to spit against heauen, or kicke against the pricke, as they doe, any longer. For the Lord our God is a consuming fire, and vpon obstinate sinners shall raine downe fire and brimstone, and consume them in his wrath. This is their portion acquired by sinne.

The Lord our
God is a
consuming
fire, to
destroy all
impenitent
sinners.

Spud. But what say you to the other branch of their conclusion namely, that apparel maketh them to be accepted, and weltaken in euery place?

Philo. Amongst the wicked, & ignorant pezants, I must needes confesse, they are the more esteemed, in respect of their apparel, but// nothing at al the more, but rather the lesse amongst the godly wise. So farre off wil all wise men be, from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer so gallantly painted, or curiously plumed in the deceitfull feathers of Pride) they will rather contemne him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man, puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odious before

780
790
800
D1

The wise wil
not accept of
anie, after
apparell.

D1. PH: *No estimation due to apparell.*

782. setteth] 01-03; setteh 801. respect] 01-03; respect

men, and detestable before God. And seeing it can not stand with the rule of God his iustice, to accept or not to accept of any man after his apparell, or any other externe shew of deceitfull vanity, it is manifest, that man doing the contrary, is a Iudas to the trueth, a traitor to lustice, and an enemie to the Lord: wherefore far be that from all good Christians. And if those that goe richly clothed shuld be esteemed the rather for their rich apparel, then *à contrario* must those that goe in meane and base attire bee the more contemned and despised for their pouerty. And then should Christ Iesus our great Ambassadour from the King of heauen, bee contemned: for he came in poore and meane aray: but Christ Iesus is blessed in his poore ragges, and all others are contemned in their rich and precious attire. Vnder a simple coate many times lieth hid great wisdom and knowledge: and contrarily, vnder braue attire sometime is couered great idiocie and folly.

Wisdom not tied to exterior pompe of apparell.

Spud. Wherefore would you haue men accepted, if not for apparell?

Phil. If any be so foolish to imagine, that he shal be worshipped, reuerenced, or accepted the rather for his apparel, he is not so wise as I pray God make me. For surely, for my part, I will rather worship and accept of a poore man in his ragged cloutes, hauing the gifts and ornaments of the mind, then I will doe him that roisteth and flaunteth it out dayly and hourelly, in his Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Gold or siluer whatsoever, without the induments of Vertue, whereto only all reuerence is due. And therefore as any man is indued, or not indued with Vertue, and true Godlinesse, so will I reuerence or not reuerence, accept or not accept of him: Wherfore, if any gape after reuerence, worship, or acceptation let him thirst after vertue, as namely, feare of God, zeale to religion, wisdom, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobrietie, affabilitie, gentlenesse, & such like, then can they be without reuerence & acceptation, no more then the sun can be

All reuerence due to vertue and not to rich attire.

without light, the Fire // without the heat, or the water without his naturall moisture.

D1 v

Spud. Then I gather you would haue men accepted for vertue and true godlinesse onely, would you not?

Philo. I would not only haue men to be accepted and reuerenced for their vertue (though the cheifest reuerence is only to be attributed to him, whose sacred breast is so fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the promptuary or storehouse of true wisdom and godlinesse) but also in part, for their birthes sake, parentage and descent, and not onely for that, but also, in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the temporall Magisterie, or Ecclesiasticall presbyterie (so long as they gouerne godly and well:) For the Apostle saith, that those Elders that gouerne well amongst vs, are woorthie of double honour: But yet the man whome God hath blessed with vertue and true godlinesse, though hee bee neither of great birth nor calling, nor yet any Magistrate whatsoever, is woorthy of more reuerence and estimation then any of the other, without the ornamentes of the minde, and giftes of vertue aboue sayd. For what preuayleth it to be borne of Worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of al vertue, which maketh true Worship? What is it els then to carie a golden Sworde in a Leaden Scabberd? Is it anie thing els than a golden Coffin, or painted Sepulchre, making a faire shewe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all stinch and lothsomnesse? I remember once I read a certaine story of one, a Gentleman by birth and Parentage, who greatlie reproached, and withall disdained another, for that he was come to great authority onely by vertue, being but a poore mans childe by byrth: What? quoth the Gentleman, art thou so lustie? Thou art but a Coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman both by birth and calling? To whome the other replying, said: Thou art no Gentleman, for thy Gentility endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in that my

850

860

870

Wherefore
man is to bee
worshipped
and had in
reuerence.

Gentilitie
without
vertue is no
Gentilitie.

An excellent
Apothegme.

The exordiu
of vertue, is
the exordiu'

D1 v. PH: *How to know a Gentleman.*

849. respect] 01-03; respect 849-50 SN. worshipped and] 01-03 *subst*; worshipped. and 869. Gentleman] 01-03; Gentleman PH. Gentleman] 01-03; Gentlemau

of Gentilitie
and wor<ship,
and want of
the one, is
the decay of
the other.

Gentility beginneth in mee. Meaning (vnlesse I bee deceiued) that the want of vertue in him was the decay of his Gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true Gentility in himselfe: for vertue therefore, not for apparell, is euerie one to be accepted. For if we should accept of men after apparell onely respecting nothing els, then should it come to passe, that wee might accept of one, both meane by byrth, base in vertue, seruile by// calling, and poore in estate, more then of some, by birth noble, by vertue honourable, and by calling venerable. And the reason is, because euerie one, tagge and rag, go brauer, or at least, as braue as those that be both noble, honorable and Worshipful!.

02

880

Spud. But I haue heard say, there is more holinesse in some kind of apparell, then in other some, which makes them so much to affect variety of fashions, I thinke.

No holinesse
in apparell.

Phil. Indeed I suppose that the summe and substance of their religion, doth consist in apparell. And to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more or as much holinesse in the apparell, as in them, that is iust none at all. But admit that there be holinesse in apparell (as who is so infatuate to beleuee it) then it followeth that the holinesse pretended is not in them, and so bee they plaine Hypocrites, to make shewe of that which they haue not. And if the holinesse by their attire presaged be in themselues, then is it not in the garmentes: and why doe they then attribute that to the garmentes, which is neither adherent to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it were so, why doe they glorie of it to the world but I leaue them to their folly, hasting to other matters more profitable to speak of.

890

An arguniet
trimly
continued.

Spud. But I haue heard them reason thus. That which is good in it owne nature, cannot hurte: Apparell is good and the good creature of God, **ergo** no kind of apparel can hurt. And if there be any abuse in it, the apparel knoweth it not. Therefore take away the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it may (say they) without any hurt at all.

900

D2. PH: *Vertue maketh Gentilitie.*

899. and] 01-03; and and 900 SN. argumet] 01-03; argnm!!!

Philo. These be well seasoned reasons, and substantial
 asseuerations indeed, but if they haue no better arguments to leane
 vnto then these, their kingdome of Pride will shortly fall, without all
 hope of recouerie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good
 and the good creature of God (I will not denie) and cannot hurt
 except it be through our owne wickednesse abused. And therefore,
 woe be them that make the good Creatures of God instrumentes of 910
 damnation to themselues, by not vsing them but abusing them.
 And yet notwithstanding, it may be said to hurt, or not to hurt, as
 it is abused or not abused. And whereas they would haue the
 abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparal to remain
 stil, it is impossible to supplant the one, without the extirpation of // D2v
 the other also. For it is truly sayd, *Sublata causa, tollitur*
effectus. But not, *Sublato effectu, tollitur causa*. *Take away*
the cause and the effect fayleth, but not contrarily, *take away the*
effect, and the cause fayleth. The exteme efficient cause of pride, is
 gorgeous attire, the effect is Pride it selfe, ingenerate by attyre: but 920
 to begin to plucke away the effect, to wit, Pride, and not to take
 away the cause first, namely sumptuous attire, is as if a man
 intending to supplant a tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the
 fruit and branches onely, or to pull downe heauen, should dig in the
 earth working altogether preposterously, indirectly, and contrarily.

Vnpossible
 to take away
 pride, except
 sumptuous
 apparell be
 taken away
 also.

Apparell
 and pride
 combined
 together as
 mother &
 daughter.

And the reason is, for that these two collaterall cosins Apparell
 and Pride (the mother and daughter of mischiefe) are so combinate
 together, and incorporate the one in the other, as the one can hardly
 be plucked from the other, without the destruction of them both.
 For the accomplishment wherof, God grant that those wholesome 930
 lawes, sanctions, and statutes, which by our most gracious and
 serene Princesse (whom Iesus preserue for euer) and her noble
 and renowned progenitors, haue bene promulgate and enacted

D2v. PH: *Apparel the mother of pride*.

920. gorgeous attire, the effect ... attyre: but] O1-O3 *subst*; gorgeous attire: but

heretofore, may be put in execution. For in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to weare precious apparell and gorgious attire, and not to be proud thereof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare such rich attire, whereas meaner is both better cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the body, and as decent and comely to any chast Christians eie?) as it is for a man to cary fire in his bosome, and not to bume. Therefore, would God euerieman might be compelled to wear apparell according to his degree, estate and condition of life: which if it were brought to passe, I feare least some, who ruffle now in silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Gold, siluer and what not els, should be glad to weare Frize coates, and glad if they might get them too. 940

Spud. What is your opinion? Did the people of the former world so much esteeme of apparell, as we doe at this present day, without respect had either to sex, kind, order, degre, estate or calling?

Philo. No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections, blemishes and faults, for **Hominis est errare, labi, & decipi**, *It is incident to man, to erre, to fall, and to be deceiued.* But notwithstanding as the wicked haue alwaies affected, not onely pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatsoeuer, so the chaste, godly and sober Christians, haue euer eschewed this excesse of apparell, hauing a// speciall regard to weare such attire, as might neither offende the Maiestie of God, prouoke themselues to pride, nor yet offend their godly brethren in any respect. But (as I haue saide) not onlie the Godly haue detested and hated this vaine superfluity of apparell, in all times since the beginning of the worlde, but also the very **Painyms**, the Heathen **Philosophers**, who knewe not God, (though otherwise, wise Sages and great 950

The godly haue euer detested pride of apparell. 960

The very heathen haue

03. PH: *The godlie abhorre Pride.*

949-50. calling? Philo] 01-03 *subst*; calling Philo 960. of the] 01-03; ofthe

contemned
sumptuous
apparell.

Clearkes) haue contemned it, as a pestifferous euill: insomuch as they haue writ almost whole volumes against the same, as is to be seene in most of their bookes yet extant.

Spud. Are you able to prooue that?

Testimonies
of heathen
people who
derided rich
attire.

Philo. That I am, very easily: but of an infinite number, take a taste of these few, Deruocrates being demaunded, wherein the beautie and comely feature of man or woman consisted? answered,

In fewnesse of speeches well tempered together, in vertue, in integritie of life, and such like. Sophocles

970

seeing one weare gorgious apparell, sayd to him, Thou foole, thy apparell is no ornament to thee, but a manifest shew of thy follie. Socrates beeing asked what was the

greatest omarrhet in a woman? answered, That which most sheweth her chastitie, and good demeanour of bodie and mind, and not sumptuous attire, which rather sheweth

her adulterate life. Aristotle is so strict in this point, that he woulde haue men to vse meaner apparell then are permitted them

Vertue is the
comliest or-
nament of al.

by the law. The wife of Philo the philosopher, being vpon a time dernaunded, why she ware not golde, siluer, and precious garments? sayd: She thought the vertues of her husband

980

sufficient ornamentals for her. Dionisius the King sent the richest garments in all his Wardrobes, w the noble women of the Lacedemonians, who returned them from whence they carne, saying, They would bee a g.-eater shame to them then

honour. King Pirrhus sent rich attire to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them, as menstruous cloutes. The conceiued opinion amongst the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor

gorgious attire that adometh either man or woman, but vertuous conditions, and such like. Diogenes so much contemned

990

Diogenes his
austeritie.

sumptuous apparell, that he chose rather to dwell in wildemesse amongst brute beastes, all his life long, then in the pompous

Courtes of mighty Kinges one day to be resiant. For he thought if

963. pestifferous] 01-03 *subst*; pestiffererous 975. most] 01-03 *subst*; moft 980 SN. Vertue] 01-03; Vertuc 981. precious] 01-03 *subst*; precious 988. opinion] 01-03; opinon

	he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was // then faire ynough,	D3v
	and fine ynough also, not needing any more. A certaine other	
The example of a Philoso- pher deriding pride.	Philosopher, adressed himself towardes a Kinges Court in his Philosophers attire, that is in meane, base, and poore aray: But so soon as the Officers espied him, they cried away with that rogue, what doth he so nie the kinges Maiesties Court. The poore	1000
	philosopher seeing it lighten so fast, retired backe, for feare of their thunderboltes, and repairing home, apparelled himselfe in rich attire, came againe martching towards the Court, he was no sooner in sight but euery one receiued him plausiblie, & with great submission and reuerence. When he came in presence of the King, and other mighty Potentates, he kneeling down, ceased not to kisse his garments. The King & Nobles maruelling not a little thereat, asked him wherefore he did so. Who answered, O noble King, it is no maruell, for that which my vertue and knowledge coulde not do, my apparell hath brought to passe. For I comming to thy gates in	1010
The example of a philoso- pher, deriding the pompe of the world.	my Philosophers weed, was repelled, but hauing put vpon me this rich attire, I was brought to thy presence with as greate veneration and worship as could be. Whereby it is to be seene in what detestatio he had the stinking pride of apparel, taking this occasion to giue the King to vnderstand the inormous abuse therof and so to remooue the same as a pestilent euill out of his whole dominion and kingdome. I read of a certaine other philosopher that came before a King, who at the same time had inuited his Nobles to a feast or banquet, the Philosopher comrning in, and seeing no place to spit in (for euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of siluer,	1020
	Tinsell, Aras, Tapestry, and the like) came to the King and spat in his face, saying, it is meet, O King, that I spit in the foulest place. This good philosopher (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the King from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine glistering shew either of apparell, or of any thing els, but rather to haue cosideration of his own filthines, misery & sin, not rising vp	
The example of a philo- sopher, who spat in the Kings face.		

D3v. PH: *Philosophers examples.*

1000. Court] 01-03 *subst*; Conrt 1002. apparelled himselfe] 01-03 *subst*; apparelled, himselfe
1013. in] 01-03; in in 1021. Tinsell, Aras] 01-03 *subst*; Tinsell. Aras 1023-4 SN. philosopher]
01-03 *subst*; philopher

into pride, & spitting against heauen, as he did, by delighting in proud attire & gorgious ornamentes. Thus wee see the very Painims, and heathen people, haue from the beginning despised this excesse of apparell, both in themselues and in others, whose examples herein God graunt wee may follow. 1030

Spud. But you are not able to prooue that any good Christians, euer set lightlie by precious attire, but alwayes esteem it as a speciall ornament to the whole man. As for these Heathen, they were fooles, neither is it materiall what they vsed or vsed not? D4

Phil. I am able to prooue, that euen from the beginning of the world, the chosen and peculiar people of God haue contemned gorgious apparell, as thinges (not onely) not necessary, but also as verie euilles themselues, and haue gone both meanly and poorly in their vsuall attire? What say you to our Grandfather Adam and Eua our mother? Were they not clothed in Peltes and skinnes of beastes? Was not this a meane kinde of apparell thinke you? Was it not straunge to see a woman couered all ouer in Leather? But yet the Lorde thought it precious, and seemelie ynough for them. What say you to the noble Prophete of the world Elias, did he not wallke in the solitude or wildernesse of this world in a simple plaine mantell or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of Leather? Elizeus the Prophete, did not he in a maner the verie same? And what say you to Samuell the golden mouthed Prophet, not withstanding that bee was an Archprophete, and a chiefe Seer of that time, did he not walk so meanly as Saule seeking his fathers Asses, could not knowe him from the rest, but asked him, where was the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common sort of people in his time. The children of Israeli being the chosen people of God, did they not weare their fathers attire

Probation, that the former world hath contemned pompous attire. 1040

Elias.

Elizeus. 1050

SamueU.

The children of Israll.

D4. PH: *The base attire of the former age.*

1040-1 SN. Probation, that] 01-03 *subst*; Probation. that 1055. their] 01-03; their

Iohn Baptist. fourtie yeares together in the Wildernesse? Was not Iohn the
 Baptist cloathed with a garment of Camels haire, girded with a
 thong of the skinne of the same, in steede of a girdle or succinctorie
 Peter. about his loynes? Peter the deare Apostle of our Sauour, was not
 distinct from the rest of his fellow Apostles by any kind of rich 1060
 apparell, for then the maid would not haue said I know thee by
 thy tongue, but rather by thy apparel!. The Apostle Paule writing
 to the Hebrewes saith, that the persecuted Church both in his time,
 and before his dayes were cloathed, some in Sheepes skinned, and
 some in Goates skinned, some in Camelles haire, some in this, and
 some in that, and some in whatsoever they could get, for if it would
 hide their shameful parts, and keepe them from the colde, they
 thought it sufficient, they required no more: but to speake in one
 word for all: did not our Sauour Iesus Christ weare the very same
 The humility fashion of apparell, that his // Country men vsed, that is, a coate D4v
 and pouertie
 of Christ
 vpon earth. without a seame either knit or wouen? which fashions the
 Palestiniens vse there yet to this day, without any alteration or
 change, as it is thought. This his attire was not very handsome (one
 would thinke) at least it was not curious, or newe fangled as ours is:
 For of vs that poetically Apothegme may very well be verified,
 Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata: *We desire*
things forbid, and couet things denied vs. We lothe this simplicity of
 Christ, and abhorring the Christian pouertie and godly mediocrity of
 our forefathers in apparell, wee are neuer content except we haue
 sundrie suits of apparell, one diuers from another, so as our presses 1080
 Superfluitie of cracke withall, our coffers burst, and our backes sweat with the
 apparell with
 diuersity of cariage thereof: we must haue one suite for the forenoone, another
 fashions. for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night, one for the
 workeday, another for the holiday, one for Summer, another for

D4v. PH: *Christ his example for apparel/.*

1071 SN. pouertie] 01-03; pouertie

winter, one of the new fashion, another of the old, one of this collour, another of that, one cut, another whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, another of siluer, one of Silkes and Veluets, another of cloath, with more difference and variety then I can expresse: God be mercifull vnto vs, and hasten his kingdome for his Elects sake.

1090

A particular Description of Apparell in

England by degrees.

Spud.

You haue borne me in hande of many and grieuous abuses, raining in England, but nowe setting apart these impertinent and superfluous vagaries, I pray you describe vnto me more particularly, the sundrie abuses of apparell there vsed, running ouer by degrees, the whole state thereof, that I may see, as it were, the perfect anatomie of that Nation in apparell, which thing I greatly desire to know.

Philo. Your request seemeth both hard and intricate, considering the innumerable Meryades of sundry fashions dayly inuented amongst them. But yet, least I might be iudged vnwilling, to shew you what pleasure I can, I will assaie, pro virili mea, with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore to begin first with their Hattes. //

1100

E1

A Description of the Hattes of England.

The diuersitie
of hats in
England.

Sometimes they vse them sharpe on the crowne, pearking vp like the speare or shaft of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard aboue the crowne of their heades, some more, some lesse, as please the fantasies of their wauering mindes. Other some be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlement of a house. Another sort haue round crownes, sometimes with one kind of bande, sometimes with another, now blacke, now white, now russet, now red, now

1110

E1. PH: *Varietie of hattes.*

10850 winter, one] 01-03 *subst*; winter one 10860 whole, one] 01-03; whole one 1101-20 Your ..o, considering] 01; Your ..! | Considering

greene, now yellowe: now this, nowe that, neuer content with one collour or fashion, two moneths to an end. And thus in vanity they spend the lord his treasure, consuming their golden yeers, and siluer dayes in wickednesse and sinne. And as the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stuffe whereof their hattes be made diuers also: for some are of silke, some of Veluet, some of Taffeta, orne 1120
of Sarcenet, some of Woolle, and which is more curious, some of a certaine kind of fine haire: These they call Beuer hattes of xx. The sundrie things whereof hats be made. xxx. or xl. shillings a peece, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides. And so common a thing it is, that euery seruing man, countreyman, and other, euen all indifferently doe weare of these hattes. For he is of no accompt or estimation amongst them, if he haue not a Veluet or Taffeta Hat, and that must be pinked, and cunningly carued of the best fashion. And good profitable Hattes bee these, 1130
for the longer you weare them, the fewer holes they haue. They haue also Taffeta hattes of all collours quilted, and imbroydered with golde, siluer, and silke of sundrie sortes, with monsters, antiques, beastes, foules, and all maner of pictures and images vpon them, woonderfull to behold. Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearing their hattes sprung vp amongst them, which they father vpon the **French men**, namely, to weare them without bands, but how vnseemly (I will not say how Assie) a fashion that is, let the wise iudge: Notwithstanding how euer it be, if it please them, it shall not displease me. And another sort (as 1140
fantasticall as the rest) are content with no kind of Ratte, without a great plume of feathers of diuers and sundrie colioures, peaking on top of their heads, not vnlike (I dare not say) Cockscombs, but fooles babies if you list: And yet notwith- // standing these fluttering sailes, and fethered flagges of defiance to vertue (for so they be) are El v

E1 v. PH: *Great ruffes and supportasses.*

1125. thing] 01-03 *subst*; lhing

so illduanced in England, that euery child hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and selling of them, and not a few prooue themselues more then Asses in wearing of them.

Spud. These Feathers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, & plainly conuince them of instabilitie and follie, for sure I am, hansome they cannot be, therefore Ensignes of Pride they must needes be, which I thinke none will weare, but such as bee like themselues. But to your intended discourse. 1150

Of great Ruffes in England.

Philo.

Great ruffes deformed & ill fauoured.	They haue great and monstrous Ruffes, made either of Cambricke, Holland, Lawn, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, wherof some be a quarter of a yard deep, yea some more, very few lesse: so that they stand a full quarter of a yard & more from their necks, hanging ouer their shoulder points, in steed of a Pentise. But if it happen that a shoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffes strike sayle, and downe they fall as dishcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill sayles. But wot you what? The deuill, as he in the fulnesse of his malice, first inuented these great Ruffes, so hath he now found out also two great pillers to beare vp and vphold this his kingdome of Pride withall (for the Deuill is King and Prince ouer all the children of Pride.) The one arch or piller wherewith his kingdome of great Ruffes is vnderpropped, is a certaine kind of liquid matter, which they call Startch, wherin the Deuil hath learned them to wash and diue their Ruffes, which being drie, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their neckes. And this startch they make of diuers substances, sometimes of Wheate flower, of branne, and other graines: sometimes of rootes, and somtimes of other thinges: of all collours and hewes, as White, Redde, Blewe, Purple, and the like.	1160
Two arches or piUers to vnderprop the kingdom of great rufs withall, videlicet Supportasses and Startch.	The other piller is a certaine deuise made of Wiers, crested for	1170

1147-8. them. Spud.] 01-03 *subst*; them, Spud 1149. imaginations] 01-03; imagitions 1167. Pride.) The] 03; Pride) The

the purpose, whipped ouer eyther with Golde, Thred, Siluer or Silke, and this hee calleth a Supportasse or Vnderpropper: This is to be applyed rounde about their neckes vnder //the Ruffe vpon the outside of the Bande, to beare vp the whole frame and bodie of the Ruffe from falling and hanging downe.

E2

1180

Spud. This is a deuise passing all the deuises that euer I sawe or hearde of. Then I perceiue the Deuill not onely inuenteth mischiefe, but also ordayneth instrumentes and meanes to continue the same. These Bandes are so chargeable, that (as I suppose) but fewe haue of them, such as are of the richer sort?

Philo. So few haue of them, as almost none is without them, for euerie one, howe meane or simple soeuer they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure a peece for fayling. And as though Cambricke, Hollande, Lawne, and the finest cloath that may be gotte any where for money, were not good ynough, they haue them wrought all ouer with silke woorke, and peraduenture laced with Golde and siluer, or other costly Lace of no small price: And whether they haue Vnde to maintaine this geare withall or not, it is not greatly materiall, for they will haue it by one meane or other, or els they will sell or at the least morgage their lands, on Suters hill, Stangate hole, and Salisburie plaine, with losse of their liues at Tyborn in a rope: & in sure token therof, they haue now newly found out a more monstrous kind of ruffe of .xii. yea, xvi. lengthes a peece, set 3 or 4 times double, & is of some, fitlie called: Three steppes and a halfe to the Gallowes.

1190

1200

Spud. The state and condition of that Lande must needes be miserable, and in time growe to great scarcity and dearth where such prodigality and vaine excesse of thinges is vsed.

Euerie pesant
hath his
statelie
Bandes, &
monstrous
ruffes, how
costly soeuer
they be.

New kind of
Ruffes, caUed
Three steppes
and a halfe to
the GaUowes.

E2. PH: *Costly shirts & bands in England.*

1185. them ... ?] 01-03; them ... *ī*

Philo. Of costly Shirtes in England.

The shirts
vsed in
Engliid.

Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the Nobilitie or Gentry onely did weare them, it were more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Hollande, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that may be got. And of these kinds of Shirts euery one now doth weare alike: so as it may be thought our forefathers haue made their Bandes and Ruffes, (if they had any at all) of grosser cloath and baser stuffe then the worste of our Shirtes are made of now a dayes. And these Shirtes (sometimes it happeneth) are wrought throughout with Needle woorke of Silke, and such like, and curiously stitched with open seame, and many other knackes besides, more then I can recount: Inso- // 1210
much as I haue heard of shirtes that haue cost, some ten shillings, some twentie, some fourty, some fiue pound, some twenty Nobles & (which is horrible to heare) some ten pound a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is wome of anie, doth cost a crowne, or a noble at the least: and yet this is scarsly thought fine ynough 1220
for the simplest person that is.

Spud. These be goodly Shirtes indeed, and such I trust, as will neither chafe their tender skinnes, nor yet fret their delicate bodies, or if it doe, it will not be much to their griuances I dare be bound. Is it any maruel, Si Cristas erigant & cornua attollant, *if they stand vpon their Panto,ffles, and hoise vp their sailes on high,* hauing these diamond Shirtes on their backes? but howsoeuer it is, I gather by your words, that this must needes be a nice, and womannish kind of people, who thus pamper their bodies in such daintie attire. 1230

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiositie, and nicenesse in

E2v. PH: *Nice apparel make tender bodies.*

1204.] *cor*; title on line above speech prefix *uncor* 1225. attollant, if] 01-03; attollant if

Nicenesse of
Apparel
maketh the
bodie tender.

apparell (as it were) **transnatureth** them, and maketh them weak,
tender and infirme, not able to abide such blustering stormes and
sharpe showers, as many other people, both abroad far from them,
and in their **confines** nie to them, do dayly beare and sustaine. I
haue heard my father and other wise Sages affirme, that in his time
within the compasse of foure or fiue score yeares, when men went
cloathed in blacke or white Frize coates, in hosen of huswiues
Carzie of the same collour that the sheepe bare them (the want of
making and wearing of which cloth, together with the excessiue
wearing of silkes, Veluets, Satens, Damaskes, Taffetaes, and such
like, hath and doth make many a thousand in **England**, to beg their
bread) whereof some were streight to the thigh, other some little
bigger: and when they ware shirtes of hempe or flaxe (but now these
are too grosse, our tender stomackes cannot easily disgest such
rough and hard meates) men were stronger, healthfuller, fairer
completioned, longer liued, and finally, ten times harder then we
be now, and abler to endure any sorrow, or paines whatsoever. For
be sure, this pampering of their bodies makes them weaker,
tenderer, and neshier, then otherwise they would be if they were
vsed to hardnesse, and more subiect to receiue any kind of infection
or malady, & doth rather shorten our dayes by many years, then
extenuate our liues one minut of an bower. //

Our predeces-
sors wearing
meaner
apparell were
stronger
then we.

1240

1250

E3

Spud. I thinke no lesse: for how strong men were in times
past, how long they liued, and how healthfull they were, before
such nicenesse and vaine pampering curiosity was inuented, wee
may read, and many that liue at this day can testifie. But now
through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, wee haue brought our
selues into such a pusillanimity and effeminat condition, as we may
rather seeme nice dames, and wayrish girles then puissant, valorous
and hardy men, as our forefathers haue bene.

1260

E3. PH: *Monstrous doublets in England.*

1248. endure] *This ed*; undure 1255. past, how] 01-03; past how

English Doublets.

Philo.

The monstrous
dublets
in England.

Their Doublets are no }esse monstrous then the rest: for now the fashion is, to haue the hang down to the midle of their thighes, or at least to their priuie members, being so hard quilted, stuffed, bombasted and sewed, as they can neither worke, nor yet well play in them, through the excessiue heat and stifnesse thereof: and therefore are forced to weare them loose about them for the most parte, otherwise they could very hardly either stoupe or bowe

1270

Great bellied
dublets
betoken
gourmiidice
gluttony
& such like.

they serue, except it bee to shew the disposition of the wearer, how he is inclined, as namely, to gluttony, gourmandice, riote, drunkennesse, and excesse: For what may these great bellies signifie els, then that eyther they are such, or els would be thought to be such. This is the truest signification, that I could euer gather of them. And this may euery one iudge of them that seeth them:

1280

Dublets of di-
uers fashio.

For certain I am there was neuer any kind of apparell euer inuented, that could more disproportion the bodie of man, then these **Doublettes** with great bellies do, hanging down beneath their **Pudenda**, (as I haue said) and stuffed with foure, fiue or sixe pound of Bombast at the least: I say nothing of what their **Doublets** be made, some of Saten, Taffeta, Silke, Grograine Chamlet, gold, siluer, & what not? slashed, iagged, cut, carued, pinked, and laced with all kind of costly lace of diuers and sundry collours, of all which if I could stand vpon particularlie, rather

1290

time // then matter would be wanting.

E3v

Spud. These be the strangest Doublets that euer I heard of, and the furthest from handsomnesse in euery respect, vnlesse I be deceiued.

Costly Hosen in Englande.

Philo.

Rosen of diners & sun- drie fashions.	Then haue they Hosen, which as they bee of diuers fashions, so are they of sundry names. Some be called French hose, some Gallie hosen, and some Venetians. The French hose are of two diuers	1300
French hosen of two sorts.	containeth length, breadth, and sidenesse sufficient, and is made very round. The other contayneth neither length, breadth, nor sidenesse (being not past a quarter of a yard side) whereof, some be paned, cut and drawn out with costly ornaments, with Canions adioyned, reaching downe beneath their knees. The Gallie hosen are	
Gaily hosen.	made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure gardes apeece !aide downe along either hose. And the Venetian hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the Iegge, where they are tyed finely with silke poyntes,	1310
The great excesse vsed in hosen.	or some such like, and layd on also with rowes or guardes, as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of Silke, Veluet, Saten, Damaske, and other like precious stufte beside: yea euery one, Seruingman, and other inferiour to them in euery condition, will not stick to flaunt it out in these kinde of Hosen with all other their apparell sutable thereunto. In times paste, Kinges (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doe record) would not disdain to weare a paire of Hosen of a Noble, ten shillings, or a Marke price, with all the rest of their apparell after the same rate: but now it is a small matter to bestowe	1320
	twentie Nobles, ten pounce, twentie pound, fourty pounce, yea a	

E3v. PH: *Greet excesse in hose.*

1299-1300 SN. diuers & sundrie] *cor*; di- and sundrie *uncor* 1304. side) whereof] O1 *subst*; side, whereof

hundred pound of one paire of Breeches: (God be mercifull vnto vs) and yet is this thought no abuse neither.

Spud. This is a woonderfull excesse as euer I heard of, woorthy with the Rodde of Justice rather too bee punished, then with paper and pen to be confuted. //

E4

Costly Nether Stockins in England.

Philo.

The diuersity
of nether-
stockes worn
in England.

Then haue they Neyther-stockes to these gay hosen, not of cloth (though neuer so fine) for that is thought too base, but of Iarnsey, Worsted, Crewell, Silke, Thred, and such like, or els at the least of the finest Yarne that can be got, and so curiously knit with open seame downe the Iegge, with quirkes and clockes about the Anckles and sometime (haplie) interlaced with golde or siluer threds, as is woonderfull to beholde. And to such impudent insolency, and shamefull outrage it is now growne, that euery one almost, though otherwise verie poore, hauing scarce fourtie shillings of wages by the yeare, will not sticke to haue two or three paire of these silke netherstockes, or els of the finest Yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a royal or twenty shillings or more, as commonly it is, for how can they be lesse? when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and some much more. The time hath bene, when one might haue clothed all his body wei from top to toe for lesse then a paire of these netherstocks will cost.

1330

1340

The miserie
of these
daies.

Spud. I haue seldome heard the like, I thinke verily that Sathan, Prince of Darknesse and father of Pride, is let loose in that land, els it could neuer so far exceed as it doth, for the like pride (I am fully perswaded) is not vsed vnder the Sunne of any Nation or people how barbarous soeuer: wherefore woe bee to this age and thrise accursed be these dayes, which bringeth foorth such

1350

E4. PH: *Costlie neither stockins in England.*

1322. Breeches: (God] *This ed*; Breeches. (God 1338. paire of] 01-03; paire ot

vnsauorie fruits, and vnhappy are that people, whome Sathan hath so bewitched and captiuat in Pride.

Corked shoes in England.

Corked shoes pantoffles, & Pinsnets.	Philo. To these their Netherstockes they haue Corked shoes	
	Pinsnets , and fine Pantoffles , which beare them vp two inches	
	or more from the ground, wherof some be of white leather, some	
	of blacke, and some of red: some of blacke Veluet, some of white,	
	some of red, some of greene, razed, earned, cut, and stitched all	
	ouer with silk, and laid on with gold, siluer, and such like: yet	
	notwithstanding I see not to what good vses these Pantoffles doe	1360
	serue, excepte it bee to weare in a priuate house, or in a mans	
	Chamber, // to keep him warm? (for this is the only vse wherto they	E4v
	best serue in my iudgement) but to goe abroad in them as they are	
Pantoffles, & slippers are a let to those that go abroad in them.	now vsed altogether, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then	
	otherwise: for shall he not be faine to knocke and spume at euerie	
	wall, stone, or poste to keepe them on his feet? And therefore to tell	
	you what I iudge of them, I think they be rather wome abroad for	
	nicenesse, then eyther for any ease which they bring (for the	
	contrarie is most true) or any handsomnesse which is in them. For	
	how should they be easie, when a man cannot goe stedfastlie in them	1370
Pantoffles vneasie to go in.	without slipping & sliding at euerie pace ready to fall downe.	
	Againe, how should they be easie whereas the heele hangeth an inch	
	or two ouer the slipper from the ground? Insomuch, as I haue	
	knowne diuers mens legs swell with the same. And handsome how	
	should they be, when they goe flip flap vp and downe in the dirt,	
	casting vp mire to the knees of the wearer.	
	Spud. Those kind of Pantoffles , can neither be so handsome,	
	nor yet so warme as other common shooes be, I thinke. Therefore	
	the wearing of them abroad rather importeth a nicenesse (as you say)	

E4v. PH: *Coates and Jerkins*.

1355 SN. pantoffles, &] 01-03 *subst*; pantoffles. &

in them that weare them, then bringeth any other commoditie els, 1380
vnlesse I he deceiued?

Coates and Ierkins in England.

Philo.

Their Coates and Ierkins, as they be diuers in collours, so be they
diuers in fashions, for some be made with collours, some without,
some close to the bodie, some loose, which they call Mandilians,
couering the whole body down to the thigh, like bags or sakes that
were drawne ouer them, hiding the dimensions and lineaments of
the body: some are buttoned downe the breast, some vnder the
arme, and some down the backe, some with flaps ouer
the breast, some without, some with great sleeues, some with smal,
and some with none at all, some pleated and creasted behind, and
curiously gathered, some not, and how many dayes in the yeare, so
many sortes of apparell some one man will haue, and thinketh it
good prouision in fair weather, to lay vp against foule. But if they
would consider that their cloathes (except those that they weare vpon
their backs) be none of theirs, but the poores, they would not heape
vp their Presses and Wardrobes as they doe. Doe they thinke that
it is lawfull for the // to haue millions of sutes of apparelling
rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christ dye at
their doores for want of cloathing? God commaundeth in his law,
that there bee no miserable poore man nor begger amongst vs, but
that euery one bee prouided for, and maintained of that store which
God hath blessed vs withall: But wee thinke it a great matter if wee
giue them an olde ragged Coate, Doublette, or a paire of hosen, or
els a pennie or two, whereas notwithstanding we flow in
aboundance of all things: Then we thinke we are halfe way to
heauen, and we need to doe no more. If wee giue them a peece of

The varietie
of Coates &
Jerkins.

1390

The poore
ought to be
prouided for.

F1
1400

Our smal
regard to
the poore.

Fl. PH: *Cold charitie in England.*

1385. diuers] 01-03 *subst*; diners 1388 SN. varietie] 02-03; varitie 1391] some without] 01-03;
sowe without 1392. and some with none at all, some pleated] 01-03 *subst*; and some pleated
1394. some] 01-03; some some

browne bread, a messe of pottage (nay the stocks and prison, with
whipping cheare now and then, is the best portion of almes which 1410
many Gentlemen giue) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a
work of supererogation, when we fare full delicately our selues,
feeding on many a daintie dish. There is a certaine Citie in
England, called London, whereas the poore lie in streetes, vppon
Cold charitie pallets of strawe, and well if they may haue that too, or els in the
to the poore. mire and dirt, as commonly it is seene, hauing neither house to put
in their heads, couering to keepe them from the cold, nor yet to hide
their shame withall, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing
els, but are suffered to die in the streets like dogges or beasts,
without any mercy or compassion shewed to them at all. And if any 1420
be sicke of the plague (as they call it,) or any other mortall disease,
their maisters and Mistresses are so impudent (hauing made as it
shuld seem a league with Sathan, a couenant with Hell, and sealed an
Obligation with the Deuill, neuer to haue to do with the works of
mercie) as straight way, they throw them out of their doores: and so
being caried foorth either in cartes, or otherwise, are layd down
eyther in the streets, or els conuayd to some old house in the fields
or gardens, where for want of due sustentation and good tending
they end their liues most miserablie. Truly brother if I had not seene
The Turkish impietie of it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had 1430
some toward bene vsed in any place of the world. But they say, Vnus testis
the poore occulatus plus valet quam mille auriti. One eye witness
diseased. is better to be beleued then a thousand eare witnesses
besides. But to leaue these excursions, and to retume from whence
I haue digressed, I thinke it best: for I am perswaded they will
regard as much my wordes (or amend their maners) as the former
world did the pre- // ching of Noah, or the latter world the 1440
preaching of our Sauour Christ Iesus, that is iust nothing at all.

F1 v. PH: *Costly Cloakes in England.*

1413. There is a certaine] *cor*; Ther is a ceitaine *uncor* 1417. heads, couering] 01-03 *subst*, heads
couering 1423-4. Hell, and sealed an Obligation] *cor*; hell, and sealed an an obligation *uncor*
1426. are layd down] 02 *subst*; or layd down

Spud. Wei then, seeing they are such a stiffnecked people,
leauw them to the Lord, and proceed to your former discourse. 1440

Cloakes in Englande.

Philo.

The sundrie
fashions of
Cloakes.

They haue Clokes there also in nothing different from the rest, of
diuers and sundry collours, white, red tawny, black, greene,
yellow, russet, purple, violet, and infinite other collours: some of
cloath, silke, Veluet, Taffeta, and such like, whereof some be of the
Spanish, French and Dutch fashions: some short, scarsly reaching
to the girdlestead or waste, some to the knee, and other some trailing
vpon the grounde almost, liker gownes then Cloakes: Then are
they garded with Veluet gards, or els laced with costly Lace, either 1450
of golde, siluer, or at the least of silke, three or foure fingers
broade, downe the backe, about the skirtes, and euery where els.
And now of late they vse to gard their Cloakes round about the
skirtes with **Babies**, I shoulde say **Bugles**, and other kind of
Bugled
clokes. glasse, & al to shine to the eie. Besides al this they are so faced, and
withall so lined, as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the
outside: some haue sleeues, other some haue none, some haue
hoodes to pull ouer the head, some haue none: some are hanged
with points and tassels of golde, siluer, or silk, some with out al
this. But how euer it be, the day hath bene, when one might haue 1460
bought him two clokes for lesse, then now he can haue one of
these cloakes made, they haue such store of workmanship bestowed
vpon them.

The c ting
house of all
euill, is mans
braine.

Spud. I am sure they neuer learned this of our sauour Christ
Jesus, nor of any other that euer liued godly in the lord: but rather
out of the deceitfull forge of their owne braines haue they sucked
this filthy poyson to their owne confusion in the end, except they
repent.

Boothose in England.

Philo. They haue also Boothose, which are to be woondred at, 1470
 for they be of the finest cloath that may be got, yea fine ynough to
 make any bande, ruffe or shirt of, needful to be worne: yet this is
 bad ynough to weare next their greasie bootes. And would to God // F2
 this were all too: But (fie for shame) they must be wrought all ouer,
 from the gartering place vpward, with needle worke, clogged with
 Silke of all collours, with birdes, Foules, beasts, and Antiques
 purtrayed all ouer in sumptuous sorte, yea and of late, imbroydered
 with Golde and Siluer very costly. So that I haue known the very
 needle work of some one paire of these Boothose to stand some in
 foure pound, sixe pound, and some in ten pounce a peece. Besides 1480
 this, they are made so wide to drawe ouer all, and so long to reach
 vp to the waste, that as little or Jesse cloath woulde make one a
 reasonable large shirte. But tushe, this is nothing in comparison of
 the rest.

The variety
 of fashions
 conuince vs
 of folly.

Spud. I would thinke that Boothosen of grosser Linnen, or els
 woollen cloth, were both warmer to ride in, as comely as the other
 though not so fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for those
 gewgawes wherewith you say they bee blaunched and trimmed,
 they serue to no ende, but to feede the wanton eies of gazing
 fooles, and plainely argue the vertiginy, and instabilitie of their 1490
 more then phantasticall braines.

Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilte in Englande.

Philo.

Swords and
 Daggers gilt,
 & damasked.

To these haue they their Rapiers, Swordes and Daggers gilte, twice
 or thrise ouer the hiltes with good Angell golde, or els argented
 ouer with siluer both within and without: and if it be true, as I

F2. PH: *Great excesse in Bootehose.*

heare say it is, there be some hilts made all of pure siluer it selfe,
 and couered with gold. Othersome at the least are Damasked,
 Vemished, and ingrauen meruellous goodly: and least any thing
 should be wanting to set forth their prid, their scaberds and
 sheathes are of Veluet, or the like: for leather though it be more
 profitable and as seemly, yet wil it not cary such a Maiesty or
 glorious shewe as the other. And will not these golden Swordes
 and Daggers almost appale a man thinke you (though otherwise
 neuer so stout a Martialist) to haue any dealing with them? for
 either to that end they be wome, or els other swordes, Daggers and
 Rapiers of bare Iron and steele were as handsome as they, and
 much more auailable to that ende, whereto Swordes and Rapiers
 shoulde serue, that is, for a mans lawfull and godlie defence,
 against his aduersarie in time of necessitie. // But wherefore they
 be so clogged with golde and siluer I knowe not, nor yet wherto this
 excesse serueth I see not, but certaine I am, a great shew of pride it
 is, an infallible token of vaine glorie, and a grieuous offence to
 God, so prodigally and wastfully to lauish forth his treasure, for
 which we must render accompts at the day of iudgement, when it
 shall be sayd to euery one, *Redde rationem Villicationis tuae,*
Come giue accomptes of thy stewardship.

Why gilt
 swords and
 Daggers be
 worne.

Luke 16.

1500

F2v

A particular Description of the Abuses of Womens apparell in England.

Philo.

Thus hauing giuen thee a taste or view (but not discovered the
 hundreth part) of the guises of England in mens apparell onlie,
 and of the abuses contained in the same, now will I with expedition
 impart vnto thee, the guise and seuerall abuses of the apparell of
 women there vsed also: wherefore giue attentiu eare.

F2v. PH: *Abuse of the female sexe.*

1519. Womens] *cor*; Womans *uncor*

1520

Spud. My eares be prest to heare, begin when you will & truly herein you shall pleasure me much, for I haue greatly desired to know thorowly the state of that lande, euen à crepundiis (as they say) from my tender yeares, for the great praise I haue heard therof. Wherefore I pray you to proceed to the same, and though I be vnable with any benefite to counteruaile your great curtesie, yet the Lord I doubt not, wil supply my want. 1530

The rewarde
of the female
sexe.

Philo. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, and a bountifull rewarder of euery one that trusteth in him, but yet (such is the munificencie & liberalitie of that gentle sex) that I trust I shal not be vnrewarded at their hands, if at the least to be called a thousand knaues, be a sufficient guerdon for my paines. But though it may be perhaps a corrasieue to their tender stomackes, and a nippitatum to their haughty minds, to heare their dirty dregs ript vp and cast into their diamond faces, yet hoping that they, seeing the horrour of their impieties, and tragicall abuses, layd open to the world for now they sleep in the dust of silence and graue of obliuion, will at the last, like good Conuertes, become the faithfull Penitentiaries of Christ Iesus, leaue off their wickednesse, call for mercie at the handes of God, repent and amende, I will proceed to my intended purpose. // 1540 F3

Collouring of wornens faces in England.

CoUoring of
faces with
ointments
and waters.

The Women of England, many of them, vse to collour their faces with certaine Oyles, Liquors, Vnguents, & waters made to that end, whereby they thinke their beautie is greatlie decored: but who seeth not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almightye, at whose voice the earth doth tremble, and at whose presence the heauens shall liquifie and melt away? Doe they thinke 1550

F3. PH: *Collouring of faces in England.*

1530. be] *cor*; be be *uncor* 1551 SN. faces] *cor*; fnces *uncor* PH. England] *This ed*; England

Adulteration of the Lord his workmanship in his creatures. thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, and to be without blame? Doe they not know that he is *Zelotipus Deus, a iealous God*, and cannot abide any alteration of his workes, otherwise then he hath made them? If an artificer or Craftesman should make any thing belonging to his arte or science, & a Cobbler should presume to correct the same: would not the other think himself abused, and iudge the reproouer worthy of reprehension? And doe these women think to escape the iudgment of God, who hath fashioned them to his glorie, whe their great and more then presumptuous audacity dareth to alter and change his workmanship in them? Doe they suppose that they can make themselues fairer, then God that made vs all? These must needs be their suppositions, or els they wold neuer go about to collour their faces with such slibbersauces. And these being their intentions, what can derogate more from the Maiestie of God in his creation? For in this doing, they plainly conuince the Lorde of vntrueth in his worde, who sayth, hee
1560

They that colour their faces deny the lord of glory to be true God and so God at al. made man glorious, after his owne likenesse, and the fayrest of all other terrestriall creatures. **If** he be thus faire, then what neede they to make them fayrer? Therefore this their collouring of their faces importeth (as by probable coiecture may be presupposed) that they thinke themselues not faire ynough, els why doe they goe about to make themselues fairer? And then must God needes be vntrue in no
1570

And also they denie the Lord to be either mercifull, or almightie, or both, & so consequently no God at all: for if he could not haue made them faire, then is he not almightie, and if he could & would
1580

not, then is he not a mercifull God, and so euery way they stumble at the stone of offence, which one day will crush them all to peeces, // except they repent. And as they be ashamed of the good
F3v

creation of the Lord in them, so it is to be feared, least at the day of

F3v. PH: *Coloured faces abhord of God.*

1556. iealous] 01-03 *subst*; iealons 1559. & a Cobbler should presume] *cor*; and a Cobler should presum *uncor* PH. Coloured] 01-03 *subst*; Colonred

Sentence
condemnatory
against those
that collour
their faces.

Judgment the Lord will be ashamed of them, and in his wrath denounce this heauy and ineuitable sentence condemnatory against them: Depart from me you cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the Deuill, and his Angels. I know you not:
■ say, depart, for you were ashamed of me, and of my creation.

1590

Spud. Wherof do they make these waters and vnctions, wherwith they besmeare their faces, can you tell?

Phil. Truly I am not so skilful in their dealings. But I hold this for a maxime, that they are made of many mixtures, & sundry simples, both farre fetched and deare bought, cunningly mingled together, and artificially tempered with many goodly condiments and holsome confections, I warrant you, els you may be sure they would not applie them to their amiable faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the same.

Spud. I pray you shewe the iudgementes, and opinions of the Fathers, concerning these collourings of faces with ointmentes and waters, that I may the better know, what to iudge of them my selfe.

1600

Inuectiues of
the fathers
against
painting and
collouring
of faces.

Philo. S. Cyprian amongst the rest saith, a woman through painting and dying of her face, sheweth her selfe to bee more then whorish. For (saith he) she hath corrupted, and defaced (like a filthy strumpet or brothell) the workemanship of God in her, what is this els, but to tume trueth into falshood, with painting and slibbersauces, wheras the Lord saith, Thou canst not make one haire white or blacke. In another place he saith, Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit Deus, metuunt ne cum dies resurrectionis venerit, artifex creaturam suam, non recognoscat. Those that paint or collour themselues in this worlde, otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare least when the day of iudgment commeth, the Lord will not knowe them for his creatures. Againe, Foeminae crines suos inficiunt malo praesagio, capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicare non metuunt. Whosoeuer doe collour their faces or their

1610

haire with any vnnatural collour, they begin to
 prognosticate of what collour they shall be in hell. Saint 1620
 Ambrose saith, that from the colloring of faces spring inticements
 to vices, and that they which collour their faces, doe purchase to // F4
 themselues the blot and staine of chastity. For what a dotage is it
 (saith he) to change thy naturall face which God hath made thee,
 for a painted face which thou hast made thy selfe? If thou beest
 faire, why paintest thou thy selfe to seeme fairer? and if thou bee
 not faire, why doest thou hypocritically desire to seeme faire, and
 art nothing lesse? Can those thinges which (besides that they be
 filthy, doe cary the brande of God his curse vppon their backes
 for euer) make thee to seeme fayrer? I could shewe you the sharpe 1630
 inujections and grounded reasons of manie moe, as of Augustine,
 Hierome, Chrysostom, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martir,
 Gualter, and of an infinite number moe: yea, of all generally since
 the beginning of the world, against those whorish and brothellous
 painting and collouring of faces, but to auoide prolixitie, I will omit
 them, deferring them to further opportunitie, for *Pauca sapienti*,
 To a wise man few words are sufficient.

Spud. It must needs be granted, that the dying and collouring
 of faces, with artificiall collours, and vnnaturall oyntmentes, is most
 offensiue to God, and derogatorie to his Maiesty. And when they 1640
 haue done all that they can, and the cunningest Artist that euer liued
 besides, yet shal they neuer be able to make so splendent, so
 orient, and so naturall a collour, as Dame Nature hath giuen to the
 hearbes of the fielde. Then if God hath imprinted such an excellent
 collour in the grasse of the fielde, which to day standeth, and to
 morrowe is cut downe: howe much more hath he ingrauen a
 beautifull collour in man, the excellentest creature of all other?
 Therefore ought euery one to content himselfe with that shape that

F4. PH: *Collouring of faces detestable.*

1622. that they which] 01-03 *subst*; which they that 1635. and] 01-03; ann 1635. prolixitie] 01-03; prolixitie 1636-7. sapienti, To] 01; sapientia To 1644. fielde. Then] 02-03 *subst*; fielde, Then

God hath giuen him, without seeking for alteration or chaunge.
 For, doe they thinke, that the God of all glory, and who only
 decketh and adorneth the Sunne, the Moone, the starres and all the
 hoste of heauen with vnspeakeable glorie and incomperable beauty,
 cannot make them beautifull and faire ynough (if it please him,)
 without their slibbersauces? And what are they els but the deuils
 inuentions, to intangle poore soules in the nets of perdition.

1650

CoUouring
 of faces the
 deuils nets.

Attiring of womens heades in England.

Philo. Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their
 heades, in laying out their hair to the shew, which of force must be
 curled, frizled and crisped, laide out, (a worlde to see) on
 wreathes // and borders, from one eare to another. And least it should
 fall down it is vnderpropped with forks, wiers, and I cannot tell what,
 like grim and sterne Monsters, rather than chaste Christian matrones.
 Then on the edges of their bolstered haire (for it standeth crested
 round about their frontiers and hanging ouer their faces like pendices
 or vailes, with glasse windowes on euery side) there
 is laide great wreathes of gold and siluer curiously wrought,
 & cunningly applyed to the temples of their heads. And for feare of
 lacking any thing to set foorth their pride withall, at their haire thus
 wreathed and crested, are hanged Bugles, (I dare not say Babies)
 Ouches, Ringes, Gold, siluer, glasses, and such other
 childish gewgawes, and foolish trinkets besides, which for that they
 be innumerable, and I vnskilfull in womens tearnes, I cannot easily
 recompt. But God giue them grace, to giue ouer these vanites, &
 study to adorne their heades with the incorruptible ornaments of
 vertue and true godlinesse.

F4v

1670

Trimming of
 their heads.

*Simia erit
 simia etiamsi
 aurea gestat
 insignia.*

Laying out of
 their haire.

Gold wreaths
 circumgiring
 the teples of
 their heads.

Gewgawes
 haged about
 their frotiers.

Spud. The Apostle Paule, as I remember commandeth women
 to cherish their haire, saying that it is an ornament to them, and

F4v. PH: *Laying out of colloured haire.*

1658 SN. Trimming] 01-03 *subst*; Trtmming 1667. & cunningly] *cor*; and cunning- *uncor*
 1675 SN. frotiers] 01-03 *subst*; f.aotiers

therefore me thinke, this abuse of curling and laying it forth, (if either were lawfull) is much more tollerable, then dying their faces.

Philo. If curling, and laying out their owne naturall haire were all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, being as it is an Ensigne of Pride, and the standerd of wantonnesse, to all that behold it) it were the Jesse matter, but they are not simplie content with their own haire, but buy other haire, either of Horses, mares, or any other strange beasts, dying it of what collour they list themselues. And if there be any poore woman (as nowe and then, we see God doeth blesse them with beautie as well as the rich) that hath faire haire, these nice Dames will not rest, till they haue bought it. Or if any children haue faire haire, they wil intice them into a secrete place, and for a pennie or two they wil cut off their haire: as I heard that one did in the city of **London** of late, who meeting a little childe with verie faire haire, inueighled her into a house, promised her a pennie, and so cut off her haire. And this they weare in the same order as you haue heard, as though it were their owne natural Haire: and vpon the other side, if any haue Haire of her owne naturall growing, which is not faire ynough, then will they // die it in diuers collours, almost chaunging the substance into accidents by their deuillish, and more then thrise cursed deuises. So whereas their haire was giuen theffl as a signe of subiection, and therefore they were commanded to cherish the same, now haue they made it an omameui of pride, and destruction to themselues, except they repent.

Spud. This is a stiffenecked people, and a rebellious, I see wel that thus dareth in euery respect, to peruert the straite waies of the Lord, digging vp to themselues Cisternes of iniquitie, which in the end without the great mercie of God will be their vtter confusion.

G1. PH: *Capital ornaments for heads.*

1679. faces] *cor; faacesuncor* 1681. an] 02-03; and 1682. Pride, and] 01-03; Pride. and 1688 SN. colloured] 01-03 *subst; eolloured* 1690 SN. worne] 01-03 *subst; wotne* 1694. in] 01-03; in in 1694-5. owne natural Haire: and vpon ... Haire] *cor; owne owne natural haire: and vpon ... haire uncor*

French Hoodes in England.

Phil.

Then on toppes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heades,
 wherein is more vanity, then true Philosophy nowe and then) stand 1710
 their other capitall ornamentes, as French-hood, Hatte, Cappe,
 Kercher, and such like, whereof some bee of Veluet, some of
 Taffatie, some (but few) of Wooll, some of this fashion, some of
 that, and some of this colour, some of that, according to the variable
 fantasies of their serpentine mindes. And to such excesse it is grown
 that euery Artificers wife, almost, will not sticke to goe in her hat of
 Veluet euery day, euery Marchants wife, and meane Gentlewomen,
 in her french-hood, and euery poore Cottagers daughter in her
 Taffeta hat, or els of Wooll at least, well lined with Silk, Veluet, or
 Taffeta. But how they come by this (so they haue it) they care not, 1720
 who paieth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt both to
 themselues, and others it bringeth they feare not: but run dayly a
 malo, ad peius, (as they say) from one mischief to another,
 vntill they haue filled vp the measure of their iniquity, to their own
 confusion at the last.

They haue also other ornaments besides these to furnish fourth
 their ingenious heades, which they call (as I remember) Cawles,
 made Netwise to the end, as I think, that the cloth of golde, cloth of
 Siluer, or els Tinsel (for that is the worst) wherwith their heads are
 couered and attired vnder their Cawles, may the better appeare, and 1730
 shew it selfe in the brauest maner. So that a man that seeth them
 (their heads glister and shine in such sort) he would think them to
 haue golden heads. And some weare Lattice cappes with three
 homes, three corners I should say, like the forked cappes of //
 Popish Priestes, with their perriwinckles, Chitterlings, and the like
 Apish toyes of infinit variety. Thus lauish they forth the goods of
 G1v

G1v. PH: *Golden heads with leaden wits.*

1712-3. Veluet, some ... Wooll, some] 01-03 *subst*; Veluet, some 1713-4. of that, and ... that,
 according] 01-03 *subst*; of that, according 1717-8 SN. Veluet] 02-03 *subst*; Velret 1724. they
 haue filled vp] 01-03 *subst*; they filled vp 1727 SN. quenque] 01-03; quenque 1729. worst)
 wherwith] 01; worst wherwith

- the lord, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a time) vpon Pridand naughtinesse, delighting (as it seemeth) in nothing so much, as in the stinking puddle of vanitie and sinne, which will be their owne decay in the end. Another sort of dissolute Minions, and wanton Sempronians (for I can terme them no better) are so farre bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, whereat they hang ringes, and other Iewels of Golde and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them, I will holde my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certaine kinde of people in the Orient (as writers affirme) that are such *Philautoi*, loners of themselues, and so proude withall, that hauing plentie of precious stones, and Margarites amongst them: they cut & lance their skins and flesh, setting therein these precious stones to the end they may glister & shine to the eie: so, except these wome were minded to tread their paths, and to follow their direful waies in this cursed kind of pride, I wonder what they meane. But because this is not so much frequented amongst women as men, I will say no more thereof, vntil further occasion be offered. 1740
- Making of holes in their eares, to hang rings, & iewels by.
- A people who cut their skin to set precious stones in themselues.
- Spud. Except it were a people wedded to Pride (for I thinke Humility amongst them may dwell a Virgin, for any that wil marie her) and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am perswaded that neither the Libertines, the Epicures, nor yet the vilest Atheists that euer liued, exceeded this people in pride. God be merciful vnto them. 1750
- Great Ruffes Neckerchers and Partlets vsed of women. Startch the Deuils liquor. Supportasses the pillers of Pride.
- Philo. You heare not the tenth part, for no pen is able so well to describe it, as the eye is to disceme it. The women there vse great ruffes, and Neckerchers of Hollande, Lawne, Cammericke, and such cloath, as the greatest thread shall not bee so big, as the least haire that is: And least they should fall downe, they are smeared and starched in the Deuils liquor, I meane startch: after that dried with greate diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed very nicely, and so applied to their godly neckes, and withall vnderpropped with Supportasses (as I tolde you before) the stately Arches 1770

of Pride: beyond all this, they haue a further fetch, nothing
inferiour to the rest, as namely three or foure orders or degrees of
Minor ruffes. minor Ruffes, placed gradatim, one beneath another, and al
vnder // the maister Deuill-ruffe, the skirtes then of these great
ruffes are long and side euery way pleated, and crested ful
curiously, God wot. Then last of all, they are eyther clogged with
golde, siluer, or silke lace of stately price, wrought all ouer with
needle worke, speckled and sparkled here and there with the Sunne,
the Moon, the starres and many other Antiques strange to beholde.
Some are wrought with open worke, downe to the midst of the
ruffe and further, some with close worke, some with purled lace so
The great curiositie in Ruffes and Neckerchers. cloyed, and other gewgawes so pestered, as the Ruffe is the least
part of it selfe. Sometimes, they are pinned vp to their eares,
sometimes they are suffered to hang ouer their shoulders, like
flagges or Windmill sayles fluttering in the wind, and thus euery one
pleaseth her selfe in her foolish deuises, for Suus cuiusque
crepitis sibi bene olet, as the Prouerbe sayth, Euery one
thinketh his owne foist the sweetest. But amongst many
other fearful examples of Gods wrath against Pride, I would wish
them to set before their eies the fearful iudgment of God, shewed
vpon a Gentlewoman of Antwerpe of late, euen the 27. of Maie.
A fearful example against pride, shewed vpon a Gentlewoman in Antwerpe. 1582. the fearefull sound whereof is blowne through all the world,
& is yet fresh in euery mans memory. This Gentlewoman being a
very rich Marchantmans daughter, vpon a time was inuited to a
bridal or wedding, which was solemnized in that towne, against
which day she made great preparation for the pluming of her selfe in
gorgious aray: that as her body was most beautiful, faire, and
proper, so her attire in euery respect might be answerable to the
same. For the accomplishment whereof she curled her haire, she
died her lockes, and laid them out after the best maner: she
colloured her face with waters and Ointments, but in no case could

G2

1780

1790

1800

G2. PH: *Great ruffes and minor ruffes.*

1789. fearful] 02-03 *subst*; fearfnl PH. Great ruffes] 01-03; Great ruffes

Womens lubricious minds neuer content with any thing when it is wei.	she get any (so curious and dainty she was) that could startch and set her Ruffles and Neckerchers to her minde: wherfore she sent for a couple of Laundresses, who did the best they could to please her humors, but in any wise they could not: Then fell she to sweare, and teare, to curse and ban, casting the ruffles vnder feete, and wishing that the Deuill might take her, when shee did weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane time (through the sufferance of God) the Deuill transforming himselfe, into the shape of a yong man, as braue, & proper as she in euery point in outward appearance, came in, faining himself to be a woer or suter vnto her: and seeing her thus agonized, & in such a pelting// chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straightway told him (as women can conceal nothing that lieth vpon their stomacks) how she was abused in the setting of her ruffles, which thing being heard of him, he promised to please her mind, and so tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffles, which he performed to her great contentation and liking, in so much, as she looking her selfe in a glasse (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with him. This done, the yong man kissed her, in the doing whereof, bee writhed her neck in sunder, so she dyed miserably, her body being straight waies changed into blew and black collours, most vgglesome to beholde, and her face (which before was so amorous) became most deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knowne in the cittie, great preparation was made for her buriall, a rich Coffin was prouided, and her fearfull body was laid therein, & couered very sumptuously. Foure men immediately assayed to lift vp the corpses, but could not mooue it, then sixe attempted the like, but could not once stirre it from the place where it stood. Whereat the standers by maruelling, caused the coffin to be opened, to see the cause thereof.	1810
The deuill pleaseth women better then any body els.	Where they found the body to be taken away, and a blacke Catte	G2v
The deuill found setting		1820
		1830

G2v. PH: *The deuill found setting of ruffles.*

1803. Neckerchers] 02-03; Neckerechers 1820. writhed] *This ed;* with 1831. away] 02-03
subst; way

of great
ruffles.

very leane & deformed sitting in the Coffin, setting of great ruffles, and frizling of haire, to the great feare and woonder of all the beholders. This wofull spectacle haue I offered to their view, that by looking into it in stead of their other looking glasses, they might see their own filthinesse, and auoid the like offence, for feare of the same or worsor iudgment: which God graunt they may doe.

Proteus.

Spud. As in a Camilion are said to be al collours saue white, so I thinke, in these people are all thinges saue vertue and Christian sobrietie. Proteus that monster, could neuer change himself into so many forms & shapes, as these women do, belike they haue made an obligation with hell, and are at a league with the deuill, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God, or respect to their weake brethren, whome herein they offend.

1840

Doublets for Women in England.

Women wear-
ing Doublets
and Jerkins.

Philo. The women also there haue Doublets and Ierkins, as men haue here, buttoned vp the breast, and made with wings, weltes and pinions on the shoulder pointes, as mans apparell is in all respectes, and although this be a kind of attire, proper onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it: and if they could as wei change // their sexe, and put on the kind of man, as they can weare apparell assigned only to man, I thinke they would as verily become men indeed, as now they degenerate from godly sober women, in wearing this waton leud kind of attire, proper only to man. It is written in the 22. of Deuteronomy, that what man so euer weareth womans apparell is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparell, is accursed also. Now whether they be within the compasse of that curse, let they themselues iudge. Our apparell was giuen as a signe distinctiue, to disceme betwixt sexe and sexe, and therefore one to weare the apparell of another sexe, is to pruticipate with the same, and to adulterate the

G3

A curse to
them that
wear contrary
apparell to
their sexe.

1860

03. PH: *A cursse for apparell!*

1833. and woonder] 02-03 *subst*; aud woonder 1847. vp the] 01-03; vp to the 1853. degenerate] 01-03 *subst*; degeneate 1855. written] 01-03 *subst*; writted

Hermaphro-
diti. veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these women may not improperly bee called Hermaphroditi, that is Monsters of both kindes, halfe women, half men. Who if they were naturall women, and honest Matrones, woulde blush to go in such wanton & leud attire, as is incident only to man.

Spud. I neuer read nor hard of any people, except drunken with Circes cups, or poysoned with the Exorcismes of Medea that famous and renowned Sorceresse, that euer would wear such kind of attire, as is not onely stinking before the face of God, and offensiue to man, but also such as painteth out to the whole world the dissolutenesse of their corrupt conuersation.

1870

Womens Gownes in England.

The diuersity
ofgownes.

Philo. Their Gownes be no lesse famous then the rest, for some are of silke, some of Veluet, some of Grograine, some of Taffatie, some of Scarlet, and some of fine cloath, of x. xx. or xl. shillinges a yard. But if the whole gowne be not Silke or Veluet, then the same must be layd with lace, two or three fingers broad all ouer the gowne, or els the most part. Or if not so (as lace is not fine ynough now and then) then it must be garded with great gardes of Veluet eury garde foure or sixe fingers broad at the least, and edged with costly lace, and as these gownes be of diuers and sundry collours, so are they of diuers fashions, chaunging with the Moone: for some be of the new fashion, some of the olde, some of this fashion, some of that, some with sleeues hanging downe to their skirtes trayling on the ground, and cast ouer their shoulders like Cow tailes. Some haue sleeues much shorter, cut vp the arme, drawne out with diuers and sundry collours, and poynted with silke Ribbons verye // gallantly, tyed with true Loues knottes (for so they call them.) Some haue Capes reaching downe to the

1880

Costly
Gownes.

Diners
fashions of
gowns.

G3v

1890

G3v. PH: *The impudencie of Harlots.*

1866. as] 02-03; & 1879. most] 01-03 *subst;wost* 1884. some of] 01-03; somem of
1890. them.) Some] 01-03; them) Some

- midst of their backes, faced with Veluet, or els with some fine wrought Taffeta, at the least, and fringed about very brauely: and (to shut vp all in a word) some are pleated and creasted downe the backe woonderfully, with more knackes then I can expresse. Then haue they Peticotes of the best cloath that can be bought, and of the fayrest die that can be made. And sometimes they are not of cloath neyther, for that is thought too base, but of Scarlet, Grograine, Taffeta, Silke, and such like, fringed about the skirtes with Silke Fringe of chaungeable collour. But which is more vaine, of whatsoeuer their Peticotes be, yet must they haue Kirtles 1900
- Peticotes.
- Kirtles. (for so they call them) eyther of Silke, Veluet, Grograine, Taffeta, Satten, or Scarlet, bordered with gardes, Lace, Fringe, and I cannot tel what besides. So that when they haue all these goodlie robes vpon them, women seem to be the smallest part of themselues, not naturall women, but artificiall women, not women of flesh and bloud, but rather Puppits or Mawmettes consisting of ragges and clowtes compact together. Yea, so farre hath this Canker of Pride eaten into the body of the Common wealth, that euery poore Yeoman his daughter, euery Husbandman his daughter, and euery Cottager his daughter, will not sticke to flaunt it out, in such Gownes, Peticotes, and Kirtles as these. And notwithstanding that their Parentes owe a brace of hundred pounds more then they are worth, yet will they haue it, *quo iure quaue iniuria, either by hook or by crook*, by right or wrong as they say, wherby it commeth to passe, that one can scarsly know, who is a Noble woman, who is an honourable, or worshipfull woman, from them of the meaner sorte.
- Women the least part of themselues.
- Poore mens daughters excesse.
- Parents to blame.
- Spud. Their parentes and friendes are much to be blamed, for suffering them to go in such wanton attire. They should not allow them such large pittance, nor suffer them to measure their apparell after their owne licencious yarges of selfe-wil and wicked desires: then could they not so far exceede as they doe. 1920

The impudencie of proud Harlots.

Phil. Then shal theyr Parents be sure neuer to haue good day with them. For they are so impudent, that all be it, their poore parentes haue but one cow, horse or sheepe, they will neuer let them rest til they be sold, to maintaine them in their braueries beyonde // all measure. And to say the truth, some Parents (worthy to be inaugured for fooles with the Laurell crowne of tripple folly) are so buxome to their shamlesse desires and so exorable to their prostitute requests, that they grant to their too too nice daughters more than they doe desire themselues, taking a singular felicity and far surmounting pleasure in seeing them decked and plumed in the Feathers of deceitful vanity.

G4

1930

Ouer remisse lenity of Parents to their children.

Spud. This ouer great lenity, and remisse liberty of theirs in the education of youth, in respect of the euent, and successe that it bringeth in the end, may rather be counted an extreame cruelty, then a fatherly loue or pittie of them towards their children: For what maketh them so soone Whoores, Strumpets, Harlots and Baudes, as that cockering of them doeth? What maketh them apt and prone to all kind of naughtines, but this? Nothing in the world so much. For giue a wild horse the liberty of the head neuer so Iitle and he will run headlong to thine and his own destruction also. So long as a sprig, a twist or a branch is young, it is flexible and bowable which way a man can desire, but if we tary till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and vnbowable: **If** Waxe be taken whilest it is hot, any Character may be easily imprinted in it, but tarying till it be hard, it receiueth no print at all. So correct children in their tender yeares, and you may bow them to what good lore you will yourself, but tary till they be old, then it is to late, as experience teacheth dayly.

1940

Netherstockes of women in England.

1950

Philo. Their Netherstockes in like maner are either of Silk

Netherstocks of Iarnsey or silke.	Iarnsey, Worsted, Crewell, or at least of as fine Yarne, Threed, or Cloath as is possible to be had, yea, they are r.ot ashamed to weare hose of all kinde of changeable collours, as greene, red, white, russet, tawnie, and els what not: which wanton light collours, no sober chaste christian can hardly, without suspition of lightnesse, at any time weare: but what so euer is a deformity or shame to others, is an ornament to them that be past all shame. Then these delicate hosen must be cunningly knit, and curiously indented in euery point, with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly: whereto they haue Corked shoes, Pinsnets, Pantoffles, and Slippers: some of black Veluet, some of white, some of green, // and some of yellow: some of Spanish leather, and some of English stitched with silke and imbrodered with golde and siluer all ouer the foot, with other gewgawes innumerable: All which if I should take vpon me to expresse, I might as easily number the sandes of the sea, the starres in the Skie, or the grasse vpon the earth, so infinite and innumerable be their abuses. For were I neuer so expert an Arithmetician, I were neuer able to recompt the one halfe of them, the Deuill brocheth so many newe fashions euery day. Wherefore to their Author I leaue them, not omitting to tell you (as an interim, by the way) of a certaine kinde of sweet Pride vsed amongst the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in England.	1960
Corked shoes Pinsnets, pantoffies, & such like for women.	Corked shoes, Pinsnets, Pantoffles, and Slippers: some of black Veluet, some of white, some of green, // and some of yellow: some of Spanish leather, and some of English stitched with silke and imbrodered with golde and siluer all ouer the foot, with other gewgawes innumerable: All which if I should take vpon me to expresse, I might as easily number the sandes of the sea, the starres in the Skie, or the grasse vpon the earth, so infinite and innumerable be their abuses. For were I neuer so expert an Arithmetician, I were neuer able to recompt the one halfe of them, the Deuill brocheth so many newe fashions euery day. Wherefore to their Author I leaue them, not omitting to tell you (as an interim, by the way) of a certaine kinde of sweet Pride vsed amongst the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in England.	G4v
The innumer- able fashios, of womens attire.	The innumer- able fashios, of womens attire.	1970
Pride stink- ing before the face of God.	Spud. I haue learned out of the booke of God, that all Pride is stinking before the face of God: wherfore I greatly desire to know what abortiue Miscreant this may be, for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am fully perswaded.	

Muske Ciuet and sweet powder in England.

Philo. Is not this a sweet Pride, to haue Ciuet, Muske, sweete 1980

G4v. PH: *Costly perfumes in England.*

1960. curiously] 01-03; curionsly 1963. some of white] 01-03; sdme of white 1964. yellow:
some] 01-03 *subst*; yellow some 1964-5. with silke] 01-03 *subst*; with silke with silke
1966-7 SN. innumerable] 01-03; :nnumerable 1977 SN. the] 01-03; he

<p>The hauing of Ciuet, Muske, or other perfumes a sweet kinde of pride. Esa.cap.3.</p>	<p>powders, fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, and such like, whereof the smell may be felt and perceiued, not onely all ouer the house, or place where they be present, but also a stoncs cast off almost, yea, the bed wherein they haue laid their delicate bodies, the places where they haue sate, the clothes & thinges which they haue touched shall smell a week, a moneth and more after they be gone. But the Prophet Esayas telleth them, in stead of their Pomanders, Muskes, Ciuetes, Balmes, sweet odours and Perfumes, they shall haue stench and horrour in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it and amend their wicked liues in time. And in the</p>	<p>1990</p>
<p>Nosegaies, & Posies of flowers worne and caried abroad.</p>	<p>Summer time whilest flowers be greene and fragrant, ye shall not haue any Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any Droye or Puzsle in the Country, but they will cary in their hands Nosgayes and Posies of flowers to smell at, and which is more, two or three sticked in their breasts before, for what cause I cannot tell, except it be to allure their amorous Paramours to catch at them, and to smell at their breastes, whereby I doubt not but they get many a slabbering kisse, and peraduenture more friendship besides, they know what I meane. //</p>	<p>HI</p>
<p>Beware the Spanish pippe.</p>	<p>Spud. You will be thought very straight laced to speak against these things, for I haue hard it said that sweet smelles do corroborate the sences, comfort the spirites, and recreate both the body and mind of man greatly, do they not so?</p>	<p>2000</p>
<p>The curious smelles obnubilate the spirites, and darken the sences. Sweet smels ofMuskes,</p>	<p>Philo. They are so farre from comforting the braine, or reuiuing the spirits of man, that as mistes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodies, and are drawne vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moone and starres, do obscure and darken the beames of the Sunne. So these (in a maner) palpable odours, fumes, vapours, and smelles of Musks, Ciuets, Pomanders, Perfumes, Balmes, and such like ascending to the</p>	<p>2010</p>

HI. PH: *Sweete smelles hurtfull.*

1988. Perfumes] 01-03 *subst*; Persumes 1992. Gentlewoman] 01-03; Geutlewoman
1995. except] 01-03; exccxt 2001. smelles] 01-03 *subst*; swelles PH. hurtfull] 01-03; hurtfnll

Ciuet, & such
like annoy
the spirits.
The vain ges-
tures & coy-
nes ofwome
in the midst
of their pea-
cock feathers.
Fingers
clogged with
rings.
Womens
trinkets.
Sweeted
gloues.
Looking glas-
ses the deuils
spectacles.

braine, doe rather darken and obscure the spirites and sences, then
either lighten the, or comfort them any maner of way. But
howsoeuer it falleth out, sure I am, they are ensignes of Pride,
allurements to sin, and prouocations to vice. After al this, when
they haue attired themselues thus, in the midst of their pride, it is a
world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their minsednes in
words and speeches, their gingerlynesse in tripping on toes like
young Goates, their demure nicitie, and babishnesse, and withall
their haughty stomacks, and more then **Cyclopicall** countenances:
their fingers must be decked with gold, siluer and precious stones: 2020
their wristes with bracelets, and armelets of gold, and other costly
iewels, their hands couered with their sweet washed gloues,
imbrodered with gold, siluer, and what not, and to such
abhomination it is grown, as they must haue their looking glasses
caried with them wheresoeuer they go: And good reason, for els
how could they see the deuill in them? For no doubt they are the
deuils spectacles, to allure vs to pride, and consequently to
destruction for euer.

Spud. The Deuill could neuer haue found out a more pestilent
euill than this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being 2030
naturally giuen to flatter himselfe too much, is easily drawne to
thinke well of himselfe: and yet no man seeth the true proportion of
his face, but a counterfeit effigy and false image thereof in the
glasse, which the Deuill suffereth him to see, that thereby he may
rise into pride, and offend the diuine Maiesty. Therefore may these
looking glasses be called the Deuils bellowes, wherewith he bloweth
the blast of pride into our heartes: and those that looke in them, may
be said to looke in the Deuils Arse, whilst he infuseth the vene- // H1v
mous winde of Pride into their soules.

H1 v. PH: *Silke Scarffes in England.*

2012.lighten] 01-03; lighteu 2017. gingerlynesse] 01 *subst*; gingernesse 2018. and babishnesse]
01-03 *subst*; aud babishnesse 2027. to allure] 01-03; eo allure 2031. himselfe] 02-03 *subst*;
himfelfe

Scarffes and Maskes in England.

2040

A question
to scarffe
wearers.

Phil. Then must they haue their Silke Scarffes cast about their faces, and fluttering in the wind with great tassels at euery end, either of Golde, siluer or silke. But I knowe wherefore they will say, they weare these scarffes, namely, to keep them from sunburning. But I would aske these Nicelings one question, wherin if they can resolue me, then I will say as they say, that scarffes are necessarie, and not flagges of pride. Can that thing which is most glorious and faire of it selfe, make any thing foule or **ill** fauoured? the Sunne is a most glorious and faire creature, and therefore can not make them fouler then they are of their owne nature. From whence then it is that the Sunne bumeth them, and altereth their Orient collour into worser hue? The cause thereof proceedeth from their owne **genuine** corruption and naturall **prauitie**. For no more is their fowlnesse to be ascribed to the splendent beames of the Sunne, then the stench of a dead Carkasse may be sayd to proceed of the Sunne, and not rather of it owne corruption and filthinesse. They busie themselues in preseruing the beautie of their bodies, which lasteth but for a time, and in time is cause of it owne corruption, and which in effect is nothing els but putrifaction it selfe, and a dunghill couered with white and red: but for the beauty of the soule they care nothing at all.

2050

2060

Visours or
inuisories
ofVeluet,
to ride
abroad in.

When they vse to ride abroad they haue Maskes & visors made of veluet (or in my iudgment they may rather be called inuisories) wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in them against their eyes, wherout they looke. So that if a man that knew not their guise before, should chauce to meet one of them, he would thinke he met a monster or a Deuil, for face he can shew none, but two broad holes against their eyes, with glasses in them. Thus they prophane the name of God, and liue in all kind of voluptuousnes and pleasure, worse then euer did the Heathen.

2070

Sues
volutabris
versantur.

Spud. What thinke you, are not the inuenters and first finders out of these new toyes & deuillish deuices in great danger, and partakers with them of euill committed?

The first finders and inuenters of new fashions, are culpable of all the euill that cometh by them.

Philo. It can not be, but the Inuentors of these new toyes, are in great danger before God, as they who shal render accomptes // to God, not only for the inuention of them, but also for the euill committed by them. For whosoeuer is authour of any euill, must needs answeere for the euill. And surely the authors of these newfangles, are worthy to be cannonized saints, when the yeare of **Iubilie** commeth (I meane Saintes of Sathan) for what deed so flagitious, what attempt so daungerous, or what fact so hainous, which with **alacritie** is not **plausiblie** committed for the maintenance of these Deuillish toyes and deuices? And albeit that the persons themselues who offend this way shall dy in their sinnes, their owne bloud being poured vpon their owne heads, yet the authors of these new toyes where through they offended, shall bee guilty of their deaths, & surely answer for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

A vaine excuse.

Spud. But say they, **If** I make them not, another will, and it is as good for me to make them as another, and it is my liuing, wherefore I am discharged of blame if I make them, being commaunded with sweat of my face, and with trauell and paine to get my liuing?

We are bound to get our liuing in wei doing, not in euill doing.

Philo. We are commaunded indeed to get our liuing with the sweate of our face, but how? Not in doing those thinges which are euill of themselues, and also draw and entice others to euill, but in things lawful and honest, and which induce to godlines. And to say, others will make them if they do not, no more excuseth them of offence before God, then for a Murtherer or a theefe to say, if I had not robbed or killed this man, another would, dischargeth him

H2. PH: *A Caueat for Artificers.*

2077. whosoeuer] 01-03; whosouer 2078. authors] 01-03; author

A caueat to artificers that inuent new fashions.

from the penalty of the law, or guilt of the fact. Is it lawfull for vs to do euill, because others doe it? Or doth the wickednes of another deliuer vs from blame, if we commit the same offence? No, nothing Jesse. Wherefore, let Taylors, and artificers beware, how they eyther inuent or make these new deuises and deuilish fashions euery day: & being requested to make them, if they perceiue them to tend to vice, & to allure to sin, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tedering the saluation of many, then the priuate commodity of themselues alone, which thing if euery one would doe, he should deliuer his owne soule, and support an infinite number from falling into the gulfe of sinne, and so in short time these new toyes, fond deuices, and childish bableries (newe fashions I should say) would soone vanish away, and come to naught: which God grant may come to passe. //

A caueat for Tailours and Artificers.

2110

H2v

The meane attire of both Heathen and other

Women in olde time.

Spud. Did the women of the former world attire themselues in such sort, as these women doe?

Phi. The women of the former age you may be sure neuer apparelled themselues like one of these: But least you should thinke, that the godly only liued thus austerely, you shall heare how little the very Heathen and Barbarian woinen haue, and do at this present esteeme of apparel, as Stuperius witnesseth, whose wordes are these, speaking of the Egyptian women: Vestimenta sciunt nee nona pristinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congređi, quascunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent. Which may be thus turned into English verse.

2120

*The Egiptian Matrones neuer vse,
their fashions of attire to change:*

*But euer keep one form to chuse,
although they visite nations strange.*

2130

H2v. PH: *Womens habite in other countries.*

2114. naught] 01-03; naughe PH. Womens] 01-03 *subst; vvomens*

And as writers do affirme, all the women there, indifferently goe with their haire hanging downe, with a broad hat vpon their heads and other attire as plaine as the rest, so farre are these people from pride, and hunting after straunge fashions, as our women do. The women of Affrica are witnessed by the same Stuperius, and others to be so far from affecting of strange fashions, or curiosity in apparell, that they cloth themselues in a maner all ouer Ferinis pellibus, with beastes skinnes, fures and such like. And this they think so rich attire, as they vse it altogether, when they celebrate their festiuall solemne dayes, or when they goe abroade to bee seene. The Brasilian women esteeme so little of apparell also, as they rather choose to goe naked (their secrete partes onely being couered) then they would be thought to bee proude, or desirous of such vanity. The Cantabrian women likewise, with many other doe the same. In high Germanie the women vse in effect one kind of apparell or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other Nations, delighting in newfangles: yea, the wiues there, are so farre from pride, that they will not disdain to carie all their housholde stuffe, and other supellectiles about with them vpon their backes, in time of necessity. Their Maides and Virgins goe very plaine, with kertchers onely on their heades, their haire hanging downe behind in token of Virginitie. Thus you see euery nation // how barbarous soeuer, are much inferiour to the people of England in pride and excesse of apparell: and yet these examples I alleadge not, to the end I would wish all others to vse the same, or the very like sauage kind of habite: but to shew how far they bee from pride, and how much the other be wedded to the same. And as for the vertuous and godly Christian women, from the beginning of the world, they haue so little cared for the vaine glorie of apparel and so little or rather nothing at all, were they acquainted therewith, as

The maners of
other nations
in attire.

2140

2150

H3

2160

H3. PH: *Brutish attire not commendable.*

2135. hunting] 01-03 *subst*; hnnting 2147. without] 01-03; withut 2160. cared] 01-03; careo

The conte'pt
of apparell
of the former
age.

they hunted for nothing els so much, as for the ornaments of the minde, as Wisedome, continencie, chastity, and true godlinesse, thinking the same beautie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloath their bodies with sumptuous apparell, and their mindes to be naked, and voyci of true vertue. So, if these women would seeke after the beauty of the mind, they would not affect apparell so much: for if they be faire in body already, then neede they not gorgeous apparell to make them fairer: and if they bee deformed in body, it is not the apparell that can make them fairer. 2170
And either their beauty consisteth in them, or in their apparel: if in them then not in the apparell, and so it is meere foolery to weare it. And if in apparell, then not in them, and so can not the garments make them fair, whome God and Nature hath made otherwise. Wherefore, looke in what shape, forme, or condition euery one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same without any alteration or change, with praise to his Creator.

Spud. They hold, (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so much hateth and detesteth.

Philo. It is very true that God punisheth the pride of the hart 2180
with etemall damnation (if they repent not) for he will bee serued and obeyed, eyther with the whole man, or els with none. Then if he punish pride of the heart with euerlasting damnation, hee must needs in iustice punish the pride of apparel with the like, being both ioyned in one predicament of sinne: and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world then the other. Also, it is manifest, that the pride of apparell riseth first fro the corruption of the hart, as the effectes from the cause, the fruit from the root of the tree: then if the pride of the heart, which notwithstanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is secrete betwixt God and himselfe, be 2190
damnable in it owne nature before God, then must it needs be, that

2164 SN. former] 02-03; fonnet 2172. weare] 01-03 *subst*; weate 2176. himselfe] 01-03 *subst*; hemselve

the pride // of apparell (which sheweth it selfe to the worlde, both H3v
 offeasiue to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruit of
 the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as beholde it, at
 least, as many as follow it, into the deepe Dungeon of hell) is much
 more pernicious and damnable then the other.

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this sinne of pride, with any nota-
 ble plague or punishment, euer from the beginning of the worlde vn-
 to this day, or hath he passed it ouer as a thing of small importance?

Punishments of pride in all ages. 2200

Philo.

Most fearfull plagues and dreadfull iudgments of God haue in all
 ages bene poured vpon them that offended herein, as all histories
 both holy and prophane do beare record. For prooffe whereof, I will
 giue you a tast but of a few, whereby may appeare how wonderfully
 the Lord in all ages, times, kindreds, & peoples, hath punished
 those that through pride (like wicked runnagats, and backsliders
 from God) haue rebelled against his Maiestie. The deuill, who
 before was an Angel in heauen, arrogating to himselfe the imperially
 throne of the maiestie of God, was cast down into the lake of bel
 burning with fire and sulphur for euer. Adam desiring to be a God
 (for the serpent told him he should be as God, knowing both good
 and euill) was for the sin of pride thrown down to the bottom of hel,
 and not only he, but all his posterity to the end of the world. The
 hoste of Core, Dathan and Abiram, for their exceeding pride, in
 stirring vp mutinies and rebellions against their lawful Magistrate,
 were swallowed vp quicke into hell, the earth opening her mouth
 and deuouring them, with all their complices whatsoever. The
 people of Babylon intending to build a tower, whose top shuld
 reach the heauens, thinking that if God should drowne the world

2210

2220

Examples of
 Gods
 punishments
 executed
 vponthe
 that offended
 in pride
 in all ages.

H3v. PH: *Punishments for pride.*

2192. apparell (which] 02-03 *subst*; apparell which 2200. Punishments] Fumivall; Punshments
 2202. iudgments] 01-03 *subst*; iudgmen s PH. Punishments] 01-03; Punishmonts

again with water, they would be sure ynough on the tope of their high turrets: yea, they intended to sit with God himselfe (if need were) were all confounded, and a diuers language put into euery mam mouth, that none knew what other spake. And thus wer they forced to leaue their building, and dispersed themselues abroad vpon the face of the earth, and hereof sprang the first diuersity of languages in the world. Wherefore, when we heare any language spoken that we know not, it may be a memorandum vnto vs, to // put vs in minde of our pride, which was the cause thereof.

A memo-
randum.

H4

Goliah the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and swome enemy to the children of Israeli, for his pride against the Lord, was slaine by Daud the faithfull seruant of the Lord.

2230

Antiochus.

Antiochus intending to ouerthrowe and sacke Ierusalem, to spoyle the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride ouertumed in his chariote, riding thitherward, his belly bursting, and filthy wormes crawling out most lothsomly, and in fine, began so to stinke and smell, as neither his seruantes nor bee himselfe could abide his owne sauour, and thus ended his life in great misery and wretchednes.

Nebuchodo-
nosor.Dan.4.
King Saule.

Nabuchadnezar, was for his pride cast out of his kingdom, and forced to eat grasse with wild beasts in the wildemesse.

2240

King Saule, for his Pride and disobedience, was deposed of his Principality and Kingly regiment, and in the end slue himselfe on mount Gelboe most desperately.

Sodoma and Gomorra, were both destroyed with fire and Brimstone from heauen for their sinne of Pride and contempt of the Lord.

All the world in the dayes of Noah was drowned with an vniuersall deluge for pride and contumacy of heart.

H4. PH: *Proud Kings punished.*

2227. language] 01-03; language 2228. we] 01-03; me 2241. and] 01-03; and and

- 2.Reg.20. King Ezekiah, for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadors of the king of Babylon, all his treasure (for hee sent messengers vnto him with giftes and letters congratatorie, reioycing for the recouery of his health) lost all his iewels, treasures and riches, with his sonnes also, being transported captiues into Babylon. 2250
- 2.Samuel.1.c. King Daud for his pride in numbring the people contrary to the wil of God, was grieuously punished, & three score and ten thousand of his people slaine with a grieuous pestilence for the same. 24.vers.15.
- The proud pharisie King Herode. King Pharao for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him selfe a God vpon the earth, and therefore asked hee Moyses in derision, who is the Lord?) was drowned in the red Sea with all his hoaste. The proud Pharisie iustifying himselfe, for his pride was reprooued of the Lord, and reiected. King Herode for attyring himselfe in sumptuous aray, and not ascribing glory to the Lord, was striken dead, by an Angell, and wormes consumed his flesh immediatly. All these, with infinite millions moe in all ages, haue perished through pride, and therefore let not this people thinke //that they shall escape vnpunished, who drinke vp pride, as it were sweet wine, feed vpon it, as vpon dilicious meates, and wallow in it, as filthy Swine doe in the myre. Will the Lord punish his peculiar people and elect vessels, and let them goe free? 2260
- Gods plagues are prepared if wee repent not. Wherefore I would wish them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of God, who is a consuming fire, and a fearfull God. His Bowe is bent, his arrowes of iudgement are drawne to the heade, his fire is kindeled, his wrath is gone out, and ready to bee poured vpon the contemnners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer, prouoke not his wrath, exasperate not his iudgmets towards thee. For as mercy procedeth from him, so doth Iustice also: and be sure of it, he payeth home at the last. For as in mercy he 2270

H4v. PH: *Gods iudgments for pride.*

2277. exasperate] 01-03; exaseperate 2279.last. For] 01-03; last, For PH. iudgments] 01-03
subst; iudgments

suffereth no good deed to be vnrewarded, so in his iust iudgment 2280
there is no wickednesse without repentance which he leaueth
vnpunished. And yet notwithstanding, their wickednes and pride is
such as stinketh before the face of God, and maketh the enemies to
blaspheme, and speake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for say they,
the men of England are wicked, and dissolute in all their waies,
which easilie appeareth by their apparel, and newfangled fashions
euery day inuented. The beastly Epicures, the Drunkards, and
Swilboules vpon their Ale-benches, when their heads are intoxicate
with new wine and strong drinke, will not sticke to belch forth, and
say that the inhabitants of England go brauely in apparell 2290
changing fashions euery day for no cause so much, as to delight the
eyes of theyr whorish mates withall, and to inamour the mindes of
their fleshlie Paramours. Thus be this people a laughing stocke to al
the world for their pride, a slauder to the word of God, and to
their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonour and
reproch to the lord, and very Caterpillers to themselues, in
wasting and consuming their goods and treasures, vpon vanities and
trifles.

The dayly exercises of the Women of England.

Spud. 2300

I perceiue these are nice Dames, I pray you what exercises follow
they for the most part being thus clothed in their robes, and how doe
they spend the time? For I stand in doubt they scarce spend it wel.

Philo. You need not to doubt. For they spend the time verie
wel // I warrant you, and to their own contentments. For some of 11
them lie in bed (I will not say with whome) till nine or ten of the
clocke euery morning, then being rouzed foorth of their dennes,
they are two or three houres in putting on of their robes, which

The great
paines that

II. PH: *Handbaskets cloakes to sinne.*

2284. the wayes] 01-03 *subst*; the the wayes

these Gentle-
women take.

done, they goe to dinner, where no delicates eyther of wines or meates are wanting. Then their bodies being satisfied, and their heades prettily mizzed with wine, they walke abroad for a time, or els conferre with their familiars (as women you knowe are talkatiue ynough, and can chat like Pies) all the world knoweth it. Thus some spend the day till supper time, and then the night, as before. Other some spend the greatest part of the day in sitting at the dore, to shew their braueries, to make knowne their beauties, to beholde the passengers by, to view the coast, to see fashions, and to acquaint

2310

Exercises
and practises
of the gentle-
women of
London.

themselues with the brauest fellowes, for if not for these causes, I see no other causes why they should sit at their doores, from morning till noone (as many do) from Noon to night, thus vainly spending their golden dayes in filthy idlennesse and sin. Againe, othersome being weary of that exercise, take occasion (about vrgent affaires, you must suppose) to walke into the towne, & least any thing might be gathered, but that they goe about serious matters indeed they take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes, vnder which pretence pretie conceits are practized, and yet may no man say blacke is their eye. But if all other waies faile them, yet haue they one which be sure will speed.

2320

Hand baskets
cloakes
to sin.

Spud. What way is that, I pray you declare vnto me?

Gardens in Englande.

2330

Philo.

Seeing you are so desirous to know, I will tel you. In the fieldes and Suburbes of the Cities they haue Gardens, either palled, or walled round about very high, with their Harbers, and bowers fit for the purpose. And least they might be espied in these open places, they haue their banquetting houses with Galleries, Turrets, & what not els therein sumptuously erected: wherin they may (and doubtlesse do) many of them play the filthy persons. And for that their Gardens are locked, some of them haue three or foure keyes a peece, whereof one they keep for themselues, the other their

2340

Gardens in
the fields no
better then
the stewes.

Paramours haue to goe in before them, least happely they might be// perceiued, for then were all the sport dasht. Then to these Gardens they repaire when they list, with a basket & a boy, where they meeting their sweet harts, receiue their wished desires. These gardens are excellent places, and for the purpose, for if they can speake with their dearlings no where els, yet there they may be sure to meet them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines, they knowe what I meane. But I wish them to amend for fear of Gods heauy wrath in the day of vengeance.

Gardens
places of
baudry.

II v

Spud. Why? do you condemne the vse of Gardens and garden houses then altogether?

2350

Phil. No: nothing lesse. For I know they bee very healthfull, comfortable, and wholesome for mans body, and such thinges, as the vse whereof can we not lacke. But I condemne these abuses, these corruptions, and enormities there vsed, and I pray God they may be reformed. There is nothing so good but it may be abused, yet I am not precise, that I would haue the thing remooued for the abuse, but the abuse to be taken away, whereby the thing it selfe is made worse. Nor I speake not against the good and godly women, for I know there be a great number, & the Lord increase the number of them, that are chaste, wise, sober, continent, and vertuous matrones, and voyd of all these corruptions. But against those light, lewd, and incontinent harlots (as it is well known there be too many) that run to those places, as fast as euer did the brothels to the Stewes. And truly I thinke some of those places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houses were in times paste: I beseech the Lord to purge them cleane eyther with the Oliue branch of his mercy, or with the sharpe rod of his iudgement, that this wickednesse may be put away.

Euery thing
abused, is
not to be
remooued,
but the abuse
to be taken
away only.

2360

Spud. Are those nice Dames, gentle, sober, and discreete, or otherwise giuen to chiding, brawling, and vnquietnesse? For they shew themselues abroad (by report) as though butter woulde not melt in their mouthes.

2370

II v. PH: *Gardens places of Bawdrye.*

2362. corruptions]02-03; corruptious

women good
and bad, but
the greater
number
naught.

Philo. There are some sober, wise, gentle, discreet, and vertuous
Matrones, as any be in all the world. And there be other some (yea
maior numerus) that are neuer well, but when they bee eyther
brawling, scolding, or fighting eyther with some of their housholde,
or some others: and such Deuilles, as a man were better
to be hanged then to dwell with them. But because I haue //small
experience thereof my selfe, saue only by the report of them that
haue made triall thereof themselues, ■ will say no more, committing
them ouer to the Lord, to whom they eyther stande if they doe well,
or fall, if they doe euill.

I2
2380

Spud. Seeing that by diuine assistance you haue now finished
your discourse of the apparell of England, shew mee (I pray you)
what other abuses be there vsed, for I am perswaded, that pride
the Mother of sinne, is not without her Daughters semblable to
her selfe?

The horrible vice of Whoredome

in England.

2390

Philo.

Whoredome
in England
too too rife.

The horrible vice of Whoredome is there too too much frequented,
to the great dishonour of God, the prouoking of his iudgementes
against them, the staine and blemish of their profession, the euill
example of al the world, & finally, to their owne damnation for
euer, except they repent.

Vain and
vngodly
reasons pre-
tending that
whoredom
is no sin.

Spud. I haue heard them reason thus, that mutuall coition
betwixt man and woman, is not so much offensiue before God. For
do not all creatures (say they) as well Reptilia terrae, as
Volatilia Coeli, Creeping thinges vpon the earth, as
flying in the aire, and all other creatures in generall, both small
and great, ingender together? hath not nature and kinde ordayed

2400

12. PH: *Horrible whoredome in England.*

2393 SN. Whoredome] 01-03 *subst*; Whoredoms

them so, and giuen them members proper to that vse? And doth not
 the lord (say they) as it were with a stimule, or pricke (by his
 mandate, saying, *Crescite, & multiplicamini, & replete*
 Oh wicked *terram: Increase, multiply, & fill the earth*) stir them vp to
 Libertines. the same? Otherwise the world woulde become barren and soone fall
 to decay: wherefore they conclude, that Whordome is a badge of
 loue, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a
 friendlie daliance, a redintegration of loue, and an 2410
 ensigne of good will, rather meritorious than damnable. These
 with the like bee their ridiculous reasons, which I haue heard them
 many times to alleadge in defence of their camall pollutions.

Philo. Cursed be those mouthes, that thus do blaspheme the
 mighty God of Israeli, and his sacred worde, making the same
 cloakes to couer their sinne withall. They are much worsen then // 12v
 Libertines, who think all things lawfull, or Atheistes, who deny
 there is any God. The deuils themselues neuer sinned so horribly,
 nor erred so grosly, as these (not Christians, but Dogges) do, that
 Those that make whore- 2420
 domlawfuU are worsen
 then Deuils. see their deceptions displayed, and their damnable abuses more
 plainly discouered, I will reduce you to the first institution of this
 godly ordinance of Matrimony.

The Lord our God hauing created all things, in heauen, earth, or
 hell whatsoever, created of euery sexe two, male and female, and
 The first institution of 2430
 matrimony. last of all other creatures, he made man after his own likenes and
 similitude, giuing him a woman, made of a rib of his owne body,
 Gen.2. to be a companion and comforter vnto him, and linking them
 Math.19. together in the honourable state of venerable wedlock, he blessed
 Mark. them both, saying: *Crescite, multiplicamini, & replete*
 Luke.16. *terram. Increase, multiply, and replenish the earth:* wherby it is
 1.Cor.6. more then apparent, that the Lord, whose name is Iehouah, the

12v. PH: Gods curse for whoredome.

Ephe.S. mighty God of Israeli, is the Authour of godly Matrimonie,
 Mariage Instituting it in the time of mans innocency in Paradise, and that as
 instituted for me semeth for four causes. First for the auoydance of whordome:
 foure causes. Secondly, for the mutuall comfort and consolation, that the one might
 haue of the other, in all aduersities and calamities whatsoever:
 Thirdly, for propagation of children in the feare of the Lord, that
 All mutuall both the world might be increased thereby, and the Lord also
 copulation, glorified in him. And fourthly to be a figure or type of our spirituall 2440
 except
 mariage is wedlocke, betwixt Christ and his Church, both militant and
 vnlawful. triumphant. This congression, and mutual copulation of those, that
 be thus ioyned together in the godly state of blessed Matrimonie,
 is pure Virginitie, and allowable before God and man, as an action
 wherto the Lord hath promised his blessing through his mercie, not
 by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as some shame not to say. All
 other goings together and coitions are damnable, pestiferous, and
 execrable. So, now you se, that whereas the Lord saith, Increase,
 multiplie, and fill the earth: hee alludeth to those that are linked
 together in the state of godly Matrimonie and wedlocke, and not 2450
 otherwise. For, to those that go together after any other sort, he hath denounced
 his curse and wrath for euermore, as his all sauing word
 beareth record.

 And whereas they say, that all creatures vpon the earth do
 ingender together, I graunt it is true. But how, *In suo genere,*
 in Il their owne kind. There is no creature creeping on the earth, or I3
 Howal flying in the aire, how irrationable soeuer, that doeth so degenerate,
 creatures do as man doth, but keepeth the same state and order, wherein they
 goe together were made at the first, which thing if man did, he should not
 in their kind. commit such abhominable whordome, and filthy sinne as he doeth. 2460
 It is said of those that write *de natura animalium*, that (almost)
 all vnreasonable beasts, and flying fowles after they haue once

13. PH: *fidelitie in married couples.*

2438. Lord, that] 01-03 *subst*; Lord. that 2457. flying] 01-03 *subst*; fly-

The fidelitie
of vnreason-
able creatures
in mariage
one towards
another.

linked, and vnited themselues together, to any one of the same kind,
and after they haue once espoused themselues the one to the other,
they will neuer ioyne themselues after with any other, till the one be
disclued from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of
matrimony inuiolable to the end. And if any chance to reuolt, & go
together with any other during the life of his first mate, all the rest
of the same kinde assemble together, as it were in a counsel or
parliament, and eyther kill, or grieuously punish the Adulterer, or
Adulteresse, whether soeuer it be: which law I would God, were
amongst Christians established. By all which it may appeare, how
horrible a sinne Whoredome is in Nature, that the very
vnreasonable creatures doe abhorre it.

much the
Heathen haue
detested
whoredome.

Sundry
punishments
of whoredome
amongst the
Heathen.

Testimonies
out of the
word of God
wherin
whordome is
forbid.

The Heathen people who know not God, so much loth this How
stinking sin of Whoredome, that some bume them quicke, some
hang them on gibbets, some cut of their heades, some their armes,
legs, and hands, some put out their eyes, some bume them in the
face, some cut off their noses, some one part of their body, some
another, and some with one kind of torture, and some with
another, but none leaueth them vnpunished: so that we are set to
schoole to leame our A.B.C. (like young Nouices or children,
scarce crept out of the swadling cloathes) how to punish
whoredome, euen by the vnreasonable creatures, and by the
Heathen people themselues, who are ignorant of the diuine goodnes.

Spud. I pray you rehearse some places out of the word of God
wherein this cursed vice of Whoredome is forbidden, for my
better instruction.

Philo. Our Sauour Christ in the eighth of Iohn, speaking to
the woman, whom the malicious Iewes had apprehended in
Adultery, bad her goe her way, and sinne no more. **If** it had
not bene a most grieuous sinne, he would neuer haue bid her sin no
more. In the fifth of Mathew he saith, who so lusteth after a

2470

2480

2490

- woman in his// heart, hath committed the fact already, and 13v
 Math.S. therefore is guilty of death for the same. To the Pharisies, asking
 him, whether a man might not put away his wife for any occasion?
 Math.19. Christ answered, for no cause saue for Whoredome only, inferring
 Mark.10. that whoredome is so hainous a sinne, as for the perpetration
 Luke.16. thereof, it shall be lawfull for a man, to deuide himselfe from his
 owne Wife, and the Wife from her owne Husband. The 2500
 1.Cor.6. Apostle Paule saith: Know you not that your bodies are the
 members of Christ, shall I then take the members of
 Christ (saith he) and make the the members of an
 whore? God forbid, knowe you not that he who coupleth
 himself with an Harlot, is become one bodie with her?
 Flie fornication (saith he) therfore, for euerie other sinne
 that a man committeth is without the bodie, but who so
 committeth fornication, sinneth against his owne body.
 And in another place, Knowe you not that your bodies are
 the temples of the holy Ghost, which dwelleth within 2510
 you? And who so destroyeth the Temple of God him
 shall God destroy.
 In another place he saith: Be not deceiued, for neither
 whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornicator, incestuous person,
 nor such like shall euer enter into the kingdome of
 heauen. Againe, Coniugium honorabile est inter omnes.
 Mariage is honourable amongst all men, and the bed
 vndefiled, but whoremongers and Adulterers God shall
 iudge. In the Reuelation of Saint Iohn it is saide, That they who
 were not defiled with women, do wait vpon the Lambe, 2520
 whether soeuer he goeth. The Apostle Paule, willeth vs to
 be so farre from fornication, that it may not once be
 named amongst vs, as becommeth Saints, with infinite such
 places, which for breuitie I omit, referring you in the old Testament
 to these & such places, namely, the 20. of Exodus. 20 of

13v. PH: *Examples against whoredome.*

2506. therefore] 02-03 *subst*; thersore [longs]

Leuiticus. 22. Deuteronomy. 27. 2. Kinges. 11. Leuiticus.
18. Exodus. 22, Num. 5. Eccle. 9. Prouer. 23. Prouer. 7.
vers. 24.

Spud. As you haue now prooued by inuincible testimonies of
holy scripture, that whoredome is forbidden by the Lord: so I pray 2530
you shew me the grieuousnes thereof by some seuere and rare
examples of Gods iust iudgment poured foorth vpon the same from
the beginning.

Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

Gen.7.8.	Philo. The whole world was destroyed with water, not any// liuing thing left vpon the earth, (saue in the Arke of Noah) for the sinne of Whoredome, Incest and brothelry vsed in those dayes. Sodoma and Gomorrha, two famous Citties, were consumed	14
Gene.19. Gene.24.	with fire and brimstone from heauen, for the like sinne of Whoredome, Adulterie and fornication. The Cittie of the Sichemites, man, woman and childe, were put to the edge of the sworde, for the rauishing of Dina, the daughter of Iacob. The Lord also told Abimelech, that if he did not let goe vntouched Sara, Abrahams wife, both he and all his houshold shall die the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorantlie. The very same	2540
Gene.20. Gene.26. Gene.18.	happened to Isaac also. Iudah vnderstanding that his daughter in Lawe was impregnate, and great with childe, and not knowing by whome, commaunded that she should be burned, without any further delay. Was not Absolon, King Daudi his sonne, plagued	2550
2.Reg.16. Genes.29.	all his life, for going in to his Fathers Concubines? And did not Achitophel who gaue counsell so to doe, hang himselfe? Was not Ruben the first borne sonne of Iacob, accursed for going vp to his fathers bed, and lost he not his byrthright, his dignity, and primacy ouer his brethren for the same? Were there not about three	

14. PH: *Punishments for Whordome.*

2526-7. Leuiticus.18] 01 *subst*; Leuiticus.11 2536. liuing] 01-03 *subst*; liuig 2549. delay] 01-03
subst; de-delay PH. Whordome] 01-03 *subst*; Wwordome

ludg.20.	score and fiew thousand men slain, for the Adultery done with one Leuits wife? Was not King Daudid punished all the dayes of his life, for his Adultery done with Bersabe, Vrias his wife? Was	
2.Reg.13,12.	not his sonne Ammon for lying with his Sister Thamar slaine?	
1.Reg.11.	Was not Salamon being peruerted with many Heathen women, cast out of the fauour of God, notwithstanding, beeing otherwise,	2560
3.Reg.21.	the wisest prince in all the world? Achab at the perswasions of lesabell his cursed wife, falling to Idolatrie, and worshipping of Idolles and Deuils, suffered most cruell punishment in this life all his dayes: besides what hee suffereth nowe, God onely knoweth? Were not the Israelite and Madianitish woman both slaine for	
Numer.25.	Whoredome by that woorthy man Phinees, who ranne them both through their priuy members with his Iauelin or sword? Was not	
ludg.16.	Sampson brought to a miserable end, his eyes being both put out, and he made to bee a laughing stocke to all men, through his too much fauouring of wanton women? Was not King Pharao	2570
Gene.12.	woonderfully plagued, for but intending euil in his heart, toward Sara, Abraham his wife? Did not the Lord slay (with a most grieuous mortalitie) foure and twenty thousande of the Israelites in one // day, for whoredome and adulterie, with the women of the Moabits and Madianites.	14v

By these and such like fearfull examples of the iustice of God, poured vpon these whoremongers and Adulterers, we may leame to know the grieuousnes of the same, and the punishment due to al Whoremongers and Fornicators, either in this life, or in the life to come, or els in both: for if the Lorde deferre the punishment of Whordome in this life, he reserueth it for the world to come, suffering the wicked to wallow in their sinne, and to fill vp the measure of their iniquity, that their damnation may be iust. And if

14v. PH: *Examples for whoremongers.*

2563. suffered] *This ed;* suffer 2566 SN. Numer.25] 01-03 *subst;* Numer.24 PH. Examples] 01-03; Examples

the Lord left not sinne vnpunished, no, not in his most deare Saints,
what he shall do in them, who dayly crucifie him a new, let the
godly iudge.

Spud. Now I am fully perswaded by your inuincible reasons,
that there is no sinne greater before the face of God then
Whoredome, wherefore God graunt that all his may auoid it.

What euils
whordome
bringeth to
mans body
in this life.

Phil. You haue said true, for there is no sin comparable vnto it, 2590
for besides that it bringeth euerlasting damnation to all that liue
therein to the end, without repentance: It also bringeth these
inconueniences, with many moe, **videlicet**, it dimmeth the sight, it
impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the sinewes, it weakeneth the
ioyns, it **exhausteth** the marow, consumeth the radicall moysture
and supplement of the body, it riueth the face, appalleth the
countenance, it dulleth the spirits, it hurteth the memory, it
weakeneth the whole body, it bringeth consumption, it causeth
vlceration, scab scurffe, blaine, botch, pocks and byles, it maketh
hoare haire, bald pates: induceth olde age, and in fine, bringeth 2600
death before Nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age constraine it.

Spud. Seeing that Whoredom bringeth such soure sauce with
it, as namely death euerlasting after this life, and so many
discommodities besides in this life, I woonder that men dare commit
the same so securely as they do now a dayes?

The smal care
to auoid
whoredom
in England.

Philo. It is so little feared in **England**, that vntil one hath had
two or three Bastardes, they esteeme him no man (for that they
call a mans deed) in so much that euery scuruy Boy of xii. xvi.
or xx. yeares of age will make no conscience of it, to haue two or
three, peradventure halfe a dozen seueral women with child at once 2610
and this exploit being done, he shewes the all a faire paire of heeles,
and away goeth he **pilo velocius**, *as round as a ball*, (as they
say)// into some straunge place where he is not knowne: where KI

KI. PH: *Causes of bastardy in England.*

2592 SN. euils] 01-03 subst; enils 2607. Bastardes] *This ed*; Bastardes a peece 2612. ball] *This ed*;hall

how hee liueth, let the world iudge, for *Coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*: Though they chaunge their place of abode yet their naughty dispositions they retaine still. Then hauing estraunged themselues thus for a small space, they retume againe, not to their pristine cursed life (I dare say) but to their countrey, and then no man say, blacke is their eie, but all is wei, and they as good Christians, as those that suffer them vnpunished. 2620

Spud. The state and condition of that Countrey is most miserable, if it be true you report, it were much better, that euery one had his lawfull wife, and euery woman her lawful husband, as the Apostle commandeth, then thus to be plunged in the filthy sinne of Whoredome.

Philo. That is the onely salue and soueraigne remedy, which the Lord ordayned against Whoredome, that those who haue not the gift of continency might marrie, and so keepe their vessels vndefiled to the Lord. But notwithstanding, in England there is ouer great liberty permitted therein: for, little Infantes in swadling Cloutes, are often married by their ambitious Parentes and friendes, when they know neither good nor euill, and this is the origene of much wickednes, and directly against the worde of God, and examples of the primitiue age. And besides this, you shal haue euery saucy boy, of ten, fourteene, sixteen, or twenty yeares of age, catch vp a woman and mary her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wisdom, integrity of life, or any other vertue, or which is more, without any respect how they may liue together, with sufficient maintenance for their callings and estate. No, no, it maketh no matter for these things, so he haue his pretty pussy to huggle withal, for that is the only thing he desireth. 2640

Then build they vp a cottage though but of Elder poales, in euery lane ende almost, where they liue as beggers all their life after. This filleth the land with such store of Beggers, as we call them, that in short time (except some remedy be prouided to preuent the same)

it is like to grow to great pouerty & extream misery, which God forbid.

Spud. I can not see how this geare should be holpen.

A restraint
of marriage.

Philo. What, if a restraint were made, that none (except vpon speciall and vrgent causes) shuld marie before they come to twenty // or foure and twenty yeares, or at least before they be fourteene or eighteene years olde, would not this make fewer Beggars, then now there are?

2650

Klv

Spud. But if this were established, then should wee haue moe Bastardes, and of the two, I had rather wee had many children lawfully begot, than many Bastards.

How whore-
dom may bee
suppressed.

Phil. The occasion of begetting of many Bastards were soone cut off, if either the punishmet which God his law doth allow, or els which good pollicie hath constituted, were inflicted vpon the offenders. For, the punishment appointed for Whoredome now is so light, that they esteeme not of it, they feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what greate thing is it, to goe two or three dayes in a white sheete, or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishment,) before the Congregation, and that sometimes not past an hower or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garmentes vndemeath, as commonly they haue. And truely I cannot a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore that wickednesse of the Ecclesiasticall Magistrates, in not punishing more grieuously this horrible sinne of whoredome: for to goe in a sheet with a white wand in their handes, is but a plaine mocking of God and of his Lawes. This impunity (in respect of condigne punishment, which that vice requireth) doth rather animate & imbolden them to the act, then fear them from it. In so much, as I haue heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beast, that for such white liuered punishment, would abstaine from such gallant pastime: but certaine

2660

2670

The
punishment
for whordome
ouer remisse.

Kl v. PH: *Remedies to suppress whoredome.*

2662. feare it] *cor*; feare it it *uncor*

Whoredome
ought not to
be punished
by the purse.

it is that they, who thinke it such sweet meate here, shall finde the sauce sowre and bitter inough in hell. And yet as light, & as easie as this punishment is, it may be, and is dayly dispensed withall for money: and this is thought to be the best kind of punishmet to punish them by the purse. Then the which what can be a greater disorder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thing els then to buy and sell the bodies and soules of Christians for money? Can the Pope himselfe doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenaunce of the Stewes? Yea, so long as this is vsed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Englande. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie (for to them I speake) take heed that they be not maintayners of Stewes and Whoredome, whereof they would so faine be thought to be suppressers. For this kinde //of dispensing with Whoredome, Adulterie, and Fornication for money, and setting of them free ð culpa & paena, from the fault it selfe, and punishment due for the fault, what is it els then not onely a maintenance, but also a stirring of them vppe to commit Whoredome, when for a little money they may be discharged of all guilt? And this being certaine, or at least very likelie, that whosoeuer getteth one with childe, of what reputation or degree soeuer she bee of, (if he be single) he shall be forced to marrie her, and thus for a little peece of money they may both haue a Bull of dispensation. This being so, who (I say) will not seeke to aspire as high as he may, and to deflower (in hope of further gaine) as many as he can. This siluer punishment is it, that defileth honest Matrones, polluteth chaste Virgines, and dishonesteth poore maids, to their vtter shame and vndooing for euer. I say nothing, how the money receyued for these dispensations is bestowed, how spent, nor whereunto employed. The Lorde for his mercies sake, giue them

2680

K2

2700

To dispence
with
whoredom for
money, is a
plain
maintenance
ofwhordom.

K2. PH: *Due punishments for whoredom.*

2693 SN. dispence] 03; dispeuce 2702. polluteth] 02-03; polluteh 2704. dispensations] 02-03; dispensatious PH. Due] 01-03; Dne PH. punishments] *This ed;* punishments

gr ce to punish vice seuerely, as the word of God doth commaund,
and not after their owne sensuall appetites and licentious lustes,
that God may be glorified, and their consciences discharged at the
great day of the Lord.

Spud. What punishment would you haue inflicted vpon such
as commit this horrible kinde of sinne? 2710

What kinde
of punishm't
whoredome
ought to
haue.

Philo. I would wish that the man or woman who are certainlie
knowne and prooued without all scruple or doubt, to haue
committed the horrible fact of Whoredome, Adulterie, Incest,
or Fornication, should either drinke a draught of Moyses cuppe,
that is, taste of present death, as Gods worde doeth commaund,
and good pollicie allowe, or els, if that be thought too seure (as in
euill, men will be more mercifull, then the Authour of mercy
himselpe, but in goodness, farewell mercy) then would God they
might bee cauterized, and seared with a hotte Iron vpon the
cheeke, forehead, or some other parte of their bodie that might bee
seene, to the ende that the Adulterous children of Sathan, might be
discerned from the honest and chast Christians. But (alas) this vice
(with the rest) wanteth such due punishment, as God his word doth
commaund to bee inflicted vpon them. The Magistrates winke at
it, or els as looking through their fingers, they see it, and will not
see it. // 2720

Yea so farre of are some, from suffering condigne punishment,
for this horrible sin, that they get good maintenance with practising
the same. For you shall haue some, yea many thousands, that liue
vpon nothing els, and yet go cloathed Gentlewomen like, both in
their silkes and Veluets, and otherwise, their fingers clogged with
ringes, their wristes with bracelets and Iewels, and their purses full
of golde and siluer? And hereof they make no conscience so their
husbands know it not: Or if they doe, some are such peasants and
such maicocks, that either they wil not, or (which is truer) they
2730

Many
get great
liuings with
practising of
whordome.

K2v. PH: *Knowne whores kept openly.*

2717. allowe, or] 02-03; allowe) or 2724. punishment] 01-03 *subst*; pudishment
2725. commaund] 01-03 *subst*; commannnd

dare not reprove them for it. But and if the husband once reprove them for their misdemeanor, then they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe, because the punishment thereof is so easie and gentle as it is. And some both Gentlemen and others (whereof some I knowe) are so nusled vp herein, that hauing put away their owne wiues: they keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it, and hauing bene conuented before the Magistrates, and there deposed vpon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them foorth at one doore, & taken them in at the other. And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stop the course of the Lawe with **Rubrum vnguentum**, whereof they haue store to bestow vpon such wickednes, but not a peny to giue towards any good purpose.

2740

Putting away
honest wiues
and retaining
whores.

Wherefore, in the name of God, let al men that haue put away their honest wiues, be forced to take them againe, and abandon all whores or els to taste of the law: & let al whores be cut off with the sword of iustice. For, as long as this **immunity & impunity** is permitted amongst vs, let vs neuer look to please God, but rather prouoke his heauy iudgments against vs. And the reason is, for that there is no sinne in all the world, but these whores and whoremasters will greedily commit for inioying of their Whoredome? And Hel, destruction, and death euerlasting is the guerdon thereof, and yet men cannot beware of it. The Lord keep all his children from it, and present them blamelesse before his tribunall seate, without spot or wrinkle at the great day of the Lord.

2750

Law ought to
be executed
without
partialitie.

2760

Spud. What notable abuses els haue you seene there frequented: for seeing you haue begunne in part, I pray you describe the whole. //

K3

The Gluttonie and excesse in England.

Philo.

I haue seene that which griueth me to report. The people there are

K3. PH: *Great excesse in delicate fare.*

- Dainty fare,
gluttony, and
gourmandice
used in Engl.
- maruellously giuen to daintie fare, gluttony, belly cheere & many also to drunkennesse, and gourmandize.
- Spud. That is a manifest argument of good hospitality, which both is commended in the word of God, and which I knowe you wil not reprehend. 2770
- Godly
hospitality
to be
commended.
- Phil. Godly hospitality is a thing in no wise woorthy of reprehension, but rather of great commendation, for many haue receiued Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the same: as Abraham, Lot, Tobias, and many others. Yet if Hospitality flowe ouer into superfluitie and riotous excesse, it is not tollerable. For now adayes, if the table be not pestered from the one end to the other, as thicke as one dish can stand by another, with delicate meat of sundry sortes, one deane different from another, & to 2780
- Varietie of
dishes, and
meates with
their curious
sauces.
- euery dish a seuerall sawce appropriate to his kind, it is thought there vnworthy the name of a dinner: yea, so many dishes shal you haue there on the table at once, as the vnsatiabest Helluo, the deuouringst Glutton, or the greediest Cormorant that euer was, can scarce eate of euery one a little. And these many shall you haue at the first course, as many at the second, and peraduenture, mo at the third, besides other sweet iunkets and delicate confections of spiceries, and I can not tell what. And to these dainties, al kind of Wines are not wanting, you may be
- Excesse of
meates.
- sure. Oh what nicity, what prodigality is this? what vanitie, what excesse, riote and superfluity is here? Oh farewell former world? 2790
- The austerity
and godly
simplicity of
the former
world in
meates and
drinkes.
- for I haue heard my father say, that in his daies one dish or two of good wholesome meat, was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dine withall, & if they had three or foure kindes, it was reputed a sumptuous feast. A good peece of Beefe was thought then, good meat and able for the best, but nowe, it is thought too grosse for their tender stomackes to disgest: **If** this be so, I maruell how our forefathers liued, who eat little els but colde meates, grosse and hard of disgesture? yea, most of them fed vppon Graine, Corne, rootes, Pulse, Hearbes, weeds, and such other baggage, and yet 2800

The faraginy or rough fare of our forefathers. Our nice fare hath altered our bodies & changed our nature.

liued longer then we, were healthfuller then we, of better complexion then we, and much stronger then we in euery respect, wherefore I cannot perswade my selfe otherwise, but that// our nicenesse and curiousnesse in diet, hath altered our nature, distempered our bodies, and made vs subiect to millions of diseases, more then euer were our forefathers subiect vnto, and consequently of shorter life then they.

Spud. They will aske you againe, wherefore God made such variety of meates, but to be eaten of men, what answer giue you to that?

Philo. The Lord our God ordayned indeed, the vse of meates and drinckes for man to sustaine the fraile and brittle state of his mortall body for a time. But he gaue them not vnto him for delight and pleasure onely, but for necessitie and neede: For as the olde Adage saith, Non viuimus vt edamus, sed edimus vt viuamus: We liue not to eate, but we eate to liue, we must not swill and ingurgitate so much into our stomackes, as no more can bee crammed in? The Lorde prouided them that they shoulde bee as meanes to preserue our bodies for a time whilest we liue and soioume in this vaste Wildernesse of the world, but not that they should be instrumentes of destruction to vs both of bodie and soule.

And trulie they are no lesse, when they are taken immoderately without the feare of God. Besides that, doeth not the impletion and society of meates and drinckes prouoke lust: as Hiero sayth: Venter mero estuans spumat in libidinem: The bellie inflamed with wine, bursteth foorth into lust? Doeth not lust bring foorth sinne, and sinne bring foorth death? The Children of Israeli, giuing themselues to delicate fare and Gluttonie, fell to Idolatrie, Sacriledge and Apostasie, worshipping stockes, stones, and Deuilles, in steed of the liuing God. The

Medietie to be obserued in meates.

When meats and drinckes are instruments of destruction vnto vs.

Genes.24.

1.Reg.2.

K3v
2810
2820
2830

K3v. PH: *How meates bring destruction.*

2814. but] Furnivall; bnt 2827. sinne bring] 01-03 *subst*; sinne bringes 2828. Children] 01-03; Children 2830 SN. 1.Reg.2] 01; 3.Reg.2 PH. destruction] 01-03 *subst*; destrnction

sonnes of Helie the Priest, giuing themselues to daintie fare and belly cheare, fel into such sinne, as the Lord slewe them all, and their Father also for that he chastised them not for the same. The children of blessed Iob in midst of all their banquettinges and riot, were slaine by the Lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifulie. Balthazar, King of the Chaldeans, in midst of all his good cheare, sawe a hand, writing vpon the walle these wordes, Mene, mene, Techel vpharsin: signifying that his kingdome shoulde be taken from him, and so it was, and hee slaine the same night by the hand of the Lorde. The rich Glutton in the Gospell, for his riotous feastinges, and inordinate liuing // was condemned to the fire of hell. Our Father Adam with all his Ofspring (to the end of the worlde) was condemned to Hel fire for taking one Apple to satisfie his gluttonous desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefest Cannons, wherewith the Deuill assailed Christ, thinking thereby to batter his kingdome, and to winne the fielde for euer. Yet notwithstanding, the grieuousnesse hereof, the same is thought to be a countenance, and a great credite to a man in England. But true Hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in sundry sortes of meates (the substance whereof is chaunged almost into accidentes thorow their curious Cookeries, and impotionate slibbersawces, which rotte their bodies and shorten their dayes) but rather in giuing liberally to the poore and needy members of Iesus Christ, helping them to meate, drinke, lodging, clothing, and such other necessaries, whereof they stand in neede. But such is their hospitality, that the poore haue the least parte of it. You shall haue twenty, fourty, sixtie, yea a hundred pound spent in some one house in banquetting and feasting, yet the poore shall haue little or nothing: if they haue any thing, it is but the

K4. PH: *Small Hospitalitie in England.*

2832. sinne, as] 01-03 *subst*; sinne. as 2836. pitifulie] 01-03 *subst*; pititifulie 2851. chaunged] 01-02; chaunced

The small reliefe of the poore.	refuse meate, scrappes and paringes, such as a Dogge would scarce eate sometimes, and well if they can get that too: In steede whereof, nowe and then not a few haue whipping cheare to feed themselues withal!. Yea, it is counted but a small matter for a man that can scarsly dispende fourty poundes by the yeare, to bestowe against one time, tenne or twenty poundes thereof in Spices. And truly so long and so grievously hath this excesse of gluttony and dainty fare suffeted in England, that I feare me, it will spew out many of his maisters out of doores before it be long. But as some be ouer largeous and profluous herein, so other some are spare ynough: for when any meate is stirring, then locke they vp their gates that no	2860
Locking vp of gates whe meateis stirring.	man may come in. Another sort haue so many houses, that they visite them not once in seuen yeares, many Chimneyes, but litle smoke, faire houses, but small Hospitality. And to bee plaine, there are three Cankers which in processe of time will eate vp the whole common wealth of England, if speedy reformation be not had: namely dainty fare, gorgious buildings, & sumptuous apparell, which three deuouring Cankers, especially, yet not without their eosin germans do flourish there. God remooue them thence for his Christs sake. //	2870
Three deuouring cankers.	Spud. I had thought that dainty fare and good cheer had both nourished the body perfectly, and also prolonged life greatly, & doth it not so thinke you?	K4v
Who more subiect to infirmities the they that fare best.	Philo. Experience as by my former intimations you may gather, teacheth cleane contrary: For, who is sicklier then they, that fare deliciously euery day? who is corrupter? who belceth more? who looketh worse? who is weaker and febler then they? who hath more filthy choller, flegme, and putrifaction (together with grosse humours) then they? And to be briefe, who dyeth sooner then they? Doe we not see the poore man that eateth browne bread (whereof	2880

K4v. PH: *Diuersitie of meats hurtfull.*

2877. especially] 01-03; especially

some is made of Rye, Barley, Peason, Beanes, Dates, and such other 2890
 grosse graines) and drinketh small drinke, yea, sometimes water,
 feedeth vpon Milke, Butter, and Cheese, I say, do we not see such a
 one healthfuller, stronger, fairer complectioned, and longer liued
 then the other that fared daintily eury day? And how shuld it be
 otherwise? for will not the eating of diuers and sundry Kindes of
 Eating of meats of contrary operations and qualities (at one meale) ingender
 diuers meats at one time distemperance in body? And the body distempered, wil it not fall
 hurtful. into sundry diseases? One meat is hard of digestion, another light,
 and whilist the meate of hard digestion is in concocting, the
 other meat of light digestion doth putrifie and stink, and this is 2900
 the very mother of all diseases: one is of this quality, another of
 that: one of this operation, another of that: one kind of meat is good
 for this thing, an other is naught for that. Then how can all these
 contrarieties and repugnancies agree together in one body at one
 and the same time? will not one contrary impugne his contrary? one
 enemie resist another? Then what wise man is he that will receiue
 all these enemies into his body at one time? Doe we not see by
 experience, that they that giue themselues to dainty fare & sweet
 meates, are neuer in health? doth not their sight waxe dimme, their
 eares hard of hearing, their teeth rotte and fall out? Doeth not their 2910
 breath stinke, their stomackes belch fourth filthy humours, & their
 memory decay? Do not their Spirites and senses become heauie
 and dull, by reason of the filthy vapours and stinking fumes which
 The speedy decaye of those that giue themselues to daintie fare.
 rise from their gingered breasts and spiced stomakes, and fuming
 vp to the head, mortifie the vitall spirites, and intellectuie powers,
 in so much that the whole body becommeth pursie and corpulent,
 yea sometimes decrepitate withall, and full of all filthy corruption. // L1
 The Lorde keepe his chosen from the tasting thereof.

L1. PH: *The beastly vice of drunkennesse.*

2894. eury] 01-03; enery 2897. body?] 01-03 *subst;* bodyJ. 2904. repugnancies] *This ed;*
 repugnancies 2914. from] 02-03; srom [longs] 2914 SN. those] *cor;* ••those *uncor*
 2916 SN. daintie] 01-03; daintie

Drunkennesse in England.

Spud. You spake of Drunkennesse, what say you of that? 2920

Philo. I say, that it is a horrible vice, and too too much vsed in

The beastlie
vice of
drunkennes
frequented
in England.

England. Euery Country, Citie, Towne, Village & other places
haue aboundance of Alehouses, Tauernes and Innes in them, which
are haunted with Mault-wormes night and day, that you would
woonder to see them. You shall haue them there sitting at the wine
and Good-ale all the day long, yea, all the night, peraduenture all
the week together, so long as any mony is left, swilling, gulling,
and carousing from one to another, till neuer a one can speake a
ready word. Then when with the Spirite of the **Butterie** they are
thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures, their
countenances and demeanours, one towards another, and towards
euery one els. How they stutte and stammer, stagger and reel to and
fro, like madmen, some vomiting, spewing, and disgorging their
filthy stomackes, other some pissing vnder the boord as they sit,
and which is most horrible, some fall to swearing, cursing, and
banning, interlacing their speeches with curious tearmes of
blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly
hearers.

2930

The spirit of
the butterie
is drunken-
nesse and
excesse.

Spud. But they will say, that God ordayned wines and strong
drinckes to cheare the heart, and to sustaine the body withall,
therefore it is lawfull to vse them to that end. 2940

Philo. Meats (moderately taken by the blessing of God)
corroborate the body, refresh the Arteries, and reuiue the Spirits,
making them apter, euery member to doe his office, as God hath
appointed them: but being immoderately taken (as commonly they
be) they are instruments of damnation to the abusers thereof, and
nourish not the body, but corrupt it rather, casting it into a sea of
diseases: besides, a man once drunke with wine or strong drinke,
rather resembleth a brute beast, then a christian man: For, do not his
eies begin to stare, and to be red, fiery & bleared, blubbering
foorth seas of teares? Doth he not froth and fome at the mouth like a

2950

The lothsom
qualities of
those that
be drunke.

The transfig-
uration of
those that
be drunke.

Bore? Doth not his tongue faulter, and stammer in his mouth? Doeth not his head seeme as heauy as a Milstone, beeing not able to beare it vp? Are not his wittes and spirits, as it were drowned? // Is not his vnderstanding altogether decayed? Doe not his handes and all his body tremble, quauer and shake, as it were with a quotidian Feuer? It casteth him also into a Dropsie, or Plurisie nothing so soone, it infebleth the Senewes, it weakeneth the natural strength, it corrupteth the bloud, it dissolueth the whole man at the length, and finally, maketh him forgetfull of himselfe altogether, so that what hee doeth being drunke, hee remembreth not beeing sober. The Drunkarde in his drunkenesse, killeth his friende, reuileth his loue, discloseth secretes, and regardeth no man: Hee vtterly expelleth all feare of God out of his rninde, all loue of his friends and kinsfolkes, all remembrance of honesty, ciuility and humanity: so that I wil not fear to call Drunkards beasts, & no men, and much worse then beasts, for beastes neuer exceede in any such kind of excesse or superfluity, but alway modum adhibent appetitui: They measure their appetites by the rule of necessity, which would God we would doe.

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you shew me some testimonies of the holy scripture against it, for whatsoeuer is euil, the word of God (I doubt not) reprooueth the same.

Phil. It seemeth you haue not read holy scripture very much, for if you had, you should haue found it, not onely spoke against, but also throwne downe euen to hel, for prooffe whereof, of infinite places, I will recite a few. The Prophete Esayas thundereth out against it, saying, Vae qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam. Wo be to them that rise earlie to follow drunkennes, wallowing therein from morning to night,

L1v

2960

2970

2980

L1v. PH: *Drunkards worse then Beasts.*

2952. Doeth] 01-03; subst; Doeth 2957. into] 01-03; iuto 2978. thundereth] 01-03; thundeereth

until they be set on fire with wine and strong drinke.
Therefore gapeth hell, and openeth her mouth wide, that
the glorie, multitude and wealth of them that delight
therein, may goe downe into it, saith the Prophet.

- Hoseas.c.4 The Prophete Hoseas saith, Fornicatio, vinum, &
mustum auferent animum. Whoredome, wine, and strong
drinke, infatuate the heart of man.
- Ioel.1. The Prophet Ioel biddeth al Drunkards waile, saying. Weep
and bowie you wine bibbers, for the wickednesse of
destruction that shall fall vpon you. 2990
- Habacuck.2. The Prophete Habacuck, soundeth a most dreadfull alarum,
not only to all Drunkards, but also to al that make them drunken
saying, Woe be to him that giueth his neighbour drinke
till bee// be drunke, that thou maist see his priuities. L2
- Prouerb.c.20. Salamon sayth, Wine maketh a man to be scorneful, &
strong wine maketh a man vnquiet, who so taketh
pleasure in it, shal not be wise. In another place. Keep
not company with wine-bibbers and riotous persons, for
such as be Drunkards shall come to beggerie. 3000
- Prouerb.23. In the twenty and three of his Prouerbs, he saith, To whom is
woe? To whom is sorrow? To whome is strife? To
whome is murmuring? To whom are wounds without
cause? and to whom are red eyes? Euen to them that
tarie long at the wine, to them that goe and seeke mixt
wine. And againe, Looke not thou vpon the wine when it
is red, and when it sheweth his collour in the cuppe, or
goeth downe pleasantlie, for in the end, it will bite like
a serpent, and hurt like a Cockatrice, or Basilicocke,
which slea or kill men with the poison of their sight. 3010
Againe, **It** is not for Kings to drink Wine, nor for Princes

L2. PH: *Drunkenesse forbidden.*

2989 SN. Ioel.1] 01-03; Ioel.2 3004. and] 01-03 *subst*; aud

Prouer.31. to drink strong drink. Our Sauour Christ in the Gospell of
 Luke.21. S. Luke, biddeth vs take heede that wee be not ouercome with
 surfetting and Drunkenesse, and cares of this life, least the day of
 the Lorde come vpon vs at vnawares.

S. Paule to the Ephesians biddeth beware, that we be not
 drunken with wine, wherein is excesse, but to be filled with the
 Spirit. The same Apostle in another place, saith: That neither
 Whoremonger, Adulterer, Drunkard, Glutton, riotous
 person, nor such like shall euer enter into the Kingdome
 of heauen. By these few places out of many, you may see the
 vnlawfulnes of this vice, which is so much frequented.

3020

Spud. Let me intreat you to shew me some examples withall,
 whereby I may see, the effects thereof, and what punishment hath
 bene shewed vpon the offenders therein in all ages.

Punishment of Drunkardes.

Genes.19. Philo. Drunkenesse caused Lot to commit Incest with his
 Examples own two Daughters, who got them both with child, he not
 against drun- perceiuing it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rose vp.
 kennesse. See how drunkennes assotteth a man, depriuing him of all sence,
 reason and vnderstanding.

3030

Drunkenesse caused Noah to lie with his priuities bare in
 his // Tabernacle, in such beastly sort, as his wicked sonne Cham
 iested and scoffed at the same.

L2v

Luke.16. Through drunkennes Holofernes, that great and inuincible
 Monarch of the Assyrians was ouercome by a woman, hauing his
 head cut from his shoulders with a Faulchon.

Luke.16. Through Drunkennes King Herod was brought to such idiocy
 and foolish dotage, that he caused the head of good Iohn Baptist
 to be cut off to satisfie the request of a dauncing Strumpet.

3040

L2v. PH: *Examples against Drunkenesse.*

PH. Drunkenesse] 01-03; Drukenesse

Luke.16. That rich Epulo of whom S. Luke maketh mention was for his drunkennesse and riotous excesse condemned to the fire of hell for euer: with many moe examples, which for shortnesse I omit. Now seeing then, that Drunkennesse is both offensiue to God, and bringeth such euils in this life present: Let vs in the name of God auoid it, as a most wicked thing and pernicious euill.

How farre
Drunkards are
estranged
from
themselves. For euery Drunkard is so far estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie, or rather in a plaine Phrensie, he may not be saide to be sui animi compos, *a man of sound wit*, but rather a very Bedlem, or much worse, no Christian, but an Antichristian, no member of Christ Iesus, but an Imp of Sathan, and a limme of the Deuil. Wherfore in the name of God, let vs auoid al excesse, imbrace teperancy & sobriety, and receiue so much as may satisfie nature, not the insatiate appetites of our greedy desires. 3050

What if God
blesse not
our meat. Knowing that except the Lord blesse our meates and drinks, within our bodies, and giue them power and strength, to nourish and feed the same: and our bodies their natural powers euery member to do his office, and duty, our meats shall lie in our stomackes stinking, smelling, and rotting like filthy Carion in all lothsome stinke.

So farre off ought we to be from abusing the good creatures of God by riot, drunkennesse, or excesse, that we ought neuer to take a morsell of bread, nor sope of drinke, without humble thanks giuing to the Lord for the same before. For we neuer read, that our Sauour Christ euer eate, or dranke but he gaue thanks (or as we call it, said grace) both before the receipt thereof, and after. This need he not to haue done in respect of himselfe, but for our example and learning, according to this saying, *Omnis Christi actio, nostra est instructio*. Euerie action of our Sauour Christ is our example and instruction, to follow as neere as we are able. 3060

Or if all that hath been sayd heretofore, be not sufficient to 3070

3044. offensiue] 01-03; offensine 3045. the] 01-03; th 3054. our] 01-03; onr 3058. in our] 01-03; in onr 3067. Christi] 01-03; Chrifit 3069. as we] 01-03 *subst*; are we

A most
dreadful
example
of Gods
iudgments
shewed vpon
certain
drunkards,
abusing
the good
creatures
of God.
The proprietie
of a good
host.

with- // draw vs from this beastly vice of drunkennesse: yet let vs set
before our eyes this most fearful iudgement of God, executed vpon a
sort of drunkards, the storie whereof is this. The eight day of
February 1578, in the country of Swaben, there were dwelling
eight men, Citizens and citizens sonnes, very riotously and
prodigally giuen, the names of whom, for the better credit of the
story, I haue sette downe, viz. Adam Giebens, George
Kepell, Iohn Keisell, Peter Hersdorse, Iohn Waganaer,
Simon Henrickes, Harman Fron, Iacob Harmans, all
which would needs goe to the Tauerne, vpon the Sabboth day
in the morning very early, in contept of the Lord and his Sabboth.
And comming to the house of one Anthony Hage an honest godly
man, who keeps a Tauerne in the same town, called for burnt
wine, Sacke, Malmsie, Hipocrasse, and what not. The Hoste
tolde them, that they should haue none of all these, before the Diuine
seruice and Sermon time were past, and counselled them to goe
heare the sacred word of God preached. But they (saued Adam
Giebens who aduised them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods
wrath) denied, saying, that they loathed that kinde of Exercise. The
good Hoste neither giuing them any wine himselfe, nor suffering
any other, went to the Sermon, as duty did bind him: who being
gone, they fell to cursing, banning, and swearing, wishing that he
might breake his neck, or euer he came againe from the sermon, &
brusting fourth into these intemperate speeches, the Deuil break our
neckes, if we depart hence this day, either quicke or dead, till we
haue had some wine. Straight way the Deuill appeared vnto them,
in the likenes of a young man, bringing in his hand a Flagon of
wine, and demaunding of them why they caroused not, he drank
vnto them, saying: Good fellowes, be merry, for ye shall haue
wine ynough, for you seeme lusty Lads, and I hope you wil pay
me wei, who inconsiderately answered, that they would pay him,

L3
3080
3090
3100

L3. RT *The proprietie of a good hoste.*

3083. keeps] *This ed*; keep 3096. Deuill] 02-03; Deuill 3101. inconsiderately] 02-03;
incosiderately

- The desperate securitie of Drunkards. or els they would guage their neckes, yea, their bodies and soules rather then to fayle. Thus they continued swilling, gulling and carousing so long, as til one could scarsly see another. At the last the deuill their Host, told them that they must needes pay the shotte, whereat their hearts waxed cold. But the Deuill comforting them, said: Bee of good cheere, for now must you drinke boyling Leade, Pitch, and Brimstone with me in the pit of hell for euermore: Hereupon immediately he made their eies like flames of fire, and in breadth as// broad as sawcers. Then began they to call for mercy, but it was too late. And ere they could call againe for mercie and grace, the Deuill preuented them, brake their neckes asunder, and threwe most horrible flames of fire, out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seuen Drunkardes their miserable daies, whose iudgement I leaue to the Lord. L3v
- The mercy of god in sauing of Adam Gibiens. The other, Adam Gibens, who counselled them before to go hear the sermon, hauing some sparks of faith in him, was preserued from death, by the great mercie of God, and greatly repeted his former life, yelding praise vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus haue I, in sempiternam rei memoriam, faithfully recorded the storie of these eight Drunkards, & of their fearful end, taken out of a Dutch copie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburcht, for a caueat to a!drunkards, Gluttons and riotous persons throughout the whole world, that they offend not the Lord in the like kind of offence. 3120
- An example of Gods wrath and seuere iustice executed vpon An other like example of Gods diuine iustice, shewed vpon two blasphemous Drunkards in Almaine, in the towne of Nekershofewe, chaunced the fourth day of Iuly 1580. the trueth whereof is as followeth. These two drunken Varlets, traouelling by the way, came into an lone, and called for bread and wine. The 3130

L3v. PH: *An example of Gods wrath:*

3106. cold. But] 02-03; cold But 3109. Hereupon] 02-03 *subst*; Heeeupon 3119. deliuerance] 02-03; deliueronce

2. Drunkards
inAlmaine.

Hoste with speed brought them very good, but they disliking the wine for the newnesse thereof, commanded better wine to be brought, so in fine they had both new and old good store. Thus sate they swilling, and carousing one to another, til they were both as drunke as Swine. Then one of them pouring foorth wine, caroused to his fellow, the other pledging him, asked to whome he should drinke, quoth this **varlet** drinke to God, he hearing that, poured foorth wine, & dranke to God. This done, he asked his copanion of which wine God should pledge him, of the new, or of the old.

A caueat to
blasphemers,
and contem-
ners of the
maiestie
of God.

Behold the
blasphemy
of this deuil,
and feare.

Oh feareful
iudgment of
god, yet

He answered, of whether thou wilt. Then he taking the new wine in his hand, filled the cup therewith, and reaching foorth his arme as high as he coulde, as though God should haue pledged him in deede, sayd these words: God, I wold fane know what wine thou louest best, this new wine is good ynough, and too good for thee, if thou hadst sent better, thou shouldest haue had better, but such as it is take it, pledge mee quickly, and carrouse it off euery sope, as I haue done to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong. Hauing thus stretched foorth his arme, with the cup of wine, and withall hauing vttered foorth these words, the lorde // proceedeth in iudgement against him, causing his arme to stande stedfast and vnmoouable, so as he was not able to pul it to him, nor to steere his body out of the place, and in this agony he remayned a long time after, his countenance not changed, but rolling his eyes to and fro, fearful to behold. And as for breath there was none perceiued to come foorth of him, nor yet to speake one word he was not able: and yet for all that, seemed to euery one to be aliue. After this the people assayed to remooue him from that place, but they could not by any strength. In the end they tyed horses to him, to drawe him thence, but they could not once steere him. Then they assayed to bume the house, & him withall, but no fire would once take hold of the house:

3140

L4
3150

3160

most iust
punishment.

wherefore, when they saw all their wayes and deuises to be frustrate, perswading themselues that God had made him a Spectacle to all Drunkards, they surceased their enterprises any further, & wished the will of the Lord to be done. And in this place, and in the same pitifull case you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this day vnremooeable, till it please the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy to release him, whose blessed will be fulfilled for euer. The other drunken beast his companion, they hanged vpon a gibbet, before the dore of the same house, as he wei deserued. Thus hath the Lord in al ages, and at all times, punished this horrible vice of Drunkenesse, which God grant eury true Christian man may auoyd, for feare of Gods vengeance.

3170

Couetousnesse in England.

Spud.

Shew me, I pray you, the state of that country a little further: is it a welthy cuntry within it self, or otherwise poore & bare?

Philo. It is a most famous Iland, and a fertile Country, abounding with all manner of store, as well of riches and treasure, as of all thinges els whatsoever: but as the countrey is wealthy and rich, so are the inhabitantes from the highest to the lowest, from the Prieste, to the inferiour sorte, euen all in generall, woonderfully inclined to Couetousnes and Ambition, which thing, whilest they followe, they can neuer be satisfied: for *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, The lone of money doeth by so much the more increase, by how much more the money it selfe doth increase: And the nature of a couetous man is such, that // *tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet*: As wei that thing which he hath, as that

3180

L4v

L4v. PH: *Moderate care allowable.*

3168. fulfilled] 02-03; fulsilled [longs] 3172. auoyd] 02-03 *subst*; avoyd 3175.little] 01-03 *subst*; Ititle 3178. treasure] 01-03; tceasure 3179. as the] 01-03; as the 3179. wealthy] 01-03 *subst*; weathy

The insatiable desire of a couetous man.	<p>which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. Therefore may a couetous man well bee compared to hell, which euer gapeth and yawne for more, and is neuer content with ynough. For right as hel euer hunteth after more, so a couetous man drowned in the Quagmyre of Auarice, and plunged in the plash of Ambition, hauing his summum voluptatem reposed in momentary riches, is neuer content with ynough, but still thirsteth for more, much like to a man sicke of an ague, who the more he drinketh the more he thirsteth, and the more he drinketh, the more his disease increaseth. Therefore I holde it true, which is writ: Bursa auari os est diaboli, The pouch of a rich couetous man, is the</p>	3190
The purse of a rich man.	<p>mouth of the Deuill, which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue.</p>	3200
	<p>Spud. But they will easily wipe away this blot: For are wee not bound to prouide for our selues (say they) our Wiues, our children, our familie? Doth not the Apostle hold him for an Infidell or a Deneger of the faith, who prouideth not for his wife and familie? And therefore, herein we shewe our selues rather good husbandes, carefull and obedient Christians, then couetous or ambitious persons: This haue I heard them alleadge for themselues.</p>	
How far euery man is bound to prouide for his Familie.	<p>Philo. Euery Christian man is bound in conscience before God to prouide for his houshold & famely, but yet so as his immoderate care surpasse not the boundes, nor transcende the limittes of true godlinesse. His chiefest trust and care is to rest only in the Lorde, who giueth liberally to euery one that asketh of him in verity and truth, and reprocheth no man, and withall he is to vse such ordinarie means, as God hath appointed for the getting of the same. But so farre from couetousnesse, and from immoderate care would the Lord haue vs to be, that we ought not this day to care for to morrow: for (saith he) sufficient to the day, is the trauell of the same. After all these things (with a distrustfull and inordinate care,) doe the</p>	3210
Immoderate care for	<p>Heathen seeke, who knowe not God, saith our Sauour Christ but be you not like to them. And yet I say, as wee are not to distrust the</p>	3220

riches
reproued.

Landlords
racke their
tenants.
Inclosing
of Commons
fro the
poore.

Landlords
racke their
tenants.
Inclosing
of Commons
fro the
poore.

Iniurie to
Christ his
members is

prouidence of God, or dispaire for any thing: so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such ordinary meanes, as he hath commaunded and appointed to that end and purpose, to get our liuing and maintenance withall. But this// MI
people leauing these godly means, do all run headlong to couetousnesse & ambition, attempting alwayes, & assaying al means possible to heap vp riches. So likewise, Landlordes make merchandize of their poore Tenants, racking their rents, raising their Fines and Incomes, and setting them so straight vpon the 3230
tenter hookes, as no man can liue on them. Besides that, as though this pillage and pollage, were not rapacious ynough, they take in, and inclose commons, Moores, heathes, and other common pastures, whereout the poore commonalty were woont to haue all their prouision and feeding for their cattell, and (which is more) come for themselues to liue vpon: all which are now in most places taken from them, by those greedy Puttockes, to the greate impouerishing and vtter beggering of many whole Townes and Parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant clamors, haue long since pearced the Skies, and presented themselues before the 3240
Maiesty of God, crying: How long Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie, done to thy poore Saintes, and silly members vpon the earth? Take heed therefore you rich men, that poll & pill the poore, for the bloud of as many as miscarry any maner of way, through your iniurious exactions, biting oppressions, and indirect dealings, shal be required at your hands, at the great day of the Lord.

Cursed is he (sayth our Sauour Christ) that offendeth one of these little ones: it were better that a Milstone were hanged about his necke, and he cast into the midst of 3250
the sea. Christ so intirely loueth his poore members vpon earth,

M1. PH: *Inclosures in England.*

3225. M1] *cor*; sig. missing *uncor* 3236. to liue] 01-03 *subst*; to to liue 3249 SN. Iniurie] 01-03; Iuiurie

iniurie to Christ.	that he imputeth the contumely, which is done to any one of the, to be done vnto himself, and will reuenge it, as done to himselfe: Wherefore, God giue them grace to lay open their inclosures againe, to let fall their Rentes, Fines, incomes, and other impositions, whereby God is offended, the poore brethren beggered, and I feare me, the whole Realm wil be brought to vtter ruine and decay, if this mischiefe be not mette withall and incountred with very shortly.	
Inclosures.	For these Inclosures bee the causes why rich men eate vppe poore men, as beastes doe eate grasse. These I say are Caterpillers and deuouring Locustes that massacre the poore, and eate vp the whole Realme, to the destruction of the same: the Lord amend them.	3260
Lawyers ruffiein poore mens riches.	Vpon the other side, the Lawyers they ruffle it out in their silks, Veluets and chaines of gold: They build gorgious houses, & stately // Turrets. They keepe a Port like mighty Potentates, they haue their bandes and retinues of men attendant vpon them dayly, they purchase Castles and Towers, lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vpon the polling and pilling of the poore commons. They haue so good consciences, that all is fish that comes to the nette, they refuse nothing that is offered, and what they doe for it, in preferring theyr poore Clyents causes, the Lord knoweth, and one day they shall finde it: if you haue argent, or rather rubrum vnguentum I dare not say golde, but red Ointment to grease them in the fist withall, then your sute shall want no furtherance, but if this liquor be wanting, then farewell Clyent, he may goe shooe the Goose, for any good successe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, Sheriffes & Officers will returne Writtes with a tarde venit, or with a non est inuentus, smally to the poore mans profite. But so long as any of this oyntment is dropping, they	Mlv 3270 3280

M1v. PH: *Polling Lawyers in England.*

3252 SN. iniurie] 01-03 *subst*; iniuinrie 3275 SN. Lawyers] 01-03 *subst*; Lawyer

will beare him in hand, his matter is good and iust, and all to keepe him in vre, till all bee gone, and then will they tell him his matter is naught and if one aske them why they told not their Clients so in the beginning, they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himself he told me the best but not the worst. He shewed me not this Euidence and that Euidence, this President and Lhat President, this Writing and that Writing, turning all the fault vppon the suggester, whereas the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his owne conscience can beare him witness. In presence of their Clientes, they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knewe not their sleights) would thinke they would goe together by the eares. This is in steed of a shooing-home to drawe on their Clyents withal: but immediatly after their Clients be gone, they laugh in their sleeues to see how pretily they can fetch in such summes of money, and that vnder the pretence of equity and iustice. But though they can for a time (prestigiatorum more) like cunning deceiuers, cast a myst before the blind world, yet the Lord, who seeth the secrets of al harts shal make them manifest to all the world, and reward them according to their doings. 3290

The pretended excuse of Lawyers whe' their CHents haue lost their plees. The sleightie practises of Lawyers.

The fraudulent dealing of Marchant men. Artificers.

Vpon the other side, Marchant men, by their marting, chaffering & changing, by their counterfeit ballances, & vntrue weights, and by their surprising of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. Artificers and occupiers, euen all in generall, will not sel their wares // for any reasonable price, but sweare and teare pitifully, that such a thing cost them so much, and such a thing so much, whereas they swear as false, as the liuing Lord is true: but one day let them be sure, that the Lord (who saith, Thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceiue thy brother in bargaining) will reuenge this villany done to his Maiestie. 3300

M2. PH: *What maketh thinges deare.*

3286. President] 01-03 *subst*; President 3286 SN. Lawyers wh] 02-03; Lawyers. whe 3288 SN. haue] 01-03; hl?ue 3292. eares] 01-03; earers 3295. summes] 01-03 *subst*; suUJmes

Great dearth in plenty of all things.	Yea, into such ruinous estate hath Couetousnesse brought that land, that in plenty of all things, there is scarcitie and dearth of all things. So that, that which might haue been bought heretofore, within this twenty, or fourty yeares, for twenty Shillings, is now worth twenty Nobles, or twenty pounds. That which then was woorth twenty pounde, is nowe woorth an hundred pounde and more: Whereby the rich men haue so ballanced their chestes with gold and siluer, as they cracke againe. And to such excesse is this couetousnes growne, as euery one that hath money, will not sticke to take his neighbours house ouer his head, long before his yeares	3310
Taking of houses ouer mens heads.	be expired: Wherby many a poore man, with his wife, children and whole famely are forced to begge their bread all the dayes of their liues after. Another sort who flowe in wealth, if a poore man haue either house or land, they will neuer rest vntill they haue purchased it, giuing him not the third part, of that it is worth. Besides al this so desperately giuen are many, that for the getting of siluer & gold, they will not sticke to imbrue their hands, and bathe their armes in the bloud of their owne Parents and friends most vnnaturallie.	3320
The desperat desire of men to get mony.	Other some will not make any conscience to sweare & forswear themselues, to lye, dissemble, and deceiue the dearest friendes they haue in the world. Therefore the Heathen Poet Virgil saide very well, <i>O sacra auri fames, quid non, mortalia pectora cogis: O cursed desire of gold, what mischief is it, but thou forcest man to attempt it, for the loue of thee? This immoderate</i>	3330
Many broght to ruful end through means of gold & siluer.	thirst of gold and money, bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end, as we see dayly, some are hanged for murthering, some for killing, some for robbing, some for stealing: some for one thinge, some for another. So that surely I thinke, the number of men to be greater, <i>Quos dira auaritia pestis absorpsit, quam quos gladius vel ensis perforauit. whom the pestilence of auarice hath swallowed vp, then the number of those whom the sword hath destroyed.</i> The Lord asswage the raging	3340

heate hereof with the oile of his gracious mercy, if it be his good pleasure & wil. //

M2v

Spud. If I might be so bold, I wold request you to shew me out of the word of God, wher this so detestable a vice is reprooued?

Matr...6.
Testimonies
out of the
word of God,
against
couetousnes.
Luke.6.

Philo. Our sauour Christ Iesus, the teacher of all truth, in his Euangelie, the sixth of Mathew, saith: Be not carefull for to morrow day, for the morrow shall care for it selfe.

Againe, Be not carefull for apparell, what you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse therof, and al these things shal be giuen vnto you. He charged his Disciples to bee so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iourneyes, nor yet any mony in their purses. He told his disciples another time striuing which of them should bee the greatest, that he who woulde be the greatest, must humble himselfe to be seruauant of all. When the people would haue aduanced him to haue been King, he refused it, and hid himselfe. He telleth vs, we cannot serue two masters God and Mammon. He biddeth vs not to set our mindes vpon couetousnes, inferring, that where our riches is, there will our hearts be also. He saith, it is harder for a rich man (that is, for a man whose trust is in his riches) to enter into the Kingdom of God, then for a Carnell to goe through the eie of a needle. The Apostle biddeth vs if we haue meat, drink, and cloathing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diners temptations and snares of the deuill, which drowne men in perdition.

3350

3360

1.Tim.6.

Psal.39.

Dauid saith, Man disquieteth himselfe in vaine, heaping vp riches, and cannot tell who shal possesse them.

3370

Prouerb.1.

Salomon compareth a couetous man to him that murdereth, and sheddeth innocent blood. Again, Hel and destruction are neuer

Prouerb.27.

full, so the eyes of men can neuer be satisfied. The Apostle Saint Paule saith, Neither Whoremongers,

M2v. PH: *Testimonies against Couetousnes.*

3347. the] 01-03; the 3350. seeke] 01-03; feeke 3350 SN] against 01-03; aginst 3361. our] 01-03; onr 3363. Kingdom] 01-03 *subst*; Kindom

Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor extortioners,
shall euer enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. And saith
further, that the lone of money is the root of all euill.

Christ biddeth vs to be liberall, and lende to them that haue need, not
Math.S. looking for any restitution againe, and neuer to tume our face away
Luke.6. from any poore man, and then the face of the Lord shall not be 3380
turned away from vs. By these few places, it is manifest how farre
from all Couetousnes the Lord would haue all his children to be.

Spud. Be there any examples in the holy Scriptures of the // M3
Iustice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein.

The punish- Philo. The Scripture is full of such fearfull examples of the iust
ment of iudgments of God, executed vpon them that haue offended herein.
couetousnes Whereof I will recite three or foure, for the satisfying of your
shewed by minde.

Adam was cast out of Paradise for coueting that fruite, which
was inhibited him to eate. 3390

4.Reg.5. Gehesie the seruant of Elizeus the Prophet, was smitten with
an incurable leprosie, for that he, to satisfie his couetous desire,
exacted gold, Siluer, and other rich Garments of Naaman, the
King of Syria his seruant.

Num.22. Balaam was reproofed of his Asse for his couetousnesse, in
going to curse the Children of Israel, at the request of King
Balac, who promised him aboundance of gold and siluer so to doe.

Achab the King, for couetousnesse to haue poore Naboth his
Vineyard, slewe him, and dyed after himselfe, with all his progenie,
a shamefull death. 3400

Samuel.S. The sonnes of Samuel, were for their insatiable couetousnes,
restrained from euer enjoying their fathers Kingdome.

Iudas for couetousnes of money, sold the Sauieur of the world,
and betrayed him to the lewes, but afterwarde died a miserable
death, his belly bursting, and his bowels gushing out.

M3. PH: *Plagues of Couetousnesse.*

3380. the Lord] 01-03 *subst*; the Lord 3381. turned] 01-03; trned 3389 SN. examples] 01-03;
examaples 3392. couetous] 01-03; couecous

Actes.5.

Ananias and Saphira his wife, for couetousnesse in concealing parte of the price of their lands from the Apostles, were both slain, and dyed a fearfull death.

Achan was stoned to death by the Lord his commandement for his couetousnesse, for stealing gold, siluer, and iewels at the sacking of Iericho, and all his goods were burned presently. Thus you see how for couetousnes of mony, in al ages, men haue made shipwrack of their consciences, and in the ende by the iust iudgement of God, haue died fearefull deaths, whose iudgments I leaue to the Lorde. 3410

Spud. Seeing that couetousnes is so wicked a sinne, and so offensiue both to God and man, & so pernicious to the soul, I maruell what mooueth men to follow the same so much as they doe?

Philo. Two things in my iudgement doe mooue men to affect money so much as they doe: The one, a feare, least they should fall into pouerty and beggery (oh distrustfull Infidelitie) the other a desire to be aduanced and promoted to high dignities and honours // vppon earth. And they see, the world is such, that hee who hath money ynough, shall be Rabbied and Maistered at euery word, and withall saluted by the vaine title of Gentleman and worshipfull, though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a gentleman of the first head, as they vse to term them. And to such extreame madnesse is it growne, that now a dayes euery Butcher, shoemaker, Tailer, Cobler, and Husband-man, yea, euery Tinker, Pedler and Swineheard, euery artificer and other, Gregarii ordinis, of the vilest sort of men that bee, must be called by the vaine name of Maisters at euery word. But it is certaine, that no wise man will entitle them with any of these names, Worshipful or maister (for they are names and titles of dignity, proper to the godly wise, for some especiall vertue 3420 M3v 3430

What make men to affect money.
Euery begger almost is called master at euery word.

M3v. PH: *vaine titles of master & worship in Eng.*

3416. couetousnes] 01-03 *subst*; couetousnes 3421. and] 01-03 *subst*; aud 3428. extreame] 03; extrame 3430 SN. euery] 01-03; euey 3432. Maisters] 01-03; Maistccs

Tituillers inherent in them, either els for their birth or calling, due vnto them)
 that is but such Tituillers, flattering Parasites, & glosing Gnatoes, as
 flattering flatter them, expecting some pleasure, or benefite at their hands:
 fellows. which thing, if they were not blown vp with the bellowes of Pride,
 and puffed vp with the winde of vaine glory, they might easily 3440
 perceiue. For certaine it is, they doe but mocke and floute them with
 these titles, knowing they deserue no lesse. And therefore as wise
 men and fearing God, they should refuse those vainglorious names,
 remebring the words of our Sauour Christ, Be not called
 Maister, in token there is but one onely true Maister and
 Lord in heauen: which only true Maister and Lord, God graunt all
 other may follow both in life & name, vntill they come to be perfect
 men in Iesus Christ.

Spud. The people being so set vpon couetousnesse, as I
 gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they will lend 3450
 money without vsury, or without some hostage, gage, or pawne? I
 thinke not, For vsury followeth couetousnes, as the shadow doth
 the body.

Great Vsurie in England.

Phil.

vsury. It is as impossible for a man to borrow money in England (for the
 most part) without Vsury, interest and loan, or without some good
 hostage, gage, pawne or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speake
 with audible voice.

The positie Spud. I haue heard say, that the Positiue lawes, and statute 3460
 Lawes. lawes there, do permit them to take Vsury, appointing them how
 much they shall take for euery pound. // M4

Phil. Although the Statute lawes (for the auoyding of further
 inconueniences) do permit certaine summes of mony to be giuen &
 taken ouerplus beyond and aboue the principall, for the lone of
 money lent, yet are the Vsurers no more discharged from the guilt
 of Vsurie before God thereby, then the adulterous lewes were

M4. PH: *Vsurie vnlawfull.*

3444. Sauour] 01-03 *subst*; Sauionr 3449. couetousnesse] 01-03 *subst*; couetonsnesse

from whoredome, because Moises gaue them a permissiue law
 for euery one to put away his wife, that would, for any light
 offence. And yet the positiue Iawes there giue no liberty to
 commit Vsury: but seeing how farre it rageth, least it should exceed,
 rage further and ouerflowe the bankes of all reason and godlinesse
 (as couetousnes is a raging sea, and a bottomlesse pit, neuer
 satisfied nor contented) they haue limited it within certaine meeres,
 and boundes (to bridle the insaciable desires of couetous men)
 beyonde the which it is not lawfull for any to goe: But this
 permission of the Lawes argueth not, that it is lawfull to take Vsury,
 no more (I say) then the permission of Moises argued that
 whoredom and adultery was the lawful and good, because Moses
 permitted them to put away their wiues, for the auoiding of greater
 euils. For as Christ said to the lewes: From the beginning it
 was not so: so say I to these Vsurers, from the beginning it was
 not so, nor yet ought to be so.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, no man would lend, and
 then how should the poore doe? Wherefore the Lawes that permit
 some small ouerplus therein, doe very well in mine opinion.

Philo. The Apostle sayth, Non faciendum est malum,
 vt inde veniat bonum. We must not doe euill, that
 good may come of it, yet the lawes in permitting certaine
 reasonable gaine to bee receiued for the loane of money lent,
 least otherwise the poore should vtterly be distressed (for without
 some commodity the rich would not lend) haue not done much
 amisse, but if they had quite cut it off, and not yeilded at all to any
 such permission, they had done better. But herein the intent of the
 law is to be considered: which was to impale within the Forrest or
 Parke of reasonable and conscionable gaine, men who cared not
 how much they could extort out of poore mens handes, for the
 loane of their money lent, and not to authorize any man to commit
 Vsurie, as though it were lawfull because it is permitted. Therefore
 those that say that the Lawes there doe allow of Vsurie and license

Forbidding to
outrage in
mischiefe, is
no permissiO
to commit
mischiefe.

men to commit it freely, doe // slaunder the Iawes, and are worthy
of reprehension: For though the Iawes say, thou shalt not take aboue
two shillings in the pound, ten pound in a hundred, &c. Doeth this
prooue that it is lawfull to take so much, or rather that thou shalt not
take more then that? **If** I see a man will needes fight with another,
and I hauing authority ouer him, say vnto him, thou shalt not giue
him aboue one or two blows at the most, doth this proue that I
licese him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not
giue him any at al, or if he do, that he shall not exceed or passe the
bounds of reasonable measure: So this lawe doth but mittigate the
penalty: for it saith, that the party that taketh but ten pounce for
the vse of an hundred pound loseth but the ten pound, not his
principal!.

3510

Spud. Then I perceiue, if Vsury be not lawfull by the Lawes of
the Realme, then is it not lawfull by the Iawes of God.

Math.5.6.

Philo. You may be sure of that. For our Sauour Christ willeth
vs to be so farre from couetousnesse & Vsury, as he saith, Giue
to him that asketh thee, and from him that wold borrow,
turn not thy face away. And againe, Lend of thy goods to
them, who are not able to pay thee againe, & thy

3520

Luke.6.

reward shal be great in heauen. **If** we must lend our goods
then to them, who are not able to paye vs againe, no, not so much as
the bare thing lent, where is the Interest, the Vsurie, the gaine and
ouerplus which we fish for so much? Therefore our Sauour Christ
saith, *Beatius est dare quam accipere*, It is more blessed to
giue then to receiue. In the 22. of Exodus. Deut. 24. 23. Leuit.
25. Nehe. 5. Ezech. 22. 18. and many other places, we are

The worde of
God against
Vsurie.

forbidden to vse any kind of Vsury or Interest, or to receiue againe
any ouerplus, beside the principall, either in Money, Come, Wine,
Oile, Beasts, Cattell, Meate, Drink, Cloth, or any thing els
whatsoever. Dauid asked a question of the Lorde, saying: Lord,
who shal dwel in thy Tabernacle? or who shal rest in thy

3530

M4v. PH: *Vsurie vnlawfull by Gods /awe:*

3502. aboue] 01-03 *subst*; abone 3503. shillings] 01-03 *subst*; shillings 3506. and] *This ed*; a
3509. giue] 01-03 *subst*; gine 3509-10 SN. commit mischiefe] 01-03 *subst*; commit. mischiefe
3511. but] 01; aboue 3515. is it not] 01-02; is not 3517. he] 01-03 *subst*; he 3521. heauen. If]
01-03 *subst*; heauen **If**

Psalme.15. holy hil? Whereto he, or rather the holy Ghost in him, giueth the solution saying: Euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, and hath not giuen his money vnto Vsurie, nor taken reward against the innocent, who so doeth these thinges shal neuer fall. In the 15. of Deut. the Lord willeth vs not to craue againe the thing wee haue lent to our Neighbour, for it is the Lords free yeare. If it be not lawfull then to aske againe that which is lent (for it is not the law of good conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to forbear // it, then the other is to pay it) much Jesse is it
 3540
 N1

When it is
 not lawful to
 aske againe
 our goods
 lent.
 lawfull for thee to demaund any Vsury or ouerplus. And for this cause the Lorde saith, Let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person amongst the Tribes of Israeli. Thus you see the word of God abandoneth Vsurie, euen to hell, and all writers both diuine and prophane, yea, the very Heathen people, mooued onely by the instinct of Nature, and rules of Reason, haue alwaies abhorred it.

Therefore, Cato being demaunded what Vsury was, asked againe, what it was to kill a man? Making Vsurie equiualent with
 3550

Heathen men
 against vsury
 and interest.
 Murther: And good reason, for he that killeth a man, riddeth him out of his paines at once, but he that taketh Vsury, is long in Butchering his pacient, causing him by little and little to languish, and sucking out his vitall blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any life in him or any more gaines comming from him. The Vsurer killeth not one, but many, both husband, wife, children, seruants famelie, and all not sparing anie. And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, aswel the intrest as the principal, whensoever this greedy cormorant doth demand it: then sute is commenced against him, out goe Butterflies and writtes, as thicke as haile: So
 3560

Vsury equall
 with murther.
 the poore man is apprehended, and brought coram nobis, then

N1. PH: *Vsurie equall with murther.*

3533 SN. Psalme.15] 01-03 *subst*; Psalme.16 3543. the] 01-03; ehe 3552. in] 01-03; iu 3556. children] 01-03 *subst*; ehildren

Sute presently definitiue sentence proceedeth against him, compelling
 comm ced him to pay aswei the Vsurie and loane of the money, as the
 against money lent. But if he haue not to satisfie, as well the one as
 him that the other, then to Bocardo goeth he as round as a Ball, where
 is not able he shall be sure to lye, vntill he rot one peece from another,
 to pay aswel without satisfaction be made. O cursed Caitiue, no man but
 the Vsurie as a deuill: no Christian but a cruell Tartarian and mercilesse
 the principal. Turke: Darest thou look vp toward heauen, or canst thou hope
 To prison to be saued by the death of Christ, that sufferest thine owne flesh
 with him that and bloud, thine own brethren and sisters in the Lord, and which
 cannot pay is more, the flesh and bloud of Christ Iesus, vessels of saluation,
 the vsurie. coheires with him of his supernall kingdom, adoptiue sonnes of
 No mercy in his grace, and finally, Saints in heauen, to lie and rot in prison
 imprisoning for want of paiment of a little drosse, which at the day of Doome
 ofpoore men shal beare witnesse against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a Canker, &
 for Vsurie. condemne thee for euer? The very stones of the prison walles
 shall rise vp against thee, & conderne thee for thy cruelty. Is this
 loue? Is this charity? Is this to doe to others, as thou wouldest
 wish others should do to thee? or rather as thou wouldest wish
 the// Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the body,
 which not only cuttest off thy self from the Vine, as a rotten branch
 & void loppe, but also hewest off other members from the same true
 Vine, Christ Iesus? No, no, thou art a member of the deuill, a limme
 of Sathan, and a childe of perdition.

We ought not to handle our brethren in such sort, for any
 worldly matter whatsoever. We ought to shew mercy, and not
 cruelty to our brethren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then
 to exact punishment, referring all reuenge to him, who saith, mihi
 vindictam, & ego retribuam. Vengeance is mine, and I
 will reward, saith the Lord. Beleeue me, it griueth me to heare

N1v. PH: *The tyranny of vsurers.*

3574. grace] 01-03; grace 3586. brethren] 01-03 *subst*; brethen 3589. reuenge] 01-03; reueng

- The pitifull crying of prisoners in prison for .iebt. (as I walk in the streetes) the pitifull cries and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meate, drinke (though of the meanest sorte) and clothing to their backes, lying in filthy strawe, and stinking litter, worse then any Dogge, voyd of all charitable consolation, and brotherly comfort in this worlde, wishing and thirsting after death, to set them at liberty, and loose them from their Shackles, Giues, and Iron bandes. Notwithstanding, these mercillesse Tygers are growne to such barbarous crueltie, that they blush not to say, tush he shall either pay me the whole, or els he shally there til his heeles rot from his buttockes, and before I will release him, I wil make Dice of his bones. But take heed thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Christian) least the lord say to thee, as hee did to that wicked seruant (who hauing great sommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his brother his smal debt, but catching him by the throat, said, pay that thou owest) Bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter darknes, where shal be weeping and gnashing of teeth. 3600
- A Tygerlyke tyrannical saying. Math.18. Mark.II.
- An Vsurer worse then a theefe. An Vsurer is worse then a Theefe, for the one stealeth but for need, the other for couetousnes and lucre: the one stealeth, but in the night commonly, the other dayly and hourelly, night and day, at all times indifferently. 3610
- An Vsurer worse then a lew. An Vsurer is worse then a lew, for they to this day, wil not take any vsury of their brethren, according to the law of God.
- An Vsurer worse then Iudas. They are worse the Iudas, for he betrayed Christ but once, made restitution, and repented (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire) but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members dayly and hourelly without any remorse or restitution at aLL// 3611 SN. then] 02; then 3613. indifferently] 01-03; indifferenrly 3619. without] 01-03; without PH. Vsurie] 01-03 subst; Vsurie N2
- They are worse then hell it selfe, for it punisheth but onely the

N2. PH: *Scriueners instruments of Vsurie.*

3601 SN. saying] 01-03 *subst*; faying 3606. but] 01-03; bnt 3611 SN. then] 02; then 3613. indifferently] 01-03; indifferenrly 3619. without] 01-03; without PH. Vsurie] 01-03 *subst*; Vsurie

vsurers worse
then hel.

wicked and reprobate, but the Vsurer maketh no difference of any
but punisheth all alike.

An Vsurer
worse then
death.

They are crueller then Death, for it destroyeth but the body, &
goeth no further, but the Vsurer destroyeth both body and soule for
euer. And to be briefe, the Vsurer is worse then the De'Jil himselfe ,
for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els
those whome God permitteth him, the Vsurer plagueth not onely
those that are within his iurisdiction already, but euen all other
without compassion of any.

3630

The sayings
of Godly
Fathers
and Writers
against
vsury.

Therefore saith Ambrose, if any man commit Vsurie it is
extortion, rauine and pillage, and he ought to die. Alphonsus
called Vsury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all
kinde of Vsury out of his Iandes. Cato did the same. Agessilaus,
Generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the Vsurers books in the
open Market places. Claudius Vespasianus, and after him
Alexander Seuerus, made sharpe Iawes against Vsurie, & vtterly
extirped the same out of their dominions, Aristotle, Plato,

Vsurers
punished
sundry wayes.

Pythagoras, & generally, al Writers both holy and prophane,
haue sharply inueighed against this deuouring Canker of Vsury,
& yet cannot we, that fain would be called Christians auoyd it. And
if it be true, that ■ heare say, there be no men so great doers in this
noble facultie & famous science, as the Scriueners be: For it is sayd
(and ■ feare mee too true) that there are some, to whome is

3640

Scriueners
the Deuils
agents to
set forward
vsury.

committed an hundred poundes or two, to some more, to some
lesse, they putting in good sureties to the Owners for the payment
of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof:
Then come there poore men to them, with request to lende them
such a summe of money, and they will recompence them at their
owne desires, who making refusall at the first, as though they had
it not (to whette the mindes of the poore petitioners withall, you
must vnderstande) at last they lend them how much they desire,
receiuing of the poore men what interest & also assurance they list
themselues, both binding them, their lands, goods and all, with

3650

forfeiture thereof, if they faile of payment. Where note by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrument, whereby the deuill worketh this laudable worke, rewarding his Vassall with a good fleece for his labour. For first, he hath a certain allowance of the master deuill who owes the mony // for helping him to vent for his Coine.

N2v

The Scriuener's fleece, or pittance for his paines.

Secondly, he hath a great deale more Vsurie to himselfe, of him who borroweth the money, than he alloweth ye owner of the mony. And thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings between them. And thus the poore man is so intangled and wrapped in on euerie side, as it is impossible for him, hardly to get out of the Briars againe, without losse of all that euer he hath, to the very skinne. Thus the rich are inriched, the poore beggered, and Christ Iesus dishonoured euery way. God be merciful vnto vs.

3660

Great swearing in England:

Spud.

What is the naturall disposition of this people? Are they not a very godly, religious, and faithful kind of people? For the saying is, that the worde of God and good religion flourisheth in that land, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde besides. And I am fully perswaded, that where the word of God is truly preached, and his Sacraments duly ministred (all which they haue) there must all things needs prosper and goe forward, wherefore I desire to know your iudgement, whether all these things be so or not.

3670

Gods word flourisheth in England but the people are wicked still.

Philo. The word of God is truly and sincerely preached there and his sacraments sincerely and purely ministred, as in any place in all the world besides, no man can deny it, and all things are pretily well reformed, according to the prescript of Gods word, sauing that a few remnants of superstition do remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in time will be weeded out by the sickle of Gods

3680

N2v. PH: *Great swearing in England.*

3656. Scriuener] 01-03; Scrinener 3660. great deale more] 01-03 *subst*; great more
3660. himselfe] 01-03 *subst*; himselfe [longs] 3661-2. money, than ... mony. And] 01 *subst*;
money. And 3665. without] 01-03; witout 3666. inriched] 01-03; inrinched 3670. disposition]
02-03 *subst*; dispositiotion

The natural disposition of English men.

word. And as concerning the nature, property and disposition of the people, they be desirous of newfangles, praising things past, contemning things present, and coueting after things to come. Ambitious, proud, light, and vnstable, ready to be caried away with euery blast of wind. And whereas you aske me, whether they be religious: I answere: **If** religion consist in words only, then are they very religious, but otherwise plaine irreligious. They heare the worde of God seriously, night and day (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flocking after sermons from place to place, euery houre almost: they receiue the Sacraments duly, and they behaue themselues in all thinges very orderly, to the world. But a great sort play the Hypocrites herein egregiously, and vnder this cloake of Christianity and profession of the Gospell, they commit all kind of deuilrie, purchasing to themselues the greater damnation, in that they make the worde of God a vizard or cloak to couer their abominations withal. And as for sectes schismes, & sundrie factions, they want none amongst them. But especially, Papists, and professors of Papisme, are suffered with too much lenity amongst them. These sedicious Vipers, and Pythonicall Hydraes, eyther lurke secretly in comers, seducing her Maiesties subiects, and withdrawing their heartes from their Soueraignes obedience, or els walke openly, obseruing an outward decorum, and an order as others do, and the may no man say blacke is their eye, but they are good protestantes. And if the worst fall, that they be espied and found ranck Traitors (as all Papistes be) yet shal they be but committed to prison, where they liue like young Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attire, and flowing in abundance of gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to them that will, and to bring them what maintenance they list. They haue their liberty at all times to walke

3690

N3

3700

3710

Papists liuing in prison like princes.

N3. PH: *The libertie of Papistes in England.*

3694. themselues] 02-03; themselued

abroad, to sport and pastime themselues, to play at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what they will: so that it were better for them to be in prison then fourth. Alas, shal we suffer these swome enemies of Gods glory, of Christes Gospell, and holy religion, to haue this freedome amongst vs? This maketh them obstinate, and vnreclaimable: this hardeneth their hearts, & maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due punishment were executed vpon them. 3720

Exercises of
Papists in
Prisons in
England.

But to retume againe to my former discourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie minded, and aboute all thinges inclined to swearing, in so much, as if they speake but three or foure words, yet must they needs bee interlaced with a bloody oath or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

Great
swearing in
England.

Spud. Why sir? Is it so great a matter to sweare? Doth not the word of God say, Thou shalt honour me, and sweare by my name, and those that sweare by me shal be commended? These places with the like, me think, doe sufficiently proue that it is lawful to sweare at all times, doe they not so? 3730

Philo. Nothing lesse: For you must vnderstand that there bee two maner of swearings or othes, the one godly, the other vngodly: the one lawful & the other danable. The godly swearing, or lawfull // oath, is when we be called by the magistrates, & those that be of authority, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a trueth, and is to be done in this order. When any matter of controuersie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occasion whatsoever, and the trueth thereof cannot by any means possible bee sifted out, otherwise then by an oath: then thou being called by the lawfull Magistrate, and commaunded vpon thy allegeance to confesse what thou knowest, thou maist, and oughtest to depose the trueth, by the inuocation and obtestation of the name of God. And in this doing, 3740

When, and
how it is
lawfull to
sweare.

N3v. PH: *Swearing forbidden by God.*

3723. speake] 02-03; spake 3728. and] 02-03; aud 3740. trueth] 02-03 *subst*; tructh

thou honourest God. But beware that those things which thou swearest be true, or els thou makest God a lyer (whose name thou callest to witnes) thou desirest him to poure his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thy selfe, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of swearing, is when we take in vaine, abuse, and blaspheme the sacred name of God in our ordinary talke, for euery light trifle. This kind of swearing is neuer at any time vpon no occasion to be vsed, but the counsell of our Sauour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: Swear not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his seat, neither by the earth, for it is his footstoole: neither by Ierusalem, for it is the citty of the great King: neither shalt thou swear by an haire of thine heade, because thou canst not make one haire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay: that is, yea in heart, and yea in mouth, nay in heart, and nay in mouth, for whatsoever is more then this commeth of euill, that is, of the deuill, saith our Sauour Christ.

Spud. I perceiue by your reasons, that swearing is a thing more dangerous then it is taken to be, and therefore not to be suffered in a Christian common wealth.

Sundry kinds of othes with their effectes. Philo. A true oath is dangerous, a false oath is damnable, and no othe is sure. To swear before a lawful Judge, or otherwise priuately for the appeasing of controuersies, calling the name of God to witnesse in trueth and verity, is an honour, and a true seruice done to the Lord: for in these cases the Apostle biddeth that an oath may make an end of all controuersies and troubles. But the other kinde of swearing in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable, and therefore saith Salomon, A man that is giuen to much swearing shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house. And yet

Swearing taken for a vertue in Engliid.	notwithstanding this, it is vsed // and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lash out the blouidiest Othes, is counted the brauest fellow: For (say they) it is a signe of a couragious hart, of a valiant stomack, and of a generosious heroicall, and puissant mind.	N4
	And who either for feare of Gcds iudgments will not, or for want of practise cannot rappe out othes at euery worde, he is counted a Dastarde, a Coward, an Asse a Pesant, a Clowne, a Patch, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continual vse whereof, it is grown to this perfection, that at euery other word, you shall heare either Woundes, bloud, sides, Heart, nailes, Foote, or some other part of Christes blessed bodie, swome by yea,	3780
Not lawful to sweare by any creature.	sometimes no part thereof shall be left vntome of these bloody Villaines. And to sweare by God at euery word, by the World, by S. Iohn, by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread, and Salt, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, they think it nothing blame worthy. But I giue all blouidie Swearers (who crucifie the Lord of life a fresh, as the Apostle saith, as much as is in their power, and are as guilty of his death, passion, and bloudshedding, as euer was Iudas that betrayed him, or the cursed Iewes that crucified him) to	3790
How dangerous it is to swear by anything.	vnderstand, that to sweare by God at euerie worde, is the greatest oth that can be. For in swearing by God, thou swearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holy Ghost, and by all the whole diuine nature, power, Deity, and essence. When thou swearest by Gods heart, thou swearest by his mysticall wisdom. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou swearest by his life. When thou swearest by his feete, thou swearest by his humanity. When thou swearest by his armes, thou swearest by his power. Wh'e thou swearest by his finger or tongue, thou swearest by the holy Spirit. Whe thou swearest by his nosethrels, thou swearest by his holy inspirations. When thou swearest by his eyes, thou swearest by his prouidence. Therefore, leame this, and beware of swearing you	3800

N4. PH: *The horrible vice of swearing in England.*

3801. by his humanity] 02-03 *subst*; be his humanity 3802. his power] 02-03; hls power 3804.
Whe] 02-03 *subst*; whe

bloudy Butchers, least God destroy you in his wrath. And if you
 swear by the world, by S. **Iohn, Marie, Anne**, Bread, Salt,
 Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatsoeuer it be,
 little or much, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable in it selfe. For
 if it were lawfull to swear at each worde for euery trifle, yet it were
 better to swear by God in a true matter, then by any creature
 whatsoeuer: Because, that which a man sweareth by, he maketh (as
 it were) his God of it, calling it to witnes, that, that thing which//
 he speaketh is true. All which things duly considered, I am fully
 perswaded that it were better for one to kill a man (not that murther
 is lawfull, God forbid) then to swear an oath: And yet swearing
 is of such small moment in **England**, as I heare say (and I feare me
 too true) there are many that for money will not sticke to swear any
 thing though neuer so false, & are wei ynough known, and discerned
 from others by the name of Iurers: they may be called Libertines or
 Atheists, nay plain reprobates concerning the faith, and very deuils
 incarnate. Were there euer any deuilles that would abdiccate and
 abandon themselues to eternall damnation for mony: as these
 villaines doe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for
 filthy drosse and mucke of the world? Shal we suffer this villany to
 be done to our God, and not to punish it? God grant there may some
 law be enacted for the suppression of the same. For now no man by
 any law (in force) may rebuke a man for swearing, though
 he teare the Lords bodie, & blaspheme both heauen & earth neuer
 so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for
 if they doe, they will be ready to lay their Dagggers on their faces. So
 that by this impunity, this horrible vice of swearing is suffered still
 to remaine without all controlement, to the great dishonour of God,
 and nourishing of vice?

To swear by
 any creature
 is Idolatrie.

3810

False
 swearers for
 monyin
 England.

N4v

3820

A law for
 swearers.

3830

N4v. PH: *False swearers for money in England.*

3809. any] 02-03; any any 3819. there] 02-03; there 3823. Were} Furnivall; Were

Spud. What kind of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloody swearers.

Philo. I wold wish (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For we read in the lawe of God, that whosoeuer blasphemed the Lord, was presently stoned to death, without all remorse, which law Iudiciall standeth in force to the worldes end. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glory of God, as the people were then? Or if this be iudged too seuere, I would wish they might haue a peece of their tongues cut off, or loose some ioint: **If** that be too extreame, to be seared in the foreheade or cheeke with a hotte Iron, ingrauen with some posie, that they might be knowne and auoided. Or if this be too strict that they might bee banished their natiue Countrey, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to be whipped: or at least forfaitte for euery oath, a certaine summe of money and to be committed to Ward, till the money be paide. **If** any of these godly Institutions were executed seuerely, I doubt not, but all cursed swearing would vanish away like a smoke. Then should // God be glorified, and our consciences kept clean against the great and fearefull day of the Lord appeare.

Spud. **If** swearing and blaspheming of Gods name be so hainous a sinne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vsers thereof with some notable punishment in all ages, wherof I pray you shew me some examples?

Philo. I could shew most straunge and fearfull iudgementes of God executed vpon these cursed kind of Swearers in all ages: but for breuity sake, one or two shal suffice. There was a certain yong man dwelling in **Lincolneshire in England**, (whose tragicall discourse I my selfe penned about two yeares agoe in verse, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration thereof) who was alwayes a filthy swearer: his common oath was by **Gods**

01. PH: *Examples against swearing.*

3838-9. death: For] 02-03; death For 3852-3 God be] 02-03; God to be 3864-5. thereof) who] 02-03 *subst*; thereof(who

A most feareful example of gods wrath shewed vpon a filthy cursed swearer. Death the Lords executioner.

blond. The Lord willing his conuersion, chastised him with sicknes many times to leaue the same, and mooued others, euer to admonish him of his wickednesse: but all chastismentes and louing corrections of the Lord, all friendly admonitions and exhortation of others, he vtterly contemned, still perseuering in his bloody kinde of swearing. Then the Lord seeing that nothing would preuaile to win him, arrested him with his Sargeant Death, who with speed laid holde on him, and cast him vpon his death-bed, where he languished a greate while in extream misery, not forgetting to spew out his old vomite of Swearing. At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approch, caused the bell to toile. Who hearing the Bell toile for him, russhed vp in his bed very vehemently, saying,

Gods blond bee shall not haue me yet: with that his blood gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, some at his wristes, some at his nose and mouth, some at one ioint of his body, some at another, neuer ceasing till all the bloud in his body was streamed foorth: And thus ended this bloodie Swearer his cursed life, whose Iudgment I leaue to the Lord.

There was also another, whome I knew my selfe for a dozen or sixteen yeares together, dwelling in Cheshire, in a towne called Congleton, whose vsuall and common oath was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende his arme being hurt by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kind of meanes, but still ranckled and festered from day to day, and at the last so rotted, as it fell away by peace meale, and he himself through anguish and paine thereof, died // shortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one & the other, in the same things wherin they had offended, that the punnishment might bee like to the offence. For as the one offended through swearing by his bloud, so the Lord punished him with bloud. And as the other offended in swearing by his armes, so the

01 v. PH: *The vse of the Sabbath in England.*

3883. leaue] 02-03; lcaue 3891. after. Thus] 02-03; after, Thus

The example
of a woman
forswearing
herself.

Lorde plagued him in his arme also. As hee punished the riche Glutton in hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the same, by tasting of delicate meates. There was also a woman in the Cittie of **London in England**, who comming into a shop to buy certaine Merchandize, forsware her selfe, and the excrements which naturally should haue discended downward, came foorth at her mouth, and she died miserablie. With infinit the like examples of Gods wrath and heauy iudgements, executed vpon this wicked brood of Swearers, which if I had time and Ieasure, I could rehearse. But contenting my selfe to haue sayd thus much, I will proceede to other matters, no lesse needfull to be handled.

3900

Spud. Hauing (by the grace of Christ) hetherto spoken of sundry abuses of that country, let vs proceed a little farther. How doe they sanctifie and keep the Sabboth day there? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

3910

The maner of sanctifying the Sabboth

in England:

Philo.

The Sabboth day, of some is well obserued, as namely, in hearing the blessed worde of God read, preached, and interpreted, in priuate and publique Prayers, in singing of godlie Psalmes, in celebrating the Sacramentes, and in collecting for the poore and indigent, which are the true vses and endes, whereto the Sabboth was ordayned. But other some spend the Sabboth day (for the most part) in frequenting of bawdy Stage plaies and Enterludes, in maintayning Lordes of misrule (for so they call a certain kinde of plaie which they vse) in Maie games, Church Ales, Feastes, and Wakesses: In Pyping, Dauncing, Dyeing, Carding, Bowling, Tennisse playing: In Beare bayting, Cockfighting, Hawking, hunting, and such like. In keeping of Faires, and Markets on the Sabboth. In keeping of Courts and Leets: In football playing, and such other deuillish pastimes: In reading of lasciuious and wanton

3920

Prophane
exercises
vpon the
Sabboth day.

bookes, and an infinite number of such // like practizes, and 02
 prophane exercises vsed vpon that day, wherby the Lorde God is
 dishonoured, his Sabboth violated, his Worde neglected, his 3930
 Sacramentes contemned, and his people merueilously corrupted,
 and carried away from true vertue and godlinesse.

Spud. You will be deemed too too Stoycall, if you should
 restraine men from these exercises vpon the Sabboth, for they
 suppose that, that day is a day of liberty, and was ordained, and
 consecrate to that end and purpose, onely to vse what kinde of
 exercises they thinke good themselues, and was it not so?

Philo. After that the Lord our God had created the worlde,
 and all things therein contained in sixe dayes, in the seuenth day he 3940
 rested from all his workes (that is, from creating them, not from
 gouerning them) and therefore he commaunded that the seuenth

When the
 Sabboth was
 ordained.

day should be kept holy in all ages to the end of the worlde: then
 after that in effect 2000. yeares, he iterated this commaundement
 when he gaue the Law in Mount Horeb to Moyses, and in him to
 all the Children of Israeli, saying: Remember (forget it not) that
 thou keepe holie the seuenth day. &c. If we must keepe it
 holy, then must wee not spende it in such vaine exercises, as please
 our selues, but in such godly exercises as he in his holy word hath
 commaunded. And in my iudgement, the Lord our God ordayned
 the seuenth day to be kept holy, for foure causes especially. First,
 to put vs in mind of his wonderfull workmanship, & creation of the
 world and all other his creatures besides. Secondly, that his word
 (the Church assembling together) might be preached, interpreted and
 expounded, his Sacraments ministered sincerely according to the
 prescript of his word, and that Suffrages, Orisons and Prayers both
 priuate and publique, might be offered to his excellent Maiesty.

3940

3950

Wherefore
 the Sabboth
 was
 instituted.

Thirdly, for that euery Christian man might repose himselfe from

02. PH: *The prophanation of the Sabbath*

3945. all] 01-02; call

corporalllabour, to the end they might the better sustain the trauels
of the weeke following: and also to the ende, that all Beastes and
cattell, which the Lorde hath made for mans vse, as helpes and
supportes vnto him in his dayly affaires and businesse, might rest
and refresh themselues, the better to go thorow in their trauels
afterward. For as the Heathen man knew very wei, Sine alterna
requie non est durable quicquam. Without some rest or
repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to
continue long.// Fourthly, to the end it might be a typicall
figure or signitor vnto vs, to poynt out (as it were) with the
finger, and to discipher foorth vnto vs that blessed rest & thrise
happy ioy, which the faithfull shal possesse after the day of
iudgment in the kingdome of heauen: wherfore, seeing the Sabboth
was instituted for these causes and to these endes, it is manifest that
it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly
pastimes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh, which God abhorreth,
and all good men from their hearts, do lothe and detest.

Punishment
for violating
the Sabboth.

The man of whome we read in the Lawe, for gathering of a few
small stickes, vpon the Sabboth, was stoned to death, by the
commandement of God, sounding from the Theator, of Heauen.
Then if he were stoned for gathering a few stickes vpon the
Sabboth day, which in some cases might be lawfull for necessities
sake, and yet did it but once, what shall they bee, who all the
Sabboth dayes of their life, giue themselues to nothing els, but to
wallowe in all kind of wickednesse and sin, to the great contempt
both of the Lord, and his Sabboth? and though they haue plaid the
lazier Lurdens all the weeke before, yet that day of set purpose,
they wil toile and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabboth.
But let the be sure, as he that gathered stickes vpon the Sabboth,

Violaters of
the Sabboth.

02v. PH: *Violaters of the Sabbath punished.*

3975. in] 01-03; in in 3979. Sabboth] 01-03 *subst*; Sabbod

was stoned for his contempt of the same, so shall they be stoned, yea grinded to peeces for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabbath.

The lewes verie precise in keeping the Sabbath.	The lewes are very strict in keping their Sabbath, in so much as they will not dresse their meates and drinks vpon the same day, but set it on the Tables the day before. They goe not about two miles vpon the Sabbath day, they suffer not the body of any Fellon or malefactor to hang vpon the gallowes vpon the Sabbath day, with legions of such like superstitions. And which is most strange, if any of them fall into any daunger, they will not suffer any to labour for their deliuery vpon that day, for violating their Sabbath. So it chaunced that a certaine lew being in England, by chaunce fell into a priuy vppon one of their Sabbath dayes, and the people endeuouring to help him forth, he forbad them to labour about him vpon the Sabbath day, choosing rather to dye in that filthy stinking place (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to break or violate the Lords Sabbath. Wherein, as I do acknowledge they are but too superstitious, and ouershoot the marke, so we are therin //	3990
No worke to be done vpon the Sabbath except neces- sity inforce.	plaine contemptuous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so straight laced, that I wold haue no kind of worke done vppon that day, if present necessity of the thing require it, (for Christ hath taught vs, The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although the day it selfe, in respect of the nature and propertie thereof, be no better then another day (for there is no difference of dayes, except we wil become Temporizers, all times being alike good) yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified and kept holy to himself, let vs (like obedient and obsequious Children) submit our selues to so louing a Father, for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the streame, and	4000 03 4010

03. PH: *The true vse of the Sabbath.*

3992. they] 01-03 *subst*; the 3995. suffer] 02-03; suffer 4002. the] 02-03; th

we contemne him in his ordinances. But (perchaunce) you will
 aske me whether the true vse of the Sabbath consist in outwarde
 abstaining from bodily labour and trauell? I answere no: the true
 vse of the Sabbath (for Christians are not bound onely to the
 Ceremony of the day) consistrth, as I haue said, in hearing the
 word of God truly preached, thereby to learne and to doe his will,
 in receauing the Sacraments (as seals of his grace towards vs)
 rightly administred, in vsing publike and priuate prayer, in
 thankesgiuing to God for all his benefites, in singing of godly
 Psalmes and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting
 for the poore, in doing of good works: and briefly, in the true
 obedience of the inward man. And yet notwithstanding, we must
 abstaine from the one, to attend vpon the other: that is, we must
 refraine from al bodily labours, to the end that we may the better be
 resiant about these spirituall exercises vpon the Sabbath day. This
 is the true vse and end of the Lorde his Sabbath, who graunt that
 we may rest in him for euer.

Spud. Hauing shewed the true vse of the Sabbath, let vs goe
 forward to speake of those abuses particularly, whereby the
 Sabbath of the Lord is prophaned. And first, to begin with
Stage-plaies and Enterludes: what is your opinion of them?
 Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

Stage-playes and Enterludes, with their

wickednes.

Philo. **AI Stage-playes, Enterludes, and Commedies,** are
 eyther of diuine or prophane matter: **If** they be of diuine //matter,
 then are they most intollerable, or rather **Sacrilegious,** for that
 the blessed word of God, is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and
 sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiesty of God, which

03v. PH: *Stageplaies and Enterludes.*

4021. haue] 01-03; haoe 4025 SN. Sabbath] 01-03 *subst*; S\1bboth 4026 SN. consisteth] 01-03;
 con.sisteth

shineth therein, and not scoffingly, floutingly, and iyingly, as it is vpon Stages in Playes and Enterludes, without any reuerence, worship, or honour at all done to the same: For it is most certaine, the word of our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, and the merites of his passion, were no!giuen to be derided, and iested at, 4050
 or to be mixt & enterlaced with bawdry, scurrility, wanton shewes, and vncomely gestures, as is vsed (euery man knoweth) in these Playes and Enterludes, vppon Stages and scaffoldes, made for that purpose. In the first of Iohn we are taught, that the word is God, and God is the word. Wherefore, whosoever abuseth this Word of our God on Stages, in Playes and Enterludes, abuseth the Maiesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stocke of him, and purchaseth to himselfe eternall damnation. And no maruell, for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe, is neuer to bee thought of, or once to be named, but with great feare, reuerence, & 4060
 obedience to the same. All the holy company of Heauen, Angels, Archangeles, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other Seraphicall powers whatsoever, yea, the Deuils themselues (as Saint Iames sayth) doe tremble and quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doe these Mockers and flouters of his Maiesty, these dissembling Hypocrites, & flattering Gnatoes think to escape vnpunished? Beware therefore you masking Plaiers, you painted Sepulchres, you double dealing Ambodexters, be warned betimes, & like good Computists, 4070
 cast your accomptes before what will be the reward thereof in the end, least God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with such prophane vanities. For at any hand it is not lawfull, to mixt scurrilitie with diuinitie, nor Diuinity with scurrility.

Theopompus mingled Moyses lawe with his writings, and therefore the Lord stroke him mad.

Theodictes began the same practise, but the Lorde stroke him blinde for it. With many others, who attempting the like deuises, were all ouerthrowne, and died miserable: Besides, what is their iudgement in the other world, the Lorde onlie knoweth. Vpon the // other side, if their Playes be of prophane matters, then tende they to the dishonor of God, and nourishing of vice: both which are damnable. So that whether they bee the one or the other, they are quite contrary to the worde of grace, and sucked out of the deuils Teates, to nourish vs in Idolatrie, Heathenrie, and sinne. And therefore, they carrying the note & brand of Gods curse vpon their backes, which waie soeuer they goe, are to be hissed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they will haue Christ to dwell amongst them.

What if
plaies be
of prophane
matter.

4080
04

4090

Spud. Are you able to shew, that euer any good men from the beginning, haue disliked playes and Enterludes?

Phil. Not only the word of God doth ouerthrow them adiudging them, & the practisers of the to Hell, but also all holy Counsels and Synodes, both generall, Nationall, and Prouincial, together, withal Writers both diuine and prophane, euer since the beginning haue disallowed them, & writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The Word
of God all
Writers,
Counsels
& Fathers
against Plaies
& Enterludes.

The learned Father Tertullian in his booke de speculo sayth, that Playes were consecrate to that false Idoll Bacchus, for that he is said to haue found out, and inuented strong drinke.

4100

Wherefore
plaies were
ordained.

Augustinus de ciuit. Dei, saith, that Playes were ordained by the Deuil, and consecrate to Heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianity to Idolatry & Gentilisme. And in another place, Pecunias Histrionibus dare, vitium est immane, non virtus. To giue mony to players, is a grieuous sinne, and no vertue.

04. PH: *stage playes condemned.*

4107. vertue] 02-03; vertuc

Chrysostom, calleth those Playes, festa *Sathani*, *feasts of the deuill*.

Lactantius, an ancient learned Father saith: *Histrionum impudissimi gestus, nihil aliud nisi libidinem mouent.* 4110

The shamelesse gestures of Players, serue to nothing so much as to mooue the flesh to lust and vncleannesse.

Concil30. And therefore in the 30. Counsell of Carthage, and in the Sinode
Cartha.cap.11 of Laodicea: It was decreed that no Christian man or woman
Sinod.Laodi- should resort to Playes and Enterludes, where is nothing but
cea.Cap.S4. Blasphemy, Scurrility and Whoredome maintained.

Scipio seeing the Romanes bent to erect Theaters and places for Playes dehorted them from it with most prudent reasons, and forcible arguments. 4120

Writers both
diuine &
prophane
against
plaies and
Enterludes.

Valerius maxiruuus saith, Playes were neuer brought vp, sine regni rubore. Without shame to the Country.

Aristotle debarreth youth of accesse to Plaies and Enterludes, //least they seeking to quench the thirst of Venus, do quench it with a pottle of fire. 04v

Augustus banished Ouid, for making bookes of Loue, Enterludes, and such other amorous trumperie.

The endes of
plaies and
Enterludes.

Constantius, ordayned that no Player, shuld be admitted to the Table of the Lord. Then, seeing that Playes were inuented by the deuill, practized by the Heathen Gentiles, and dedicated to their false Idols, gods and goddesses, as the House, Stage, and Apparell to Venus: the Musicke to Appollo: the penning to Minerua & the Muses: the action and pronounciation, to Mercuric, and the rest: **It** is more then manifest, that they are no fit exercises for Christian men to follow. But if there were no euil in them, saue this, namely, that the arguments of Tragedies is, Anger, Wrath, immunity, Cruelty, iniurie, incest, murther, and such like: The 4130

04v. PH: *Theaters Venus pallaces.*

4113.lust] 01-03; lnst 4115 SN. cap.11] 01-02 *subst*; cap.1 4119 SN. Writers] 02-03; Waiters
4120. forcible] 01-03; sorcible [longs]

The arguments of tragedies. The ground of Comedies.	persons or Actors, are Gods, Goddesses, Furies, Fiendes, Hags, Kings, Queens, or Potentates. Of Commedies, the matter and ground, is Lone, Bawdrie, Cosonage, Flatterie, Whoredome, Adulterie: The persons or Agents, Whoores, queanes, baudes, scullions. knaues, curtizans, lecherous old men, amorous young men, with such like of infinite variety. If, I say, there were nothing els but this, it were sufficient to withdraw a good Christian from the vsing of the. For so often, as they goe to those houses where Players frequent, they goe to Venus Pallace, and Sathans Sinagogue, to worship Deuils and betray Christ Iesus.	4140
Theaters and Curtains Venus Pallaces.	Spud. But notwithstanding, I haue heard some holde opinion that they be as good as Sermons, and that many a good example may be learned out of them?	4150
No plaies coparable to the word of God.	Philo. Oh blasphemy intollerable: Are filthy Playes and baudy Enterludes comparable to the word of God, the food of life, and life it selfe? It is all one, as if they had said, Baudrie, Heathenrie, Paganrie, Scurrility, and Deuilrie it selfe, is equall with the worde of God. Or that the Deuill is equialent with the Lord.	
He is cursed that saith, plaies & Enterludes are	The Lord our God hath ordained his blessed word, and made it the ordinarie meane of our saluation: the deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordinarie meane of our destruction, and will they yet compare the one with the other? If he be accursed that calleth light darknes, and darknesse light, trueth falshood, and falshood truth: sweet sowre, and sowre sweet, then a fortiori, hee is accursed that// sayth, that Playes and Enterludes be equialent with Sermons. Besides this, there is no mischief which these Playes maintaine not. For, doe they not nourish Idlenesse? and otia dant vitia. Idlenesse doth minister vice. Doe they not draw the	4160 Pl

Pl. PH: *The fruites of Players.*

4142 SN. ground] 01-03; groud 4143 SN. of] 01-03; os [longs]

comparable
to sermons. people from hearing the word of God, from godly Lectures and Sermons? For you shall haue them flocke thither thicke and three folde, when the Church of God shall be bare and emptie. And those that will neuer come at Sermons will flowe thither apace. The
4170

Wherforeso
manie flocke
to see plaies
& enterludes. the number of the reprobate is many: the way that leadeth to life is narrow, and fewe tread that path: the way that leadeth to death is broad, and many find it. This sheweth, they are not of God, who refuse to heare his word (for he that is of God, heareth God his word, saith our Sauour Christ) but of the Deuill, whose exercises they goe to visite. Do they not maintaine Bawdry, insinuat foolery, & renue the remembrance of Heathen Idolatrie? Doe they not induce
4180

The fruites of
Theaters and
plaies. to whoredome and vnclennesse? Nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maidenly Virginitie and chastity? For prooffe whereof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters and Curtens, dayly & hourelly, night and day, time and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdy speeches, such laughing and flearing, such kissing and bussing, such clipping and culling, such wincking and glauncing of wanton eies, and the like is vsed, as is woonderfull to beholde. Then these
4190

The goodly
demeanours
vsed at plaies
& Enterludes. goodly **Pageants** being ended, euery mate sortes to his mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way very friendly, and in their secret conclaues (couertly) they play the **Sodomits**, or worse. And these be the fruits of plaies and Enterludes for the most part. And whereas you say, there are good examples to be learned
4190

The goodly
examples of
plaies and
enterludes. in them: truely so there are: if you willearn falshood: if you wil learn cosonage: if you willearne to deceiue: if you will learne to playe the hypocrit: to cog, to lie and falsify, if you willlearne to iest, laugh and fleere, to grinne, to nodde, and mowe: if you willleame
4190

What things
are to be
learned
at plaies. to play the Vice, to sweare, teare and blaspheme both heauen and earth: **If** you willlearne to become a Baud, vnclane, and to diuirginate Maides, to defloure honest Wiues: **If** you will learne to murther, slay, kill picke, steale, rob, and roue: **If** you willlearne to

rebell against Princes, to commit Treason, to consume treasures, to
 practise idlenesse, to sing and talk // of bawdie loue and Venerie: 4200
 If you will leame to deride, scoffe, mocke and floute, to flatter and
 P1 v
 smooth: If you willleame to play the Whoremaister, the Glutton,
 Drunkard or incestuous person: If you willlearne to become
 proud, hautie and arrogant: and finally, if you will learne to
 contemne God and all his Iawes, to care neither for heauen nor
 Theaters, Schooles or Seminaries of pseudo-christianitie. Hell, and to commit all kind of sinne & mischiefe, you need to goe
 to no other schoole, for all these good examples may you see
 painted before your eyes in Enterludes & Plaies. Wherefore,
 that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them, must 4210
 needes incurre the ineuitable sentence of eternall damnation except
 he repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware least we communicate
 with other mens sinnes, and this their doeing, is not onely to
 communicate with other mens sinnes, and to maintaine euill, to the
 destruction of themselues and many others, but also a supporting of
 A diuine premunire. a great sort of idle Lubbers, and laizie Lurdens, who sucke vp
 and deuour the good Honey, whereupon the good Bees should
 lie.

Therefore, I beseech al Players, Founders and maintainers
 of Playes and Enterludes in the bowels of Iesus Christ, as they 4220
 tender the saluation of their soules, & others, to leaue off that cursed
 kind of life, and giue themselues to such honest exercises, and godly
 An exhortatiO to plaiers. mysteries, as God hath commanded them in his worde to get their
 liuinges withall: For who will call him a wise man that playeth the
 part of a foole and a Vice? Who can call him a Christian, who
 playeth the part of a Deuill, the sworne enemy of Christ? Who can
 call him a iust man, that playeth the parte of a dissembling
 The ignominy due to players. Hypocrite? And to be briefe, who can call him a straight dealing
 man, who playeth a Cosoners part? And so of all the rest. Away

Plv. PH: *Theaters, Schooles of mischiefe.*

4206-7 SN. Theaters, Schooles] 02-03 *subst*; Theaters. Schooles 4218-9. liue. Therefore] 01-03
subst; liue, Therefore

Players therefore with this so infamous an Arte: for, goe they neuer so 4230
 liue vpon braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not
 begging. true? Liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? And are
 Plaiers they not taken by the Lawes of the realme, for Rogues &
 counted Vagabonds? (I speake of such as trauell the Countries, with
 Rogues **Playes** and **Enterludes**, making an occupation of it) and ought so
 by the Iawes to be punished, if they had their desertes. But hoping that they will
 of the realme. be warned now at the last, ■ will say no more of them, beseeching
 them to consider what a fearfull thing it is to fall into the handes of
 God, and to prouoke his wrath and heauie displeasure against
 themselues and // others. Which the Lord of his mercy tume from P2
 vs.

Spud. Of what sorte be the other kinde of Playes, which you
 call **Lordes of Misrule**? For me thinke, the very name it selfe
 importeth some euill.

Lordes of Misrule in England.

Philo.

Lordes of The name indeed is odious both to God and good men, & such as
 Misrule in the very Heathen people would haue blushed at, once to haue
 England. named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil, as you
 say, then what may the thing it self be, iudge you. But because you
 desire to know the maner of them, I will shew you, as haue seene 4250
 them practized my selfe.

The manner First, all the wilde heads of the Parish, flocking together, chuse
 how Lords of them a graund Captaine (of mischiefe) whome they innoble with
 misrule are the title of my **Lord of misrule**, and him they crowne with great
 vsed to be solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This King annoynted,
 played. chooseth fourth twentie, fourtie, three score, or a hundred lustie
 Guttes, like to himselfe, to waite vpon his Lordly Maiesty, and to

P2. PH: *The order of the Lord of Misrule.*

4239. against] 01-03; agaist 4248. very] 01-03; bery

garde his noble person. Then euery one of these his men, he
 inuesteth with his Liueries of Greene, Yellow, or some other 42b0
 light wanton collour. And as though that were not (bawdy) gawdy
 ynough, I should say, they bedecke themselues with Scarffes,
 Ribbons and Laces, hanged all ouer with golde Ringes, precious
 stones, and other Iewels: this done, they tie about either Iegge
 twentie or fourtie belles, with rich handkerchiefes in their handes,
 and sometimes !aide a crosse ouer their shoulders and neckes,
 borrowed for the most part of their pretie Mopsies, and louing
 Bessies, for bussing them in the darke. Thus all things set in
 order, then haue they their Hobby horses, their Dragons and other
 Antiques, together, with their baudie Pipers, and thundering 4270
 Drummers, to strike vp the Deuils Daunce withall: Then
 march this Heathen company towards the Church and Church-
 yarde, their Pypers pyping, their Drummers thundering, their
 stumpes dauncing, their belles iyngling, their handkercheefes
 fluttering about their heades like madde men, their Hobbie horses,
 and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng: and in this sorte
 they goe to the Church (though the Minister be at Prayer or
 Preaching) dauncing and // swinging their handkerchiefes ouer P2v
 their heades in the Church like Deuils incarnate, with such a
 confused noise, that no man can heare his owne voyce. Then the 4280
 foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleere, and
 mount vpon formes and pewes, to see these goodly pageants
 solemnized in this sort. Then after this, about the Church they goe
 againe and againe, and so foorth into the Church yard, where they
 haue commonly their Sommer haules, their Bowers, Arbours, and
 banquetting houses set vp, wherein they feast, banquet, and daunce
 all that day, and (peraduenture) all that night too. And thus these
 terrestriall furies spend the Sabboth day.

P2v. PH: *The order of the Lord of misrule.*

4265. handkerchiefes] 01-03 *subst*; handkerchiefe 4278. handkerchiefes] 01-03 *subst*;
 handkechiefes

Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lord I should say) they haue also certaine papers, wherein is painted some babblerie or other, of Imagerie worke, and these they call my Lord of Misrules badges, or Cognizances. These they giue to euerie one that will g¹ue the mony for them, to maintain them in this their Heathenrie, Deuilrie, Whoredome, Dronkennesse, Pride, and what not els? And who will not shew himselfe buxome to them, and giue money for these the Deuils Cognizances, they shall be mocked, and flouted shamefullie. Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horrible abused. And so assotted are some, that they not onely giue them money, to maintaine their abomination withall, but also weare their Badges and Cognizances in their hats or cappes openly. But let them take heed, for these are the Badges, seales, Brandes and Cognizances of the Deuill, whereby he knoweth his seruants and vassals, from the Children of God. And so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum & legem suam*, they fight vnder the Banner and Standerde of the Deuill against Christ Iesus and all his lawes. Another sort of fantasticall fooles, bring to these helhoundes (the Lorde of Misrule & his complices) some bread: some good Ale, some new Cheese & some olde cheese, some Custardes, some Cracknels, some Cakes, some Flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some Meat, some one thing, some another: but if they knewe, that as often as they bringe any, to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer Sacrifice to the Deuill and Sathanas, they would repent, and withdrawe their handes, which God graunt they may.

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the Sabbath (the // Lord knoweth) & more pestilent then pestilence it selfe, but what?

P3. PH: *The order of Maie-games.*

4293 SN. Misrules] 01-03 *subst*; Mis.mles

Be there any abuses in their Maie-games like vnto these?

The maner of Maie-games in England.

4320

Philo.

The order of
their maie
games.

As many as in the other. The order of them is thus. Against Maie day, Whitsunday, or some other time of the yeare, euery Parish, Towne, and village, assemble themselues together, both men, women and children, olde and young, euen all indifferently: and either going all together, or diuiding themselues into companies, they goe some to the woods, and groues, some to the hils and mountaines, some to one place, some to another, where they spende all the night in pleasant pastimes, and in the morning they retume bringing with them Birch boughes, and branches of trees,

4330

A great Lord
present in
games, as
superinten-
dent thereof.

to deck their assemblies withall. And no maruell, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as Superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes: namely, **Sathan** Prince of **Hell**: But their chiefest iewel they bring from thence is the **Maie-poale**, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus: They haue twentie, or fourtie yoake of Oxen, euery Oxe hauing a sweete Nosegaie of flowers tyed on the tip of his homes, and these Oxen drawe home this Maie-poale (this stinking Idoll rather) which is couered all ouer with Flowers and Hearbes, bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometimes painted

4340

The maner of
bringing
home their
maie poles.

children following it, with great deuotion. And thus being reared vp, with handkerchiefes and flagges streaming on the top, they strawe the ground round about, bind green boughes about it, set vp Summer Haules, Bowers, and Arbours hard by it. And then fa! they to banquet and feast, to leape and daunce about it, as the Heathen people did, at the dedication of their Idolles, whereof this is a perfect patteme, or rather the thing it selfe. I haue heard it crediblie reported (and that **viua** voce) by men of great grauity, credite, and reputation, that of fourtie, threescore, or a hundred

4350

Maie poales a
patterne of
the Heathen
Idols.

Maides, going to the wood ouemight, there haue scarcely the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled.

The fruit of
maie games.

These be the frutes, which these cursed pastimes bring foorth. Assuredly, I thinke neither lewes, nor Turkes, Saracens, nor // Pagans, nor any other people how wicked, or barbarous soeuer, haue euer vsed such diuillish exercises as these: nay, they wold haue bene ashamed, once to haue named them, much lesse to haue vsed them. Yet we that wold be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them farre from vs.

P3v

Spud. What is the maner of their Church-Ales, which you say they vse for they seeme vncouth and strange to mine eares?

4360

The maner of Church-ales in England:

Philo.

The maner of
Church-ales
in England.

The manner of them is thus. In certaine townes where drunken Bacchus beares swaie, against Christmas & Easter, Whitsunday, or some other time, the Churchwardens (for so they call th) of euery Parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide halfe a score or twenty quarters of Mault, whereof some they buy of the Church stocke, and some is giuen them of the Parishioners

4370

themselues, euery one conferring somewhat, according to his ability, which Mault being made into very strong Ale or Beere, is set to sale, eyther in the Church, or in some other place assigned to that purpose. Then when this Nippitatum, this Huffecappe, (as they call it) and this Nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it, for he that sitteth the closest to it, and spendes the most at it, hee is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in Gods fauour, because it is spent vpon his Church forsooth: But who either for want cannot, or otherwise for feare of Gods wrath wil not stick to it, he is

The filthiest
beast the
godliest man.

P3v. PH: *Church-Ales in England.*

4353 SN. fruit] 01-03 *subst*; fJuit 4368. quarters] 01-03; qnarters

counted one destitute, both of Vertue and Godlinesse. In so much, 4380
 as you shall haue many poore men, make hard shift for money to
 spende thereat. And good reason for being put into this Corban,
 they are perswaded it is meritorious, and a good seruice to God. In
 this kinde of practise, they continue sixe weekes, a quarter of a
 yeare, yea, halfe a yeare together, swilling and gulling, night & day,
 til they be as drunke as Swine, & as mad as March Hares.

Spud. Seeing they haue so good vtterance, it should seem they
 haue good gaines. But I pray you, how do they bestow that money
 which is got thereby?

Philo. Oh well I warrant you, if all be true which they say: 4390
 for they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it: they buy// P4
 bookes for seruice, Cuppes, for the celebration of the
 Sacrament, Surplusses for Sir Iohn, and such other necessaries.
 And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges, in their Parishes
 besides. These be their golden reasons, these be their faire excuses,
 & these be their pretensed allegations, whereby they blind the
 world, and conueigh themselues away inuisibly in a Cloud. But if
 they dance thus in a Net, no doubt they will be
 espied.

How the
 money is
 spent which
 is got by
 Church-ales.

Wilthe
 lord haue
 his house
 built with
 maintenance
 of euill.

The decay of
 Churches,

For if it were so, that they bestowed it as they say, do they 4400
 think that the Lord wil haue his house builded with Drunkenesse,
 gluttonie, and such like abomination? Must we doe euill, that good
 may come of it? Must we build this house of Lime and Stone, with
 the desolation and vtter ouerthrowe of his spirituall house
 purchased with the precious bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ? But
 who seeth not, that they bestow this money vpon nothing lesse,
 then in building and repairing of Churches and Oratories? For in
 most places, lie they not like Swine coates? Their windowes rent,
 their doores broken, their walles fallen downe, their roofe all bare,
 and what not out of order? Who seeth not the booke of God rent, 4410

P4. PH: *Church-ale money bestowed.*

4385. swilling] 01-03 *subst*; swilling 4407. and repairing] 01-03 *subst*; aud repairing

which are ragged, and all betorne, yea, couered in dust, so as this Epitaphe
 lacerate, may be writ with ones finger vpon it, Ecce nunc in puluere
 rent & torne. dormio. Alas, beholde I sleepe in dust, and obliuion,
 not once scarce looked vpon, much lesse read on, and least of all
 preached vpon. And on the other side, who seeth not, (this I
 speake but to a friend, I pray you say nothing,) in the meane time
 their owne houses and Mansion places are curiously built, and
 sumptuously adorned: Which plainely argueth, that they rather
 bestowe this drunken got money, vpon prophane vses, and their
 Sumptuous- owne priuate affaires, then vpon the house of Prayer, or the temple 4420
 nesse of of God: And yet this their doing is well liked of, and no man may
 their owne say, Domine, cur ita facis? For why? They doe all thinges
 mansions. well, and according to good order, as they say. And when time
 commeth, like good accomptants, they make their accompts as
 please themselues.

Spud. Were it not better, & more consonant to the trueth, that
 euery one contributed somewhat, according to his ability, to the
 maintenance of Temples and Churches, then thus to maintaine
 them by drunken Church-ales, as you say they doe?

Phil. It were much better: & so we read, the Fathers of the 4430
 old // Testament, euerie one after his abilitie, did impart somewhat, P4v
 to the building of the Tabernacle, which Moses erected to the
 Lord. So, as in the end, there was such aboundance of all thinges, as
 the Artificers, consulting with Moises, were glad to request the
 people, to stay their liberality, for they had more then they knew
 what to doe withal!. These people made no drunken Church-Ales to
 build their house of Prayer withall, notwithstanding, their importable
 charges, and intollerable costes. But as their zeale was feruent, and
 Our zeale very commendable in bringing to the Church, so our
 waxen cold zeale is more then frozen and blameworthy, in detracting from the 4440
 & frozen, in

P4v. PH: *keeping of Wakesses in England.*

4414. all] 01-03; als 4432. erected] 01-03; ereeted

respect of the Church: and bestowing it vpon Whoredome, drunkennesse,
zeale of the Gluttonie, Pride, and such like abominations, God amend it.
former world. Spud. How do they solemnize their feasts, and Wakesses
there and what order doe they obserue in them?

The maner of keeping of Wakesses, and
Feastes in England.

Philo.

This is their order therein: Euerie towne, parish, and village, some
at one time of the yeare, some at another (but so that euerie one
Saturitie in keeps his proper day assigned, and appropriate to it selfe, which 4450
feastes and they call their Wake day) vseth to make great preparation, and
Wakesses. prouision for good cheare. To the which all their friendes and
Kinsfolkes farre and neere, are inuited, where is such gluttonie,
such Dronkennes, such fulnesse and impletion vsed, as the like
was neuer seene. In so much, as the poore men that beare the
charges of these feastes and Wakesses, are the poorer, and keep
The great the worsser houses the whole yeare after. And no maruell, for many
charges of spend more at one of these Wakesses, then in al the whole yeare
Wakesses. besides. This makes many a one to thripple and pinch, to runne
into debt and daunger, and finally, brings many a one to vtter ruine
and decay. 4460

Spud. Would you not haue one friend to visite another, at
certaine times of the yeare?

Against Philo. I disallow it not, but much commende it. But why
Wakes and at one prefixed day, more then at another (except businesse vrged
feastes. it?) why should one and the same day continue for euer, or be
distinct from other daies, by the name of a Wake day? Why shuld // Q1
there be more excesse of meats and drinks at that day, then at any
other? Why should they abstaine from bodily labour two or three
dayes after, peraduenture the whole weeke, spending it in 4470

Q1. PH: *Thefruites ofWakesses.*

4444. them?] 01-03; them.! 4452 SN. Wakesses] 01-03 *subst*; Wakcses

drunkenesse, Whordome, gluttony, and other filthy
Sodomiticall Exercises.

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one friend to visite another,
 would you not haue them to **congratulate** their comming with
 some good cheare?

Whereto
 wakesses and
 feasts do
 verie aptly
 tend.

Philo. Yes trulie, but I allow not of such excesse of riot and
 superfluity, as is there vsed. I thinke it conuenient for one friende
 to visite another at some times, as opportunity and occasion shall
 bee offered, but wherefore should the whole Towne, parish,
 Village and Country keepe one and the same day, and make such
 gluttonous feasts as they doe? And therefore, in my opinion, they
 are to no ende, except it be to draw Whores, Theeues, and
 Verlettes together, to maintaine Whoredome, bawdry, gluttony,
 drunkennes, theft, murther, swearing and all kinde of mischiefe
 and abhominacion. For, these be the endes whereto these feastes,
 and Wakesses doe tend, as far as euer I could leame, & the best
 fruits that they bring foorth.

4480

Spud. From whence sprang these feasts & Wakesses first of
 al, can you tell?

From whence
 these annuall
 feasts and
 stationary
 Wakesses
 had their
 beginning.

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Pagans and Heathen
 people, who when they were assembled together, and had offered
 sacrifices to their false goddes and blockish Idols, made feasts and
 banquets together before them, in honour and reuerence of them,
 and so appoynted the same yearely to be obserued in a memoriall
 of them for euer. But whence soeuer they had their original,
 certaine it is, the Deuill was the father of them, seeking thereby to
 drowne vs in perdition and destruction of body and soule, which
 God remooue farre from vs.

4490

Spud. As I remember, you spake of dauncing before,
 inferring that the Sabboth was greatly prophaned thereby: whereof
 I pray you shew me your iudgement.

4500

The horrible vice of pestiferous dancing
in England.

Philo.

Dancing as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these dayes, is an
introduction to all kind of Whoredome, a preparatiue to wan- // Q1 v
tonnes, a prouocatiue to vncleannes, and an entrance to all kind of
leaudnesse, rather then a pleasant exercise to the minde, or a wholesome
practise for the body (as some would haue it:) And yet notwithstanding, in
England, both men, women, and children, 4510

Schooles of
Dauncing
erected.

are so skilfull in this laudable science, as they may be thought
nothing inferiour to Cinoedus, that prostitute Ribald, nor yet to
Sardanapalus, that effeminate Varlet. Yea, they are not ashamed
to erect schooles of dauncing, thinking it an ornament to their
children, to bee expert in this noble science of Heathen Deuilrie:
and yet this people forsooth, glory of their Christianity and
integrity of life. Indeed, verbo tenus Christiani
vocitentur, But, vita & moribus, Ethnicis & paganis
deteriores reperientur. From the mouth outward, they
may be saide to be good Christians, but in life and 4520
maners, farre worsen then the Heathen or Pagans.
Wl-tereof, if they repent not and amend, it shal be easier for
the land of Sodoma & Gomorra, at the day of Iudgment,
then for them.

Spud. I haue heard it sayd that dauncing is both a recreation
for the mind, & also an exercise for the body, very wholesome, and
not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Dauncing a
pleasure to
them that
delight in
vanities.

Philo. I will not much deny, but being vsed in a meane, in
time and place conuenient, it is a certaine solace or recreation to the
mindes of such as take pleasure in such vanities, but it is no good 4530
reason to say, some men take pleasure in a thing, ergo, it is good,
but the contrary is rather true: For this is a maxime, that

Q1 v. PH: *Dauncing in England.*

4509. it:) And] O3; it) And 4523. at the] O1-O3; at the

whatsoever a carnall man with vncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable and wicked before God. As on the other side, what the spirituall man, regenerate and borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his Spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God. And seeing mans nature is too prone of it self to sinne, it hath no need of allurements and enticements to sinne, (as Dauncing is) but rather of restraints and inhibitions to stay him from the same, 4540

What allurements to sin, be in dauncing. which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and bussing, what smouching & slabbering one of another? what filthy groping & vnclean handling is not practised euery where in these dauncings? Yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall bee purtrayed and shadowed foorth in their bawdy gestures of one to // Q2

Dauncing no recreation, but a corasiue to a good Christian. is any recreation (which word is abusiuelie vsed to expresse the ioyes, or delights of the minde, which signifieth a making againe of that, which before was made) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corrasiuue most sharp and nipping. For seeing that it is euill in it selfe, it is not a thing wherein a Christian mans heart may take any pleasure or comfort. 4550

The onely thing wherin a good Christian doth delight. The only Summum bonum, wherein a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Iesus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sinnes, and the contemplation of the ineffable ioyes and beatitudes after this life, prepared for the faithful in the bloud of Iesus Christ. This is the only thing wherein a Christian man ought to reioyce, and take 4560

delight in, all other pleasures and delights of this life set apart, as amarulent and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternal destruction,

Q2. PH: *Dauncing a Corrasiuue.*

4533. desireth] 01-03; desisireth 4544. it] 01-03; it it 4546. bawdy] 01-03 *subst;* vawdy

but the other to eternallife. And whereas they conclude, that it is a
wholsome exercise for the body, the contrary is most true, for I
Dauncing no
wholsom
exercise for
the bodie. short time become decrepit and lame, so remayning to their dying
day. Some haue broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning &
vaunting, and some haue come by one hurt, some by another, but
neuer any came from thence without some parte of his minde
broken and lame, such a wholsome exercise it is. But say they, it
induceth loue, so I say also, but what loue? truly a lustfullloue, a
venerous loue? a concupiscentious, bawdy & beastialloue, such
Whatloue
dauncing
procureth. as proceedeth from the stincking pump and lothsome sinck of
carnall affection, & fleshlie appetite, and not such as distilleth from
the bowels of the heart, ingenerate by the Spirite of God.
Wherefore, I exhort them in the bowels of Iesus Christ to eschue
not onely from euill, but also from all appearance of euill, as the
Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another, vntill
they growe to bee perfect men in Christ Iesus, knowing that we
must giue accomptes at the day of Iudgment of euery minute and
iot of time that is lent vs in this life, from the first day of our birth
to the last houre of our death: for there is nothing more precious,
then time, which is giuen vs to glorifie God in, by good workes,
and not to spend in luxurious exercises after our owne fantasies
and delights. //
We must
render
accounts
for time
here lent vs. Q2v

Spud. But I haue heard them affirme, that dauncing is probable
by the word of God: for (say they) did not the women come foorth
of all the citties of Israeli to meet King Saule and also King
Dauid (returning from the slaughter of Goliah) with Psalteries,
Fluits, Tabrets, Cymballes and other musicall Instrumentes,
dauncing and leaping before them? Did not the Israelites hauing
passed ouer the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and
1.Sam.18. 4590
Exod.1S.

Q2v. PH: *Testimonies in the behalfe of dancing.*

4580. day of] 01-03 *subst*; day of of 4582. nothing] 01-03 *subst*; nothiug 4591. Israelites] 01-03; Ifraelites

- Exod.32. daunced for ioy of their deliuerance? Againe, did they not daunce
 2.Sam.6. before the golden Calf, which they had made in Horeb or Sinai?
 Iudg.11. Did not King Daudid dance before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the
 daughter of Iephthah daunce with Tabret and Harpe at the returne
 Math.14. of her father from the field? Did not the women of the Israelits
 daunce comming to visite good Iudith? Did not the Damosell
 Luke 7. daunce before King Herode? Did not Christ blame the people for
 Eccle.3. their not dauncing, when he sayd, We haue pyped vnto you, 4600
 but you haue not daunced? Saith not Salomon: There is a
 time to weep, and a time to laugh, a time to mourne,
 and a time to daunce? And doth not the Prophet Daudid in
 many places of his Psalmes commende and commaund dauncing,
 and playing vpon instrumentes of Musicke? Wherefore (for this
 they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (whereof some were
 guided by the instinct of Gods Spirite) haue not onely taught it in
 doctrine, but also expressed it in their examples of life, who may
 open his mouth once to speake against it.
- Philo. The Fathers as they were men, had their errors, and 4610
 erred as men: for *Hominis est errare, decipi & labi: It is*
 No ma naturall for man to erre, to be deceiued, & to slide
 without from the trueth. Therefore the Apostle saith: Follow me in
 errors both all things as I followe Christ, but to the intent that they, who
 in life and pretende the examples of the Fathers, and Scriptures falsly
 doctrine. wrested, to maintaine their deuillish dauncings withall, may see
 their owne impiety and ignoraunce discovered, I will
 compendiously set downe the true sence and meaning of euery
 place, as they haue cited them particularly. For the first, wheras
 I.Samu.18. they say, that the women came foorth in daunces, with Timbrels 4620
 The first and instruments of ioy to meet Daudid and Saule, I aske them for
 piUer of what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioy of
 dauncing heart, for their victory gotten against the Philistins, their sworne
 ouerthrowne. enemies? Was it in praise of God, or to stirre vp filthy lust in

4593. their] 01-03; theic 4599 SN. Math.14] 01-03 *subst*; Math.1S 4601 SN. Luke 7] 01-03
subst; Luke k 4602 SN. Eccle.3] 01-03; Eccle.13 4608.life] 01-03; life 4612. naturall] 01-03;
 narurall 4615. falsly] 01-03; fasly 4618. compendiously] 01-03 *subst*; compendioufly

themselues, or for nicenesse onely, as our daunces be? Did men // Q3
 and women daunce together, as is now vsed to be done: or rather
 was it not done amongst women only? for so saith the Text. The
 women came foorth, &c. But admit it ••ere neither so, nor so,
 wil they conclude a generall rule of a particular example? It is no
 good reason to say, such & such did so, therefore it is good, or we 4630
 may doe so: but all things are to be poised in the ballaunc of holy
 scripture, and therby to be allowed or disallowed, according to the
 meaning of the holy Ghost, who is onely to be heard and obeyed
 in his worde.
 The Israelitish women hearing of the fame of Daud, and how
 he had killed their deadly enemy Goliah, came foorth to meet
 him, playing vpon instruments, dauncing, and singing songs of ioy
 and thankesgiuing to the Lord their God, who had giuen
 them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him,
 who sought their destruction euery way. Nowe, what maketh this 4640
 for our leud, wanton, nice, and vbiqutarie dauncings (for so I
 may call them, because they be vsed euery where) let the godly
 iudge. Who seeth not rather that this example (let Cerberus and
 al other Helhoundes barke what they list to the contrary) clean
 ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dauncing in praise
 of God: ours a lustfull baudy kind of dauncing, in praise of our
 selues: theirs to shew their inward ioy of mind for the blessing of
 God bestowed vpon them: ours to shew our actiuity, agilitie, and
 curious nicitie, and to procure lustfullloue, and such like
 wickednes infinite. 4650
 But to their second allegation: The children (they say) of
 Israeli danced, being deliuered out of the seritude of Pharao,
 and hauing passed ouer the red Sea: I graunt they did so: and good
 cause they had so to do: For were they not deliuered and set free
 from three great calamities and extream miseris at once? First,
 from the seruile bondage of Egypt, from the sword of Pharao,

Q3. PH: *Euill examples not to be followed.*

4634-5. worde. The] 01-03 *subst*; worde: The 4644. other] 02-03; other 4655. extream] 01-03
subst; extram PH. followed] *cor*; follow;)d *uncor*

who pursued the Rereward of their Hoste, and from the daungers of the sea, their enemies being ouerwhelmed in the same?

For these great and inestimable benefites, and blessings receiued at the handes of God, they played vpon Instrumentes of Musicke, leaped, daunced, ar:d Gang godly songes vnto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures, the inward ioy of their heartes and mindes. Now, what conduceth this to the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly against them? They daunced // for ioy in thankesgiuing to God, we for vaine glorie: they for loue to God, we for loue of our selues: they to shew the interiour ioy of the mind, for Gods blessings bestowed vpon them, we to shew our concinnity, dexterity, and vaine curiosity in the same: they to stir vp, and make themselues the apter to praise God: we to stirre vp camall appetites and fleshly motions: they to shewe their humilitie before God, and wee to shew our pride, both before God and the world. But howsoeuer it be, sure I am, their Dauncing was not like ours, consisting in Measures, capers, Quauers, and I cannot tell what, for they had no such Ieasure in Egypt, to learn such vaine curiosity in that baudy Schoole, for making of Bricke and Tiles. And notwithstanding, it is ambiguous, whether they may be called a dauncing or not, at least not like ours, but rather a certaine kind of modest leaping, skipping, or mouing of the body, to expresse the ioy of the mind, in praise of God, as the man did, who being healed by the power of our Sauour Christ, walked in the Temple, leaping, skipping, and praising God.

We neuer read, that they euer daunced, but when some woonderfull great blessing of God was bestowed vpon them, and therefore they made not a common practise of it, or a dayly occupation, as it were, much lesse set vp Schools of it, and frequented nothing els night nor day, Sabboth day nor other as we doe.

The dauncing
of our
forfathers
may not
be caUed a
dancing,
but rather
a godly
triu phing,
& reioycing
in heart
for ioy.

Q3v. PH: *The Israelites Daunces.*

4668. dexterity] 01-03 *subst*; dexteriry 4672. be] 01-03 *subst*; ve 4679. praise] 01-03 *subst*;
praist 4683 SN. triilphing,] 01-03; triu phing.

Their thlrd
reason
examined.

But to the third reason: The Israelites danced before the Calf in Horeb. And what then? They made a golden Calfe, and adored it, may we therefore do the like? They committed Idolatry there, therefore is Idolatry good, because they committed it? Adam disobeyed God, and obeyed the Deuill: Is obedience therefore to the Deuill good, because he did so?

4690

Therefore, we must not take heed, what man hath done heretofore, but what God hath commanded in his worde to be done, and that follow, euen to the death. But to be short, as it is a friuolous reason to say, because they committed Idolatry, therefore may we doe the like: So it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therefore we may doe the same: For as it is not lawfull to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce, because they daunced.

4700

So that if this place conferre any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce, but before a golden Calfe, as // they did: but I thinke by this time, they are ashamed of their dances: Therefore, of this place I need to say no more, giuing them to note, that this their dauncing, in respect of the end thereof, was farre different from ours: for they daunced in honour of their Idol, we cleane contrarie, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand lawfull.

Q4

Their fourth
reason.

Their fourth reason. Did not Daud daunce before the Ark, say they? Verie true: and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie Dauncinges of men and women together most excellentlie. For Daud daunced himselfe alone, without either woman, or musicall Instrument, to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of Daud was no vsuall thing, nor frequented euery day but that one time, and that in praise of God, for the deliuerance of the Arke of God his Testament, out of the handes of the Infidels

4710

Q4. PH: *Dauncing reprooued.*

4702. any] O1-03 *subst*; auy 4704. thinke] *cor*; tinke *uncor* 4704. dances] *cor*; daunces *uncor*

and Heathen people: The ioy of this holy Prophete was so vehement, for this great blessing of God (such a feruent zeale hee did beare to the trueth) that he burst forth into outward shew of the same, the more to induce others to praise God also. Would God we would Daunce as Dauid daunced heere, for the deliuiery of his alsauing Woorde out of the handes of the Italian Philistine, and Arch-enemy of al trueth, the Pope of Rome, for in this respect I would make one my selfe to Daunce, to leape, to skippe, to triumph, and reioice, as Dauid did before the Arke. By this I trust, any indifferent man seeth that by this place they gaine as much for the maintenance of their leude lasciuious Dauncinges, and Baudy Chorusses, as they did by the former places, that is, iust nothing at all, which they may put in their eyes, and see neuer the worse.

WhyDauid
daunced
before the
Ark.

4720

4730

Their tift
reason
examined.

Their fift reason. Did not Iephtah his daughter meet her father, when he came from warre, dauncing before him, and playing vpon instruments of musicke. Iephtah going foorth to warre against the Amonits, promised the Lord (making a rash vow) that if it wold please his maiestie, to giue him victorie ouer his enemies, he would sacrifice the first liuing thing that should meet him from his house: it pleased God that his sole daughter & heire, hearing of her fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the Country was) ran foorth to meete her father, playing vpon instrumentes, in praise of God, and Dauncing before him for ioye.

4740

Nowe, what prooueth // this for their Daunces? Truly: it ouerthroweth them, if it be well considered: For first, we read that she did this but once, we dayly: she in praise of God, we in praise of our selues: she for ioy of her Fathers good successe, we to stirre vp filthy and vnclene motions: she with a Virginall grauity: we with a wanton leuity: she in comely maner, we in baudie gesture. And moreouer, this sheweth, that women are to daunce by

Q4v

Wherefore
and how
the daughter
ofIephta
danced.

Q4v. PH: *How dauncing is vnlawfull.*

themselves (if they will needes daunce) and men by themselves, for so importeth the text, making no mention of any other her Colleagues or Companions dauncing with her. 47:30

Their sixt Reason. The sixt reason: Did not the Israelitish women daunce before Iudith, comming to visite her? I grant they did so: the story is thus.

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the Israelites, the chosen people of God, and intending to ouerthrow them, and to blotte out their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge power, and besieged them on euery side. The Israelites, seeing themselves compassed about, & in great daunger on each side, suborned good Iudith, a vertuous godly woman (for without some stratageme, or pollicy wrought, it was vnpossible for them in the eyes of the worlde to haue escaped) to repaire to Holofernes, and by some meanes or other to worke his destruction: who guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing and brought it happily to passe. For she cut off his head with his owne Faulchone, wrapping his body in the Canapie, wherein he lay sleeping, possest as he was with the Spirite of drunkennesse: This done, the women of Israel came together, and went to visite this woorthy woman, and to congratulate her prosperous successe, with Instruments of Musick, singing of godly songs, and dauncing for ioy, in honour and praise to God, for this great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not, that these women sang, daunced and played vpon Instrumentes in praise of God, and not for any other leudnesse or wantonnesse, as commonly the world doth now adayes. This also ouerthroweth the dauncings of men and women together in one company. For though there was an infinite number of people by, yet the Text saith, there daunced none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnessse of it in respect of men and women together. And this beeing but a particular fact of a sort of simple Women, shall we draw it into example of life, and think it lawfull or good, because they did practise it? It was a

4778. plainly] O1-03 *subst*; plainiy

custome in those daies, when God had bestowed any// notable blessing vpon his people from his heauenly Consistory, the people in honour, praise and thanksgiuing to God for it, woulde play vpon their instruments, sing godly songes, daunce, leape, skip, and triumph, shewing foorth the ioy of their mindes, with their thankfulnessse to God, by all exteriour gestures that they could deuise. Which kind of thankfull dauncing, or spiritual reioysing, wold God, we would follow, leauing all other wanton dauncing to their father the deuil.

R1

4790

Their seuenth
reason.

Their seuenth reason: Did not (quoth they) the Damosel dance before King **Herod**, when the head of **Iohn Baptist** was cut off? She daunced indeed: And heerein they may see the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For, was not this the cause of the beheading of **Iohn the Baptist**? See whether Dauncing stirreth not vp lust, and inflameth not the mind. For, if **Herode** with seeing her daunce, was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her behaiour that he promised her, to giue her whatsoever she wold desire, though it were halfe of his Empire or kingdome, what would hee haue been, if he had danced with her? and what are those that dance with them hand in hand, cheeke by cheeke, with bussing and kissing, slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? In so much, as I haue heard many impudently say, that they haue chosen their Wiues, and wiues their husbandes by dauncing: which plainely proueth the wickednesse of it.

Dauncing
stirreth vp
lust.

4800

Their eight
reason.
Luke7.

Their eight reason: Did not Christ rebuke the people for not dauncing, saying: We **haue piped vnto you, but you haue not daunced**. They may as wei conclude, that Christ in this place was a Pyper or a Minstrell, as that he allowed of dauncing, or reprooued them, for not exercising the same. This is a **Metaphoricall** kinde of speech, wherein our Sauour Christ, goeth about to reprove and checke the stiffeneckednesse, the rebellion, and pertinacious contumacy of the Scribes and Pharisies,

4810

R1. PH: *Dauncing stirreth vp lust.*

4810. exercising] 01-03 *subst*; exercisiug

The more the
obdurat
bardnesse of
the lewes.

who were neither moued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospel by the austerity of Iohn the Baptist, who came preaching vnto the doctrine of repentance, in mourning sort: neither yet at the preaching of our Sauour himself, breaking vnto them that pure Ambrosia, that Coelestiall Manna, the word of life in ioyfull and gladsome manner.

Iohn the Baptist, he pyped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them, austerity of life, to mourne for their sinnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like.//

4820

RI v

Our Sauour Christ, he pyped, that is preached vnto them the glad and comfortable tydings of the Gospel: yet at neither of these kinds of preachings they were any whit moued, either to imbrace Christ or his Gospel!. Wherefore, he sharply rebuked them, by a similitude of foolish children sitting in the Market place, and piping vnto them that would not dance. This is the true vndoubted sence of this place: which, whether it ouerthrowe not all kind of lewd dauncing (at least maketh nothing for them) allowing a certaine kinde of Spirituall dauncing, and reioycing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspende my owne iudgement) let wise men determine.

4830

Their ninth
reason.
Eccle.3.

Their ninth reason: Saith not Salomon: There is a time to weepe, and a time to laugh: a time to mourne, and a time to daunce? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing. For, sayth not the Text, there is a time, meaning sometime, now and then, as the Israelites did in praise of God, when any notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery day and houre, as wee doe, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leaue vs. But what and if Salomon speaketh here of a certaine kinde of spiritual dauncing and reioysing of the hart in praise to God? This is easily gathered, by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent (viz. There is a

4840

Salomo
meaneth a
certain kind
of a spiritual

RIv. PH: *Salomons Spirituall dauncing.*

4820. Baptist] 01-03; Babtist 4843 SN. of] 01-03; os [longs]

diicing or
reioysing of
the heart.

time to mourn, & a time to daunce, &c.) that is, a time to
mourne for our sins, and a time to daunce or reioyce for the
vnspeakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death and passion
of Iesus Christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their
nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lasciuious
dauncinges (if it bee censured in the imparciall ballaunce of true
iudgement) all the world may see and iudge. And now to drawe to
an end, I wil come vnto their vltimum refugium, that is: Doeth not
Dauid both commende, and also commaunde dauncing and
playing vpon Instruments in diuers of his Psalmes. In all those
places, the Prophete speaketh of a certaine kind of spirituall
dancing and reioycing of the heart in the Lord, for his graces and
benefits in mercy bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kind of
dauncing, which the worde of God doeth allowe of in any place,
and not that we should trip like Goates, skippe like Does, and leap
like madde men. For, to that end our feete were not giuen vs, but
rather to represent the Image of God in vs, to keepe company //
with the Aungels, and to glorifie our heauenly Father through good
workes.

4850

Their vltimu
refugium.

Why our feet
wer giuen vs.

R2

Spud. Doe you condemne all kinde of dauncing then, as
wicked and prophane?

Philo. Alleud, wanton and lasciuious dauncing in publique
assemblies and conuenticles without respect, either of sex, kind,
time, place, person, or any thing els, by the warrant of the word of
God, I do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dancing which is
vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as were the
daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatelie or
publiquely is at no hand to be disallowed, but rather to be greatly
commended. Or if it be vsed for mans comfort, recreation, and
godly pleasure priuately (euery sexe distinct by themselues)

What
dauncing is
condemned
by the

4870

R2. PH: *What dauncing is condemned.*

woorde whether with musicke, or otherwise, it can r.ot be but a very
 of God. tollerable exercise, being vsed moderately, and in the feare of God.
 And thus, though I condemne all filthy, luxurious, and vncleane
 Dauncing, dauncing, yet I condemne not all kinde of dauncing generally. For
 how lawful, certaine it is, the exercise il sclfe, in it owne nature and quality
 how (though to some it is lawfull, to other some vnlawfull in diuers
 vnlawfull. respectes) is both auncient and general, hauing beene vsed euer in 4880
 all ages, as well of the Godly, as of the wicked, almost from the
 beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the same in some, my
 meaning is, in respect of the manifold abuses thereof. And in my
 iudgment, as it is vsed nowadays, an Occupation being made of
 it, and a continuall exercise, without any difference or respect had
 eyther to time, person, sexe, or place, in publique assemblies, and
 great meetings of people, with such beastlie slabberings, kissinges,
 and smouchinges, with other filthy gestures and misdemeanours
 therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be vsed without doing of
 infinite hurt, as it is for a naked man to lie in the middest of a hotte 4890
 glowing fire, and not to bume. But these abuses with other the like
 (as there bee legions moe in it) being cutte off from the exercise it
 selfe, the thing it selfe remaineth more tollerable in some
 Dauncing respectes. Or els, if our Daunces tended, as I haue said, to the
 vnpossible setting foorth of God his glorie (as the Daunces vsed in former
 to be vsed ages did) to drawe others to Pietie and Sanctitie of life, and to the
 without hurt. praise and reioysing in God, to recreate the minde oppressed with
 Why men some great toyle or labour, taken in true vertue & Godlines, I wold
 should not (being done in the fear of God, // men by themselues, and R2v
 dance by women by themselues, for els it is not possible to be without 4900
 theselues, sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrary is euery where
 and women by vsed to the great dishonour of God, and corruption of good
 theselues. maners, which God amend.

R2v. PH: *Men and women daunce asunder.*

4877. dauncing] 01-03 *subst*; dauncig 4880. and] 01-03 *subst*; aud 4882. condemne] 01-03
subst; condeme 4897. praise and] 01-03; praise aud

Spud. And wherefore would you haue men to daunce by themselues, and women by themselues?

Philo. Because otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence, and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth focrth into open action of Whoredome and Fornication. And therefore a certaine godlie Father sayd well: Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundo
Cloacae, Euery leap or skip in daunce, is a leap toward bel. Yet notwithstanding, in England it is counted a vertue, & an ornament to man, yea, and the only way to attaine to promotion and aduancement, as experience teacheth.

4910

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shew me what Fathers and Councelles haue iuged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it?

Philo. If I should shew all the inuectiues of Fathers, all the decrees of Councils, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: Wherefore, of many I will select a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man.

4920

Testimonies
of Fathers,
Councelles,
and writers
against
dauncing.
Eccle.13.
Math.14.

Sirach saith: Frequent not the company of a woman that is a singer or a dauncer, neither hear her, least thou be entrapped in her craftinesse.

Chrysostome delating vpon Mathew, saith: In euery daunce the Deuill daunceth by for company, though not visible to the eye, yet sensible to the mind.

Theophilus writing vpon Marke, the sixt chapter, saith: Mira collusio saltat per illam Diabolus. This is a woonderfull deceit, for the Deuill daunceth among them for company.

4930

Augustine, writing vpon the thirtie and two Psalme, saith: **It** is better to digge all the Sabboth day then to daunce.

Erasmus in his book, de contemptu mundi, sayth: Whose mind is so wei disposed, so stable, or wei settled, which these wanton dances with swinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon Instrumets and such like, would not ouercome and corrupt.

Wherefore (saith he,) as thou desirest thine owne credite, and welfare, eschewe these scabbed and scuruie company of Dauncers. //

R3

Dauncers
thought to be
madmen.

Lodouicus Vines, saith: Amongest all pleasures, dauncing and voluptuousnesse is the kingdome of Venus, and the Empire of Cupid: wherfore, saith he: it were better for thee to stay at home, & to breake either a Iegge or an arme of thy bodie: then to breake the legges and armes of the mind & soule, as thou doest in filthy scury dauncings. And as in all feastes and Pastimes, Dauncing is the last so it is the extreame of all other vice. And againe, there were (saith he) from farre countries, certaine men brought into our partes of the worlde, who when they saw men daunce, ran away, merueilously affraid, crying out, and thinking them to haue bin mad. And no maruell, for who seeing them leap like Squirrils, skippe, like Hinds, and trippe like Goates as they doe, if he neuer saw any before, wold not thinke them either mad, or els possest with some Furie.

4950

BulHnger.

Bullinger, paraphrasting vpon Mathew 14. sayth: After feasting, swilling, and gulling, commeth Dauncing, the root of all filthinesse and vncleannesse.

Caluin.

Maister Caluin, writing vpon Iob. Serm.8.Cap.12. calleth Dauncing the cheefe mischiefes of all mischiefes: saying, there be such vnchaste gestures in it, as are nothing els, but inticementes to whoredome.

4960

Marlorate vpon Mathew, saith: Whosoeuer hath any care eyther of honesty, sobriety, or grauitie, haue long since bad adieu to all filthy dauncing.

No man (saith a certaine Heathen Writer) if he be sober daunceth, except he be mad.

Salustius.

Salustius, commending Sempronia that renowned Whore, for many goodly gifts, condemneeth her for her ouer great skil in

R3. PH: *Dauncing a world of sinne.*

4961-2. whoredome. Marlorate] 01-03 *subst*; whoredome, Marlorate 4968. great] OI-03; gxeat

dauncing: concluding, that dauncing is the instrument of lechery.

Cicero.

Cicero saith: A good man would not daunce in open assemblies, though he might by it get infinite treasure.

4970

The Counce!of Laodicea decreed, that it should not be lawful for any Christian to daunce at mariages or at any solerane feast.

In another Councell it was enacted, that no man should dance at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

The Emperour Iustinian decreed, that for no respect in feastes or assemblies, there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All Writers
both holy &
prophane
against
dancing.
Dancing a
world of sin.

Thus you may see, both Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, // holy and prophane, Heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthy dauncing, as the quagmire or puddle of all abomination, and therefore, it is no exercise for any Christians to follow: For it stirreth vp the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth Baudry, affoordeth ribaldry, maintaineth wantonnesse, & ministreth oyle to the stinking lampe of deceitfull Pride: & in summa, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sin.

R3v

4980

Spud. Now that the wickednes of it, is so manifestly shewed, that no man can deny it, I pray you shewe me who inuented this noble science, or from whence it sprang.

Who inuented
dauncing and
from whome
it sprang.

Philo. Hereof, there be sundry and diuers opinions: for some hold an opinion (&very likely) that it sprang from the Heathen Idolatrous Pagans, & Infidels, who hauing offered vp their Sacrifices and oblations to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so doing, vsed to daunce, leap, and skip before them. And this may be prooued by the Israelits themselues, who hauing seen & learned the same practise in Egypt, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of Horeb. Some again, suppose that Pyrrhus one of Sybils Priestes, deuised it in Creet. Others

4990

R3v. PH: *Who inuented Dauncing.*

4991. opinion] 01-03; opinon

holde that the Priests of Mars, who in Rome were had in greate estimation for their dexterity in dauncing, inuented it. Others thinke 5000
 A supposal
 whoinueted
 dauncing.
 that one Hiero a Truculent and bloody Tyrant in Sicilia, who to set vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to another, for feare of insurrections & commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inuenting thereof: for when the Sicilians sawe that they might not vnder payne of death one speake to another, they inuented dauncing, to expresse the inward meaning & intentions of the mind, by outward becke & exterior gestures of the body, which vse afterward grew into custom, & now into nature. But whatsoever men say of it, or from wnece soeuer it sprag, S. Chrysostome saith plainly (to whom I willingly 5010
 subscribe) that it sprag from the teates of the Deuils breast, from whence all mischiefe els doth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the Egges of a Cockatrice, may be made good meat for man to eate, & if of the Web of a Spider, can be made good cloath for mans body to weare, then may dancing be good, & an exercise fit for a Christian man to follow, but not els. Wherefore, God of his mercy remooue it far from vs.

Spud. What say you to Musick, is it not a laudable science? // R4

Of Musicke in England: and how it allureth
to vanitie. 5020

Philo.

I say of Musicke, as Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and many others haue said of it, that it is very ill for young heades, for a certaine kinde of smooth sweetnesse in it, alluring the hearers to a certaine kind of effeminacie, & pusillanimitie, much like vnto Honey: 5000
 A comparison
 betwixt
 honey and
 musicke.
 for as Honey & such other sweete thinges receiued into the stomacke, doeth delight at the first, but afterwarde maketh the stomacke queasie, and vnable to receiue meate of hard disgesture.

R4. PH: *Hurt by Musicke.*

4999. of] 01-03; of of 5001. Truculent] 01-03 *subst*; Turculent 5004. Sicilians] 01-03; Scicilians 5025-6 SN. comparison betwixt] 01-03; compari- betwixt

- So sweet Musicke, at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraueth the mind, making it queasie, and inclined
5030
to all licentiousnesse of life whatsoever. And right as good edges
Wits dulled
by musicke. are not sharpened (but dulled) by whetting vppon soft Stones: So
good wittes by hearing of softe Musicke, are rather dulled then
sharpened, and made apt to all Wantonnesse and Sinne. And
hereof is it that Writers affirme Sappho to haue bene expert in
Musicke, and therefore Whorish.
- Authors of
the bringing
in of musicke. Tirus Maximus saith, The bringing in of Musicke was
a cup of poison to all the world.
- Clytomachus, if he euer heard any talking of Loue, or
5040
playing of Musிக்க Instrumentes, would run his way and
bidde them farewell.
- Plutarchus complayneth of Musicke, and sayth, that it
doeth rather feminine the minde, as prickes vnto vice,
then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto vertue.
- Pithagoras condemne them for fooles, and bequeathes them
a Cloake-bagge, that measure Musicke by sound and eare. Thus
you heare the iudgement of the wise concerning Musicke, nowe
iudge thereof as you list your selfe.
- Spud. I haue heard it said, (and I thought it very true) that
5050
Musicke doeth delight both man and beast, reuiueth the Spirits,
comforteth the heart and maketh it apter and readier to the seruice
of God.
- Phil. I graunt Musicke is a good gift of God, and that it
5060
delighteth both man & beast, reuiueth the spirits, comforteth the
hart and maketh it apter to serue God, and therefore did Dauid both
vse // Musicke himselfe, and also commend the vse of it to his
5070
posterity, (and being vsed to that end, for mans priuate recreation,
- R4v

R4v. PH: *How musicke is tollerable.*

5032. (but ...) by] 01-03; (but ... by 5032. soft] 01-03 *subst*; soft 5037. Tirus] 01 *subst*, Titus
5039. Clytomachus] 01-02; Clycomachus 5055. Dauid] 01-03; Danid

Of musick in
publike
assemblies,
and
conuenticles. 5060

How musick
were
tollerable
and good. 5070

Musicke is very laudable.) But being vsed in publike assemblies,
and priuat conuenticles, as a Directorie to filthy dauncing, through
the sweet harmony and smooth melody thereof, it estrangeth the
minde, stirreth vp filthy lust, womannisheth the mind, rauisheth
the heart, inflameth concupiscece, & bringeth in vncleannes. But
if Musick were vsed openly (as I haue said) to the praise & glory
of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and as was intended by it at the
first, or priuately in a mans secret chamber or house, for his own
solace & comfort, to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, to
mitigate care, sorrow, and such other perturbations and passions of
the minde (the only endes whereto true Musicke tends) it were very
commendable & lawful. If Musicke were thus vsed, it would
comfort man woonderfully, & mooue his heart to serue God the
better: but being vsed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh
them womannish, and inclined to all kind of whordome and
vncleannes.

Spud. What say you then of Musitions and Minstrels, who
liue only vpon the same art?

Philo. I think that algood minstrels, sober, & chast
musitions, (speaking of such drunken sockets, & baudy
Parasites as raunge the Countries, riming & singing of vnclean,
corrupt and filthy songs in tauemes, Alehouses, Innes, & other
publike assemblies) may dance the wilde Moris through a needles
eye. For how should they beare chast minds, seeing that their
exercise is the pathway to all Baudry & filthines? There is no ship
so laden with merchandize, as their heads are pestred with al kind
of baudy songs, filthy Ballades and scuruy rymes, seruing for
euery purpose and for euery company. 5080

The marchan-
dize of Min-
strels, and
Musitions. 5090

For proffe whereof, who bee baidier knaues then they? Who
vncleaner then they? Who more licentious, and looser minded then
they? Who more incontinent then they? And brieflie, who more
inclined to all kinde of insolency and leudnes then they? Wherfore,
if you would haue your sonne soft, womannish, vncleane, smooth

The wickednes of Musitions and Minstrels.	mouthed, affected to baudry, scurrility, filthy rimes, and vnseemly talking: briefly, if you wold haue him, as it were transnated into a woman, or worse, & inclined to all kind of whordome and abhominat[i]on, set him to dancing schoole, & to leame Musicke, and then shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would haue your // daughter whorish, baudy and vncleane, and a filthy	S 1
How to haue children learned in all wickednes.	speaker, & such like, bring her vp in musicke and dauncing, & my life for yours, you haue wonne the goale. And yet notwithstanding, it were better (in respect of the accompt of the world) to be a Piper or a baudy Minstrel, then a diuine, for the one is loued for his Ribauldry, the other hated for his grauity, wisdom, & sobriety.	5100
The scarcitie of Diuines.	Euery Towne, citie, and country, is full of these Minstrels to pipe vp a daunce to the Deuill, but of good Diuines, so few there be, that small skil in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them.	
Licences granted to Musitions & Minstrels to exercise their mystery or facultie of mischiefe.	But some of them will reply and say, what sir? we haue licences from Iustices of the Peace to Pipe, and vse our Minstrelsie to our best commoditie? Cursed be those licences, which license any man to get his liuing with the destruction of many thousands. But haue you a license from the Arch-Iustice Christ Iesus? If you haue so, you may be glad, if you haue not (for the word of God is against your vngodly exercises, and condemneth them to hell) then may you as Rogues, extrauagantes, & Straglers, be arrested of the high Iustice Christ Iesus, notwithstanding your pretended Licenses of earthly men. Then who shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the day of iudgment? who shall excuse you, for drawing so many thousands to hell? Shal the Iustices of peace? shal their Licenses? Oh no. It wil not goe for payment at that day: For, neither ought they to graunt any licenses to any to do hurt withall, neither (if they would) ought any to take them.	5110
No licences to do hurte withall are to be graunted.		5120

S1. PH: *Licences for Minstrels.*

5091. filthy] 01-03 *subst*; silthy [longs] 5093. whordome] 01-03 *subst*; whordrme 5094. abhominat[i]on, set] 01-03 *subst*; abhornat[i]on. set 5111 SN exercise] 01-03 *subst*; exreise

A Caueat to
Musitions,
Minstrels &
all others of
that stampe.

Giue ouer therefore your occupations, yu Pipers, you Fidlers, you Minstrels, and you Musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters you Fluters, & al other of that wicked brood, for the bloud of al those whom you draw t destruction through your wicked example and intising allurements, shall be poured vpon your heades, at the day of Judgment: but hereof ynough, & perchance more then wil please their daintie humours.

Spud. Is it not lawful vpon the Sabboth day to play at Dice, Cards, Tables, Boules, Tennise, & such other pleasant exercises, wherein man taketh pleasure and delight?

5130

Cardes, Dice, Tables, Tennise, Boules, and
other exercises, vsed vnlawfully in England.

Phil.

Exercises
vnlawful
vpon the
Sabboth day.

These be no exercises for any Christian man to follow any day at al, much lesse vpon the Sabboth day, which the Lord wold haue // to be consecrate to himself & to be spent in holy and godly exercises, according to his wil. As for Cards, dice, tables, boules, tennise, and such like, they are Furta officiosa, a certain kind of smooth, deceitfull & sleighty theft, whereby

S1v

Furta
officiosa.

many a one is spoyled of all that euer he hath, somtimes of his life withal, yea, of body and soule for euer: And yet (more is the pity) these be the only exercises vsed in euery mans house, al the yeare through: but especially in Christmas time there is nothing els vsed but Cards, Dice, Tables, masking, mumming, bouling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, for that they thinke they haue a Commission & prerogatiue that time, to do what they list, & to follow what vanity they will. But (alas) do they thinke that they ar priuiledged at that time to do euil? the holier the time is (if one time were holier then another, as it is not) the holier ought their exercises to be. Can time dispence with the, or giue ttle liberty to

5140

5150

S1v. PH: *All wicked games vsed in Christmasse.*

- No time
priuiledgeth
a man to sin.
- The true
keeping of
Christmas.
- Wickednes in
Christmas.
- Vnlawful for
one christian
to plaie with
another to
win his
money.
- sin? No, no: the soule which sinneth shal die, at what time
soeuer it offendeth. But what will they say? Is it not Christmas?
must we not be merry? Trueth it is, we ought both then, & at all
times besides to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwise, not to
swill and gull in more then will suffice nature, nor to lauish forth
more at that time, then at any other times. But the true celebration
of the feast of Christmas is, to meditate (and as it were to
ruminate in the secrete cogitations of our mindes) vpon the
incarnation and birth of Iesus Christ, God and
man: not only at that time, but all the times and daies of our life, &
to shew our selues thankful to his blessed maiesty for the same.
- Notwithstanding, who knoweth not, that more mischief is that time
committed then in all the yeare besides? what masking and
mumming, wherby robbery, whoredome, and sometime murther
is committed: what Dicing and Carding, what eating & drinking,
what banquetting and feasting is then vsed, more then in all the
yeare besides? to the great dishonour of God, and impouerishing of
the Realme.
- Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at
any kind of game, or to win his money, if he can?
- Phil. To play at Tables, cards, Dice, Boules, or the like
(though a good Christian man wil not so idly, and vainly spend his
golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their priuate
recreations, after some oppresion of studie, to driue away
fantasies, or melancholy passions, & such like, I doubt not, but
they may, vsing it moderately // with intermission, and in the feare
of God? But to play for lucre of Gaine, and for desire only of his
brothers substance (rather then for any other cause) it is not at any
hand lawfull, nor to be suffered.
- For as it is not lawful to rob, steal, & purloin by deceit, or
sleight so is it not lawfull to get thy brothers goods from him, by

5160

5170

S2

5180

S2. PH: *Gaming houses.*5162 SN. Wickednes] 01-03 *subst*; Wiekednes 5167. great] 01-03; greae 5181. sleight] 01-03
subst; fleight

Gaming
worse then
open theft.

carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kind of theft, for these Games are no better: nay, worser then open theft, for open theft euery man can beware of, but this being a crafty politick theft, & comonly done vnder pretence of friendship, few or none at al can beware of it. The Commandement saith, Thou shalt not couet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy neighbour. Now, it is manifest, that those that play for money, not only couet their Brothers money, but also vse craft, falshood, and deceit, to winne the same.

5190

The Apostle forbiddeth vs to vse deceit in bargaining, in buying, or selling: Much lesse then ought we to vse deceit in gaming.

A rule to
restrain
vnlawful
gaming.

Our Sauioir Christ biddeth euery man, doe to another, as bee wold another shuld do vnto him. Which rule, if it were duly obserued, were sufficient to withdraw men both from all kinde of gaming, & also from al kind of vniust dealing: For, as thou woldest not that another man shuld win thy mony, so thou oughtest not to desire the winning of his: for thou must do as thou woldest be done by.

5200

Spud. If gaming for money be so vnlawfull, wherfore are there gaming houses, & places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Gaming
houses,
with their
wickednes.

Phil. That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truly great pitie it is, that these Brothel houses (for so ■ call all gaming houses) are suffered as they be. For, are they not the very Seminaries and nurseries of all kind of abhomination, whatsoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse? And therefore, ■ maruell that those, who keepe and maintaine these gaming houses, can neuer haue light hearts, or once look vp towards heauen, that not only suffer this manifest theft in their houses (for gaming is no better) but also maintain and vphold the same.

5210

The Apostle saith: Not only they that do euil, digni sunt morte, Are worthy of death, but also, qui cosentiunt facientibus, those who consent to them that doe it. Call

to minde then what euilles come of this wicked exercise I beseech you. For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheming the name of God? Doeth not stinking Whoredome, Theft, Robbery, Deceit, Fraud, Cosonage, fighting, // Quarrelling, & sometime murder? S2v
 Doth not Pride, rapine, drunkennes, beggery: and in fine, a 5220
 shameful end follow it, as the shadow doth follow the body?
 Wherefore, I wil not doubt to call these Gaming houses the slaughter houses, the shambles, or Blockhouses of the Deuil, wherein he butchereth Christian mens soules infinite wayes, God knoweth, the Lord suppressse them.

Spud. Were there euer any Iawes made against the inordinate abuse hereof, or haue the godly in any age misliked it?
 Phil. In all ages & times, both the godly sober Christians haue detested it, and wholesome Iawes haue been published against it.
 Octavius Augustus, was greatly reproched of the Writers of 5230
 his time, for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding, his manifolde vertues besides.

Cicero obiected to Marcus Antonius, his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The infamie purchased by gaming.
 The noble Lacedemonians sent their Ambassadors to Corinth, to conclude a peace, who coming thither, & finding the people playing at Dice and Cardes, & vnthrifitie games, returned back againe (infected pace) their peace vnconcluded, saying: It should neuer bee reported, that they would ioine in league with Dice players and Gamesters. The same 5240
 Lacedemonians sent to Demetrius, in derision of his Dice playing, a paire of Dice of gold.

Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthy Knight) in his booke of Gouernance, asketh: Who wil not thinke him a light man,

S2v. PH: *Lawes against Gaming.*

5226. there] 01-03; these 5227. misliked] 01-03; mifliked 5229 SN. diuulgate] 01-03 *subst*;
 divulgate 5240. league] 01-03; league

of smal credit, dissolute, remisse, and vaine, that is a Dice player or Gamester?

Publius saith, Quanto peritior est Aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est & vita & moribus. How much cunninger a man is in gaming, and Diceplaying, so much corrupter he is both in life & maners. *Justinian* 5250
made a law that none should play at Dice, nor Cardes for no cause, neither priuately nor openly.

Alexander Seuerus, banished al gamesters out of his dominions. And if any were found playing, their goods wer confiscate, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted, nor esteemed of any.

Lodouicus, ordeined that all Gamesters should depart out of his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

Punishment
for gaming. King Richard the second, forbad al kind of gaming, & 5260
namely dice playing. King Henrie the fourth ordeined, that euey
dice player shuld be imprisoned six dayes, for euey seuerall time
he offended in gaming. // S3

The penaltie
for those that
keep gaming
houses. King Edward the fourth ordeined, who so kept gaming
houses, shuld suffer imprisonmet three yeeres, & forfeit twenty
pound, & the players to be imprisoned two yeares, and forfeit ten
pound.

King Henry the seuenth ordeined, that euey Diceplayer shuld
be imprisoned all aday, & the keeper of the dicing house, to forfeit
for euey offence sixe shillings eight pence, and to be bound by
Recognizaunce to good behaiour. 5270

King Henry the eight ordeined, that euey one that kept dicing
houses, should forfeit fourty shillings, and the players to forfeite
sixe shillings eight pence: with many other good Iawes and
statutes, set fourth against this raging abuse of gaming, which,
least ■ might seeme tedious, I omit, beseeching the Lorde to root

S3. PH: *Punishment for gaming.*

5252-3. openly. Alexander] 01-03; openly, Alexander

vp, & supplant these, & al other stumbling blocks in his church & common wealth.

Spud. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abuses before, you sayd, the Sabboth day was prophaned by Bear-baiting, Cockfighting, hawking, hunting, keeping of Faires, Courts, & Markets vpon the said day. Is it not lawful then to follow these exercises vpon the Sabboth day neither? 5280

Bear-baiting, and other exercises, vsed

vnlawfully vpon the Sabbath day in England.

Phil.

These Heathnish exercises vpon the Sabboth day, which the Lord would haue consecrated to his seruice, for the glory of his name, & our spirituall c6fort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For the bayting of a Beare, besides that it is a filthy, stinking, & lothsome game, is it not a perillous exercise? wherin a man is in danger of his life euery minute of an houre? which thing though it were not so, yet what exercise is this meete for any Christian? what Christian heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, and thirst after our bloud, yet are they good creatures in their owne nature and kind, and made to set forth the glory, power, and magnificence of our God, and for our vse, & therefore for his sake we ought not to abuse them. It is a common saying am6gst al men, borrowed // from the French: **Qui aime lean, aime son chien**, that is. **Loue me, loue my Dog**: So loue God, loue his creatures. 5290

No creature
to be abused.

5300

S3v

S3v. PH: *A woful erie at Paris garden.*

5280. Faires, Courts] 01-03 *subst*; Faires. Courts 5295. be bloody] 01-03 *subst*; bloody be 5297. notwithstanding] 01-03 *subst*; notwistingand 5300. magnificence] 01-03; magnisicence [longs]

If any should abuse but the Dog of another mans, would not he
 who oweth the Dog, think that the abuse done to his dog
 resulteth to himselfe? And shal we abuse the creatures of God,
 yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think that the contumely
 done to them, redoundeth not to him who made them? But admit it
 were graunted that it were lawful to abuse the good creatures of
 God, yet is it not lawful for vs to spend our golden yeares in
 such idle & vaine exercises dayly & hourly as we doe. And some,
 who take themselues for no small fooles, are so far assotted, that
 they will not stick to keep a dozen or a score of great Mastiues, to
 their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game
 (forsooth) and will not make any bones of twenty, fourty, yea an
 hundred pound at once to hazard at a beyt: with fight Dog, fight
 Beare, the Deuil part al. And to be plaine, I think the Deuil is
 master of the game, Bearward and al. A goodly pastime (forsooth)
 worthy of commendation, & wei fitting these Gentlemen of such
 reputation. But how much the Lord is offended for the
 prophanation of his Sabboth by such vnsauory exercises, his
 heauenly Maiesty of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his heauy
 wrath, his fearful iudgment, and dreadfull vengeance vpon the
 beholders of these vanities, as hereafter followeth.

A fearfull example of God his iudgment vpon
the Prophaners of the Sabbath day.

Vpon the thirteenth day of Ianuary, being the Sabboth day,
 Anno.1583. there resorted an infinite number of people men,
 women, and children, of each sort to those infamous places, where
 these wicked exercises are vsually practised (for they haue their
 Courts, Gardens, and Yards for the same purpose) & being al
 come together, and mounted aloft vpon their Scaffolds, and
 galleries, and in middest of all their iolitie and pastime, al the
 whole building (not one sticke standing) fell downe with a most
 woonderful and fearfull confusion. So, that either two or three

5319. al. A] 01-03 *subst*; al, A 5321. reputation] 01-03; xeputation 5331. (for] 01-03;)for
 5335. building] 01-03 *subst*; buiiding

hundred men, women & children (whereof seuen were killed dead) were some wounded, some lamed, and othersome bruised and crushed, almost to death. Some had their brains dasht out, some their heads al to quasht, some their legges broken, some their armes, some their backes, some their // shoulders, some one hurt, some another: so, that you should haue heard a wofull erie, euen pearcing the Skies, parentes bewayling their children: Children their louing parents: wiues their husbands and Husbands their wiues, marueilous to haue heard. This woful spectacle and heaue iudgement, pitifull to heare of, but most rufull to beholde, the Lord sent downe from Heauen, to shewe vnto the whole world how grieuously he is offended with those that spend his **Sabboth** in such wicked exercises, in the meane time leauing his temple desolate & empty. God graunt all men may take warning hereby to shun the same, for fear of like or sharper iudgmet to come.

5340

S4

5350

A feareful lodgment of God, shewed at the

Theaters.

The like iudgment in effect did the Lord shewe vnto them a litle before, being assembled at their **Theaters**, to see their baudy **Enterludes**, and other fooleries there practised. For he caused the earth mightily to shake and quauer, as though al wold haue fallen downe: whereat the people sore amazed, some leapt downe from the top of the **Turrets, pinacles, & towers**, where they stood, to the groud, whereby some had their legges broke, some their armes, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another where, & many sore crusht and bruised: but not any, but they went away sore affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither the one, nor the other, fray the from these deuillish exercises,

5360

A woful
spectacle.

S4. PH: *Cockfighting in England.*

5345. spectacle] 01-03; spectable 5352. shewed] 01-03; shewed 5354. iudgrnt] 01-03 *subst*;
iudginent 5356. and] 01-03; aud

until the Lord consume them all in his wrath: which God forbid. The Lord of his mercy, open the eyes of the Magistrates, to pluck downe these places of abuse, that God may be honored, and their consciences discharged.

Cockfighting vpon the Sabbath day in England.

cockfighting vpon the sabbath day.	Besides these exercises, they flock thick & threefold to the Cockfights, an exercise nothing to the rest, where nothing is vsed but swearing, forswearing, deceit, fraud, collusion, cosenage, scolding railing, couitious talking, fighting, brawling, quarrelling, drinking whoring, & which is worst of al, robbing one another of their goods, & that not by direct, but indirect means & attempts. And yet to blanch and set out these mischiefs withall (as though they were vertues) they haue their appointed dayes and set houres, when these deuillries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to that purpose, Flags and Ensignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out, to proclaim the same, to the end that many may come to the celebration of this solemne feast of mischiefe.	5370
Appointed times for exercise of deuillries.		5380

Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabbath day in *England. II*

Hawking & hunting vpon the Sabbath.	And as for hauking and hunting vpon the Sabbath, it is an exercise vpon that day, no lesse vnlawfull then the other. For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much lesse euery day, as many doe in such vaine and idle pastimes. And therefore, let Gentlemen take heed, for be sure, accomptes must be giuen at the day of Judgement of euery minute of time, both howe they haue spent it and in what exercises. And let them bee sure, no more liberty is giuen them, to mispend an houre, or one iote of the Lord	S4v
No more lib- ertie giuen to one, thnto another, for		5390

S4v. PH: *Hauking and Hunting.*

5367. places] 01-03; plaecs 5376. set] 01-03; set 5379. purpose, Rags] 01-03 *subst*; purpose.
Flags 5380. notice] 01-03; noitce 5383-4. in] 02-03; in ... , 5387 SN. the] 01-03; she

mispending
 of their
 goods. his goods, then is giuen to the poorest, and meanest person that
 liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer reade of any in the volume
 of the sacred Scriptures that was a good man, and a hunter.

No good
 Hunters in
 scripture. Esau, was a great hunter, but a reprobate. Ismaell, a great
 hunter, but a miscreant. Nimrod, a great Hunter, but yet an
 abiect, & a vessel of wrath. This I speake not to condemne
 Hawking and hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation now
 and then, but against the continual vse thereof dayly, hourelly, 5400
 weekly, yearely, yea al the times of their life, without
 intermission. And such a felicity haue some in it, as they make it al
 their ioy, bestowing more vpo hawks and hounds, and a sort of
 idle lubbers to follow them, in one yeare, then they will giue to the
 poore members of Christ Jesus in seuen years, peraduentur in all
 the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradise persisted in
 innocency, all beastes whatsoever, were obedient to him, & came
 and humbled themselues before him. But euer since his fall, they
 haue fled from him, and disobeyed him, because of his sin: that
 seeing he disobeyed the Lorde, they againe disobey him. For, so 5410
 long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him: but so soon as
 man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, and became enemies to
 him, as it were seeking to reuenge that iniurie which man had done
 to God, in disobeying his Iawes. Wherfore the cause why all
 beastes do fly fro vs, & are becom enemies vnto vs, is our
 disobediace to the Lord, which we are rather to sorrow for, the
 to hunt after their deaths by the shedding of their bloud. If
 necessitie or want of other meats inforceth vs to seek after their
 liues, it is lawful to vse them in the feare of God, with thanks to
 his Name: but for our pastimes, and vaine pleasures sake, we are 5420
 not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them.

For pleasure
 sake only no
 man ought to
 abuse anie of
 the creatures
 of God. Is he a Christian man, or not rather a cruel Tartarian, that
 delighteth in bloud? Ishee a Christian, that spendeth all his life in

wanton pleasures, and pleasaunt delightes? Is he a Christian that // T1
 buyeth vp the Come of the poore, turning it into bread (as manie
 Hurt by do) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is he a Christian, that liueth to
 hunting to the hurt of his neighbour, in treading & breaking downe his
 poure men. hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his come, &
 otherwise annoying him, as hunters do? Wherefore God giue the
 grace to see to it, & to amend it betimes, ere it be too late, for they 5430
 know, *Mora trahit periculum*, *Delay bringeth daunger*. Let vs
 not defer to leaue euil, and to do good, least the wrath of the Lord
 be kindled against vs, & consume vs from the vpper face of the
 earth.

Markets, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the
Sabbath day, in England.

Spud.

What say you to keeping of Markets, Faires, Courtes and Leetes vpon the
 Sabboth day? Thinke you it is not lawfull to vse the same vponthatday? 5440

Philo. No truly: for can we serue God and the Deuil together,
 can we carry to God & ferrie to the Deuil, can we serue two
 Not lawful to masters, & neither offend the one, nor displease the other? Can
 keepe Courts we serue God & Mammon? Can we please God and the
 Leets worlde, both at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by
 Markets, and peecemeale, for eyther he wil haue the whole man, or els none. For
 Faires, vpon saith he, Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy
 the Sabboth soule, with all thy minde, with all thy power, with all
 day. thy strength, and so foorth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing
 that we are to giue ouer our selues, so wholly and totally to the 5450
 seruice of God: all the dayes of our life, but especially vpon the
 Sabboth day, being consecrate to that end, we may not intermeddle
 with these prophane exercises vpon that day. For, it is more then
 manifest that these Faires, Markets, Courts, & Leetes vpon the
 Abuse of the Sabboth day, are not only a hindrance vnto vs, in the seruice of
 Sabboth by

Tl. PH: *Faires on the Sabbath day.*

5433. vs, &] 01-03 *subst*; vs, & 5449. strength] 01-03 *subst*; strength

Faires and Markets. God, & an abuse of the Sabboth, but also leade vs the pathway to hell. For what cousonage is not there practised? What falshood, deceit, and fraud is not there exercised? what dissimulation in bargaining? What setting foorth counterfeit & deceiuable wares is not there vsed? What lying, swearing, forswearing, drunkennesse, whordom, theft, & sometimes murther, either there, or by the way thither, is not euery where committed? In Courts & Leets, what enuy, malice and hatred is nourished? What Expostulation, rayling scolding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? What oppression of the poore? what faouering of the rich? what iniustice, and indirect // dealing? What bribing, deceiuing, what polling & pilling is there practised? It wold make a Christian heart to bleed in beholding it. And yet notwithstanding, we must haue these goodly Pageants played vpon the Sabboth day (in a wanion) because there are no mo dayes in the week. And hereby it commeth to passe that the Sabboth is prophaned, Gods word contemned, his Commandements disanulled, his Sacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, & in summa, his bloud trode vnder feet, and all mischief maintained.

5460

Tlv

5470

Playing at
footbal.

Playing at Footbal vpon ~~th~~Sabboth and other
dayes in England.

Spud.

Is the playing at Football, reading of merry bookes, and such like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the sabboth day?

Philo. Any exercise, which withdraweth vs from godlinesse, eyther vpon the Sabboth day, or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbidden. Now, who is so grosly blind, that seeth not, that these aforesaid exercises not only withdraw vs from godlines and vertue but also hale and allure vs to wickednes and sin: for as

5480

Football a
friendly kind
of fight.

TI v. PH: *Football play in England.*

5467. there] 01-03; the 5480. exercise] 01-03; excrise 5482. forbidden] 01-03 *subst*; forbidden

concerning Footeball playing, I protest vnto you, it may rather bee called a friendly kind of fight, then a play or recreation. A bloody and murdering practise, then a fellowly sport or pastime. For, doth not euery one ly in wayt for his aduersary, seeking to ouerthrow him, and to picke him on his nose, though it be vpon
 Hurt by Foot 5490
 ball playing. hard stones, in ditch or dale, in valley or hole, or what place soeuer it be, he careth not, so bee may haue him downe. And he that can serue the most of this fashion he is counted the only fellow, & who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their necks are broken, sometymes their backes, somtimes their legs, sometime their armes, sometime one part thrust out of ioint, sometime another sometimes their noses gush out with blood, sometimes their eyes start out of their heads, & sometimes hurt in one place, somtimes in another. But who so euer scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore crushed and bruised, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly: And no maruel, for they haue sleights to meet one
 5500
 betwixt two, to dash him against the heart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to picke him on his necke, with an hundred such murdering deuises: and hereof groweth enuy, malice, rancour, chollour, hatred displeasur,
 Football T2
 playing a brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther,
 murdering homicide, and great effusion of blond, as experience dayly
 plaie. teacheth. Is this murdering play now an exercise for the Sabboth day? Is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to maim and hurt
 5510
 another, and that vpon prepensed malice, or set purpose? Is this to doe to another, as we would wish another to doe to vs. God make vs more carefull ouer the bodies of our brethren.

T2. PH: *Reading of wicked Bookes.*

5493-4. broken, sometymes their backes, somtimes] 01-03 *subst*; broken, somtimes PH. wicked] 01-03; wtcked

Reading of wicked bookes in *England*.

Reading of wicked bookes.	And as for reading of wicked bookes, they are vtterly vnlawful, not only to be read, but once to be named, and that not only vpon the Saboth day, but also vpon any other day, as which tend to the dishonor of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of Christian soules. For as corrupt meats doe annoy the stomacke, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vngodly bookes (which are to the mind, as meate is to the body) infect the soule, and corrupt the minde, hayling it to destruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.	5520
The euil comming by reading euil books.	<p style="text-indent: 2em;">And yet notwithstanding, whosoeuer will set pen to paper now a dayes, how vn honest soeuer, or vnseemly of Christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his work plausibly receiued, friendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is grown to this issue, that books and pamphlets of scurrility and bawdry are better esteemed and more vendible, then the godliest and sagest books that be: But if it be a godly treatise, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it, for no man almost, though they make a flourish of vertue & godlines, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, that blessed book of God, to be so litle esteemed. That renowned Book of Martyrs, made by that famous Father, and excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister Iohn Foxe, so little to be accepted, and all other good Bookes little or nothing reuerenced, whilest other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, whereof the world is ful, are suffred to be printed. These prophane Scheduls, sacrilegious Libels, and Hethnicall pamphlets of toyes and bableries, (the Authours whereof may challenge no small reward at the hands of the deuil for inueting the same) corrupt mens mindes, peruert good wits,</p>	5530
The hurt that wicked bookes bring.		5540

5518. dishonor] 01-03 *subst*; dishouor 5523. not present] 01-03; not 5530. godliest] 01-03
subst; godliesi

allure to Bawdry, induce to whordome, // suppress vertue & erect T2v
 vice: which thing how shuld it be otherwise, for are they not
 inuented & excogitate by **Belzebub**, written by **Lucifer**, licensed
 by **Pluto**, printed by **Cerberus**, & set abroch to sale by the
infernal Furies themselues, to the poysoning of the whole world?
 But let the inuenteres, the Licensers, the Printers, & the sellers of
 these vaine toys and more then **Hethnical impieties** take heed, 5550
 for the bloud of al those which perish or take hurt through these
 wicked books, shall be poured vpon their heads at the day of
 iudgment, and be required at their hands.

Spud. ■ pray you how might all these enormities, & abuses
 be reformed? For, it is to small purpose to shew the abuses, except
 you shew withall how they might be amended.

Philo. By putting in practise & executing those good Iawes,
 and godly statutes, which haue been heretofore, & dayly are set
 forth and established, as God be thanked, there are many: the want
 of the due execution wherof, is the cause of all these mischiefs, 5560
 which both rage and raigne amongst vs.

Spud. What is the cause why these Iawes are not executed, as
 they ought to be?

Philo. Truly ■ cannot tell, except it be thorow the negligence
 and corruption of the inferiour Magistrates: or els perhaps (which
 Why the
 Iawes are not
 executed as
 they ought
 to be.
 thing happeneth now & then) for mony they are bought out,
disfranchized, and **dispensed** withal, for as the saying is,
Pecunia omnia potest. Money can do all things. And yet
 notwithstanding, shall it be done inuisibly in a **cloud** (vnder
benedicite ■ speak it) the Prince being borne in hand that the 5570
 same are duly executed. This fault is the corruption of those that
 are put in trust to see them executed (as ■ haue told you) and
 notwithstanding do not.

T2v. PH: *How to reforme Abuses.*

5548. themselues] 01-03; themseues 5571. executed] 01-03; excuted

Spud. This is a great abuse doubtlesse, and worthy of great punishment.

Philo. It is so truly, for if they be good Iawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publike weale of the Cuntrey, and correction of vice, it is great pity that mony shuld buy the out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre: Godlines for drosse, yea, mens souls for corruptible money? Therefore, those that sel them, are not onely traitors to God, to their Prince & country, but are also the Deuils marchants, to ferry the bodies and soules of Christians as much as lieth in the, ouer the sea of this world to the Stigian floud of hel, bur- // ning with fire and brimston for euer. And
 5580
 T3
 those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince & cuntry also. For if the Iawes were at the first good (as God be praised the most of the Iawes in Englad be) why should they be bought out for money, and if they were euill why were they published, but had God. rather bene buried in the womb of their mother, before they had euer seene the light. And why were Iawes constitute, but to be
 5590
 executed? Els it were as good to haue no Iawes at all (the people liuing orderly) as to haue good Iawes, and them not executed.

They that buy
 or sellawes
 for mony are
 traitors to

None may stai
 the course of
 the Iawes, but
 the prince.

The Prince ordeining a law, may lawfully repeale & annul the same again, vpon special causes and considerations, but no inferiour Magistrate or subiect whatsoever, may stop the course of any lawe made by the prince, without daunger of damnation to his soule, as the word of God beareth witnessse. And therefore, woe be to those men, that wil not execute the sentence of the law, being so godly, and so Christian as they bee in England, vpon malefactors and offenders. Verily, they are as guilty of their bloud before God, as euer was Iudas of the death of Christ Iesus.
 5600

T3. PH: *Lawes not executed.*

5583. much] Furnivall; mnch

life vnspeakably, if we repent not? At that day, the wicked shal find that there is a materiall Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherin they shal bee punished in fire and Brimstone, amongst the terrible company of vgglesome deuils world without ende, how light soeuer they make account of it in this world. For some such ther be, that when they heare mention of hel, or of the paines therof in the other world, they make a mock of it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, only spoken to terrifie vs withall, and not

otherwise. But certaine it is, as there is a God, that will rewarde his children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerate his seruants: 5640

A materiall
bel after
this life.

And as there is a Heauen, a materiall place of perfect ioy prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobate, prepared for the Deuill and his Angels, or els the word of God is in no wise to be credited: which blasphemie, once to think of, God keep all his children from.

Spud. But they will easily auoyd this, for they say, it is written At what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I will put all his wickednes out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. So that if they may haue three words at the last, they wil wish no more. What think you of these fellowes? 5650

Philo. I think them no men but deuils, no Christias, but worse then either Turks or lewes, or any other infidels whatsoeuer, and more to be auoyded then the poyson of a Serpent: for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body and soule for euer. Wherefore, let euery good christian man take heed of tlie, & auoid tlie. For it is truly said, *cum bonis bonus eris, & cum peruersis peruerteris, with the good thou shalt learn good, but with the wicked thou shalt be peruerted.* 5660

Spud. Do you think then, that, that cannot be a true repentance which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Philo. No truly: For true repentance must spring out of a

No true repentance which is deferred to the last gaspe.	liuely // faith, with an inward lothing, & detesting of sin. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death which he seeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief & tediousnes of paine, of the horrour of hell, & feare of God his ineuitable iudgmet, which he knoweth now he must needes abide: & therefore, this can be no true repentance: For, there are two maner of repentances, the one a true repentace to life, the other a false repentance to death: as we may see by Iudas, who is said to haue repeted, & which is more to haue confessed his fault, &	T4	5670
Two maner of repentiices a false repentance, and a true repentance.	which is most of all, to haue made restitution, & yet was it a false repentance: and why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before. Peter repented & wept bitterly, and was saued therby, though he neither made confession, nor satisfaction, & why? because it sprang of a true and liuely faith. So these fellowes may say they repent, but except it be a true repentance springing of faith, it can serue them no more to life, then the pretenced repenHice of Iudas did serue him to saluation. Let them beware, for Cain repented, yet is he condemned. Esau did repent, yet is he condemned. Antiochus did repent, yet is he condened. Iudas did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinit mo, and why so? because their prologed repentance sprang not of faith, & of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. Thus they may see, that euery light affection, is no true repentance: and that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent, for vnles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But in deed if it were so, that man had liberum arbitrium, free wil and power of himself, to repent truly when he wold, and that God had promised in his worde to accept of that repentance, it were another matter. But repentance is, donum Dei, the gift of God, de sursum veniens a patre luminum, comming from aboue, from the father of light: and therefore it is not in our powers to repent when we will: It is	5680	5690
Euery light affection is no true repentance.			

T4. PH: *Who are true repentantes.*

5668. must] 01-03; mnst 5686. ynough] 01-03 subst; ynough

the Lorde that giueth the gift, when, where, and to whom it shal please him: and of him are we to craue it incessantly, by faithfull prayer, and not otherwise to presume of our owne repentance, when indeed we haue nothing lesse, then a true repentance.

Spud. Then thus much I gather by your wordes, that as true repentance (which is a certaine inward grieffe, and sorrow of hearte, conceiued for our sinnes, with a hatred and loathing of the same) serueth to saluation through the mercie of God in Christe: so fained repentance saueth not from perdition. And therefore, we must // repent dayly and hourly, and not to deferre our repentance to the last gaspe, as many do, then which nothing is more perillous. 5700 T4v

Philo. True it is, for may not he be called a great foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last gasp (as they say) will hazard his body & soule to eternal damnation for euer? 5710
 Whereas by dayly repentance he may assure himselfe, both of the fauour of God, & of life euerlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, through the most precious bloud of his dear Sonne, Iesus Christ, our alone sauour and Redeemer, to whom be praise for euer.

AU thinges
 are vaine and
 vanity it self.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as tre wise King Salomon said, all things are vaine and transitorie, and that nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: The works of men are vnperfect, and lead to destruction, their exercises are vaine, and wicked altogether. Wherefore, I setting apart all the vanities of this life, will from henceforth consecrate my selfe wholly to the seruice of my God, and to follow him in his word, which only is permanent, and leadeth vnto life. 5720
 And I most hartily thank the Lord my God for your good company this day, and for your graue instructions, promising by the assistance of God his grace, to follow and obey them to my possible power, all the dayes of my life.

T4v. PH: *A Christian Protestation.*

5705. not to deferre] 01-03; did not deferre 5715. needs] 01-03 *subst*; ueeds PH. Protestation] 01-03 *subst*; Protestatian

The ioyes of
this life,
tread the path
to death.

Philo. God giue you grace so to do, and euery Christian man
els, and to auoyd all the vanities, and deceiuable pleasures of this
life, for certainly they leade the path to etemall destruction both of
body and soule for euer, to as many as obey them. For, it is
vnpossible to wallow in the delights and pleasures of this world, &
to liue in ioy for euer in the kingdome of heauen. And thus we
hauing spent the day, and also ended our ioumey: we must now
depart, beseeching God that we may both meete againe in the
Kingdome of heauen, there to raigne and liue with him for euer,
through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whome with the Father, and the
holy Spirite be all honour and glorie for euermore. Amen.

5730

FINIS.

God haue the praise, both now and alwaies. *Amen.*

5732. thus] 01-03; thns

COMMENTARY

Variant readings cited in the commentary which are found in more than one of the first three editions have been quoted from the latest edition. Biblical quotations, unless indicated otherwise, have been taken from the edition of the Geneva Bible printed in London in 1599. All abbreviations, including abbreviations of the books of the Bible, are set out at the front of the thesis.

14 Philip Stubs, Gent. This is the first edition of the book in which the author is styled a gentleman.

16.0 [PUBLISHER'S DEVICE] McKerrow identifies this device, pictured in the facsimile of Ql (App. III), as belonging to Richard Jones (Devices, Fig. 283). The title-pages to the first three editions read in its place:

'MATH.3.ver.2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE.13.ver.5. ■ say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perish.'

20-1 **To the ... of England** The first three editions of the *Abuses* were dedicated to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. The thorough revision of this dedication for the fourth edition was undoubtedly prompted by the Earl's secret conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1584 and aborted flight to the Continent in 1585 which led to a sentence of life imprisonment (Granville, 12, 24-5). It is unknown whether this edition of the *Abuses* was published before the Earl's death in the Tower on 19 October 1595. Extracts from Stubbes's dedication to Howard are printed as part of Appendix I (Passage A).

27-33 **Right ... other creatures** Referring to the version of the creation story told at Gen.i.1-ii.3.

29 **comfort** pleasure, delight (*OED*, sb. 3)

32-3 **that in him ... other creatures** i.e., that God might be glorified in man, more than in all of his other creations. Compare lines 56-8.

33-8 **And therefore ... creature** This interpretation of Gen.i.26 echoes the sidenote to the verse found in the Geneva Bible: 'God commanded the water and the earth to bring forth other creatures: but of man he saith, Let vs make: signifying, that God taketh counsell with his wisdome and vertue, purposing to make an excellent worke aboute all the rest of his creation.'

41 **humaine** human

48 **respect** consider, take into account

49 **proportion** form, shape (*OED*, sb. 7)

50-3 **And finally ... only man** 1 Jn.ii.25: 'And this is the promise that hee hath promised vs, *euen* that eternall life.'

- 54 preferred promoted or advanced in status (OED, v 1a)
- 57 in him, & by him i.e., in man, and by man.
- 58 integrity uncorrupted condition (OED, 2)
- 64-6 Which thing ... house of prayer Ex.xxv.8: 'Also they shall make me a Sanctuary, that ■ may dwell among them.'
- 71 conferred contributed
- 72 purple purple cloth
 skarlet rich worsted cloth available in many colours. Scarlet cloth dyed the colour of scarlet, which is probably what Stubbes describes here, was the most expensive: 'The use of crimson scarlet [in England] was early limited to the use of the royal family, noblemen, and civil officials' (Linthicum, 88).
- 73 ornaments furnishings of the Church and its worship (OED, sb. 1b)
- 74 haire haircloth, or more generally, any kind of coarse fabric
- 77 purchased obtained, procured (OED, v. 3a)
- 82 then Commonly used for 'than' in the period (Abbott 70). Subsequent examples of this usage will not be noted.
- 86-7 the poore widowes Mite The widow's contribution to the treasury is the subject of Mk.xii.41-4 and Lk.xxi.1-4.
- 89-90 effect ... affect accomplished results ... inward disposition (OED, sb. 1a, and sb. 1b respectively)
- 91 talents both an ancient denomination of money and the powers of mind or body viewed as divinely entrusted to a person for use and improvement (OED, 1b, 5). Stubbes is alluding to the parable of the talents in which the servant who simply hides the talent given to him by his master is reproved upon the latter's return for not multiplying it to his advantage (Mt.xxv.14-30). Compare Stubbes's application of the parable at 102-8.
- 92 simply without addition (OED, adv. 6a)
- 93 strait computist strict or exacting accountant. OED cites this passage, printed in all of the editions, as the earliest example of this sense of the word 'computist' (OED, 2).
- 95-6 who slayeth ... sworde i.e., who actually commits the murder.
- 100 auoid prevent. Printed in all of the editions, the first usage of this sense of the verb recorded in OED is dated 1608 (OED, v. 10).
- 106 aduentured ventured, dared to undertake (OED, v. 4)
- 112-13 palpable ... schoole i.e., manifest rudeness of language rendering true wisdom impossible (OED, barbarism 1a), anticipating allusions to 'the rudenesse of my pen' (132-3) and 'my rude speaches' (167-8) later in the letter. Such protestations are probably only formulaic, however, as Spudeus's concern that his speech may offend the more articulate and better educated

Philoponus (260-7) would suggest that Stubbes in fact considered himself fully capable of polished expression.

117 semblable such-like (OED, a. 1b)

121 plausible approving (OED, a. 4)

122 collected compiled. The earlier editions read 'published,' but the revision is apt, as many passages of the *Abuses* are heavily indebted to previously printed works. Stubbes's use of source material is discussed in the Introduction at pp. 53-63.

125 whose gawld backs are tutched This derives from the proverbial saying, 'Touch a galled horse on the back and he will kick' (Tilley H700). The implication is that the only ones who will resent his criticisms are those who know themselves to be most at fault. Today we might say that the book 'hits a raw nerve.'

127 trauell travail, labour

128 stomackes dispositions, tempers (OED, sb. 7b)

129 countenances displays of feeling (OED, sb. 7)

136 infatigable indefatigable, untiring

142 most meetest most meet. Double superlatives were common in the period (Abbott 11).

151 ripe fit for curative treatment (OED, a. 3b)

152-3 in generall without exception, universally (OED, a. 11c)

153 Silkes ...Sattens This litany of fabrics repeated time and again in the opening chapters echoes contemporary statutes and proclamations which strictly limit the use of these expensive materials to those of station and wealth: 'The fundamental principle was that the gradations in society should be reflected in men's clothes, so that each rank might wear apparel of slightly less magnificence than those in the next higher order' (Youngs, 161).

Veluets Damasks The frequency with which items in a list are not punctuated suggests that the consistent use of commas in these circumstances was not considered essential (habits of punctuation in the quarto are discussed in the Introduction at pp. 93-7). Examples of this feature found later in the text will not be noted unless some ambiguity of meaning results as a consequence. The spelling of the first of these words has been emended to conform with the practice found elsewhere in the text of printing the letter 'v' at the beginning and the letter 'u' in the middle of words regardless of the sound the letter was intended to signify; the only other examples of this irregularity are found at 3172 and in the sidenote to 5229.

157 frequented practised habitually (OED, v. 3a)

157-8 Is **not whoredome ... practized** It was not unusual in the period for a plural subject to take a singular verb (Abbott 412).

158 **all** any whatever (OED, a. 4)

165-6 **Zelus ... hither** Perhaps alluding to Ps.lxix.9: 'For the zeale of thine house hath eaten me, and the rebukes of them that rebuked thee, are fallen vpon me.' The marginal gloss to this verse in the Geneva Bible reads: 'When I sawe thine enemies pretend thy Name onely in mouth, and in their life denie the same, thine holy Spirit, thrust my [sic] forward, to reprove them and defend thy glorie.'

171 **crue** gang, herd (OED, sb.1 4)

173 **estates** conditions in general (OED sb. 1a)

179 **I.F. ... Book** Much of the prefatory material printed O1-O3 was cut for the fourth edition. It is included in this edition as Appendix I, Passages B-D.

180 **toyos** trifling pieces of writing (OED, sb. 3a)

181 **store** provide

187 **Laurell palle** cloak or mantle made of laurel. This is an unusual image, the poet using the word 'laurel' attributively in the sense of 'cloak of honour' (OED, laurel sb.1 5a).

191 **mickle** great

207 **SPVDEVS. PHILOPONVS.** These names derive from the Greek, 'Spudeus' translating into English as 'earnest student,' and 'Philoponus' as 'lover of hard work.'

210-12 SN **Flying fame ... lyer** proverbial (Tilley F44)

219-23 **Trulie ... indifferently** Interpreting this information as autobiographical, and further assuming that he began his travels at the age of twenty-one, Fumivall speculates that Stubbes was born in 1555 (ii, 50, n.2).

220 **after** i.e., afterwards, later.

221 **Anglia** This is the only place in the quarto where England is referred to using the form of its name in Latin. In the three previous editions, proper names other than those of the two protagonists were usually spelled in reverse and Latinized (i.e., 'Ailgna'), a device presumably intended to complement the fictional construct imposed by the author on otherwise overtly didactic material.

223 **indifferently** equally, indiscriminately (OED, adv. 1a)

228 SN **chargeable** costly, expensive (OED, a. 4)

230 **trauell** The senses both of 'travel' and 'labour' may be implicit.

233-4 **to break my selfe** to subject or habituate myself

234 **nurture** moral training and discipline

ciuill well-bred, refined (OED, a. 9b)

234 SN that Capital letters are predominantly used in the Abuses to draw attention to key words and to mark major disjunctions of sense after full-stops, colons and question marks. It is unusual to find a word such as this capitalised, as it is in the quarto text (see collation line), and it seems likely that this anomaly results from a printer's error.

236 countries counties, districts (i.e., within England). Since Philoponus is supposed to have travelled into England from his own native land it seems likely that the modern sense of this word is intended at 238.

commodities conveniences

238-40 For ... trauelleth abroad proverbial (Tilley N274)

240 in respect of in comparison with (OED, sb. 3a)

241 bruit wanting in reason or understanding (OED, brute a. 1)

245-8 for in my ... graue A very similar saying is attributed to Aristotle by Diogenes Laertius: 'Being asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, "As much," he said, "as the living from the dead"' (5.19).

247 science knowledge

251 (vntill ... iourney) vse Missing, reversed or misplaced opening and closing brackets found in the first three editions were usually corrected in a subsequent edition, a practice which suggests that these usages were considered not merely variant, but wrong (see Introduction, p. 95). In this instance, a comma was substituted in the quarto for the closing bracket printed 01-03 (see collation line).

255-7 Comes ... Chariot Publilius Syrus, line 116. The expression became proverbial (Tilley C559).

259 intended purposed (OED, ppl.a. 1). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the participial adjective cited in OED is dated 1586.

260 dispute Despite Spudeus's deference towards Philoponus, the assumption is that there will be differences of opinion between the two men. The word used in the early editions is 'combate.'

261 Ciuilian an authority on the Civil Law (OED, 1). The opposition is not between country and city but uneducated and learned.

261-2 indued with possessed of (OED, v. 9a)

263 SN scandal offence (OED, sb. 4). The earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1622; it is printed in the last two editions.

265 filed neatly elaborated

272 famous reputable (OED, a. 2)

279 magnanimitie lofty courage, fortitude

281 complexion bodily constitution (OED, sb. 2a)

282-4 This people ... especially? Question marks are used in the Abuses to mark both interrogatory and exclamatory statements.

283 either else or else (OED, adv. 4)

meerlie entirely

288 corrupt The first two editions read 'abrupte,' meaning 'broken away from restraint,' which is the only example of such a usage cited in OED (a. 1).

289 peruerse wicked (OED, a. 1a)

295 nature: and This colon is perhaps intended to emphasise the third of the causes of human sin as the worst; a comma was printed here in the previous editions.

intestine inward, innate. This passage, printed in all of the editions, is the first recorded usage of the adjective in this sense (OED, a. 2).

296 puddles used figuratively with reference to moral defilement

297-304 But wee ... father The language of the New Testament is woven throughout this exhortation to good works. Specific allusions are traced below.

297-8 But wee ... creatures 2 Cor.v.17: 'Therefore if any man *be* in Christ, let him *be* a new creature. Old things are passed away: beholde, all things are become new.'

298-9 created in ... walke in Eph.ii.10: 'For wee are his workemanship created in Christ Iesus vnto good workes, which God hath ordained, that we should walke in them.'

300-1 we ought ••.light Rom.xiii.12: 'The night is past, and the day is at hand, let vs therefore cast away the workes of darkenesse, and let vs put on the armour of light.'

301-2 to walk in newnes of life Rom.vi.4: 'We are buried then with him by baptisme into his death, that like as Christ was raised vp from the dead to the glory of the Father, so we also should walke in newnesse of life.'

302-3 and to work ... speaketh Phil.ii.12: 'Wherefore my beloued, as ye haue alwayes obeyed me, not as in my presence onely, but now much more in mine absence: *so* make an end of your owne saluation with feare and trembling.'

303-4 And our ••.father Mt.v.16: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen.' The verse immediately preceding this is proverbial: 'To hide one's light under a bushel' (Tilley L275).

310 Taratantara a word imitating the sound of a trumpet

311-2 Arise •• his workes This idea appears at various places in the Bible, but compare in particular Rev.xx.12: 'And I saw the dead, both great and

small stand before God: and the bookes were opened, and another booke was opened, which is *the booke* of life, and the dead were iudged of those things, which were written in the bookes, according to their workes.

318-9 **Vnusquisque ... burthen** A close paraphrase of Gal.vi.5. This verse eventually became proverbial, but the earliest example recorded by Tilley is dated 1600 (B725).

319-20 **Anima ... shall die?** Ezek.xviii.20: 'The same soule that sinneth, shall die: the sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father, neither shall the father beare the iniquity of the sonne, *but* the righteousnesse of the righteous shall be vpon him, and the wickednesse of the wicked shalbe vpon himselfe.' A similar idea is expressed at Ezek.xviii.4.

322-3 **hath cast ... destruction** i.e., has given up to wickedness and death, alluding to Rom.i.28: 'For as they regarded not to acknowledge God, *euen so* God deliuered them vp vnto a reprobate minde, to doe these things which are not conuenient.'

322 **destinate** destined. Participial forms of verbs ending in -te, -t, and -din this period often do not end in -ed (Abbott 342). Subsequent examples of this will not be noted.

326 **scintillula ... God's grace** I have been unable to identify a clear source for this phrase. Compare the similar expression, 'sparks of faith,' at 3117.

327-8 **members ... bodie** This is a metaphor for Christ's church found throughout the New Testament. See, for example, Rom.xii.4-5: 'For as wee haue many members in one body, and all members haue not one office, So wee being many, are one body in Christ, and euery one, one anothers members.'

331-7 **If the ... perfection?** A similar analogy is found at I Cor.xii.12-26, which concludes: 'Therefore if one member suffer, all suffer with it: if one member be had in honour, all the members reioyce with it.'

335-6 **his ... his** its ... its. 'His' still represented in this period the genitive of 'it' as well as of 'he' (Abbott 228). Subsequent examples of this will not be noted.

336 **integrity** original perfect state (OED, 2)

337-41 **Which thing ... the Lord** The gradual development of this sentence between O1 and Q1 is examined in the Introduction as typical of the author's manner of revision (pp. 43-4).

338 **considerately** carefully, deliberately (OED, adv. 1)

339 **defection** falling away from religion and virtue, apostasy

341-4 **And the Apostle ... another** Gal.v.13: 'For brethren, ye haue bene called vnto libertie: onely vse not *your* libertie as an occasion vnto the flesh,

but by loue serue one another.' The sidenote to this verse in the Geneva Bible further reinforces Philoponus's objection: 'the right vse of Christian libertie consisteth in this, that being deliuered from the slauery of sinne and the flesh, and being obedient to the Spirit, we should serue vnto one an others saluation through loue.'

344-5 **And that we ... haue time** Quoted almost directly from Gal.vi.10.

345-7 **To weep ... towards another** Compare Rom.xii.15-16: 'Reioyce with them that reioyce, and weepe with them that weepe. Be like affectioned one towards another.' It is interesting and perhaps significant that Philoponus omits the reference to rejoicing and focusses the reader's attention exclusively on shared sorrow. The misquotation persisted uncorrected in all four editions.

348-52 **Ortus ... third part** Plato, Epistles 9.358A: 'you ought also to bear in mind that no one of us exists for himself alone, but one share of our existence belongs to our country, another to our parents, a third to the rest of our friends, while a great part is given over to those needs of the hour with which our life is beset.'

350 **challengeth** lays claim to (OED, v. 5)

351 **friends** relatives, kinsfolk (OED, sb. 3)

351-2 **optimo iure** 'by the highest duty' (Latin)

352 **vindicate** assert a claim to. The earliest example recorded in OED of 'vindicate' used in this sense is dated 1725 (v. 5b), which suggests that the variant reading found in Q1 (see collation line) is a printer's error.

353 **discouering** revealing, making known (OED, v. 4a)

360 **intestine** inward

362 **frequented** practised, used habitually

367 **describe** The first edition instead reads 'cipher foorth,' meaning 'express' or 'delineate,' which is the earliest usage of this sense of the verb cited in OED (v. 3). 'Cipher' was replaced in the second and third editions with the synonym 'discipher' (OED, v. 6).

369 **competent** suitable, sufficient (OED, a. 3a)

comprehend include, comprise

375 **lethal** mortal (OED, a. 2). This passage, quoted from the first edition, is cited by OED as the earliest usage of the adjective in this sense.

375-88 **But you ... the other** Paul explains at length in his letter to the Romans that salvation depends entirely upon faith and the grace of God. Compare, in particular, Rom.ix.15-16: 'For [God] saith to Moses, I will haue mercie on him, to whom I will shew mercy: and will haue copassion on him, on whom I will haue copassion. So then *it is* not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God yt sheweth mercy.'

377-9 Vae ... shuld be iudged Stubbes attributes this same quotation in A motiue to good workes to St. Bernard (sig. 03), apparently paraphrasing the following explication of Isaiah lxiv.6 found in the sermon In Festo Omnium Sanctorum: 'Sed quid potest esse omnis iustitia nostra coram Deo'? Nonne iuxta prophetam, *velut pannus menstruata*P reputabitur et si districte iudicetur, injusta inuenietur omnis iustitia nostra, et minus habens?' (1, II C) The particular wording Stubbes uses may derive in part from the form the verse takes in the Vulgate: 'Et facti sumus ut imrundus omnes nos, et quasi pannus menstruatae universae iustitiae nostrae' ('But we haue all beene as an vncleane thing, and all our righteousnes *is* as filthy cloutes').

399 it its. This was a common form of the possessive pronoun in the period (Abbott 228) and later occurrences in the text will not be noted.

400 the wise man i.e., Jesus, son of Sirach, author of the book of Ecclesiasticus.

40 I-2 Initium ••.all euilles This is a highly interpretative reading of Sir.x.I3: 'The beginning of mans pride, is to fall away from God, and to tume away his heart from his maker.' The phrase is proverbial: 'Pride is the root of all sin' (Tilley P578).

404 ingenerate engendered

405-6 Matercula ... all mischief This particular metaphor was usually associated in the period with idleness rather than pride (Tilley II3).

407 flagitious heinous, villainous

408 venterous dangerous, risky

4I1 successe issue, upshot

417-21 For as ... & sinne This alludes to Horace's Ars Poetica: 'Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes' (lines 180-8I). The passage is quoted in Latin in the preface to OI, printed in this edition as Appendix 1-B (22-3).

4I7 opposite to situated in front of

420 obiect to presented or exposed to

421 exemplary example (OED, sb. 1c). This word had long been in use in the language and therefore seems to have been printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

426 contemneth despises, scorns

427-9 whose ... woman An allusion to Isa.lxiv.6, quoted in the note to 377-9. The Geneva Bible sidenote to this verse reads in part, 'our righteousnes, and best vertues are before thee as vile clouts, or (as some reade) like the menstruous cloathes of a woman.'

429 SN Isaias 50 The author is probably directing the reader to verses 10-11 which warn that those who walk by their own lights, 'shall lie downe in sorow.'

432-4 Qui operator *** to doe good Compare Phil.ii.13: 'For it is God which worketh in you both the will and the deed, *euen of his good pleasure.*' The concluding words of Stubbes's translation, 'to doe good,' is an amplification of the Latin quotation. The explanation of this verse found in the Geneva sidenote makes explicit its relevance to Philoponus's point: 'A most sure and grounded argument against pride, for that wee haue nothing in vs praiseworthy, but it commeth of the free gift of God, and is without vs, for we haue no abilitie or power, so much as to will well (much lesse to doe well) but onely of the free mercie of God.'

434-5 Ne gloriaretur ... strength 1 Cor.i.29: 'That no flesh should reioyce in his presence.' The last half of the English translation, 'of his owne power and strength,' does not form part of the Latin text and is another example of Stubbes's tendency towards amplification.

438 proper intrinsic, inherent (OED, a. 1)

444 affinitie relations by marriage

445 consanguinitie blood-relations

446 sanctimony religiousness, sanctity

451 aperto ore Not printed in the first two editions.

454 race family, stock (OED, sb.2 6a)

456 sort manner (OED, sb.2 22)

467 Author originator (OED, sb. 1c)

469 meere absolutely. Adjectives are freely used as adverbs in the period (Abbott 1).

469-72 (for Verba .•• eies withal.) Compare Horace: 'the word once let slip flies beyond recall' (Epistles 1.18.71); the expression became proverbial (Tilley W838). Whereas Philoponus considers words quickly dispersed and therefore harmless, Horace warns against the danger of careless speech. The version of the quotation in Latin was printed in only the last two editions.

475 SN Decorum seemliness, propriety (OED, 1c). Printed in all of the editions, the first example cited in OED of this sense of the word is dated 1586.

476-8 Doth not *** ciuill order. 1 Cor.xiv.40: 'Let all things be done honestly, and by order.' It is not unusual to find rhetorical questions in the Abuses punctuated with full-stops rather than question marks.

476 decorum propriety of behaviour. According to OED, this Latin word was adopted into the English language towards the end of the sixteenth

century, but the fact that it is printed here and at 3705 in contrasting type in all of the editions in which it appears suggests that Stubbes still considers it a foreign usage.

481 *contrare* contrary

481-5 For doe .• Christians? The fictional context established at the start of the book slips as Philoponus begins to speak as an Englishman rather than as a traveller to the country.

483 *disguise* *disfigure* (OED, v. 3)

484 *bruitish* *savage* (OED, a. 3)

486-8 SN *Circes cups* and *Medeas pottes* According to Greek and Latin mythology and legend both of these women were sorceresses. Compare A delicate Diet. for daintiemouthde Droonkardes (1576) where Gascoigne explains the meaning of the allusion more fully: '[the ancient poets] feigned yt *Medea*, *Circe*, and such other coulde Metamorphose & transfomie men into Beastes, Byrdes, Plantes, and Flowres: meaning therby, that whosover is so blinded in sensuality ... shal without doubt transforme him self, or be transformed from a man to a Beast, &c' (464). Their names are paired again at 1868.

489 *shed foorth* *poured out* (OED, v.1 9c)

490 *influence* *power conceived of as an influx or infusion* (OED, sb. 3)

492 SN No country The opening line of this sidenote is indented slightly in all of the extant copies of the quarto.

493 *Arsnecke* The earliest example cited by OED of this word used in a figurative sense is dated 1598 (sb.11e). It appears in all of the editions.

impotionate *poisoned*. This is the first of only two examples of this word cited in OED, both of which are taken from the *Abuses*; the second is found at 2852 and, as here, was introduced into O2 as a revision. In the first edition this passage reads, 'hath drunke so deepe of the dregges of this Cup.'

496 *passe* *surpass*, *exceed* (OED, v. 19a)

498 *Chaldeans* the ancient people of Chaldea, located in biblical times in the southernmost Tigris and Euphrates valley

Heluetians inhabitants of Helvetia, a European country of Roman times which included a large part of modern-day Switzerland

499 *Zuitzers* *Switzers*, inhabitants of Switzerland

501-2 This is ... shame withall This appears to be a version of the proverbial saying, 'He has a cloak for his knavery,' the first example of which cited by Tilley is dated c.1633 (C419). The image is repeated at 2416 and elsewhere.

501 *visour* *mask*

own shame The first two editions instead read 'Sodometrie,' a usage which carries, as Jonathan Goldberg points out in his analysis of this passage, a far broader range of meaning than our modern word 'sodomy': 'At once, the word *Sodometrie* serves to impugn their customs and their arguments ...

"Sodometrie" is the word to reveal the truth, but it is also the word for all that is wrong in their behavior, their thinking, their language, their dress'

(*Sodometries*, xv-xvi). Compare the notes to the related words 'Sodomits' and 'sodometicall' at 4189 and 4472.

504-5 *neuer to chaunge* •• or alter This passage was revised from the past to the present tense between O3 and Q1 but the revision was only partially executed, Q1's 'altered' (see collation line) being a remnant of the earlier version. Instead of returning to the reading found in the third edition I have emended the passage to complete the process of revision.

506 *Iacobus Stuperius* Stubbes's dependence on this source-text in the chapters on apparel is repeatedly acknowledged (compare 2123, 2136), but I have not been able to trace this writer or his book in *STC*, the *British Library Catalogue*, the *National Union Catalogue* or the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. While the author's references to Stuperius seem too specific to have been fabricated, it is suspicious that the only other place I have come across this name is in one of Stubbes's later dialogues, *The Theater of the Popes Monarchie* (1584), in which a character named Philemon asks questions of his travelling companion, Stuperius.

506-7 *lib.de •• habitibus* 'the book about the different apparel of our age' (Latin)

512-6 *Non enim •• they raunge* The last half line of Philoponus's translation, 'or els attire, wherein abroad they raunge,' is an amplification of the Latin sentence. Compare the Latin quotation from Stuperius at 2124-7 which mentions both the customs and attire of Egyptian women.

515 *at all* Without changing the Latin quotation, Stubbes revised 'lightly,' the reading found in the first three editions, to 'at all' in the fourth edition, thus strengthening his argument by deliberately deviating from the source-text.

chop and chaunge An alliterative phrase meaning 'alter' (*OED*, chop v.2 4d). Tilly cites the expression as proverbial (C363).

518 *Cantabrians* the Cantabri, an ancient warlike tribe of northern Spain

521 *in effect in fact* (*OED*, sb. 8). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this expression cited in *OED* is dated 1588.

524-5 *Other some meanly apparelled* The verb 'go' is inferred from the previous sentence.

525 *haire* haircloth, or more generally, any kind of coarse fabric

527 hosen breeches, with either attached or separate stockings

bandes collars worn around the neck by men and women. Strips of material encircling hats were also called bands (1140) but Philoponus is probably speaking here specifically about collars. A discussion of bands and ruffs is found at 1153-1203.

528 ciuilest Probably meaning 'most civilized,' but Stubbes may have instead had in mind the sense of 'most orderly' or 'best-governed' (compare OED, a. 7, 8). The first example cited by OED of 'civil' used in the latter sense is dated 1591; the adjective is printed in all of the editions.

529 brauely finely, handsomely

530 Carzies, Frizes, Rugges woollen cloths produced in England

531-2 silkes, Veluets ... Taffaties Compare note to 153.

531 Damaskes 'Damask was an expensive silk, partly because of its complicated weaving ... partly because of the high import duties imposed upon silks. Its price of three to sixteen shillings [a yard] placed it out of the reach of many persons to whom sumptuary laws allowed its use' (Linthicum, 120).

532 Grograins coarse-grained taffeta weaves made of mohair, silk or worsted

Taffaties a recognised variant form of 'taffetas'

535 strange unusual, exceptional

537 SN curious particular, difficult to satisfy (OED a. 2a)

541-2 shall wee ... they do so? An allusion to Ex.xxiii.2: 'Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do euill.'

543 shal not ... sinneth dy? Ezek.xviii.20, quoted in the note to 319-20.

548 Sarcenet a thin silk fabric

549 Chamlet 'Probably a kind of mohair or, later, camel hair cloth, mixed with wool, silk and cotton, and having a watered appearance' (Cunnington & Cunnington, 213-4).

552-4 So if we ... tollerable Stubbes probably derived this subtlety from the Homily against Excess of Apparel (1563) which teaches that we should 'content ourselves with that which God sendeth, whether it be much or little' (Sermons, 326). A similar point is made at 622-9.

554 captiuuate enthralled

555-9 And thus ... for them The preamble to the proclamation issued on 15 June 1574 enforcing statutes of apparel recognises the economic implications of the growing fashion for foreign goods: 'The excess of apparel and the superfluity of unnecessary foreign wares thereto belonging now of late years is grown by sufferance to such an extremity that the manifest decay ... of a

great part of the wealth of the whole realm generally is like to follow (by bringing into the realm such superfluities of silks, cloths of gold, silver, and other most vain devices of so great cost for the quantity thereof as of necessity the moneys and treasure of the realm is and must be yearly conveyed out of the same to answer the said excess)' (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 381). A number of statutes designed to promote domestic industry were devised, one of the most famous of which, introduced in 1570, required everyone above the age of seven, valued at less than twenty marks land and not holding public office, to wear on Sundays and Holy days a knitted woollen cap made in England (Statutes, 13 Elizabeth 1, c.19). The law enforcing 'statute caps,' as they were known, was eventually repealed in 1597.

557-8 laugh at vs in their sleeues i.e., laugh to themselves. The expression was proverbial (Tilley S535).

558 affecting of showing fondness for (OED, vbl. sb. 1)

559-63 And how ... as we doe M. Arthur Edwards in a letter to the Company of Merchant Adventurers in London dated 8 August 1566 writes, 'I was asked by the Shaugh [of Persia] if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand pieces of kersies, and clothes ... The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with us, giving silke for karsies' (Hakluyt, iii, 56-7).

565 store sufficient or abundant supply (OED, sb. 4a)

568 comelier then they The first edition reads 'as comlie as they.'

569 farre fetched ... they say Compare Tilley: 'Dear bought and far fetched are dainties for ladies' (D12). An abbreviated version of the saying is found at 1595.

570-2 Doe you ... they be. Questions in the Abuses frequently conclude with a full-stop; compare, for example, 47-50, 3836-7 and 4469-72.

572 calling station in life, rank (OED, vlb. sb. 10)

573-4 I doubt ... their calling. Distinctions of rank are central to Elizabethan statutes and proclamations regulating apparel and are supported in the Homily against Excess of Apparel as Scriptural: 'The fourth and last rule is, that every man behold and consider his own vocation, inasmuch as God hath appointed every man his degree and office, within the limits whereof it behoveth him to keep himself. Therefore all may not look to wear like apparel, but every one, according to his degree, as God hath placed him' (Sermons, 326-7). This speech, however, was heavily revised for the second edition and in the original version this opening sentence concludes in a manner which is more explicitly critical of excess amongst all social classes: 'yet a meane is to be kept, for, omne extremum vertitur in vitium, euery extreme, is turned into vice.' The lack of any end-stop punctuation in the quarto text (see collation

line) probably results from the fact that the end of the sentence coincides with a line break.

574 **Magistry** magistracy

579 **offend** transgress (OED, v. 2)

582 **erogate** distributed

subuention relief, support

584 **refection** nourishment of food and drink (OED, sb. 2)

585 **priuate subiectes** i.e., those not holding public office or official position.

588-91 **except they ... or purpose** The Queen's physicians, officers of her household, and sheriffs of shires, for example, were exempted from the sumptuary proclamation of 12 February 1580 (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 459-61).

591-602 **But now ... common wealth** Significantly, it is not the vice of pride, but rather an anxiety about the blurring of class boundaries resulting from an inability to distinguish visually between nobles and commoners which emerges in this passage as the impetus motivating the author to inveigh against the abuse of apparel. That the numerous laws governing apparel were not being strictly obeyed or enforced is a point stressed in the opening remarks to both the sumptuary proclamation issued 12 February 1580 (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 454-5) and the Homily against Excess of Apparel (Sermons, 324).

595 **who is noble** I have reinstated this phrase since it seems likely that it was omitted from the quarto as the result of compositorial eye-skip (compare collation line).

597 **Gentilitie** gentry

597 **Yeomanrie** 'Yeomen are those, which ... may dispend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenuie, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling ... & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of seruants ... doo come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, doo make them by those means to become gentlemen' (William Harrison, 132-3). Peter Laslett emphasises the sharp distinction between gentlemen, who had no need to labour for their living, and yeomen, who were 'the most successful of those who worked the land' (43).

601 **seruile** belonging to the serving class or lower orders (OED a. 2b)

606-9 I deny ... ynough The right of the gentry and magistrates to wear rich clothing is a point that Stubbes emphasises very deliberately in his preface to the first edition (see Appendix 1-B, 69-87).

609 Thraso the name of a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*; hence, braggart. The first edition reads 'fixnet,' which presumably means the same thing, but this is the only example of the word recorded in OED.

indiffer tly equally, indiscriminately (OED, adv. 1a)

612 splendish make splendid

612-3 set foorth ... earthly kingdom Almost certainly based on 1 Chr.xxix.II: 'Thine, O Lord, is greatnesse and power, and glory and victorie, and prayse: for all that is in heauen & in earth *is thine*: thine is the kingdome, O Lord, and thou excellest as head ouer all.'

613 Arase cloth of arras, a rich tapestry fabric

614 pendices canopies? The word could be applied to any structure with a sloping roof (OED, penthouse sb. 2a).

615-6 serue not onely ... occupations i.e., are not only of practical use.

616 decore decorate, adorn

621 author creator (OED, sb. 1b)

632 diffuse obscure, vague

636-40 When the ... and likenesse Gen.i.1-ii.3

636 intellectible intellective, capable of understanding

638-9 his word ... Christ Iesus The name of Christ is here synonymous with God's word and wisdom. Compare Prov.viii.22: 'The Lord hath possessed me [Wisdom] in the beginning of his way: *I was* before his works of old,' where the sidenote explains, 'He declareth hereby the diuinitie and eternitie of this wisdom, which he magnifieth and prayseth thorow this booke: meaning thereby the eternall son of God Iesus Christ our Sauour, whom Saint Iohn calleth that word that was in the beginning.'

643-9 Then the deuill ... of his life The temptation story is found at Gen.iii; Isa.xiv.12-15, quoted in the note to 2208-11, describes the pride of Lucifer and his fall from heaven.

643 maligner one who regards another with envy (OED malign, v. 5)

645 arrogating claiming or appropriating without right (OED, v. 2a)

648 torteous injurious, harmful

650 condescending yielding consent, acquiescing (OED v. 5b)

656 contracted entered into (OED, v. 5a). This usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by three years; the previous editions read 'committed.'

660 SN Impudent shameless, immodest

663 SN priuities private parts, genitals

668-70 Thirdly ... luxurious eyes? By phrasing his last point as a question Spudeus looks for, and receives, affirmation from his travelling companion.

670 luxurious lascivious

671 collection conclusion, deduction (OED, sb. 5)

673 prickes in our eyes causes of mental irritation (OED, prick sb. 12c)

676 exercise accustom (OED v. 3c). The first three editions read 'excite.'

contrition ... compunction As these words had long been in use in the language, they are likely to have been printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

681 creatures creations

684 decke ... their sepulchres An allusion to Mt.xxiii.27: 'Woe *be* to you, Scribes and Pharises, hypocrites: for ye are like vnto whited tombes, which appeare beautifull outward, but are within full of dead mens bones, and all filthinesse.'

685 brauerie finery, fine clothes (OED, 3b)

691 patterne ... for euer The placement in Q1 of the closing bracket after 'for euer' (see collation line) is almost certainly an error despite the presence of two revisions in this speech that appear authorial: Spudeus is asking if the fact that Adam and Eve wore leather is supposed to be forever a 'rule or patterne' to us, not stating in parenthesis that we are forever Adam's posterity. Compare Philoponus's paraphrase of the question at 705-8.

692 of force of necessity (OED, force sb.119a)

696-700 (for Domini ... mine owne) The conclusion of the parenthesis after 'thereof' in the quarto (see collation line) is another example of a misplaced closing bracket, since both of the biblical citations verify that the Lord could have dressed Adam and Eve in sumptuous clothing if he had chosen to. I have emended the text by returning to the punctuation found O1-03.

697-8 Domini est ... fulnesse thereof This is an almost direct quotation from Ps.xxiv.1.

699-700 Gold is ... mine owne Compare Hag.ii.9: 'The siluer *is* mine, and the golde *is* mine, saith the Lord of hoastes.' The concluding phrase seems to derive from the sidenote to this passage in the Geneva Bible which reads, 'Therefore when his time commeth he can make all the treasures of the world to serue his purpose.' Although 'riches' could be constructed as a singular noun (OED, 2a), it is not unusual to find a plural subject taking a singular verb (Abbott 412).

701 pedagogie discipline, training. OED cites this example from the first edition as the earliest figurative usage of the word (sb. 2).

710 an ace ... a iote synonyms meaning 'the very least amount'

713 legendes accounts

prophane secular

714 censures judgements, opinions

716 mediocritie moderation, temperance (OED, 2)

718 inuested clothed. This passage, taken from O1, is the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED (v. 1a).

719-22 But the Lord ... damnation Philoponus overlooks the fact that he has already justified the use of rich apparel in some foreign countries by arguing that God has made nothing else available to them (546-52).

720 proanesse The word printed O1-O3 is 'procliuitie,' an early usage given that the first example of it cited in OED is dated not later than 1591.

726-9 I put ... in pride The Homily against Excess of Apparel similarly permits a moderate use of rich clothing: 'If we consider the end and purpose whereunto Almighty God hath ordained his creatures, we shall easily perceive that he alloweth us apparel, not only for necessities' sake, but also for an honest comeliness ... So that they are altogether past the limits of humanity, who, yielding only to necessity, forbid the lawful fruition of God's benefits' (Sermons, 324-5).

727-9 (as the ... ragges) This parenthetical remark reads with more antagonism in the first edition: '(as our Papistes, Papists? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments, & Romish raggs).'

727 Sorbonicall Papists theologians at the Sorbonne

727 SN reposed placed

728 Romish Roman Catholic

733 scandalles offences

734 riote wanton or wasteful living

736-7 and doeth ... guerdon of pride. Strings of questions in the Abuses are often drawn to a firm conclusion with a full-stop.

744 splendent gorgeous, magnificent

747 assotted possessed by stupidity

751-4 Then who ... Mothes Compare Mt.vi.19-21: 'Lay not vp treasures for your selues vpon the earth, where the mothe and canker corrupt, and where theeues digge through and steale. But lay vp treasures for your selues in heauen, where neither the mothe nor canker corrupteth, and where theeues neither digge through nor steale. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'

754-6 His wayes ... his Prophete Philoponus misquotes Isa.lv.8, 'For my thoughts *are* not your thoughts, neither *are* your wayes my wayes,' perhaps conflating it with the conclusion to Rom.xi.33, 'how vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes past finding out!'

760-4 For saith ... exceeding good Gen.i.26-31. The possible misinterpretation of this biblical passage is discussed in the note to 1571.

761 SN fairer The creature of God is necessarily fair; the issue concerns the use of apparel to improve on one's looks. The Q1 reading (noted in the collation line) is a misprint.

762-3 excellentest This is a common form of the superlative (Abbott 9); compare 'perfectest' at line 769. Further examples will not be noted.

768 conuince convict (OED, v. 4)

768-71 who in his ... as before Compare Ps.viii.5: 'For thou hast made him [man] a little lower then God, and crowned him with glory and worship.' I have inserted an opening bracket at line 770 which was omitted, apparently accidentally, from the quarto, and have emended the placement of the closing bracket to that found in the previous editions since the words 'as before' acknowledge that man has already been described as the most perfect creature (760-4), not that angels have already been mentioned as an exception (see collation line). A similar parenthetical remark is found at 55.

771-3 But O ... made me thus? The analogy of the potter and the clay appears more than once in the Bible but the phrasing suggests that Philoponus is alluding in particular to Rom.ix.20: 'But, O man, who art thou which pleadest against God? shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made mee thus?'

774 better fauoured of a more attractive appearance (OED, favour, sb. 9a)

775 proportion form, shape (OED, sb. 7)

780 this glory The earlier editions read 'his glory.'

781 haggess a term of abuse that could be applied to men as well as women (OED, sb.1 3a, c)

783 expostulate argue, debate (OED, v. 2b)

784 miscreants misbelievers, heretics

785-6 hath cast ... opinion i.e., has given up to wickedness and a preconceived [negative] estimation. Compare Rom.i.28, quoted in the note to 322-3. OED cites the same phrase in the Second part (1583) as the earliest example of this sense of the participial adjective 'prejudicate' (ppl.a. 2).

786-7 the bowels of his mercy The bowels were considered the seat of tender emotions; hence, pity or compassion (OED, sb.1 3b).

789 refelled refuted, disproved

790 **tender** value, esteem (OED, v.2 3a)

791-2 **Linguas ... fingers** Tilley cites as proverbial the expression 'Lay thy fingers on thy lips' (F239). I have been unable to trace Stubbes's source for the quotation in Latin.

792-3 **not to spit against heaven** The phrase is proverbial, and means that we should not contemptuously defy the power of God. The earliest example cited by Tilley (H355) is found at 4016.

793 **kicke against the pricke** Acts.ix.5: 'And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Iesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kicke against prickes.' The Geneva sidenote explains that, 'This is a prouerbe which is spoken of them that through their owne stubburnesse hurt themselues.'

793-4 **For the Lord ... consuming fire** Deut.iv.24: 'For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, *and* a ielous God.'

794-6 **vpon obstinate ... by sinne** Ps.xi.6: 'Vpon the wicked he shall raine snares [traps], fire, and brimstone, and stormie tempest: *this is* the portion of their cup.'

804 **painted** adorned with bright colouring

805 **curiously** handsomely, beautifully (OED, adv. 5)

plumed in ... Pride This is not recorded as proverbial in either Tilley or Dent, but feathers are similarly associated with pride elsewhere in the Abuses (compare 1932-3 and 2016-9 SN). The phrase may be related to the proverb, 'As proud as a peacock' (Tilley P157).

806 **contemne** despise, scorn

808-10 **And seeing ... vanity** This perhaps glances at Rom.ii.11: 'For there is no respect of persons wt God.'

808 **stand with** be consistent or consonant with (OED stand, v. 79e)

810 **after** in a manner answering to. The first two editions read 'for.'

externe external

814 **the rather** the more readily

820-1 **Vnder a simple ... knowledge** proverbial (Tilley C476)

828 **cloutes** clothes, rags

829 **ornaments** qualities that confer honour (OED sb. 2b)

830 **roisteth** plays the roister, blusters and swaggers

831 **induments** accomplishments (OED, b). Printed in all of the editions, the first example cited in OED of this sense of the word is dated 1609.

833 **indued, or not indued with** possessed, or not possessed of

847 **promptuary** repository

851 Magisterie magistracy

presbyterie an assembly of ministers and ruling elders within a local area constituting the ecclesiastical court below the synod. This term could also refer to the body of elders of an individual parish church.

852-4 For the ••honour This is an almost direct quotation of 1 Tim.v.17.

858-60 For what ••true Worship? This idea was famously expressed by Juvenal in his eighth Satire: 'What avail your pedigrees? ... Though you deck your hall from end to end with ancient waxen images, Virtue is the one and only true nobility' (8.1-20).

858 preuayleth avails, profits

859 progenie parentage, descent (OED, 5)

860-1 a golden •••Scabberd Compare Tilley S1048: 'A leaden sword in a golden scabbard.' The imagery is reversed in all four editions.

861-3 Is it ••lothsomnesse? An allusion to Mt.xxiii.27, quoted in the note to 684.

863-72 I remember ••in mee I have been unable to find a direct source for this anecdote, but it may also derive from Juvenal, Satire 8: 'You are puffed up with the lofty pedigree of the Drusi, as though you had done something to make you noble, and to be conceived by one glorying in the blood of Iulus, rather than by one who weaves for hire under the windy rampart. "You others are dirt," you say; "the very scum of our populace; not one of you can point to his father's birthplace; but I am one of the Cecropidae!" ... And yet among the lowest rabble you will find a Roman who has eloquence, one who will plead the cause of the unlettered noble ... From them will come the brave young soldier who marches to the Euphrates, or to the eagles that guard the conquered Batavians, while you are nothing but a Cecropid' (8.40-53).

868 lustie insolent, self-confident (OED, a. 6)

869 SN exordiu beginning

872-82 Meaning ••Worshipfull The logical conclusion of Philoponus's anecdote, that worthy individuals of low birth who earn a respected position in society better deserve to wear rich clothing than ignoble gentlemen who ignore their responsibilities to the community, is twisted into a fear of pranked-up commoners disguised as virtuous gentry. Instead of re-evaluating everyone's right to wear costly apparel, Stubbes focusses once again on his preoccupation with those who role-play beyond their station in life.

881 tagge and rag A contemptuous expression which approximates the modern saying, 'every Tom, Dick and Harry.' Tilley cites it as proverbial (T10).

886 summe and substance essence (OED, sb.1 11)

893 by their attire presaged i.e., predicted by their clothes.

895 neither adherent ... the other? i.e., neither a feature of the clothing, nor intrinsic to themselves. Philoponus concludes this tortured argument by returning to his initial assumption that holiness is not to be found in either the apparel or the person wearing it. OED dates the figurative use of 'adherent' from 1588 (a. 2); it appears in all of the editions.

895-6 Or if it were so i.e., that both they and their clothing are holy.

900 creature creation

901-3 Therefore take ... hurt at all This is the remedy put forward by Philoponus in the chapters on gardens, dancing and gaming. Although Stubbes suggests in the preface to the first edition that the theatres could be similarly reformed, this moderate position is contradicted in the actual chapter on stage-plays and the preface was cut from all subsequent editions.

901 SN trimly cleverly, neatly

902 SN continued The first three editions read 'contriued.'

904 well seasoned brought to a state of perfection. OED cites this passage, found in all of the editions, as the first example of the participial adjective 'seasoned.'

907-8 The apparell ... of God Compare 1 Tim.iv.4: 'For every creature of God *is* good.'

913-6 And whereas ... other also It is important to keep in mind that Philoponus is speaking only of those who are not part of the nobility, gentry or magistracy (compare 570-ff).

915 supplant uproot. Also used in this sense at 924.

916-19 Sublata ... cause fayleth Walther cites 'sublata causa tollitur effectus' as proverbial (Proverbia, 30588b), a saying which is also current in English: 'Remove the cause and the effect will cease' (Tilley C202).

920 the effect ... by attyre This line, which completes Philoponus's application of the proverb to his argument, was omitted from Q1, probably as a result of eye-skip (see collation line).

ingenerate engendered

925 preposterously in an inverted order (OED, adv. 1)

926 collateral descended from a common ancestor, but in a different line

927 combinate combined. OED cites this passage in the first edition as the only example of this past participle before 1861.

930-4 For the ... execution Compare the note to 153.

931 sanctions laws, decrees

937 better cheape a better bargain, lower-priced (OED, sb. Sa)

939-40 as it is ... not to borne Compare Prov.vi.27, where this image is used to warn against adultery: 'Can a man take fire in his bosome, and his cloathes not be burnt?'

940-5 Therefore ... get them too This observation paraphrases a passage in the Homily against Excess of Apparel: 'Therefore all may not look to wear like apparel, but every one, according to his degree, as God hath placed him. Which, if it were observed, many one doubtless should be compelled to wear a russet-coat, which now ruffleth in silks and velvets' (Sermons, 326-7).

943 rume swagger, bear themselves proudly (OED, v.2 2)

944 Frize coates i.e., coats made of coarse woollen fabric.

948 kind This word could refer to either gender or kindred and it is difficult to know which sense is intended here (OED, sb. 7a, 12).

949 calling? The lack of punctuation here in the quarto text probably results from the fact that the end of this sentence coincides with a line break.

951-2 Hominis est ... deceiued Compare the proverb, 'To err is human, to repent is divine, to persevere is diabolical' (Tilley E179). A version of this saying is used by Cicero in the Philippic orations: 'Cuiusvis horninis est errare, nullius nisi insipientis in errore perseverare,' which in English reads, 'Every man is liable to err; it is the part only of a fool to persevere in error' (12.2.5).

953 affected aimed at, aspired to (OED, v.1 1a)

957 prouoke excite, rouse (OED v. 4)

961 Painyms paynims, heathens

963 Clearkes scholars

967-91 That I am ... and such like This long passage has been taken from the Homily against Excess of Apparel (Sermons, 333). Stubbes has adapted his source by incorporating the example of the wife of Philo the philosopher from an earlier page (Sermons, 331), and by making some of the examples, which in the sermon are all specific to women, applicable to both sexes.

968 Democrates Democritus of Abdera, b.460-457 B.C. ('the laughing philosopher')

970 tempered mingled, blended

974-8 Socrates ... adulterate life This speech may perhaps derive from the conclusion reached in The Republic, Book 5, concerning the feasibility of training women in the gymnasium to be guardians of the state: 'The women of the guardians, then, must strip, since they will be clothed with virtue as a garment, and must take their part with the men in war and the other duties of civic guardianship and have no other occupation' (457A).

980 Philo the philosopher Philon of Larissa (160/59- c.80 B.C.), the last undisputed head of the Academy and Cicero's mentor

- 983 Dionisius the King probably Dionysius I (c.430-367 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse, who enjoyed an important political connection with Sparta
- 985 Lacedemonians inhabitants of Sparta
- 987-8 King ... cloutes This detail is taken from Cato's oration to the Romans as recorded by Livy: 'In the memory of our forefathers Pyrrhus, through his agent Cineas, tried to corrupt with gifts the minds of our men and women as well. Not yet had the Oppian law been passed to curb female extravagance, yet not one woman took his gifts' (34.4.6).
- 987 King Pirrhus Pyrrhus (319-272 B.C.), King of Epirus, who invaded Italy in the early part of the third century B.C.
- 988 menstruous cloutes rags defiled with menstrual blood
conceiued formed and entertained (OED v. 6b)
- 991 conditions personal qualities, morals (OED, sb. IIb)
- 991-6 Diogenes ... any more Compare the account of the philosopher provided by Diogenes Laertius: 'He was the first, say some, to fold his cloak because he was obliged to sleep in it as well, and he carried a wallet to hold his victuals, and he used any place for any purpose, for breakfasting, sleeping, or conversing ... He had written to some one to try and procure a cottage for him. When this man was a long time about it, he took for his abode the tub in the Metroon' (6.22-3).
- 991 Diogenes Diogenes of Sinope, c.400-c.325 B.C.
- 993 pompous magnificent
- 994 resiant resident. The first three editions instead print the synonym 'comorant.'
- 996-1017 A certaine ... kingdome Both the identity of this philosopher and Stubbes's source for this anecdote are unknown to me but the thrust of the story closely resembles Macilente's reflections upon arriving at court in Ben Jonson's Every Man Out of his Humour (1599):
- I was admiring mine owne out-side here,
To thinke what priuiledge, and palme it beares
Here, in the court! Be a man ne're so vile
In wit, in judgement, manners, or what else;
If he can purchase but a silken couer,
He shall not only passe, but passe regarded:
Whereas, let him be poore, and meanely clad,
Though ne're so richly parted; you shall haue
A fellow (that knowes nothing but his beefe,
Or how to rince his clammy guts in beere)
Will take him by the shoulders, or the throat,

And kicke him downe the staires. Such is the state
Of vertue, in bad clothes! ha, ha, ha, ha,
That raiment should be in such high request!' (3.9.8-21)

997 adressed himself made his way

1000-5 The poore .•.reuerence A sense of haste is conveyed by the presentation of these lines in all four editions as one long run-on sentence. The placement of a comma in Q1 in the middle of the reflexive verb 'apparelled himselfe' has been emended as a printing error.

1001 lighten descend, alight [upon him] (OED v1 5)

1004 plausible with approval (OED, adv. 1)

1017-28 I read ... ornamentes Diogenes Laertius tells this story of both Aristippus (dates uncertain), and Diogenes of Sinope (2.75, and 6.32).

1021 Tinsell a rich material made of silk or wool interwoven with gold or silver thread

1025 glistering sparkling, glittering

1027 spitting against heauen Discussed in the note to 792-3.

1034-5 As for ..• vsed or vused not? It seems likely that the punctuation with which this challenge concludes should be interpreted as an exclamation mark; Philoponus's response is similarly heated.

1037 peculiar people a phrase used to describe God's own chosen people. Compare Titus ii.14: '[Christ] gaue himselfe for vs, that hee might redeeme vs from all iniquitie, and purge vs to be a peculiar people vnto himselfe, zealous of good works,' where the sidenote explains, 'As it were a thing peculiarly laid vp for himselfe.'

1040-2 What say ... beastes? Gen.iii.21: 'Vnto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coates of skinnes, and cloathed them.'

1040 SN Probation proof, demonstrative evidence

1044-7 What say ... girdle of Leather? Reference to the mantle of Elias (also known as Elijah) is found at 1 Kings xix.13, 19, and his girdle is mentioned as an identifying feature at 2 Kings i.8.

1044-5 SN pompous splendid, magnificent

1047-8 Elizeus ... the verie same? When Elijah ascended to heaven in a whirlwind, Elizeus (or Elisha) tore his own clothes and picked up the mantle of his mentor (2 Kings ii.11-15).

1048-53 And what say you ... seers house? 1 Sam.ix.18

1054-6 The children ... in the Wildernesse? Neh.ix.21

1056-9 Was not Iohn ... his loynes? Mt.iii.4, Mark.i.6

1058 succinctorie succinctorium, a band or scarf embroidered with an Agnus Dei, worn pendant from the girdle by the Pope on certain occasions

1059-62 Peter ... by thy apparell This episode is recounted four times in the New Testament, but while it is usually a woman who first recognises Peter, it is the others gathered around who identify him by his speech. Compare, for example, Mk.xiv.69-70: 'Then a maid saw him againe, and began to say to them that stood by, This is *one* of them. But hee denied it againe: and anon after, they that stode by, saide againe to Peter, Surely thou art *one* of them: for thou art of Galile, and thy speach is like.'

1062-5 The Apostle ... Goates skinnes Heb.xi.37: 'They were stoned, they were hewen asunder, they were tempted, they were slaine with the sword, they wandred vp and downe in sheepes skinnes, and in goates skinnes, being destitute, afflicted, *and* tormented.' The next three and a half lines simply elaborate on this verse.

1069-71 did not our ... or wouen? Jn.xix.23: 'Then the souldiours, when they had crucified Iesus, tooke his garments (and made foure parts, to euery souldier a part) and *his* coat: and the coate was without seame wouen from the top thorowout.' I have been unable to find any mention in the Bible of this being a typical piece of clothing.

1071-3 which fashions ... it is thought The similarity of expression between this passage and that at 504-6 suggests that this detail may also derive from Stuperius.

1071 which fashions i.e., coats without seams. This style is referred to in the singular at line 1070, but the latter plural form is invariant O1-Q1.

1074 curious elaborately or beautifully wrought (OED, a. 7a)

1076-7 Nitimur ...denied vs Ovid, The Amores 3.4.17. The expression became proverbial (Tilley F585).

1077-89 We lothe ... can expresse These lines are heavily derivative of a passage found in the Homily against Excess of Apparel (Sermons, 327).

1078 mediocrity moderation, temperance

1080 presses large cupboards (OED, sb.1 15)

1081 coffers chests

1086 one cut Slashes of varying length were cut into items of clothing so that the material underneath, often of a contrasting colour, could show through.

laced trimmed with lace (OED, v. 5). Although this verb is used repeatedly in this sense in all four editions (compare 1191, 1290, 1877), the first example of it cited in OED is dated 1599.

1087 one of golde, another of siluer i.e., one of cloth of gold, another of cloth of silver: 'One to three pounds a yard, depending on its elaborateness, was the price of cloth of gold. Cloth of silver was slightly less expensive'

(Linthicum, 114). The use of these materials was prohibited in the proclamation issued 12 February 1580 to those who were under the degree of baron or baroness (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 458-9).

1092 by degrees by successive steps or stages (OED, sb. 2b)

1094 borne me in hande assured me, but with the suggestion that Spudeus is sceptical about the truth of what he has been told; Philoponus uses the phrase at 5570 when he speaks of the prince being deluded to believe that the laws of the country are enforced. Tilley records the expression as proverbial (H94).

1095-6 impertinent ... vagaries irrelevant and unprofitable digressions

1101-3 Your request ... amongst them This passage is phrased very differently in the first edition: 'Your request seemeth both intricate, and harde, considering there bee Tot tantae maeryadaes inuentionum, So manie, and so fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day.' The heavy revision for the second edition led to the division of the sentence into two sentence fragments (see collation line); as it seems likely that this punctuation is corrupt, the author's manuscript revisions perhaps being misread by the compositor as a new sentence, I have returned to the punctuation found in O1.

1102 Meryades myriads, vast numbers

1104 pro virili mea 'to the best of my ability' (Latin). The early editions print a fuller Latin saying which reads, 'Pro virili mea, omnibus neruulis vndique extensis.' The English translation was left unchanged when the Latin quotation was revised for Q1. Compare 'pro virili parte,' meaning 'to the best of their power,' in Cicero's oration Pro Sestio (66.138).

1108 vse wear (OED, v. 8b)

sharpe on the crowne i.e., the crown of the hat tapers towards the top (OED sharp, a. 10a). The first example cited in OED of the word 'crown' used in this sense is dated 1678 (sb. 20), but at 1112-13 there is no doubt that Philoponus is describing various shapes of hat rather than the positions in which hats are worn on the crown of the head.

pearking vp sticking up. OED cites this passage, printed in all of the editions, as the earliest example of this sense of the verb 'perk' (OED, v.1 1e).

1109 speare or shaft spire

1111 fantasies whims, caprices (OED, sb. 6)

1112 like the battlement of a house Presumably Philoponus is thinking of a single merion between two embrasures.

1113 bande hatband

1114 russet reddish brown

1116 to an end consecutively (OED, end sb. 16d). Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest example of this sense of the phrase cited in OED. The first three editions read 'two daies' instead of 'two moneths.'

1116-8 And thus ... and sinne Probably loosely based on Ps.lxxviii.32-3: 'For all this they sinned still, and beleueed not his wondrous works. Therefore their dayes did he consume in vanity, and their yeeres hastily.' Compare Tilley N302: 'Nothing is more precious than time.'

1119 stufte material

1121 Sarcenet a thin silk fabric

1122-4 These they ... come besides This detail was not included in the first edition which instead prints, 'far fetched, and deare bought you maye bee sure,' a proverbial saying used previously at 569.

1122 Beuer hattes Literally, hats made out of beaver fur.

1122-3 xx. xxx. or xi. shillings i.e., one pound, a pound and a half, two pounds. In old English currency, there were 240 pence (abbreviated d.) in a pound sterling, and a shilling (abbreviated s.) was worth one twentieth of a pound, or twelve pence. Some idea of the expense of these hats at the time in real money is suggested by a proclamation regulating London wages issued 3 August 1587, which stated in part that in addition to food and drink the best hatmakers should earn by year £4 13s.4d., the best shoemakers and tailors hosier £4, the best clothworkers £5, and the best alebrewers, blacksmiths, butchers and cooks £6 (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 536-7).

1124 sort multitude (OED, sb.2 18b)

1126 indifferently equally, indiscriminately

1128 be pinked i.e., have tiny slits or holes, one-sixteenth to three-fourths of an inch in length, cut into the material, and often arranged in patterns.

cunningly with skilful art (OED, adv. 2)

1129 carued cut. Compare the note to 1289-90.

1129-30 And good ... holes they haue The irony perhaps lies in the suggestion that after much wearing the perforations in the hat join together to make a smaller number of larger holes?

1129 profitable serviceable, useful (OED, a. 1)

1130-4 They haue also ... to behold Although this particular fashion is mentioned only in the fourth edition, taffeta hats had been popular since the reign of Henry VIII (Linthicum, 231).

1131 quilted padded

imbroydered Philoponus presents embroidery on clothing as a common form of excess amongst the English (compare, for example, the trimming of ruffs, shirts and boothose), and it is therefore interesting to note

that embroidery was supposed to signal either great wealth or station; the proclamation issued 12 February 1580, for example, prohibits embroidery with silk to be worn by men of lower rank than a baron's son, knight, or gentleman attendant on Her Majesty, or who had been assessed at less than £200, lands or fees (Hughes & Larkir., ii, 458).

1132 golde, siluer gold and silver thread

of sundrie sortes presumably, of several colours

monsters imaginary animals such as the griffin or centaur (OED, sb. 3a)

1133 antiques antics, monstrous or caricatured representations of animals

1134 woonderfull astonishing

1134-7 Besides this ••without bands This is an unexpected detail since hatbands made of silk, cyress, gold and silver, and decorated with pearls and buttons, were popular in the period amongst women as well as men.

Linthicum, however, suggests that Philoponus is describing the ·small skull-fitting, narrow-brimmed barber's basin or porringer style' cap: 'These hats "scarce pipkin high," whose trimming was often an elaborate brooch and a bunch of feathers, covered only a small part of the head' (218-9).

1137 Assie asinine. OED cites this passage, found in all of the editions, as the only known usage of the adjective.

1140 fantasticall foppish, capricious (OED, a. 4)

1141 peaking projecting or rising in a peak

1142 Cockscombs caps worn by professional fools

1143 fooles babies sticks carried by Court jesters as a mock emblem of office (OED, 4). It seems strange that Philoponus would 'dare not' describe feathers in hats as cockscombs and then immediately go on to describe them as fools' baubles, but this inconsistency is explained by the fact that the latter comparison results from late authorial revision, the first three editions instead reading, 'as sternes of Pride, and ensignes of vanity,' imagery which is picked up at 1150. Stubbes's use of the word 'sternes' in this sense is unique, and according to OED, he misuses it to mean ensign, or flag.

1144 defiance renunciation of allegiance, declaration of hostilities (OED, 1)

1145 aduanced promoted, but probably also with the suggestion of being physically raised up (OED, v. 4, 9)

1147 in wearing of them. Q1 prints a comma at the end of this sentence (see collation line), an anomaly which appears to be a straightforward printer's error for the full-stop found in the previous editions. Habits of punctuation are discussed in the Introduction (pp. 93-7).

1148 lightnes unsteadiness, frivolity

1148-9 fond imaginations foolish opinions (OED, imagination 5)

1149 plainly absolutely, completely (OED, adv. 7)

conuince convict (OED, v. 4). Subsequent occurrences of this sense of the word will not be glossed.

1155 They haue great ... Ruffes Huge r1ffs such as are described in this chapter are also criticised in the proclamation enforcing statutes of apparel dated 12 February 1580, where Her Majesty's pleasure is that no person should 'use or wear such great and excessive ruffs in or about the uppermost part of their necks as had not been used before two years past; but that all persons should in modest and comely sort leave off such fond disguised and monstrous manner of attiring themselves, as both was unsupportable for charges and indecent to be worn' (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 462).

monstrous It seems likely that both contemporary senses, 'gigantic' and 'unnatural,' can be inferred throughout this and the next chapter.

1155-6 Cambricke, Holland, Lawn various types of linen. According to Stow's *Annales*, which were supplemented by E. Howes in 1615, '[i]n the third yeere of the raigne of queene Elizabeth, 1562. beganne the knowledge and wearing of Lawne, and Cambrick, which was then brought into England, by very small quantities, and when the Queene had Ruffes, made thereof, for her owne princely wearing, there was none in England could tell how to starch them, for vntil then all the Kinges and Queenes of ENGLAND wore Fine Holland in Ruffes' (sigs. Dddd1v-2).

1157 a quarter of a yard deep i.e., this is the width of the ruff from the edge to where it fastens at the neck; the full ruff would measure over half a yard in diameter.

1159 their shoulder points Doublets with detachable sleeves were fastened with points, or ties, at the shoulder, but since not all doublets were so fashioned it seems more likely that Philoponus simply means the points of their shoulders. Compare the use of the expression at 1848.

1160 Pentise These huge, hanging ruffs remind Philoponus of awnings offering shelter against the weather (OED, penthouse sb. 3). The first three editions instead read 'vaile,' also meaning 'awnings,' which is an extremely early usage of the word in this sense as the first example cited by OED is dated 1781 (OED, veil sb.1 3d). The two words are again used as synonyms at 1665 in a chapter on women's hairstyles.

1160-3 But if it ... Windmill sayles Although Stubbes kept tinkering with this sentence, eventually rewriting it altogether, he never again achieved the vividness of imagery found in 01: 'But if Aeolus with his blasts, or Neptune with his stormes, chance to hit vppon the crasie bark of their brused ruffes,

then they goe flip flap in the winde like rags flying abroad, and lye vpon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a slutte.' This passage is cited by OED as the earliest example of the adjective 'crasie' (a. 1), meaning unsound or damaged; the word appears at this place in the first three editions.

1162 dishcloutes dishcloths

1162-3 Windmill sayles sheets of canvas stretched over frames, attached to the arms of a windmill, which present surfaces to be acted on by the wind

1164 found out invented, devised (OED find, v. 20a)

1164-5 SN arches or pillers supporting structures. The words are used both literally in the sense that supportasses and starch prop up ruffs, and figuratively in that they maintain pride.

1167-71 The one ... their neckes Only with the arrival in 1564 of a starcher from Flanders called Mistress Dinghen van den Plasse did the technique of starching become generally known in England; London wives, admiring her work, 'began to send their Daughters, and neatest kinsewommenne, to Mistris Dinghen, to leame how to starch, her vsuall price, was at that time, foure or fiue pound, to teach them how to starch, and twenty shillings how to seeth starch. This rnistris Dinghen, was the first that euer taught starching in Englande' (Annales, sig. Dddd2v).

1170 diue dip

1171-4 And this ... the like This sentence is included in only the final edition. Although coloured starch is mentioned in the literature of the period, 'white, and very rarely yellow, seems to have prevailed in England, judging from portraits' (Cunnington & Cunnington, 113).

1171 SN Supportasses Described by Philoponus at 1175-80. This word is extremely rare and the passage at 1181, printed in all of the editions, is the first of only two examples cited in OED; the second is dated 1902. The word that seems to have been in more common use is 'supporter.'

1175 crested ribbed (OED, ppl. a. 3)

1176 whipped ouer bound (OED v. 18a)

1178 applyed fastened (OED v. 1a)

1179 Bande collar (i.e., of the shirt). The word 'band' in this period could also be used, as at 1184 and 1190 SN, to refer to either the 'falling band' which lay flat on the shoulders or the goffered ruff.

1183 ordayneth furnishes, provides (OED, v. 6)

1184 chargeable costly, expensive (OED, a. 4)

1185 such as ... richer sort? The first three editions instead read, 'if they haue, they are better monied then I am?'

1188 for fayling just in case (OED, fail sb.2 2)

1189-90 **Cambricke ... for money** This phrase seems to have stuck in Stubbes's mind; compare 1155-7 and 1208-9.

1189 SN **statelie** This word could carry the senses both 'of imposing proportions' and 'befitting a person of high estate' (OED, a. 3a, 4a).

1191 **wrought** decorated (OED, ppl. a. 3b)

silke woorke silk embroidery

1191-2 **laced with ... price** Ruffs in this period were trimmed with a number of different types of openwork lace made of either gold and silver thread, silk, or linen, some ruffs being constructed entirely of lace. Bobbin lace and purl lace (described more fully in the notes to 1777 and 1781) were made with gold and silver thread and silk, while cutwork and drawnwork (discussed in the note to 1780) were expensive embroidered laces worked on linen.

1193 **Vnde** Latin, meaning 'whence' (a source being understood); today we might say 'the wherewithal.' The early editions read '**Argent.**'

geare rubbish (OED, sb. 10a)

1194-7 **for they ... a rope** i.e., for they will maintain these costly ruffs either by selling or mortgaging their lands, or by stealing the money at the cost of their lives - Shooters Hill, Stangate, and the Salisbury plain being dangerous then for highway robbery. The idea of selling land in these locations may have been intended as a joke, Stubbes assuming that his reader would be able to infer the crime commonly associated with these three places. Although this passage was reworked to greater or lesser extent in each successive edition, it is similarly obscure in all of them.

1197 **Tyborn** Tyburn, a former place of execution in London for Middlesex criminals

1197-1200 **& in sure ... Gallowes** Fashionable ruffs became increasingly more elaborate throughout the reign of Elizabeth I and Philoonus is probably referring in particular to the late style of setting ruffs in a series of multiple horizontal pleats. This quip only appears in the quarto.

1198 **found out** invented, devised

1199 **lengthes** Although Philoonus seems to use this term in a specific sense, I have been unable to discover the precise dimensions of this unit of measurement. Ruffs consisting of twelve or sixteen lengths of material must have been huge, however, as similar ruffs, 'a full quarter of a yearde deepe, and 12. Lengths in one Ruffe,' are described by Howes, who explains that 'this Fashion, in London was called the French Fashion, but when Englishmen came to Paris, the french knew it not, and in derision called it, the English Monster' (Annales, sig. Dddd2v).

set pleated (OED, v.1 80)

1201-3 The state ... is vsed Stubbes returns repeatedly in these early chapters to the conviction that the excessive wearing of sumptuous (foreign) apparel is directly responsible for the massive price inflation and widespread poverty experienced in sixteenth-century England; compare especially 555-9 with its note, and Philoponus's parenthetical remark at 1239-43. At 3310-17, Stubbes alternatively attempts to explain escalating prices as the consequence of sheer greed.

1205 all in a manner very nearly everyone (OED, manner sb.1 10)

1207 Camericke a recognised variant form of 'cambric'

1211 grosser coarser, more inferior (OED, a. 12a)

1213 wrought decorated

Needle woorke any kind of work done with a needle (OED, 1), but in this instance Philoponus is referring to embroidery in particular

1214 curiously skilfully, elaborately (OED, adv. 3a)

open seame Janet Arnold suggests that this refers to a decorative seam similar to that found on the top of a coif photographed as Fig. 298b in her book *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (private correspondence).

Compare the slightly different use of the term in the context of stockings at 1333 and 1960-1.

1215 knackes trifles, toys (OED, sb.2 3)

1215-21 Insomuch ... that is These prices were printed only in the last three editions.

1216-7 ten shillings ... fourty i.e., half a pound, a pound, two pounds.

Compare the note to 1122-3.

1217 twenty Nobles i.e., £6 13s.4d. The value of these former gold coins had settled at six shillings eight pence by 1550.

1219 a crowne i.e., five shillings, or a quarter of a pound sterling.

1221 simplest person person of lowest rank or position

1224 or if it doe i.e., 'or if this situation do occur.' The first three editions instead read 'if they do,' referring back to 'Shirtes.'

1225 Si Cristas ••.attollant Literally, 'if they raise their crests and lift up their horns' (Latin). Compare Juvenal's fourth Satire: 'et tamen illi surgebant cristae; nihil est quod credere de se non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas,' which in translation reads, 'Yet the Monarch's comb began to rise: there is nothing that divine Majesty will not believe concerning itself when lauded to the skies!' (69-71)

1225-6 if they stand •.Pantoffies Proverbial (Tilley P43), meaning to stand on one's dignity or to affect a superior air. Pantofles were mules with a low wedge heel worn as an overshoe (described more fully at 1353-76).

1226 boise vp ... on high Not listed as proverbial by either Tilley or Dent, but the phrase 'to bear a high sail' is found in OED with the figurative meaning, 'to be exalted' (OED, sail sb.1 3).

1227 diamond expensive(?). Printed in all of the editions, none of the definitions of this adjective offered in OED fits the context of this passage; compare, however, the somewhat similar usage at 1540.

1228 nice unmanly (OED, a. 4b)

1230 daintie fine, handsome (OED, a. 1)

1231-53 **It** is very true ... an bower A similar argument, using much of the same vocabulary, serves to advocate a more austere diet in the chapter on gluttony (2792-807).

1231 curiositie excessive care or attention (OED, 4a)

nicenesse luxury (OED, 2)

1232 transnatureth changes the nature of

1233 infirme physically weak. Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED by twenty-two years (OED, a. 2a).

1235 confines bordering regions (OED, sb.2 1a). The use of contrasting type in the last two editions is probably intended to suggest emphasis.

1237 within ... flue score yeares i.e., within the last eighty or a hundred years (OED, compass sb. 8b).

1238 Frize a woollen fabric with a heavy nap on one side

hosen breeches, with either attached or separate stockings

1238-9 huswiues Carzie Housewife cloth was a middle quality linen cloth intended for family use, and Philoponus is presumably referring to a similar quality woollen cloth.

1243 streight tight-fitting, narrow (OED, strait a. 1a)

1245 disgest digest

1246 hard i.e., hard to digest; see 2799. The earlier editions read 'crude.'

1246-7 fairer complectioned of a more robust physical constitution (OED, ppl. a. 1)

1250 neshier more delicate and weak

1251 hardnesse hardship

1253 extenuate stretch out (OED, v. 2). This is the first of only two examples of the verb used in this sense, and OED suggests that it may have been confused for 'extend.'

1256 nicenesse ...curiosity luxury ... excessive care. These words were previously used in close proximity to each other at 1231.

1258 fond toyes foolish trifles

nice unmanly (OED, a. 4b)? This word carried a wide range of meanings in the period and it is difficult to tell exactly in what sense it is used here. This definition is suggested in light of the preoccupation found throughout the chapter with men becoming weak and womanish through the use of luxurious clothing.

1259 effeminate womanish, self-indulgent

1260 nice delicate, tender (OED, nice a. 4c). Another available meaning, however, is 'wanton.' As discussed in the note to 1258, one's understanding of this word is influenced by context, a fact which makes the revision of 'wanton girls' to 'wayrish girles' later in the line particularly significant.

wayrish Probably 'wearish,' meaning feeble or delicate, but this spelling is not listed by OED as an alternative form. O1 reads 'yonge,' while O2 and O3 read 'wanton.'

1260-1 puissant ... men The early editions instead read, 'puissant agentes, or manly men.' This is an early usage of the word 'agent' since the first example of it cited in OED, in the sense of one who acts or exerts power, is dated not later than 1600 (sb. 1a).

1264 monstrous enormous and unnatural. Compare note to 1155.

1266 priuie members private parts, genitals

quilted padded

1267 bombasted i.e., padded with hair, cotton wool, several linings of holland or canvas, etc. (OED, ppl. a. 1). OED cites this example, printed in all of the editions, as the earliest usage of this sense of the participial adjective.

sewed i.e., with layers of material and padding sewn together.

1272-5 Now what ... iudge Philoponus is describing the fashionable peascod belly.

1278 gourmandice gluttony

1286 Pudenda genitals. It is impossible to determine whether Stubbes is here using 'pudenda' as a Latin or English word; according to OED, it was not for certain adopted into the English language before 1634.

1287 Bombast any material used as padding

1288-9 Grograine Chamlet These materials are described in the notes to 532 and 549.

1289-90 slashed, iagged, cut, earned, pinked These are various methods of decoratively cutting a garment, often allowing a contrasting material underneath to show through. Unlike pinking (described in the note to 1128), the first four techniques suggest fairly long cuts in the material.

1290 laced trimmed with lace

all kind of costly lace The type of lace which decorated such garments as doublets, cloaks and gowns was more often a straight-edged braid or openwork bobbin lace constructed of many threads twisted and knotted together and sewn flat onto the material than cutwork or drawnwork as on ruffs. Any of these various types of trim, however, could be implicit in Philoponus's ambiguous use of the term 'costly lace': 'Modem industry has separated these two classes of work, but their being formerly so confounded renders it difficult in historic researches to separate one from the other' (Bury Palliser, 26).

1291 stand vpon discourse upon at length (OED. stand v. 78k)

particularlie one by one, individually (OED, adv. 1a)

1296 Hosen breeches, with either attached or separate stockings. They were also called 'hose.'

1299-1300 French hose ... Venetians These different styles of hose are discussed in tum below.

1300-6 The French ... knees As Philoponus suggests, the length and shape of French hose, also known as trunk hose, could vary considerably; what distinguishes them from other breeches is that they have either canions (1305) or stockings sewn on as extensions (Cunnington & Cunnington, 114-6).

1302 sidenesse length

1304 (being not ... a yard side) The closing bracket to this parenthesis is not printed in the last three editions but since the tendency elsewhere in the book is to use brackets in pairs, I have assumed a printer's error and emended the text in accordance with the O■ reading.

side long (OED, side a. 2)

1304-5 some be ... drawn out Both of these styles of French hose were usually decorated with strips of material, or 'panes,' running the length of the breech, either sewn onto the garment or cut into the top layer of material. The material underneath was visible and could be pulled through, or 'drawn out.'

1305 ornaments decorations, embellishments

Canions tight knee-length extensions sewn to trunk hose. This style of French hose was worn with separate stockings. OED cites this example, found in all of the editions, as the first usage of the word.

1306 adioyned joined on

Gallie hosen also known as galligaskins. The origin of the word is uncertain, but it may be an attributive use of 'galley,' denoting sailors' clothing. Like Venetians (1309), these knee-length breeches were worn with separate stockings.

1308 *gardes* 'A guard was a band or border placed on a garment for ornament. The material of guards was, of course, different from that of the garment which they ornamented; usually also, the colours contrasted' (Linthicum, 150). Compare the similar trimming of cloaks (1450) and women's gowns (1880-2).

laide downe trimmed or embroidered. Printed in all of the editions, the first example of this expression cited in OED is dated 1611 (OED, lay v. 511); the more common construction was 'layd on' (compare 1311).

either hose i.e., each leg of the breeches, as in 'a pair of hose' (OED hose sb. 2).

1309 *Venetian hosen* The precise difference between these and gaily hosen is unclear, but whereas Venetians were both voluminous or narrow, gaily hosen seem to have been usually of a baggy cut (Cunnington & Cunnington 121-2). This is an early usage of the term as the first example cited in OED is dated 1582.

1310 *finely* admirably, excellently; used ironically (OED adv. 6b)

poyntes ribbons or laces usually finished with metal tags

1311 *layd on* trimmed, embroidered (OED, lay v. 55j)

rowes streaks or stripes (OED, rew sb.1 3). The three previous editions read 'rewes of lace.'

1314-5 *Servingman ... them* This shift from a singular to a plural subject is invariant in all four editions.

1315 *condition* social rank or position (OED, sb. 10a)

stick hesitate (OED, v.1 15a)

1316 *these kinde* The plural form of the demonstrative adjective was commonly used with 'kind' followed by a plural substantive (OED, a. II 1d).

sutable matching (i.e., in colour or style)

1319 *a Noble* valued in the period at 6s.8d.

ten shillinges i.e., half a pound.

a Marke price The value of the mark was fixed at 13s.4d, or two-thirds of a pound sterling.

1320 *after the same rate* at a corresponding price (OED, rate sb.1 4a)

bestowe spend, lay out

1322 *of one paire* on one pair (OED, of prep. 55a)

1322-3 *Breeches ... neither* The clause following the parenthesis was added to the second edition but the preceding punctuation was never fully altered in light of this revision; assuming an oversight, I have emended the full-stop found in the quarto after 'Breeches' to a colon (see collation line).

1324 **This** is ••• as **euer** The first 'as' of the relative construction was sometimes omitted by writers of the period (Abbott 276).

woonderfull i.e., such as to excite astonishment.

1325 **the Rodde of Justice** The first three editions read 'Sworde of Iustice,' which suggests that this may originally have been an allusion to Ps.vii.12: 'Except he turne, he hath whet his sword: he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.'

1326 **with paper ... confuted** The narrative construct of the work briefly falters as Stubbes forgets that he is supposed to be writing spoken dialogue. He makes an almost identical slip at 1762-3.

1327 **Nether Stockins** stockings. The only example of this rare expression cited in OED is dated 1591, the more common word being 'netherstocks' in its various forms (compare 1329). Since this section was not set off with a chapter heading in the early editions this term only appears in-the quarto.

1329 **not of cloth** The Cunningtons maintain that English hose before about 1530 were not knitted, but made of cloth and sewn with a seam (37). Joan Thirsk, however, argues that this 'is scarcely credible ... Even though no medieval archaeological sites have yet yielded knitting needles or fragments of knitted fabric, it is difficult to believe that the art of knitting was unknown until the sixteenth, or, at best, the fifteenth century. It is much more likely that it was a peasant handicraft ... which leaves no trace in our records because it had nothing attractive to offer to merchants in national or international trade' ('The Fantastical Folly of Fashion,' 53).

1330 **Iarnsey** Used attributively for fine worsted from Jersey. See next.

1331 **Worsted** yarn made of long staple wool combed parallel and closely twisted. According to Howes, worsted stockings were not made in England before 1564, when an apprentice named William Rider borrowed and copied a pair belonging to an Italian merchant: 'Within few yeeres after, began the plentuous making both of Gersey, and Wollen stockings, & so in short space they waxed common' (Annales, sig. Dddd2v).

Crewell slackly twisted worsted yarn

1332 **curiously** elaborately. Further examples of this sense of the adverb will not be noted.

1333 **open seame** a shaping seam running down the back of the leg. Janet Arnold suggests that the design may have been similar to the open stitch pattern seen on the stockings in which Eleanora of Toledo was buried in 1562 (private correspondence, see Arnold's Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd, Figs. 301, 301a).

quirkes and clockes ornamental patterns worked on the side of a stocking

1335-42 And to such ... much more It seems likely in light of the yearly London wages set out in the proclamation dated 3 August 1587, mentioned in the note to 1122-3, that Philoponus is overstating his case: 'Doubtless it was true that everyone enjoyed an occasional touch of luxury. But Stubb's [sic] exaggerations obscure what for economic historians must be one of the most significant features of this flourishing industry, namely that many different kinds of stockings were made to suit all purses and purposes' ('The Fantastical Folly of Fashion,' 59).

1335-6 impudent insolency shameless pride (OED, insolency 1)

1336 outrage extravagance, excessive luxury (OED, sb. 1a)

1340 royal valued at this time at approximately twelve shillings

1347 exceed pass the bounds of propriety (OED, v. 4). The early editions print 'rage,' meaning to reach a high degree of intensity, which is the first example of the verb used in this sense cited by OED (v. 4b); the same substitution was made at 1921.

1353 Corked shoes in England Many chapter titles original to the fourth edition, including this one, were incorporated into the book without altering the format of the printer's copy to allow for an initial ornamental letter in the text which follows; it is unclear, however, whether this was an oversight or a deliberate decision to conserve page space (compare in the facsimile sigs. E4, F1v, G3).

Corked shoes any shoes made with cork soles

1354 To in addition to, besides (OED, prep. 15)

1355 Pinsnets This style apparently became obsolete after 1600 and no extant contemporary description of them is available. Philoponus seems to imply in this chapter that pinsnets, also known as pinsons, are similar, or at least related, to pantoffles.

Pantoffles Described in the note to 1225-6.

1355-6 two inches or more The early editions read 'a finger or two.'

1358 razed, earned, cut i.e., decoratively slashed (OED, race v.3 1b).

1359 laid on trimmed, embroidered (OED, lay v. 55j)

1363 abroad out of doors

1365 faine forced, obliged

spurne kick

1365 SN slippers According to the Cunningtons, these 'may possibly be represented by a close-fitting shoe with a long narrow tongue, which extended up the front of the ankle' (128), perhaps describing the light shoe worn inside

pantofles. Linthicum, on the other hand, argues that slippers denote slip-on shoes in general and thus can be used as synonymous with pantofles (264). As slippers are only briefly mentioned again in the Abuses at 1962, it is impossible to know with any certainty exactly what kind of shoe Philoponus has in mind. However, as a single description at 1962-6 serves for corked shoes, pinsnets, pantofles, as well as for slippers, the suggestion seems to be that in this text at least all four of these shoes are regarded as nearly identical. 1368 nicenesse luxury, indulgence (OED, 2); the idea is that men wear these shoes in order to be fashionable. Compare the same use of the word at 1379. 1369-74 For how ... swell with the same Joseph Hall alludes to pantofles in Virgidemiae (1597), writing that men 'tread on corked stilts a prisoners pace' (4.6.11).

1370 easie conducive to ease, comfortable

1372-3 Againe ... the ground Hard to believe though it may seem, pantofles were usually shorter than the length of the inner shoe (Linthicum, 252).

Compare the passage in An Almond for a Parrat (1590) where Nashe pokes fun at Stubbes and his Abuses with the quip, 'I would see the best of your *Trauerses* write such a treatise as he hath done against short heeld pantoffles' (iii, 356). The first edition reads 'on' instead of 'from' the ground.

1372 whereas seeing that (OED, 2)

1380 commoditie advantage, benefit (OED. 2c)

1384-5 collours ..• collours colours ... collars

1387 Mandilians These short jackets had open side seams, and the fashion was to wear them turned through ninety degrees, with the sleeves hanging down at the back and front.

1392 some with none at all This detail, not printed in the quarto (see collation line), was omitted likely as a result of compositorial eye-skip.

1392-3 pleated and ... gathered i.e., the material at the back is either gathered into the seam which runs across the shoulders or formed into short pleats and stitched onto an underlying piece of fabric. Janet Arnold describes how this would be carried out on loose gowns in *Patterns of Fashion* (98-100, 118-9). The same technique is described at 1893-4.

1392 creasted ribbed (OED, ppl. a. 3)

1395 good prouision ... against foule Compare the proverb, 'Lay up for a rainy day' (Tilley D89).

prouision foresight (OED, sb. 1)

1395-8 **But** if •• they doe Stubbes attributes this argument in A motiue to good workes to Saint Augustine, but I have been unable to identify the source of the quotation: 'Saint *Augustine* tells vs, that looke what apparell we haue in

our presses, what clothes in our chests, what garments in our warderobes, more than we weare on our backes, they are (sayth this holy Father) none of ours, but the poores, and to withhold them from them hauing neede, is to robbe and spoyle them' (sig. K4).

1398 Presses large cupboards

Wardrobes rooms in which clothing was kept. As this word had long been in use in the language it seems likely that it was printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

1401-4 God commaundeth ... withall Deut.xv.7-11: 'If one of thy brethren with thee be poore within any of thy gates in thy land, which the Lord thy God giueth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poore brother ... Because there shall be euer *some* poore in the land, therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand vnto thy brother, to thy needie, and to thy poore in thy land.'

1402 miserable wretchedly unhappy in condition (OED, a. 1)

1403 store plenty, abundance (OED, sb. 4b)

1409 a messe of pottage a portion of soup

1410 cheare kindly welcome, hospitable entertainment (OED sb.1 5).

'Whipping cheare' is used ironically to mean flogging, and it is an expression recorded by Tilley as proverbial (W308).

1411 meritorious deserving of reward or gratitude

1412 supererogation doing more than is necessary (OED, 1b). This sense of the word is found in all of the editions, but the first example of it cited by OED is dated 1592.

full delicately very sumptuously and luxuriously (OED, full adv. 1c)

1413 daintie choice, delicious

1414 whereas where

1415 well Philoponus seems to mean 'lucky' or 'fortunate,' but the first example of the adjective used in this sense cited by OED is dated 1665 (a. 6b) in the phrase 'it is well that.' It appears in all four editions.

1417 nor yet to hide and also not [covering] to hide (OED, yet adv. 1c)

1420-9 And if any ... miserablie The same brutal measures are described by Nashe in *Christs Teares Over Jerusalem* (1593): 'There were the in the heate of the sicknes, that thought to purge and dense theyr houses by conueying their infected seruauents forth by night into the fieldes, which there starued and dyed, for want of reliefe and warme-keeping ... In Grayes-Inne, Clarkenwell, Finsbury, and Moore-fieldes, wyth myne owne eyes haue I seene halfe a dozen of such lamentable out-casts' (ii, 160).

1422 impudent shameless

1426 are layd down The reading found here in the last two editions, 'or layd down,' prevents the reader from learning what happens to the servants immediately after they are taken away, and is likely to have resulted from compositorial error; as this sentence was heavily revised after the first edition, I have emended on the basis of the O2 reading.

1429 SN Turkish Although, according to OED, this adjective means simply 'of the Turks' and is not used as synonymous with savage or barbarous before 1600, the latter definition is at least glanced at both here and at 1430; it is printed in all four editions.

1431-4 Vnus ... besides An exaggerated form of the proverb 'One eyewitness is better than ten earwitnesses' (Tilley E274). A similar saying is found in Plautus: 'pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem,' which translates as, 'One sharp-eyed witness outranks ten keen-eared' (Truculentus, 489).

1434 excursions digressions

1444 red tawny These are two separate colours; tawny is yellowish tan.

1447 Spanish ...fashions The Spanish cloak was short and full with a hood; the French cloak was long and full, sometimes reaching to the ankle, and worn fashionably over the left shoulder in such a way that it was kept on only with difficulty; and the Dutch cloak, similar to the mandilian, was waist-length, sleeved, and usually heavily decorated with guards (Linthicum, 193-5). In 1580, presumably referring to the French style, Queen Elizabeth I commanded that 'no person shall use or wear such excessive long cloaks, being in common sight monstrous, as now of late are begun to be used, and before two years past hath not been used in this realm' (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 462).

1448 girdlestead waist

1449 liker more like. This was a common form of the comparative adjective before 'than' (Abbott 6).

gownes loose, flowing robes, often lined with fur, worn both for warmth and for ceremonial purposes

1449-56 Then are ... so lined In O1 this passage reads simply, 'These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced: and somtimes so lyned.'

1450 garded trimmed (OED, v. 7).

gards This form of trimming is explained in the note to 1308.

1450-1 laced with ... silke Compare the notes to 1290. 'The gold and silver laces so copiously worn ... were worked with bobbins to prevent the sweat of the hands from tarnishing the metal. Some of this passementerie was so rich, and so valuable, that it was moved from one dress or doublet to another, and inventoried under jewellery' (Earnshaw, 22-4).

1452 skirtes borders (OED, sb. 4c). Philoponus similarly refers to the 'skirtes' of a ruff at 1774.

1454 Babies baubles; cheap, showy ornaments

Bugles tube-shaped glass beads, usually black. Bugles as a form of trim were prohibited in 1580 to men under the station of baron's son, knight or gentleman in attendance on Her Majesty, who were not in possession of £200, lands and fees (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 190, 458).

1455 faced trimmed with another material

1456 withall in addition, moreover

standeth almost in as much costs almost as much. This expression usually takes an indirect object (OED, stand v. 44d), but compare the similar usage at 1479-80.

1458-9 hanged with points and tassels i.e., held on to the shoulders with tagged laces and clasps (OED, tassel sb.11).

1464 of our sauour The early editions read 'at the hands of our Proconsul & chiefe Prouost,' which is the only example cited in OED of the word 'proconsul' used in a figurative sense (OED, 1a).

1465-7 but rather ... poyson Spudeus's metaphor is unclear as one would expect new fashions to be hammered, rather than sucked, out of a forge; the first two editions read 'drawen.' It is possible that the author may have had in mind the action of a bellows (compare 2035-9). A similar image is found at 502-3.

1467 confusion ruin (OED, 1). The word used in O1 is 'destruction.'

1469 Boothose stockings worn over netherstocks to protect them from dirt

1472 this i.e., this fine cloth.

1474 wrought decorated, embroidered. Compare the trimming of ruffs and shirts (1191, 1213-14).

1475 clogged encumbered, filled up (OED, v. 5). Although used repeatedly in all of the editions (compare 1511 and 1776), the first example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1586.

1476 Antiques antics, monstrous or caricatured representations of animals

1479 to stand some in some to cost. Compare the note to 1456.

1481-2 so long ... the waste Philoponus is presumably referring to boothose that would be turned over the tops of the boots.

1483 reasonable large shirte It is not unusual in the Abuses to find an adjective used as an adverb (Abbott 1).

1485 grosser coarser, more inferior (OED, a. 12a)

1488 gewgawes trifles, ornaments (OED, 1). Subsequent occurrences of this word will not be glossed.

blanched whitened, perhaps as a consequence of the silver and gold embroidery? or possibly 'perverted'? (compare OED, a. 1 and 5) The meaning of this word, invariant in all four editions, is unclear to me.

1489 **gazing** that look or stare curiously

1490 **vertiginy** vertigo, giddiness

1491 **phantasticall** fanciful, capricious (OED, a. 4)

1494-9 **To these ... goodly** Compare the similar details found in the proclamation enforcing statutes of apparel dated 15 June 1574: 'None shall wear spurs, swords, rapiers, daggers ... gilt, silvered, or damasked: except knights and barons' sons, and others of higher degree or place, and gentlemen in ordinary office attendant upon the Queen's majesty's person' (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 384). This directive appears as early as 1562 and was repeated in the sumptuary proclamation of 1580 (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 458).

1495-500 **with good ... their prid** This passage, detailing the manner in which hilts were decorated in the period, was added after the first edition.

1495 **Angell golde** twenty-two carat gold (OED, angel sb. B2)

1495-6 **argented ouer** silvered over, covered with silver. The verbal form is not recorded in OED (but see 'silver' v. 1). As already noted, the passage in which this verb is printed is not included in O1.

1496 **both within and without** Philoponus is presumably thinking here of a cup hilt which envelops the hand.

1496 SN **damasked** ornamented with inlaid designs in gold or silver (OED, v. 2). Although this verb appears in all of the editions, the earliest example cited in OED is dated 1585.

1499 **Vernished** coated with varnish

ingrauen ornamented with incised marks, engraved (OED, engrave v. 2a). The word appears in the last three editions, but the first example of it in this sense cited by OED is dated 1590.

1504 **appale** make pale with fear (OED, v. 6). This word is related to the modern verb 'appal' (OED, v. 8).

1505 **Martialist** military man, warrior (OED, sb. 2). The first example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1576, which perhaps explains why it is set off in contrasting type in all of the editions.

1508 **auaileable** serviceable, profitable

1516-7 **Redde rationem ... thy stewardship** This is an almost direct quotation from Lk.xvi.2.

1521 **discovered** disclosed, revealed (OED, v. 4a)

1522 **guises** fashions, styles

1526 **prest** eager, keen (OED, a. 2)

1528 *à crepundiis* Literally, 'from a child's rattle' (Latin), hence metaphorically, 'from childhood.' Orelli attests to this saying as an inscription in the ancient world (i, 1183).

1531 *counteruaile* reciprocate (OED, v. 2b). OED cites this example, printed in all of the editions, as the earliest usage of this sense of the verb.

1532 *supply* make up for, compensate for (OED, v.1 4)

1534-5 *but yet ... that I trust* The punctuation used here, invariant in all of the editions, is meaningful but not logical; the brackets suggest irony.

1535 *munificencie* munificence, generosity

1538 *corrasiuie* corrosive, annoyance (OED, corrosive sb. 3a)

1538-9 *tender stomackes ... haughty minds* The first three editions instead read 'hautie stomackes ... tS'der breasts.'

1538 *stomackes* This word, like 'breasts' or 'hearts,' designated the inward seat of passion and emotions (OED, sb. 6a). It is possible, however, that Philoponus is using the phrase 'tender stomackes' ironically to mean 'mild dispositions' (OED, stomach sb. 7b).

1539 *nippitatum* strong, high-quality liquor or ale; nippitate. Philoponus is perhaps suggesting that his criticisms will act on women like strong alcohol, making them belligerent and defiant.

1540 *diamond* brilliant, shining (?). This passage, found in all of the editions, is the second of only two examples of this sense of the word cited in OED (sb. 8c). Compare the similarly uncertain sense in which this adjective is used at 1227.

1542-3 *for now ... obliuion* Echoing Job's words to the Lord: 'for now shall I sleepe in the dust, and if thou seeke mee in the morning, I shall not be *found*' (Job vii.21). Philoponus alludes again to this verse at 4412-3.

1544 *Penitentiaries* persons under the direction of a confessor. The modern word is 'penitents.'

1546 *purpose* discourse, conversation (OED, sb. 4b)

1547 *Collouring ... England* This title is not printed 01-03; although an initial ornamental letter was incorporated into the quarto text to mark the new chapter, the speech prefix 'Philo.' was not repeated.

1548 *The Women ... their faces* It is interesting to compare the contrasting report provided by the German merchant Samuel Kiechel who visited England in 1585: 'Item, the women there are charming, and by nature so mighty pretty, as I have scarcely ever beheld, for they do not falsify, paint or bedaub themselves as in Italy or other places' (translated from the German by Rye, 89-90).

1549 *Liquors* liquids

1550 *decored* adorned, embellished

1552 indignation wrath, anger

1553 at whose voice ... tremble Perhaps an allusion to Jer.x.l 0: 'at his anger the earth shall tremble, and the nations cannot abide his wrath.' Similar phrases, however, are also found elsewhere in the Bible.

1553-4 at whose presence ... melt away Compare 2 Pet.iii.10-12: 'But the day of the Lord will come as a thiefe in the night, in the which ... the elements shall melt with heat, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt vp. Seeing therefore that all these things must be dissolved, what manner persons ought ye to be in holy conuersation and godlinesse, Looking for, and hasting vnto the comming of that day of God, by the which the heauens being on fire, shall be dissolved.'

1556-7 he is Zelotipus Deus, a iealous God This description of the Lord first appears in the Bible at Ex.xx.5: 'for I am the Lord thy God, a ielous God,' where the Vulgate reads, 'ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis, zelotes.'

1558-64 If an artificer ... in them? This analogy is from Cyprian's treatise, On the Dress of Virgins: 'If any artist, in painting, were to delineate in envious colouring the countenance and likeness and bodily appearance of any one; and the likeness being now painted and completed, another person were to lay hands on it, as if, when it was already formed and already painted, he, being more skilled, could amend it, a serious wrong and a just cause of indignation would seem natural to the former artist. And do you think yourself likely with impunity to commit a boldness of such wicked temerity, an offence to God the artificer?' (344) The close proximity of this passage to the quotations from Cyprian and Ambrose at 1603-28, however, suggests that the words of these two Church Fathers on facepainting may derive from Augustine's tract On Christian Doctrine, where all but one of the quotations are cited as examples of the majestic style of speech (4.21.49-50).

1559 arte or science profession or occupation requiring trained skill (OED, art sb. 9a, science 3d)

Cobbler clumsy workman, botcher (OED, sb. 2). Printed in all four editions, the first example of this sense of the word cited by OED is dated 1594.

1563 audacity impudence, effrontery (OED, 3)

1564-77 Doe they ... in his word A similar line of reasoning is used to condemn rich clothing at 756-71. This passage, however, perhaps echoes the words with which Tertullian in his tract On Female Dress attacked women who use cosmetics: 'To them, I suppose, the plastic skill of God is displeasing! In their own persons, I suppose, they convict, they censure, the Artificer of all things! For censure they do when they amend, when they add to, [His work;]

taking these their additions, of course, from the adversary artificer. That adversary artificer is the devil' (320-1).

1567 slibberssauces messy, repulsive concoctions. The first two editions instead print the synonym 'sibbersawces.'

1568 these •• intentions i.e., to make themselves appear more beautiful.

1571 after his owne likenesse Philoponus's argument seems to rest on a misinterpretation of Gen.i.26, where 'likeness' refers not to a physical, but to a moral, resemblance. Compare the sidenote to the verse found in the Geneva Bible: 'This image and likenesse of God in man is expounded, Ephes.4,24. where it is written that man was created after God in righteousnesse and true holinesse, meaning by these two wordes, all perfection, as wisdome, trueth, innocencie, power, &c.' The error may also be implicit at 763-4.

1573 them themselves (OED, 4)

1574 probable worthy of acceptance or belief (OED, a. 2a)

1581-3 they stumble ... they repent An allusion to Isa.viii.14-15: 'And [the Lord] shall be ... as a stumbling stone, and as a rocke to fall vpon, to both the houses of Israel, *and* as a snare and as a net to the inhabitants of Ierusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and shall fall, and shall be broken, and shall be snared, and shall be taken.'

1586 denounce proclaim, pronounce (OED, v. 4a)

1587-90 Depart ... my creation This is a conflation and amplification of Mt.xxv verses 12, 'But he answered, and said, Verely I say vnto you, I know you not,' and 41, 'Then shall he say to them on the left hand, Depart from me ye cursed, into euerlasting fire, which is prepared for the deuill and his angels.'

1593 skilful expert (OED, a. 4b)

1595 simples single uncompounded substances, serving as ingredients in a mixture (OED, sb. 7a)

farre •• bought This proverbial saying is quoted more fully at 569.

1596 artificially skilfully, cleverly (OED, adv. 2)

tempered mixed, blended (OED, v. 3)

condiments According to OED, this word describes things which season or give relish to food but it seems to be used here in all of the editions as synonymous with 'confections,' meaning mixtures or compounds (see next). These words were paired as well in the early editions in the chapter on gluttony, but 'condimentes' was revised in the quarto to 'iunkets' (2787).

1597 confections mixtures, compounds (OED, sb. 5a)

1597-9 els you may •• the same Philoponus's confidence is unfounded, as Elizabethan cosmetics and lotions included such ingredients as ceruse (white lead) and turpentine; Soliman's Water, for example, invented in the sixteenth

century, 'was supposed to eliminate all spots, freckles and warts, and its chief ingredient was sublimate of mercury which polished off the outer layer of skin and corroded the flesh beneath. The girl's teeth fell out even more rapidly than was usual at this date, her gums receded, and by the age of thirty the devotee of miracle lotions would be a rotting wreck' (Angeloglou, 48).

1598 amiable lovely (OED, a. 2b)

1601 Fathers i.e., the Fathers of the Church, the early Christian writers.

1603-20 S. Cyprian ... shall be in hell On the Dress of Virgins, 344-6. Stubbes's translation of the final quotation (1616-20) is somewhat confused; in the original, Cyprian tells women that they imbue their hair with an evil portent: 'you, in order to overcome the word of your Lord, will be more mighty than He, and stain your hair with a daring endeavour and with profane contempt; with evil presage of the future, make a beginning to yourself already of flame-coloured hair; and sin (oh, wickedness!) with your head—that is, with the nobler part of your body!' (345) In Latin this quotation treats only of dyed hair; the reference to face-painting in the English translation is the author's own invention.

1603 S. Cyprian Thascius Caecilianus Cyprianus (200-258), Bishop of Carthage and Church Father

1605 corrupted spoiled (OED, v. 7b). Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by nineteen years.

1606 brothell prostitute (OED, sb. 2a)

1608-9 Thou canst ... or blacke This is a direct quotation from Mt.v.36. Jesus uses these words to warn against swearing, not facepainting, but this verse, as originally cited by Cyprian, demonstrates the extent to which women dare to challenge the word and power of the Lord.

1609-16 In another ... creatures This is the only passage from Cyprian's On the Dress of Virgins which is not included in Augustine's discussion of majestic speech; the fact that Stubbes mentions that he found it in 'another place' supports the suggestion that On Christian Doctrine may have been the immediate source for his other quotations from the patristics on facepainting.

1620-8 Saint Ambrose ... nothing lesse? Paraphrasing a passage from Ambrose's treatise, Concerning Virgins: 'And in this position spring up those incentives to vice, in that they paint their faces with various colours, fearing not to please their husbands; and from staining their faces, come to think of staining their chastity. What madness is here, to change the fashion of nature and seek a painting ... **If** thou art beautiful, why hidest thou thyself? **If**

unsightly, why dost thou falsely pretend to beauty, so as to have neither the satisfaction of thy own conscience, nor of the error of another?' (367)

1620-I Saint Ambrose c.339-97, Bishop of Milan and Christian theologian

1622 purchase obtain, procure (OED, v. 3a)

1624 change exchange

1628-30 Can those ... seeme fayrer? Even though the parenthetical statement grammatically ends at 'filthie,' the placement of the closing bracket in this sentence has not been emended as the parenthesis serves to characterise the artificial means by which women think to make themselves more fair as both filthy and cursed; compare the similar rhetorical use of a parenthesis at 1533-7. These brackets were printed only in the fourth edition.

1629 brande stigma (OED, sb. 4a). The earliest example given by OED of the figurative use of this word is dated 1597; it appears in all four editions.

1631 inuectiōns invectives (OED, sb. 1). Printed in all of the editions, the first example of this sense of the word cited by OED is dated 1590.

grounded strongly founded

moe more in number

Augustine St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

1632 Hierome St. Jerome (c.342-420), biblical scholar and translator of the Bible into the Vulgate

Chrysostom St. John Chrysostom (c.347-407), Bishop of Constantinople

Gregorie Pope Gregory I (c.540-604)

Caluin John Calvin (1509-64), French theologian and reformer

Peter Martir Saint (1205-52), Inquisitor for North Italy under Pope Gregory IX

1633 Gualter Rodolph Walther (1518-86), Swiss Protestant theologian
generally universally, with few or no exceptions (OED, adv. 2)

1634-5 those ... painting and collouring i.e., those ... [actions of] painting and colouring.

1634 brothellous whorish. This is the only example of the adjective recorded in OED; it appears in all four editions.

1636-7 Pauca ... sufficient Tilley records this saying as proverbial: 'Few words to the wise suffice' (W78I), but I have been unable to identify a Latin source for the proverb. The lack of punctuation in QI to separate the Latin phrase from its translation is another example of the omission of punctuation which coincides with a line break.

1640-9 And when ... or change These lines were not printed in OI.

1641 cunningest most skilful or expert

1642 **splendent** gorgeous, magnificent

1643 **orient** lustrous, brilliant

1644-7 **Then if God ... of all other?** Mt.vi.30: 'Wherefore if God so cloathe the grasse of the field which is to daie, and to morrow is cast into the ouen, shall he not doe much more vnto you, O ye of little faith?'

1657 **tricking** arranging, trimming

1658 **laying out** arranging, ordering (OED, lay 56j)

of force necessarily, unavoidably (OED, force sb.119a)

1659 **frizled** curled in small, crisp curls

crisped closely and stiffly curled

a world a wonder (OED, sb. 19c). This is an abbreviated version of the fuller expression 'it is a world' found at 2015-6.

1659-60 **on wreathes and borders** Norris is confident that this phrase means 'plaits or braids of hair encircling the head' (736), but since there is very little pictorial evidence to support this interpretation, and the first example of 'borders' cited in this sense by OED is dated 1601, while no such definition of 'wreath' is given at all, some uncertainty remains. Unfortunately, an alternative suggestion is not immediately apparent. Philoponus may simply be trying to describe the shape of the masses of curls which curve in 'borders' around the women's faces, using 'wreathes' to mean 'twisted bands' in much the same way as he does at 1666 and 1668-71 SN.

1660-2 **And least ... tell what** Philoponus is referring to the practice of rolling either smooth or curled hair back from the forehead over a pad or wire structure around which the hair is wrapped and shaped, the face then sometimes being further framed with a fringe of tight curls.

1661-4 SN **Simia erit ... insignia** 'An ape will always be an ape, though it wear decorations of gold' (Latin); *Proverbia* 29635b, *Adagia* 265A. As Richard Taverner explains in his translation of the *Adagia*, this proverb signifies that 'the omame'tes of fortune do not chatlge the nature of man' (sigs. C5-C5v). Compare Tilley S451: 'Silk and satin make not a gentleman.' A similar proverbial saying is found at 1877-8 SN.

1662 **grim and sterne** formidable and threatening in appearance (OED, grim a. 4 and stem a. 4b)

1663 **matrones** The use of this word is significant since married women had only very recently begun to wear their hair uncovered (de Courtais, 49).

bolstered haire i.e, natural hair arranged over 'sausages' of false hair to give lift and bulk.

1664 **crested** arranged in such a way that it resembles the comb, or crest, on a bird's head

frontiers foreheads (OED, sb. 1c). OED cites this passage, taken from the first edition, as the only example of the word used in this sense.

1664-5 hanging ouer ... euery side i.e., their hair, built up on top and to the sides of their heads, reminds Philoponus of awnings (compare the note to 'pentise' at 1160). Although 'pendices' is found here in all of the editions, the earliest example cited by OED of it used in a figurative sense is dated 1589 (sb. 3). 'Glasse windowes' is probably intended to suggest that the women's faces remain clearly visible from each side. The simile is obscure and potentially misleading as it leads one to imagine that the women's hair falls into, rather than projects above, their faces, but a similar image is used by Dekker in the Gull's Hornbook (1609) to describe men's hairstyles: 'having goodly penthouses of hair to overshadow [the eyes]' (29).

1666 is ... wreathes It was not unusual in the period for a plural subject to take a singular verb (Abbott 333).

great wreathes of gold and siluer These ornamental bands, called upper billiments, curved around the top edge of the high dressed hair and were made of precious metals or rich material decorated with jewels: '[They] either formed part of a small cap, caul or band fitting over the coil of hair at the back or [they were] simply the back portion of the French hood complete with the black velvet hanging flap' (de Courtais, 52).

1667 applyed fastened

1667-73 And for ... recompt These jewels were simply fastened into the hair like brooches, sometimes in such a way as to dangle on the forehead.

1669 wreathed shaped as a wreath or band around their faces (OED, v. 1b)

Bugles tube-shaped glass beads, usually black. Sumptuary restrictions imposed on bugles are discussed in the note to 1454.

Babies showy trinkets, gewgaws

1669 SN circumgiring encompassing. The only example listed in OED of the verb used in this sense is taken from the Second part (1583).

1670 Ouches brooches worn as ornaments (OED, sb.1 1)

glasses things (presumably beads) made of glass

1673 recompt recount, relate

1673-5 But God ... godlinesse Compare 1 Pet.iii.3-4: 'Whose [i.e. the wives'] apparelling let it not bee that outward, with broidered haire, and gold put about, or in putting on of apparell: But let it bee ... the incorruption of a meeke and quiet spirit, which is before God a thing much set by.' The Geneva sidenote explains that Peter 'condemneth the riot and excesse of women and setteth fourth their true apparelling such as is precious before God: to wit, the inward and incorruptible which consisteth in a meeke and quiet spirit.'

- 1673 vanites a recognized variant spelling of 'vanities'
- 1676-7 The Apostle ... ornament to them 1 Cor.xi.15: 'But if a woman haue long haire, it is a praise vnto her: for her haire is giuen her for a couering.'
- 1677 cherish tend, foster (OED, v. 2b)
- 1678 laying it forth decking it out, arraying it (OED, lay 52d). This is a very early usage of the phrase as the first example of it cited in OED is dated 1656. It is printed in only the fourth edition, the other versions instead reading, 'laying it out.' Compare 'laying out' at 1658, 1680 and 1683 SN.
- 1681 impious irreligious, profane. Printed in all four editions, the first usage of 'impious' recorded in OED is dated 1575-85.
- 1685 strange beasts It is not the animals, but the use to which their hair is put, which Philoponus finds unaccountable.
- 1686-93 And if there ... her haire This passage was not printed in O1.
- 1688 nice Both 'wanton' and 'difficult to please' could be understood here (OED, a. 2a, 7a).
- 1694 order formal array, arrangement (OED, sb. 13)
- 1697-8 chaunging ... accident i.e., converting the underlying essence of a thing into its non-essential attributes (OED, accident sb. 6a). Philoponus's complaint is that purely cosmetic details such as styling and colour have become all-important. The expression is found again at 2850-1 in the context of food.
- 1698-1700 So whereas ... the same Hair and head coverings for women are prescribed at 1 Cor.xi.1-15 as important tokens of their obedience and subjection to men. Verse 15 is quoted in the note to 1676-7.
- 1701 made it ... of pride The first edition reads at more length, 'made (as it were) a Metamorphosis of it, making it an ornament of Pride.'
- 1704-5 the straite ... Lord An allusion to Mt.vii.14: 'Because the gate is strait, and the way narrow that leadeth vnto life, and few there be that finde it.'
- 1705 Cisternes artificial reservoirs. The word appears in all four editions, but the earliest figurative use recorded in OED is dated 1587 (sb. 5a).
- 1706 confusion ruin
- 1707 French Hoodes headdresses 'made on a stiff foundation and worn far back,' with a strip of material hanging behind could be flipped up and fastened on top of the women's heads (Cunnington & Cunnington, 74)
- 1710 SN Capitan of the head (OED, a. 1). According to OED, this adjective was not used in the sense of 'excellent' or 'first-rate' prior to the eighteenth century (a. 7).
- 1711 Ratte Hats for women, as opposed to caps or hoods, were a relatively new innovation: 'in the course of the [Elizabethan] period hats in imitation of

those worn by men became gradually more and more fashionable amongst all classes ... although, probably because of the elaborate hairstyles, they still tended to wear their hats mainly for riding or travelling' (de Courtais, 56).

1712 Kercher kerchief. Kerchiefs are presumably mentioned in this chapter because they were worn over the head, 'b'Jt from the fourteenth to the late seventeenth century they were worn only by the lower classes' (Linthicum, 162). This point is confirmed by the Cunningtons, who include a kerchief as part of the attire of the 'typical working woman' (197-9).

1712-4 Veluet ... some of that The condensed version of this passage found in the quarto (see collation line) is likely to have resulted from careless typesetting, the compositor's eye skipping twice within the same sentence.

1715 fantasies whims, caprices (OED, sb. 6)

serpentine cunning, evil

1716 sticke hesitate

1717 euey .•. Gentlewomen i.e., all severally. In this period, 'every' could take either a singular or plural substantive (OED, a. 2) here it takes both.

The passage is invariant in all four editions.

1722-3 run •• to another The source of the Latin quotation is unknown, but Tilley cites the expression as proverbial (B27); 'a malo, ad peius' literally means 'from bad to worse.'

1724 vntill they •• iniquity Alluding to Mt.xxiii.32, 'Fulfill ye also the measure of your fathers,' where the sidenote in the Geneva Bible reads: 'A prouerbe vsed of the lewes, which hath this meaning, Goe ye on also & follow your ancesters, that at length your wickednesse may come to the full.'

1725 confusion ruin

1726 furnish foorth decorate, embellish (OED, furnish v. 10a). Although this usage appears in each of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1597.

1726-8 SN Trahit ..• voluptas Literally, 'each is led by his or her liking.'

The quotation is taken from Vergil, *Eclogue* 2, line 65.

1727 Cawles net caps covering the hair arranged in a bun at the back of the head. They were lined with expensive material and often set with jewels.

1729 Tinsel Described in the note to 1021.

(for that is the worst) This passage provides good evidence that the author did not consult the printer's copy or original manuscript when revising the book, as a printing error in O2 was compounded rather than corrected in subsequent editions. The closing bracket found in the first edition was reversed in the second edition, which led to the inclusion of an extra closing bracket after 'Cawles' (1730) in O3. For the printing of the quarto, the last two

brackets found in O3 were dropped, but the original opening bracket was left unchanged. I have emended the quarto by returning to the reading found in O1. The process of revision is discussed further in the Introduction, pp. 37-53.

1732 glister sparkle, glitter

1733 Lattice cappes These caps made of a whitish grey fur were in fact far less prevalent in this period than they were fifty years earlier (Cunnington & Cunnington, 80), but, oddly enough, the sentence in which this term appears was added as an afterthought to the second edition.

1734-5 like the ... Popish Priestes The peaks on the women's caps have presumably put Philoponus in mind of mitres.

1735 perriwinckles wigs (more fully, 'periwigs')

Chitterlings ornamental pleatings, frills. The context in which the word appears in *A delicate Diet. for daintiemouthde Droonkardes* suggests that this is probably a passing reference to elaborate ruffs: 'we doo not onelye reteyne [foreign defects], but we do so farre exceede them: that of a *Spanish* Codpeece, we make an English footeball ... of a *French* ruffe, an English Chytterling' (Gascoigne, 466).

1736 Apish foolish, trifling (OED, a. 2)

1736-8 Thus lauish ... naughtinesse Perhaps alluding to the parable of the lazy servant who was condemned for misusing the money lent to him by his master (Mt.xxv.14-30). Stubbes previously mentioned this biblical story in the dedication (90-108).

1738 naughtinesse wickedness, depravity (OED, 1a)

1739 puddle used figuratively with reference to moral defilement

1740 decay downfall, ruin (OED, sb. 1b)

Minions hussies, jades (OED, sb. 1e)

1741 Sempronians Sempronia, the wife of D. Junius Brutus (consul 77 B.C.), took part in Catiline's conspiracy; her promiscuous character is recorded by Sallust in The War with Catiline (25.1-5).

1745-50 There is ... the eie Where Stubbes may have read about these people is unknown to me.

1748 Margarites pearls

1749 lance pierce, slit (OED, v. 6a)

1752 direful dreadful, terrible. This passage, quoted from the first edition, is cited by OED as the earliest usage of the adjective.

1753 frequented practised (OED, v. 3)

1757 Humility The first edition reads 'chastitie.'

1759-60 **Libertines ... Epicures ... Atheists** Stubbes's application of these terms is generalised, the implicit connection apparently being that those who hold these opinions consider themselves exempt from conventional moral and religious obligations and therefore represent the epitome of pride and wickedness. In the first three editions this sentence concludes, 'nor that the wickednesse of them might euer couterpoyze, with the wickednesse of these people.'

1762-3 **no pen ... describe it** Stubbes once again overlooks the fact that he is supposed to be writing spoken dialogue. See 1326.

1762 SN **Neckerchers** This word can describe pieces of cloth folded lengthwise and worn like shawls over the shoulders, but is here synonymous with ruffs; compare 1808. The same meaning is probably implicit in one of the entries in Cotgrave's Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611): 'Collerette de femme. *A small necke-ruffe, neckercher, or neck-band, (wome by women.)*' (sig. S5v).

1763 SN **Partlets** articles of dress, sometimes beautifully decorated, used to fill in the décolletage. Although not discussed in the main text, partlets are presumably included in this sidenote since they could be made with a high neck and finished with a frill, a feature which eventually developed into the larger, separate ruff.

1764 **Hollande ... Cammericke** types of linen. See the note to 1155-6.

1768 **streaked** made smooth by rubbing (OED, v.1 3)

patted smoothed, flattened (OED, pat v.1 4). Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by twenty-four years.

1769 **applied** fastened

1770 **Supportasses** Compare 1175-80 and note to 1171 SN. Janet Arnold describes in *Patterns of Fashion* two extant gowns in which '[a] pair of eyelet holes is worked in the centre back of the stiffened standing collar for a ribbon point to attach a supportasse or underpropper' (122, see also 118).

1771-6 **beyond all this ... God wot** As the page heading to sig. G2 suggests, this passage describes not one, but two, styles of wearing ruffs: either a number of 'minor' ruffs worn one on top of another, or a single large ruff.

1771 **fetch** contrivance, trick

1772-3 **three ... beneath another** In portraits of the period one frequently sees two, and sometimes three, narrow ruffs pushed up high against the chin. Double ruffs had been forbidden as early as 1562 by royal proclamation (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 190), but compare a similar reference to 'the three-pild ruffe' in the induction to Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (III).

1772 orders rows (OED, sb. 1)

degrees steps, levels (OED, sb. 1b). Although the word is used in this transferred sense in all of the editions, the earliest example cited in OED is dated 1611.

1773 gradatim A definition of this word is included in the first edition: 'placed gradatim, step by step.' This is the earliest example of the adverb cited in OED.

1774 vnder of less size than (OED, prep. 22e)

skirtes borders

1775 are long ... and crested i.e., are pleated and ribbed (crested) with long pleats radiating out from the neck (OED, long adv. 7, side adv. 1). Compare a similar use of 'crested' at 1175 and 1893.

1776 clogged encumbered

1777 golde, siluer, or silke lace Both bobbin lace and purl lace were made of these materials and were used to trim ruffs, but this passage probably alludes to the former as purl lace is named at 1781. Bobbin lace, an openwork lace also used to trim other garments such as sleeves, cloaks and gloves, was made by twisting a number of separate threads around pins on a cushion.

stately befitting a person of high estate (OED, a. 3a)

wrought decorated (OED, ppl. a. 3b)

1778 needle worke any work done with the needle. Philoponus may be thinking of the decorative stitching found in cutwork and drawnwork (see the note to 1780) but is probably referring to embroidery.

sparkled thickly dotted, speckled (OED, v. 2 4)

1779 other Antiques Unlike in modern English, 'other' is used in this passage to distinguish antics, which are purposely caricatured animal figures, from representations of the sun, moon and stars (OED, a. 7). Compare the similar usage in *Macbeth*: 'All these [vices] are portable,/With other graces weighed' (4.3.90-91).

1780 open worke cutwork or drawnwork. The earliest example of this word cited by OED is dated 1598, but it appears here in all of the editions. Cutwork and drawnwork were two popular types of lace for ruffs: in the former, sections of the material were cut away, whereas in the latter, individual threads were carefully pulled out. The open spaces thus created by either technique were then filled in with decorative needle stitches. The proclamation issued 12 February 1580 prohibited the wearing of 'white works, alias cutworks, made beyond the seas' to women of less estate than the daughters of barons, the wives of knights and baron's sons, and those who

were married to men assessed in the subsidy book at less than £200 lands (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 459).

1781 close worke surface embroidery (Earnshaw, 17). This term is not listed in OED and I have not found it used in any other text, although Bury Palliser refers to the same decorative technique as 'close embroidery' (14). The first edition mentions open work and purl lace, but not close work.

purled lace needle lace consisting of tiny loops that could be built up into more elaborate triangles. It edged such garments as collars and ruffs, and was made of gold or silver thread or silk (Earnshaw, 160).

1782 cloyed weighed down, encumbered (OED, v.1 6)

pestered encumbered (OED, v.1 1)

1782-3 the Ruffe ... of it selfe i.e., the decorative trimming has completely overwhelmed the underlying article. Compare the similar criticism at 1697-8 that 'the substance [is changed] into accidents.'

1783 Sometimes ... their eares i.e., the ruffs would be pinned to the supportasses underneath, 'thus giv[ing] a tilt up at the back and down in front. In the fashionable world, this process of pinning up the ruff to the wearer's satisfaction sometimes took hours to accomplish' (Cunnington & Cunnington, 113).

1783 SN curiositie elaborate workmanship (OED, 9)

1784 they are suffered ... shoulders i.e., instead of being fixed onto supportasses, the pleated ruffs simply extended straight out from the neck.

1784-5 like flagges ... in the wind Compare the similar imagery at 1160-3 where Philoponus explains that wind and rain would ruin ruffs constructed in this fashion.

1786 deuises pleasures, inclinations (OED, 3)

1786-8 Suus cuiusque ... sweetest proverbial (Tilley F65, Adagia 806B). The English translation given in the earlier editions is less literal: '*Euery one thinketh his owne wayes best.*' This is the earliest example of the proverb cited by Tilley.

1788 foist fart (OED, sb.3)

1788-1837 But amongst ... may doe This anecdote is not included as part of the first edition and I have been unable to trace Stubbes's source for this supposedly true event. John Cooke alludes to the same story in Tu Quogue (1614): 'and for pride, the woman that had her Ruffe poak'd by the diuell, is but a Puritan to [my sister]' (3.319-20).

1791-2 27.of Maie.1582. It is not unusual to find unabbreviated dates in the Abuses punctuated with full-stops; compare 5329.

1794 vpon a time on one occasion, once (OED, time sb. 14)

1795 against in anticipation of

1798 proper good-looking, comely (OED, a. 9). Compare the similar use of the word at 1810.

1800 laid them out arranged them

1801 in no case by no means (OED, case sb.1 13)

1802 curious and dainty particular, difficult to satisfy

1803 set pleat (OED, v.1 80)

1803 SN lubricious lewd, lascivious. This sidenote, printed only in the third and fourth editions, is cited by OED as the earliest usage of this adjective.

1805 humors whims, caprices (OED, sb. 6)

1806 teare blaspheme (OED, v.1 3b)

ban curse (OED, v. 3)

1810 braue finely-dressed (OED, a. 2)

1811 faining .•.to be putting on an appearance of being (OED, feign v. 9)

1812 agonized subjected to torture (OED, v. 1). First printed in the second edition, this example is cited by OED as the earliest usage of the verb.

pelting chafe violent rage or fury (OED, pelting ppl.a. 2)

1813-4 (as women ... stomacks) Compare Tilley W649: 'A woman conceals what she knows not.' Similar assumptions about female loquacity are echoed, however, in any number of proverbs dating from this period. The stomach designated the inward seat of passion or emotion (OED, sb. 6a).

1815 abused imposed upon, cheated (OED, v. 4a)

1817 contentation satisfaction (OED, 2)

1818 looking looking at, beholding (OED, look v. 6a)

1820 writhed wrung. This emendation has been introduced into the text as neither 'writh' (Q1) nor 'writhe' (O2-O3) are listed in OED as forms of the verb in the past tense. It seems possible that the O2-Q1 readings derive from an original compositorial misreading of a manuscript 'ed' for 'e.'

1822 vgglesome horrible, gruesome

1823 amorous lovely (OED, a. II)

1824 deformed disfigured, marred (OED, v.1 1)

1835 their other looking glasses 'A pocket looking-glass was the common companion of the fashionables of both sexes at this time. The ladies carried it either in their pockets or hanging at their sides, and sometimes it was inserted in the fan' (Planche, 284). Mirrors are discussed further at 2024-8.

1838 As in a Camelion ... saue white proverbial (Tilley C222)

Camilion chameleon. Although the spelling of this word used in the last three editions is not listed in OED as a variant form, I see no need to return to the O1 reading, 'camelion.'

1840 **Proteus** a sea god in Greek and Roman mythology renowned for his ability to change shape

1843 **outrage** run riot, go to excess (OED, v.1 1)

1844 **weake brethren** An allusion to 1 Cor.viii, where Paul warns the early Christians not to use their liberty even in indifferent matters if there is the possibility that their actions may confuse those who are less knowledgeable (the weak brethren), thus leading them into sin. One of the sidenotes to verse seven in the Geneva Bible explains that, 'There are many which cannot eate of things offered to idoles, but with a wauering conscience, because they thinke them to be vncleane: therefore if by thy example they enterprise to doe that which inwardly they thinketh displeaseth God, their conscience is defiled with this eating, and thou hast bene the occasion of this mischiefe.'

offend cause to stumble or sin (OED, v. 4)

1845 **Doublets for Women** An extant woman's doublet dating from this period is described by Janet Arnold in Patterns of Fashion: 'The doublet has a decidedly masculine appearance and has previously been described as that of a young man. The absence of a linen strip with worked eyelet holes at the waist, to which breeches or trunk-hose would have been attached by points, the slightly curved shape of the centre front, the lacing strips beneath the buttons and buttonholes and the shoulder rolls suggested that this garment might have been worn by a girl or a slim young woman ... the theory was finally confirmed by a small German gouache painting' (107).

1847 **buttoned vp the breast** The variant reading found in the quarto, 'buttoned vp to the breast' (see collation line), is almost certainly a mistake, as it implies that these garments buttoned up only as far as the breast when, in fact, doublets and jerkins tended to fasten either visibly or invisibly all the way up the front.

1847-8 **wings, weltes and pinions** decorative pieces of material, varying in size and shape, which were sewn around the armhole to cover the seam or ties fastening the sleeve to the main body of the garment. This passage, printed in all of the editions, is the first of only two examples of 'pinion' cited in OED (sb.14).

1848 **shoulder pointes** points of the shoulders. Compare the note to 1159.

1850-3 **and if they ... to man** The anxiety arises again that modern clothing fashions are threatening essential differences between the sexes. Whereas in the previous section the argument was that dainty clothes are making men womanish and weak (see, in particular, the long exchange at 1227-61), here, masculine attire for women is read as a sign that they actually desire to become men.

1851 kind gender, sex (OED, sb. 7a)

1853 degenerate decline in nature (OED, v. 1). His criticism is not that women are degenerating into men, but into hermaphrodites (see 1862-4).

1854-5 **It** is written ... Deuteronomy What follows is a close paraphrase of Deut.xxii.5. 'Writtend' (Q1) is not listed in OED as a variant past tense and is probably a corruption of 'written,' the form found in the first three editions.

1858 compasse The first three editions read 'limites and bandes.'

1859-62 Our apparell ... owne kinde This criticism of women in men's apparel paraphrases Stephen Gosson's attack on the crossdressed boy actor printed in Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions (1582): 'garments are set downe for signes distinctiue betwene sexe & sexe, to take vnto vs those garments that are manifest signes of another sexe, is to falsifie, forge, and adulterate, contrarie to the expresse rule of the worde of God' (sig. E3v). This pamphlet is one of two sources underlying Stubbes's chapter on stage-plays (see note to 4073-144).

1859 distinctiue distinguishing, characteristic (OED, a. 1a). Printed in all of the editions, this passage is cited by OED as the earliest usage of this sense of the adjective.

1861 participate with the same i.e., have some of the qualities of, or a common character with, the other sex (OED, participate v. 4b).

adulterate corrupt, falsify (OED, v. 3)

1862 kinde gender

1862-4 Wherefore ... half men Accusations such as this were fairly commonly levelled in this period at women who crossdressed. Compare, for example, William Averell's similar description of such women in 1588: 'though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters' (sig. B1v).

1863-4 of both kindes possessing both genders (OED, of 38a)

1866 as is incident as is naturally appertaining (OED, a.11). The second and third editions read 'as is proper' (the sentence is not included in O1). I have emended the awkward quarto substitution of '&' for 'as' in this phrase as a nonsensical error, despite deliberate revision of the next word but one.

1868 Circes ... Medea Compare the note to 486-8 SN.

1871-2 but also ... conuersation It is significant that although extravagant attire was worn by both sexes, accusations of sexual profligacy are directed only at women. Compare 1923-5 SN.

1872 *dissolutenesse* The first three editions read 'venereous inclination,' 'venereous' meaning 'venereal.'

conuersation *behaviour* (OED, 6)

1873 *Gownes* Originally, these were long robes worn loose over kirtles (described at 1900), but in the second half of the sixteenth century, this term began to describe fitted dresses as well.

1875 *Grograine* coarse-grained taffeta weaves made of mohair, silk or worsted

1876 *Scarlet* rich worsted cloth available in many colours. See note to 72.

1877-9 *But if ... most part* This style of trim is described by Norris: 'In more than one painting the whole surface of the surcote and underdress is covered with bands of gold lace, about an inch in width, set close in horizontal, perpendicular, and oblique lines' (680).

1877-8 *SN Simiae in purpuris* 'Apes in purple cloth' (Latin). Walther cites 'simia in purpura' as proverbial (Proverbia, 29635c).

1878 *layd* trimmed (OED, v.1 42)

lace See the note on lace at 1290.

1880 *garded* trimmed (OED, v. 7)

1880-2 *great gardes* ... at the least Compare an item in the proclamation enforcing statutes of apparel dated 12 February 1580 that would be applicable by analogy to women's clothing: 'no person under the degree of a baron, a knight of the order, one of the Privy Council, [or] a gentleman ... ordinarily attendant upon her majesty's person shall wear any guards of velvet upon any one garment, exceeding in the whole in velvet the breadth of six inches' (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 461).

1881 *gardes of Veluet* Compare the note to 1308.

1882 *edged with costly lace* i.e., the gowns, not the guards, were bordered with lace. Compare the trimming of kirtles at 1902.

1885-7 *some with ... Cow tailes* This probably describes false sleeves which attached at the armhole and hung down the skirt behind the bodice sleeves.

1886-7 *cast ouer ... Cow tailes* i.e., pushed back from the point at which they are fastened to the gown, not draped over the opposite shoulder.

1887-9 *cut vp ... gallantly* i.e., the outer fabric would be cut at regular intervals and the contrasting material underneath pulled (or 'drawne out') through the gaps to form puffs, with ribbons (or sometimes metal tags or even jewels) placed between the puffs.

1888 *poynsted* adorned with tagged points or laces (OED, v.1 6)

1889 *true Loues knottes* Precisely how these ornamental bows signifying true love were tied is unknown, but Clifford Ashley notes that most sources

indicate that they were constructed out of two intertwined overhand knots (383). Tilley records the expression as proverbial (L571).

1890 (for so they call them.) The full-stop found here in the first three editions was probably lost in Q1 (see collation line) as a result of a line break.

Capes By the early seventeenth century this word was synonymous with cloaks, but Philoponus is here probably describing a feature resembling a tippet which attached to the gown at the neck and hung loose over the shoulders (QED, sb.2 2). This word is found in all four editions, but the earliest example cited in OED is taken from *The Taming of the Shrew* (c.1596), where the tailor describes Katherine's gown having 'a small compassed cape' (4.3.137).

1891-2 fine wrought Taffeta This may describe tuft taffeta which had a pile or nap arranged in stripes: 'These stripes, upon being cut, left a pile like velvet, and, since the tufted parts were always a different colour from the ground, beautiful colour combinations were possible' (Linthicum, 124).

1892 fringed about furnished with a decorative border of strings either loose or gathered into tassels. This style of trim can be seen on a man's cloak dating from the period which is now owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum and photographed in Janet Arnold's Patterns of Fashion (Fig. 252).

1893-4 pleated ... the backe Compare the note to 1392-3. Instead of 'crested' the first three editions read 'riueled,' another word meaning pleated or gathered in small folds (OED, a. 3).

1894 knackes toys, trifles (QED, sb.2 3)

1895 Peticooates underskirts

1899 of chaungeable collour This expression probably describes a shot silk which shows different colours under different aspects, but compare 1954 where a very similar phrase simply means 'in a variety of colours.'

1900 Kirtles With the changing shape and construction of women's dresses in the sixteenth century, kirtles and petticoats both came to describe skirts (Cunnington & Cunnington, 149); however, since Philoponus distinguishes between the two garments it appears that he is using the former term in its original sense to describe full-length dresses worn under gowns.

1903-7 So that ... compact together Samuel Kiechel, a visitor to England in 1585, likewise described the effect of all these layers as ungainly:

'[Englishwomen] are somewhat awkward in their style of dress; for they dress in splendid stuffs, and many a one wears three cloth gowns or petticoats, one over the other' (translated from the German in Rye, 90).

1904 women ... of themselues This expression is not listed as proverbial in either Tilley or Dent, but it appears in a very similar form in John Lyly's

Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit (1579): 'Take from them their perywigges, their paintings, their Iewells, their rowles, their boulstrings, and thou shalt soone perceiue that a woman is the least parte of hir selfe' (116). Compare also the note to 1782-3.

1906 Puppits or Mawmettes dolls (OED, maumet 2a)

1907 clowtes cloths, rags

1908-9 euery poore Yeoman Although Philoponus concedes at 594-9 that the yeomanry are permitted to wear rich garments, expensive clothing apparently remains an abuse in members of this farming class who lack sufficient financial income to pay for it. Ironically, however, as Lawrence Stone's analysis of the Elizabethan aristocracy demonstrates, even noblemen in this period were unable to afford the cost of modern fashions, the Earl of Arundel for one, the man to whom the first three editions of the *Abuses* were dedicated, owing £1203.7s.6d. to tailors, mercers, embroiderers and other tradesmen in 1585: 'When in 1585, Philip Earl of Arundel tried to fly the country, nominally for the sake of his religion, it was discovered that against a net income of £2 500 he had piled up debts to the tune of £18 000. The odds are that the importunities of his 114 creditors were more compelling as a motive for flight than the obligation to go to church' ('The Anatomy,' 33).

1909 Husbandman farmer

1910 Cottager rural labourer

1912 a brace of hundred pounds two hundred pounds. This passage, taken from the first edition, is cited by OED as the earliest example of the word 'brace' used in this sense (OED, sb.2 15c).

1913-4 quo iure ... or wrong proverbial (Tilley H588). The expression derives from Terence: 'quo iure quaque iniuria praecipitem in pistrinum dabit,' meaning, 'he'll find a pretext right or wrong for packing me straight off to the mill' (The Lady of Andros, 214).

1914-7 wherby ... meaner sorte The same complaint is made at 591-602.

1918 friendes relatives, kinsfolk (OED, sb. 3)

1920 pittance allowance, presumably of money (OED, sb. 3b)

1923-4 SN impud cie shamelessness, immodesty

1924-7 For they ... all measure Jacob Rathgeb, private secretary to Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, kept a record of their travels in England in 1592, observing that, 'The [English] women have much more liberty than perhaps in any other place; they also know well how to make use of it, for they go dressed out in exceedingly fine clothes, and give all their attention to their ruffs and stuffs, to such a degree indeed, that, as I am informed, many a one does not hesitate to wear velvet in the streets, which is common with

them, whilst at home perhaps they have not a piece of dry bread' (A True and Faithful Narrative, translated from the German in Rye, 7-8).

1926 braueries finery, fine clothes (OED, 3b)

1927-8 (worthy ... tripple folly) Although this expression is not cited as proverbial in either Tilley or Dent, it is repeated in the Second part (sig. C1v), and a version of it appears in Painter's Palace of Pleasure (1566): 'For that husband, which is beautified with a comely and honest wife ... if he can not retaine in the secrecie and silence of his breast, that excelling gifte and benefite, is worthy to be inaugured with a Laurel crown of follie' (i, 46).

1928 inaugured inaugurated

1929 buxome obedient, compliant (OED, a. 1a)

1930 prostitute corrupt, debased (OED, a. 2)

1931-2 taking a singular felicity ... in taking particular delight ... in (OED, felicity 1b)

1932 surmounting surpassing, exceeding (OED, ppl.a. 1)

1932-3 decked and plumed ... deceitful vanity Compare note to 805.

1934-49 This ouer ... dayly This speech, advocating the strict discipline of children, echoes the teaching found at Sir.xxx.7-13: 'Hee that flattereth his sonne, bindeth vp his wounds, and his heart is griued at euery erie. An vntamed horse will be stubbome, and a wanton child will be wilfull. If thou bring vp thy sonne delicately, hee shall make thee afraide: and if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heauinesse ... Chastise thy childe, and be diligent therein, least his shame grieue thee.'

1935 euent outcome, issue (OED, sb. 3a)

 successe result, upshot (OED, sb. 1a)

1937 pittie tenderness, mildness (OED, sb. 1)

1939 cockering indulging, pampering

1940 naughtines wickedness, depravity

1941-2 For giue a wild ... destruction also proverbial (Tilley H687)

1942-5 So long as ... vnbowable proverbial (Tilley T632, W27)

1943 sprig twig

 twist branch

 bowable bendable, pliable

1945-7 If Waxe be taken ... no print at all proverbial (Tilley W136)

1948 bow incline (OED, v.IIO)

 lore doctrine, teaching

1950 Netherstockes stockings

1951 Netherstockes ... of Silk According to Stow's Annales, the first pair of knit silk stockings made in England was presented to the Queen by her

silkwoman, Mistress Mountague, in 1560 (sig. Ddddlv). Joan Thirsk writes, however, that they became increasingly common during the reign of Elizabeth I, Spanish silk stockings being valued by customs men in the 1582 Book of Rates at 26s 8d: 'This means that they were worth perhaps £2 10s or £3, less than half the cost of the samples imported in 1567-68' ('The Fantastical Folly of Fashion,' 54). Nonetheless, silk stockings remained by law a privilege of those of wealth or birth (Hughes & Larkin, ii, 459).

1952 larnsey, Worsted, Crewell worsted yams. See notes to 1330-1.

1953-61 possible to be ... els accordingly This passage was heavily revised for O2 and the first edition reads simply, 'possible to be had cunningly knit, and curiously indented, in euery point.'

1954 hose stockings. The same word is used at 1296-ff to describe breeches. changeable variable. Compare note to 1899.

1956 wanton bright, lively (OED, a. 3d). A passage later in the text (4261) is cited by OED as the earliest usage of the adjective in this sense.

light frivolous

1957 lightnesse lewdness, wantonness (OED, sb.1 7b)

1959 cunningly with skilful art

1959 SN Corked shoes any shoes made with cork soles

1960 indented embossed? (OED, v.2 1) Philoponus may be referring to stockings knit with elaborate raised patterns.

quirkes, clockes ornamental patterns worked on the side of a stocking

1960-1 open seame Compare note to 1333.

1960 SN Pinsnets Compare note to 1355.

1961 whereto besides which (OED, adv. 3b)

1961 SN pantoffles mules with a low wedge heel worn as an overshoe

1962 Slippers Compare note to 1365 SN.

1964 yellow:some of The lack of any punctuation here in the quarto (see collation line) is unusual and probably represents a compositorial oversight since this long sentence is otherwise punctuated with colons in such a way as to present the reader with a series of related, but distinct, thoughts.

Spanish leather cordwain, a type of leather imported from Cordova
1967-8 I might ... the earth This imagery is biblical. Compare, for example, Gen.xxii.17: 'Therefore will I ... greatly multiply thy seede, as the starres of the heauen, and as the sand which is vpon the sea shore,' and the conclusion of Ps.lxxii.16: 'the *children* shall flourish out of the citie like the grasse of the earth.'

1971 Author inventor (OED, sb. 1a)

1972 interim interval, interlude (OED, sb. 2). Printed in all four editions, the earliest example of this sense of the word cited by OED is dated 1588.

1977 abortiue born prematurely (OED, a. 1a)

Miscreant OED defines this word as either heretic or villain, but neither of these definitions fits the context of the passage particularly well as Spudeus is speaking about a thing - a 'sweet Pride' or a 'mishapen monster' - rather than a person. This is perhaps a unique example of 'miscreant' used in the sense of 'miscreance' (OED, sb.2), meaning misgrowth or abortive growth. The word appears here in all four of the editions, but whether it was the reading found in the author's manuscript, or the compositor substituted the far more common 'miscreant' for 'miscreance,' a word that at that date would have been a neologism, cannot be known.

portenteous prodigious, monstrous (OED, a. 2)

1979 sweet powder This term sometimes referred to a perfumed cosmetic made of ground alabaster or starch, but the context in which it appears suggests that Philoponus is instead describing a dry perfume consisting of a combination of herbs, spices and flowers ground in a mortar (Genders, 153).

1981 Pomanders Aromatic substances carried in a small box or bag in the hand or pocket, or suspended by a chain from the neck or waist: 'introduced to England about 1500 ... [p]omanders continued to be fashionable throughout the reign of Elizabeth I. Apart from their aromatic quality, men and women believed in their medicinal value' (Gunn, 72).

1982 felt perceived by the sense of smell (OED, v. 7)

1983 stones cast stone's throw. This expression usually describes a short distance, but Philoponus implies exactly the opposite.

1987-9 But the Prophet ... nethermost bel Isa.iii.24: 'And in stead of sweete sauour, there shalbe stinke ... *and* burning in stead of beauty.'

1992 Droye servant, drudge

Puzsle drab, slut. OED includes 'pussle' (the spelling found in the three previous editions) and 'puzzle,' but not 'puzsle,' as alternative forms of this word. I have not emended the text, however, since the quarto reading seems a reasonable, if not previously recognised, variant of 'pucelle.'

1992 SN Posies bouquets, nosegays (OED, 2)

1994-5 sticked in their breasts before i.e., the women fastened the flowers to the front of their dresses; compare the portrait of 'A Lady Unknown' by a follower of Holbein illustrated in Cunnington & Cunnington, fig. 29a.

1995 SN abroad out of doors (OED, adv. 3).

1996 to catch at to snatch at (OED, v. 23). Printed in all of the editions, the first example of this construction of the verb cited in OED is dated 1601.

1997 slabbering sloppy, slobbering. This example, taken from O1, is the earliest example of the participial adjective cited in OED (ppl.a. 1).

1998-9 SN Spanish pippe venereal disease. Compare Greene's use of the expression in The Second Part of Conny Catching (1592): 'sometimes they catch such a spanish pip, that they haue no more hair on their heads, then on their nailes' (35).

2002 corroborate invigorate (OED, v. 2)

comfort refresh (OED, v. 4)

recreate enliven (OED, v.l 2b)

2003 SN curious delicate (OED, a. 7b)

2005 exhalations mists, vapours

2005 SN obnubilate dim as with a cloud. This verb is also found in the main text of the three early editions, but was revised in the quarto to 'obscure' (2007). The earliest usage of it cited by OED is from the unrevised main text of O1.

2007 attractiue absorptive (OED, a. 1)

2008 darken ... the Sonne. This sentence is longer in the first three editions and reads, 'darken ... the Sunne, not suffering his radiations to disparcle abroad' ('disparcle' meaning 'disperse'). The omitted passage constitutes one full line of text in O3, which raises the possibility that the shortened version may derive from compositorial eye-skip, but as it seems equally feasible that Stubbes, after substituting 'obscure' for 'obnubilate,' further decided to trim a wordy sentence, I have not emended the quarto. The full-stop found at the end of the sentence in the first two editions and the quarto provides added rhetorical emphasis in a manner similar to a colon (see Introduction, p. 96).

2011 darken and obscure The first three editions read 'denigrate, darken and obscure,' which provides the only example of the verb 'denigrate,' meaning 'darken mentally,' listed in OED (v. 2b).

2012 SN annoy affect injuriously (OED, v. 5)

2014-5 SN gestures bearing, carriage (OED, sb. 1a). Philoponus's point is that the women's modest deportment is hypocritical.

2015-6 it is a world it is a marvel (OED, world sb. 19c)

2016 consider view (OED, v. 1)

coynesse modest shyness. The first example of this word cited in OED is dated 1579, only four years before its use in the first edition of the Abuses.

minsednes affected delicacy. This passage, cited from the first edition, is the only example of the word listed in OED.

2016-9 SN wome in ... peacock feathers Compare Tilley P157: 'As proud as a peacock.' See also the note to 805.

2017 gingerlynesse the quality of moving in a mincing, effeminate way. According to OED the reading found in the last three editions, 'gingernesse,' is spurious and gained currency only as a result of a misprint in O2.

2017-8 like young Goates This simile is significant as goats are recorded by Tilley as proverbially lecherous animals (G167).

2018 nicitie shyness, coyness (OED, 3)

babishnesse childish silliness, babyishness

withall in spite of all, notwithstanding (QED, adv. 1b). Although printed here in all four editions, the earliest example of the adverb used in this sense cited by OED is dated 1596.

2019 haughtie stomacks pride (OED, stomach sb. 7b)

Cyclopicall monstrous. OED cites this passage, taken from O1, as the first of only two examples of the adjective 'cyclopicall,' the more common form being 'cyclopic.'

countenances aspects, appearances (OED, sb. 2)

2021 SN clogged encumbered, hampered (OED, v. 2a). This sidenote, printed in all of the editions, is cited by OED as the earliest usage of this sense of the verb.

2022 sweet washed perfumed

2024-5 looking glasses ... wheresoeuer they go See the note to 1835.

2025 SN Sweeted sweetened, scented (OED, sweet a. 2b)

2027 spectacles mirrors (OED, sb.1 5a)

2029-39 The Deuill ... into their soules This speech was not printed in O1.

2032 proportion form, shape (OED, sb. 7)

2043-5 But I ... sunburning In his History of the Netherlands (1599),

Emanuel van Meteren comments on the importance of pale skin amongst the English: 'They are generally fair, like all northern nations, and especially the women, who know very well how to protect the complexion of their faces against the power of the sun with hats and veils, and their hands with gloves - even the very peasants there, as the ladies of the Court do in the Netherlands and in Germany' (translation from the Dutch printed in Rye, 69-70).

2045 Nicelings tender, delicate people (OED, 1)

2051 Orient glowing, radiant (OED, a. 2b)

2053 genuine natural, not acquired (OED, a.1 1a). The earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED is dated 1596; it appears in all four editions.

naturall prauitie innate corruption due to original sin (OED, pravity

1)

2054 splendent The first three editions instead read 'stelliferous,' loosely used of sunbeams to mean 'bearing stars,' which is the earliest usage of the adjective cited in OED.

2060 a dunghill ... white and red proverbial (Dent D645.11)

2062 they haue Masks & visors 'The wearing of masks during the Elizabethan period had a dual purpose, first to preserve the face in its original cosmetic perfection and, secondly, to provide protection against the sun which was the chief enemy of a fashionable white complexion. The mask was cut in an oval shape with holes for the eyes, and kept in position by a button held in the teeth' (Gunn, 76).

2063 (or in my iudgment ... inuisories) The word 'visor' derives from '*vis*,' the French word for 'face,' and Philoponus jokes that since these visors cover the face, making it invisible, they would be better called 'invisories,' or 'no faces.' The word has been coined for the purpose and this passage is the only example of it listed in OED.

2066 guise practice, custom (OED, sb. 2)

2067 shew behold, view (OED, v. 1a). Stubbes's use of this verb would have been archaic even to his contemporary readers; oddly enough, it was introduced into the quarto in place of 'see,' the reading found 01-03.

2068 glasses Earlier commentators such as Norris (523) and Macquoid (97) have suggested that the masks literally had pieces of glass set in the eyeholes but it seems more likely that Philoponus uses this word in a transferred sense to refer to the women's eyes behind the mask (OED, sb.1 11).

2068-70 SN Sues volutabris versantur "pigs wallowing in a hogpool" (Latin). This is probably an allusion to 2 Pet.ii.20-2, where the Apostle explains that it would be better never to have known the ways of righteousness than knowing them, to abandon God's word. Verse 22 concludes: 'But it is come vnto them according to the true prouerbe, The dogge is returned to his owne vomit: and the sow that was washed, to the wallowing in the mire.' The same lines in the Vulgate read, 'Canis reversus ad suum vornitum: et, Sus Iota in volutabro luti.'

2071-2 finders out inventors, devisers (OED, 1c)

2072 deuices inventions (OED, 1a)

2074-8 **It** can not ... for the euill This point is repeated at further length in the Second part: 'Mali alicuius author, ipsius mali, & malorum omnium quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo, The author of any euill, is not onely giltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill, which springeth of the same' (sig. E8v). Compare Rom.i.28-32, where Paul explains that the wicked, amongst whom he numbers the 'inuenters of euill things,'

have been cast off by the Lord. Philoponus returns to a similar idea at 5549-53.

2079-80 **yeare of Iubilie** At Lev.xxv.I0-13 this term refers specifically to the year occurring every fifty years when property reverts to its original owner. It is used here in a figurative sense to signify the final restitution, the day of judgement.

2080-3 **for what deed ... toys and deuices?** Compare the very similar vocabulary and construction used at 406-11 to describe the lengths to which people go to maintain pride.

2080 SN **culpable** guilty (OED, a. 1b)

2081 **flagitious** heinous, villainous

2082 **plausiblie** with approval

2085 **their owne blond ... owne heads** i.e., responsible for their own death. The phrase is found at Josh.ii.19 and Acts xviii.6.

2091-3 **being commaunded ... my lining** Gen.iii.19: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou returne to the earth: for out of it wast thou taken, because thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou returne.'

2095-7 **Not in doing ... godlines** See Sir.xv.20: 'Hee hath commaunded no man to doe vngodly, neither hath bee giuen any man licence to sinne.'

2101-2 Is **it lawfull ... doe it?** An allusion to Ex.xxiii.2, quoted in the note to 541-2.

2108 **tedering** esteeming, regarding (OED, v.2 3)

2109 **commodity** benefit, profit (OED, 2c)

2110-1 **support an infinite ... sinne** An allusion to Acts xx.35: 'I haue shewed you all things, how that so labouring, ye ought to support the weake,' where the sidenote reads, 'As it were by reaching out the hand to them, which otherwise are about to slippe and fall away, and so to stay them.'

2112 **bableries** i.e., baubleries, meaning 'fooleries' or 'trifles.' OED claims that this is a confusion for 'baubleries,' but Stubbes uses the noun at two other points in the Abuses, each time and in all of the editions without a medial 'u' (see 4291, 5539).

2115-6 **The meane attire ... in olde time** This title is original to the quarto, which may explain why the catchword at the bottom of signature H2 incorrectly reads '**Spud.**' (compare facsimile of QI in Appendix III).

2117 **former** primitive (OED, a. 1c)

2118 **sort** manner (OED, sb.2 21)

2120-53 **But least ... token of Virginity** This passage simply elaborates on examples cited previously at 501-27.

- 2123 Stuperius The identity of this writer is unknown. Philoponus referred to his work earlier at 506-7.
- 2128-31 The Egiptian ... strange Compare the very similar rhyme about Germans at 515-6.
- 2128 vse are wont (OED, v. 21)
- 2130 to chose by choice (OED, v. 12)
- 2132 indifferently equally, indiscriminately
- 2135 straunge unusual(OED,a.8)
- 2137 affecting of showing fondness for (OED, vbl. sb. 1)
- 2137 SN maners customs, fashions (OED, sb.1 3a). The second and third editions read 'meannes' (the sidenote is not included in OI).
- 2138 in a maner almost entirely (OED, sb.liO)
- 2140 altogether entirely (OED, adv. 1). That is, they wear these mean clothes for all occasions.
- 2141 solemne set apart for special, usually religious, ceremonies
abroade out of doors
- 2145 Cantabrian of the Cantabri, an ancient warlike tribe of northern Spain
- 2146 high Germanie southern Germany
in effect in fact (OED, sb. 8). Used previously at 521, the earliest instance of this phrase cited in OED is dated 1588.
- 2147 difference diversity
- 2150 supellectiles furniture, as in fittings and movable articles. Printed in the third and fourth editions, the earliest example of this word cited in OED is dated 1597; the two previous editions read 'trinkettes.'
- 2152 kertchers kerchiefs. This spelling is found only in Q1 and is not recognized by OED as a variant form of 'kerchers.' The quarto spelling has not been emended, however, as it seems a reasonable alternative, especially in light of the fact that 'kerchief' at the time could be spelled with a medial 't.'
- 2152-3 their haire .••Virginity Philoponus seems to allude to the practice, in this period becoming outmoded, of women covering their hair after marriage: 'It was during the later years of Elizabeth's reign that for the first time in England younger married women went about with their hair uncovered ... hitherto it had been quite usual for unmarried girls to expose their hair but for a married woman to do so was a breach of age old custom' (de Courtais, 49). Compare the bridal procession at the beginning of The Two Noble Kinsmen where the stage directions specify that the women enter with their 'tresses ... hanging' (1.1.0).
- 2155 alleadge cite, quote (OED, v.2 2)
- 2163 continencie continence, self-restraint

2167 affect be drawn to (OED, v.1 2b)

2168-70 for if they ..• them fairer The same reasoning was used earlier to discourage women from wearing makeup (1625-8).

2171-4 And either ... made otherwise Philoponus used this logic in the opening chapter on pride to prove that holiness could be found in either the apparel or the person wearing it, but not in both (887-95).

2174 God and Nature hath It was not unusual in the period for a plural subject to take a singular verb (Abbott 333), but in this instance Philoponus may be treating God and Nature as a single entity.

2175-7 Wherefore ..• to his Creator These lines are perhaps deliberately reminiscent of 1 Cor.vii.20: 'Let euery man abide in the same vocation wherein he was called.' Compare the similar injunction at 1648-9.

2175 looke in what in whatever (OED, v. 4b)

condition social rank (OED, sb. 10a). This sense of the word picks up Stubbes's concerns about social disorder expressed at other points in the chapters on apparel (see, for example, 591-602).

2178-9 pride of the heart This term is described at length at 423-40.

2181-2 for he ..• els with none An allusion to Mt.vi.24, 'No man can serue two masters: for either he shall hate the one, and loue the other, or els he shall leane to the one, and despise the other. Yee cannot serue God and riches,' where the Geneva sidenote reads, 'God will be worshipped of the whole man.' A similar quotation is found in the chapter on markets and fairs at 5445-6.

2185 predicament condition (OED, 3). The earliest example cited in OED of this sense of the word is dated 1586; it is found in all four editions.

2185-6 and the pride ..• the other Philoponus explains why pride of apparel is a worse sin than either pride of the heart or words at 414-21 and 465-74.

2186 hurting causing harm or injury

before in the opinion or regard of (OED, prep. 4)

2186-96 Also, it ... then the other Philoponus's argument is consistent insofar as he maintains that pride of apparel is the worst form of pride because it encourages sin in others; at 913-40, however, the cause of pride of apparel is ascribed to rich clothing rather than, as here, to pride of the heart.

2190 himselfe i.e., the person at fault.

2198 plague The first three editions read 'torture.' Although the repetition of this word in the quarto is suspicious and may have resulted from compositorial eye-skip to the previous line, the new reading could equally represent poor, but deliberate, authorial revision.

2200 Punishments ... ages This title is original to the fourth edition.

2204 prophane secular

2205 wonderfully i.e., in such a way as to excite wonder.

2206 kindreds clans, tribes (OED, sb. 2a)

2207 runnagats, and backsliders apostates, deserters of the faith

2208-11 The deuill ... sulphur for euer Isa.xiv.12-15: 'How art thou fallen from heauen, O Lucifer, sonne of the morning? ... thou saydest in thine heart, I will ascend into heauen, and exalt my throne aboue beside [sic] the starres of God ... I will be like the most high. But thou shalt be brought downe to the graue, to the side of the pit.'

2209 arrogating claiming or appropriating without right

2211-4 Adam ... of the world Compare Gen.iii.23-4: 'Therefore the Lord God sent [man] foorth from the garden of Eden, to till the earth, whence he was taken. Thus he cast out man, and at the East side of the garden of Eden he set the Cherubims, and the blade of a sword shaken, to keepe the way of the tree of life.' Adam and Eve are not said in the Bible to have been cast into hell, but for the purposes of his example, Philoponus loosely interprets hell as any place outside of Paradise.

2214-8 The hoste ... whatsoever Num.xxvi.9-10: 'And the sonnes of Eliab, Nemuel, and Dathan and Abiram: this Dathan and Abiram were famous in the Congregation, and stroue against Moses and against Aaron in the assemblie of Korah [Core], when they stroue against the Lord. And the earth openeth her mouth, and swallowed them vp with Korah, when the Congregation died, what time the fire consumed two hundreth and fifty men, who were for a signe.' A full account of the event is found at Num.xvi.

2215 hoste multitude, great company (OED, sb.1 2a). The three men confronted Moses with two hundred and fifty others.

2217 quicke alive

2218 complices accomplices

2218-27 The people ... the world This is a close summary of Gen.xi.4-9. The city of Babylon in which the tower was built was also known as Babel.

2220-1 thinking that ... water Alluding to the flood story at Gen.vi-viii.

2221 sure safe from injury or destruction (OED, a. 1a)

2223 confounded thrown into confusion and disorder (OED, v. 5)

2228 memorandum reminder (OED, sb. 4a). Printed in contrasting type in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated c.1591.

2230-2 Goliah ... of the Lord The story of David and Goliah is told at I Sam.xvii.

- 2230 Cyclops Originally a race of one-eyed giants from ancient Greek mythology, the term is used here allusively.
- 2233-9 Antiochus ... wretchednes 2 Macc.ix. Compare, in particular, verses 11-12: 'Then he began to leaue off his great pride, and selfe will, when he was plagued & came to the knowledge: of himselfe by the scourge of God, and by his paine which increased euery moment. And when he himselfe might not abide his owne stincke, he sayd these words, It is meet to be subiect vnto God, and that a man which is mortall, should not thinke himselfe equall vnto God through pride.'
- 2234 spoyle plunder, sack (OED, v.1 3a)
- 2237 in fme in the end (OED, sb.1 1b)
 smell The first two editions instead read 'swell.'
- 2238 sauour smell (OED, sb. 2)
- 2240-1 Nabuchadnezar ... wildernesse Dan.iv.28-34. After being returned to his throne, the humbled King concludes the account of his punishment with the words, 'Now *therefore* I Nebuchad-nezzar praise, and extoll and magnifie the king of heauen, whose works are all trueth, and his wayes iudgement: and those that walke in pride, hee is able to abase.'
- 2242-4 King Saule ... desperately 1 Sam.xiii and xv give differing accounts of Saul's disobedience of the Lord, but as a result of his consequent fall from favour he loses the battle against the Philistines and falls on his sword on Mount Gilboa in chapter xxxi.
- 2243 Principality sovereignty (OED, 2a)
 regiment office, function (OED, sb. 2a)
- 2245-7 Sodoma ... the Lord After the Canaanites tried to break down the door to Lot's home in order to rape his two guests who were in fact angels sent by God, 'Then the Lord rained ... brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heauen, And ouerthrew those cities, and all the plaine, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that that grew vpon the earth' (Gen.xix.24-5).
- 2248-9 All the world ... contumacy of heart Compare note to 2220-1.
- 2249 vniuersall covering the whole world (OED, a. 3a)
 contumacy rebellious stubbornness
- 2250-4 King Ezekiah ... captiues into Babylon 2 Kings xx.12-18
- 2251 bee i.e., Merodach-baladan, King of Babylon.
- 2254 with his sonnes ... into Babylon Compare verse 18: 'And of thy sonnes, that shall proceede out of thee, *and* which thou shalt beget, shall they take away, and they shalbe eunuches in the palace of the king of Babel.'
- 2255-8 King Dauid ... for the same 2 Sam.xxiv.1-15, the final verse of which reads, 'So the Lord sent a pestilence in Israel from the morning euen

vnto the time appoynted: and there dyed of the people from Dan euen to Beer-sheba seuentie thousand men.' The same story is related at 1 Chr.xxi.1-14.

2255 SN 2.Samuel.1.c. The relevance of the opening chapter of 2 Samuel in which Saul's death (see 2242-4) is reported to David is unclear to me, but it is cited in all of the editions.

2259-62 King Pharao ••. with all his hoaste Ex.xiv.21-9

2259-61 (for he ••. the Lord?) Ex.v.2: 'And Pharaoh said, Who is the Lord, that I should heare his voice, and let Israel goe? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel goe.'

2262 hoaste army (OED, sb.1 1)

2262-3 The proud •• reiected Lk.xviii.10-14: 'Two men went vp into the Temple to pray: the one a Pharise, and the other a Publican. The Pharise stooode and prayed thus with himselfe, O God, I thanke thee that I am not as other men ... or euen as this Publican ... But the Publican standing a farre off, would not lift vp so much as his eyes to heauen, but smote his brest, saying, O God, be mercifull to mee a sinner. I tell you, this man departed to his house, iustified rather then the other: for euery man that exal teth himselfe shall be brought low, and he that humbleth himselfe shall be exalted.'

2262 iustifying absolving from the penalty of sin (OED, v. 4)

2263 reprooued rejected (OED, v.1 1)

2263-6 King Herode ..•flesh immediately Acts xii.21-3: 'And vpon a day appointed, Herod arayed himselfe in royall apparell, and sate on the iudgement seat, and made an oration vnto them. And the people gaue a shoute, *saying*, The voice of God, and not of man. But immediatly the Angell of the Lord smote him, because he gaue not glorie vnto God, so that hee was eaten of wormes, and gaue vp the ghost.'

2266 moe more in number (OED, a. 2a)

2269-70 and wallow ... the myre This may be an allusion to 2 Pet.ii.22, quoted in the note to 2068-70 SN.

2270-1 Will the Lord ... goe free? Compare Rom.xi.21: 'For if God spared not the naturall branches, *take heede*, least he also spare not thee.' The adjective 'natural,' according to the Geneva sidenote, designates those 'borne of them whom the Lord set apart for himselfe from, other nations.'

2271 peculiar people This term is explained in the note to 1037.

elect vessels Another image describing the chosen people of God. It derives from Paul's discussion of predestination in Rom.ix where at verse 21 he asks, 'Hath not the potter power of the clay to make of the same lump one vessell to honour, and another vnto dishonour?'

2272-4 Wherefore ... fearfull God Compare Heb.x.30-1: 'For we know him that hath said, Vengeance *belongeth* vnto mee: I will recompense, saith the Lord. And againe, The Lord shall iudge his people. It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God.'

2273 who is a consuming fire An allusion to Heb.xii.29: 'For euen our God *is* a consuming fire.' The image of God as a consuming fire is also found at Deut.iv.24.

2274-6 His Bowe ... his Iawes Compare Lam.ii.3-4: 'He hath cut off in his fierce wrath all the horne of Israel: he hath drauwen back his right hand from before theemie, and there was kindled in Iaakob like a flame of fire, which deuoured round about. He hath bent his bowe like anemie: his right hand was stretched vp as an aduersary, and slew all that was pleasant to the eye in the Tabernacle of the daughter of Zion, he powred out his wrath like fire.' A similar description of the destruction God will bring on his enemies is found at Deut.xxxii.22-43.

2275 gone out no longer contained (OED, go v. 87a)

2276 contemners scornors, despisers

2276-8 Tempt not ... towards thee Humans are cautioned at Deut.vi.16 and elsewhere not to put God to the test to see if he will execute his promises of divine retribution. Where the warning occurs at Acts v.9 the Geneva sidenote explains, 'Looke how oft men do things with an euill conscience, so oft they pronounce sentence against themselues, and as much as in them lieth, prouoke God to anger, as of set purpose, minding to trie whether he be iust and almightie or no.'

2277 exasperate render more severe (OED, v. 1). This is an early usage of this sense of the verb as the first example cited in OED is dated 1597. It is printed in all of the editions, but in contrasting type in only O3 and Q1.

2278-82 For as mercy ... vnpunished Ex.xxxiv.6-7: 'So the Lord passed before his face, and cried, The Lord, ye Lord, strong, mercifull, and gracious, slowe to anger, and abundant in goodnesse and trueth. Reseruing mercie for thousands, forgiuing iniquitie, and transgression and sinne, and not making the *wicked* innocent, visiting the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, and vpo childrens children, vnto the third and fourth *generation*.'

2279 payeth home punishes, visits with retribution (OED, pay v.1 3b)

2286-7 SN occasions why A now-obsolete construction meaning 'reasons why' (OED, sb.1 2a).

2287 Epicures those who give themselves up to sensual pleasure (OED, sb. 2). Compare also the note to 1759-60.

2288 Swilboules drunkards

2289 sticke hesitate (OED, v.1 15a)

2290 brauely splendidly, in a showy manner

2292 mates lovers, paramours (OED, sb.2 3a). Instead of 'whorish mates,' the early editions read 'harlottes.'

2293 fleshlie given up to bodily lusts (OED, a. 1a)

2293-4 Thus be •• pride This echoes the opening of a sentence printed in the Homily against Excess of Apparel which reads, 'Thus with our fantastical devices we make ourselves laughing-stocks to other nations; while one spendeth his patrimony upon pounces and cuts, another bestoweth more on a dancing-shirt than might suffice to buy him honest and comely apparel for his whole body' (Sermons, 329).

2295 profession faith, religion

scandalles discredits to religion (OED, sb. 1a)

2296 Caterpillers extortioners. The suggestion is that the English prey on themselves by spending such huge amounts of money on clothing.

2299 The dayly exercises •• of England This and the next chapter were not printed as part of the first edition. Only the sidenote printed at 2318-22 was included in 02, all of the other marginal notes to these two chapters being added in the third edition. See note to 2384-5.

exercises customary practices (OED, sb. 2)

2301 nice As at 1688, both 'wanton' and 'difficult to please' could be understood here (OED, a. 2a, 7a).

2303 scarce hardly (OED, adv. 2b). This example of 'scarce' used to intensify a negative, found only in the fourth edition, is a fairly early usage as the first example of it cited in OED is dated 1591.

2305 contentments satisfactions (OED, 1)

2309 delicates delicacies

2310 meates foods

2310-27 Then their •..their eye Emanuel van Meteren, appointed Dutch Consul for England 1583-1612, similarly described the daily occupations of Englishwomen in his History of the Netherlands (1599): 'Nor are they shut up, but ... go to market to buy what they like best to eat ... They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by ... All the rest of their time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term *gosseps* [sic]) and their neighbours, and making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings, and funerals' (translation from the Dutch printed in Rye, 72).

2311 prettily considerably (OED, adv. 3)

mizzeled muddled, made tipsy (OED, v.3). Printed in the last three editions, this is the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED.

2312 familiars intimate friends

2312-3 (as women ... Pies) Compare, for example, the proverbs 'To chatter like a pie' (Tilley P285) and 'Women are great talkers' (Tilley W701). As already noted at 1813-4, there are many such sayings dating from this period.

2313 Pies magpies

2316 braueries finery, fine clothes

2317 passengers by passers-by

coast district, neighbourhood (OED, sb. 6)

2318 brauest most handsome or finely-dressed

2320-1 vainly spending ... idleness and sin Compare Tilley N302:

'Nothing is more precious than time.'

2322 take occasion take advantage of an opportunity

2326 pretie ingenious, clever (OED, a. 2b)

conceits tricks (OED, sb. 8b)

2326-7 may no man ... their eye i.e., no one may find fault with them.

Tilley records the saying as proverbial (E252).

2328 speed prove successful (OED, v. 4a)

2332-3 In the fieldes ... the Cities The Liberties of London had long existed as notorious areas of prostitution and corruption: 'While belonging to the city, they fell outside the purview of the sheriffs of London and so comprised virtually ungoverned areas over which the city had authority but, paradoxically, no control ... Entering a Liberty ... meant crossing over into an ambiguous territory that was at once internal and external to the city, neither contained by civic authority nor fully removed from it' (Mullaney, 21).

Compare Latimer's opinion of them as quoted in the note to 2753.

2333 palled i.e., paled, enclosed with a fence (OED, v.1 1a).

2334 Harbers bowers covered with climbing shrubs and plants

2336 banquetting houses 'A "banquet" was a course of wine, sweetmeats and fruit served after dinner in intimate and informal surroundings, and a banquetting house was designed to provide an appropriate setting. Often it had something of the character of the modern summer-house: but as a building type it never took on a very precise form' (Colvin, 30). Banquetting houses, or garden houses (2350-1), took on a shady reputation around the turn of the sixteenth century, as exemplified by the location of the bed-trick in Measure for Measure (1603): 'This is the body / That took away the match from Isabel,

/ And did supply thee at thy garden-house / In her imagined person' (5.1.206-9).

Galleries Long Galleries - enclosed rooms usually on an upper floor - were a characteristic feature of houses in this period: 'The purpose of such a long apartment has never been fully explained: it may have been for exercise ... or it may have been merely a development in planning dictated by fashion, each person vying with his neighbour to obtain a long room' (Gotch, 195).

2341 happily haply, by chance

2346 dearlings a now-obsolete form of 'darlings'

2347 guerdon reward, recompense. 'The guerdon of their paines' is an ambiguous phrase that perhaps implies both 'what they deserve' and 'what they ask for'; that is, pregnancy as well as sex.

2352 healthfull wholesome, conducive to bodily health

2353 comfortable sustaining, refreshing to the bodily faculties (OED, a. 3)

2356-9 There is ... made worse Such tolerance, however, was refuted in the chapters on apparel; see the note to 901-3.

2356 There is nothing ... may be abused proverbial (Tilley N317)

2357 precise excessively strict in the observance of form, scrupulous (OED, a. 2). Another available meaning is 'puritanical' (OED, a. 2b).

2362-4 But against ..• Stewes Sentence fragments such as this are fairly common in the Abuses. Compare, for example, the passage at 2004-12.

2362 light wanton, unchaste

2364 brothels prostitutes (OED, sb. 2a)

2364-6 And truly ... times paste Although Stow writes that attempts had been made in previous reigns to put an end to prostitution in the Liberties (Survey, ii, 55), brothels remained part of life in London throughout the sixteenth century (Archer, 211-5; Shugg, 294).

2366-9 I beseech ..• put away As the imagery varies in each of the editions, it seems unlikely that this is anything more than a general allusion to God's justice. Compare the version of this sentence printed in O3: 'I beseeche the Lord to sweepe them cleane, eyther with the Oliue braunche of his mercy, or with the broome of his iudgement, that this wickednesse may be done awaie.'

2368-9 put away put an end to, abolished (OED, put v.1 39c)

2370 discrete silent, reserved

2371 chiding contention, arguing with angry words (OED, vbl. sb. 1)

brawling noisy quarrelling, wrangling (OED, vbl. sb.1 1)

2372 (by report) These remarks are qualified since Spudeus could not have personally witnessed the behaviour of Englishwomen, never having been to England.

- 2372-3 butter ... in their mouthes proverbial (Tilley B774)
- 2376 maior numerus 'the greater number' (Latin)
- 2377 scolding wrangling, quarrelling (OED, v. 1a)
- 2378-9 a man ... dwell with them Compare Prov.xxv.24: 'It is better to dwell in a comer of the house top, then with a contentious woman in a wide house.' The same warning is found at Prov.xxi.9. A similar saying is cited by Tilley as proverbial: 'Better be half hanged than ill wed' (H130).
- 2378 SN naught wicked (OED, a. 2a)
- 2379-81 But because ... say no more As much of Philoponus's material is based on the author's personal observations and experience, it is interesting to note that Stubbes was himself single at the time of the printing of the first three editions, eventually marrying in 1586.
- 2384-5 Seeing that ... of England Philoponus has in fact long since moved on from the subject of clothing, but this awkward transition results from authorial revision, the chapters on 'The dayly exercises of the Women of England' and 'Gardens in Englande' being late insertions to the book. In the first edition, this speech immediately follows the sentence in which Philoponus likens the English to caterpillars (2293-8).
- 2386-7 pride the Mother of sinne This proverb is discussed in the notes to 401-2 and 405-6.
- 2387 semblable like, similar (OED, a. 1a)
- 2392 frequented practised
- 2393-4 the prouoking ... against them Compare 2276-8 and its note.
- 2394 profession faith, religion
- 2397 coition uniting, coming together (OED, 1). According to OED, 'coition' carried only a non-sexual sense before 1615, which explains why Spudeus adds the adjective 'mutuall,' meaning intimate (OED, a. 3), to refer to sexual intercourse. Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest example cited by OED of this sense of the adjective is from Measure for Measure (1604): 'The stealth of our most mutual entertainment / With character too gross is writ on Juliet' (1.2.142-3). Compare the phrase 'mutuall copulation' at 2439-40 SN and 2442.
- 2399 as well ... as both ... and (OED, as adv. C2a)
- 2399-40 I Reptilia ... in the aire This manner of describing the whole variety of creatures on earth is biblical. Compare, for example, the conclusion of Gen.i.26: 'let them rule ouer the fish of the sea, and ouer the foule of the heauen, and ouer ... euery thing that creepeth and mooueth on the earth.' The phrase is repeated at 2456-7.

- 2399-400 SN **pretending** alleging (OED, v. 7a). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1610.
- 2401 **in generall** without exception (OED, a 11c)
- 2402 **ingender** have sexual intercourse (OED, v. 4)
kinde nature (OED, sb. 4a)
ordayned furnished, equipped (OED, v. 6b)
- 2403 **members** genitals
- 2404 **stimule** goad, stimulus. This passage, printed in all of the editions, offers the only example of the word cited in OED, where it is interpreted as an Anglicized form of 'stimulus.'
- 2405 **mandate** command, injunction
- 2405-6 **Crescite ... fill the earth** An allusion to the opening of Gen.i.28: 'And God blessed them [Adam and Eve], and God said to them, Bring forth fruit, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it.'
- 2407 **barren** fruitless, unprofitable
- 2407 SN **Libertines** free-thinkers who hold loose opinions about religion; compare the note to 1759-60. Philoponus himself defines the sense in which the word is being used at 2417.
- 2408-11 **Whordome is ..• than damnable** This passage, printed in contrasting type in only the last two editions, echoes the opening sentence of the Homily against Whoredom and Uncleaness: 'through the customable use thereof, this vice is grown into such an height, that in a manner among many it is counted no sin at all, but rather a pastime, a dalliance, and but a touch of youth: not rebuked, but winked at; not punished, but laughed at' (Sermons, 123).
- 2409 **cognizance** badge, token
tutch trace, smack (OED, sb. 19a). Printed in all of the editions, the first example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1594.
Iustie vigorous, healthy (OED, a. 5a)
- 2410 **redintegration** restoration, renewal
- 2411 **ensigne** sign, token (OED sb. 2)
- 2416 **cloakes ... withall** This metaphor is discussed in the note to 501-2.
- 2422 **discouered** revealed, made known (OED, v. 4a)
reduce you to i.e., recall to your memory (OED, v. 1b).
- 2424-8 **The Lord ... comforter vnto him** Woman is created out of Man's rib at Gen.ii.20-4, the last two verses of which read, 'Then the man said, This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of the man. Therefore shall man leave his father

and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.' Stubbes, however, has conflated the two creation stories as it is only at Genesis i.26-7 that humans are described as God's final creation made in His Image.

2425 every sexe all sexes (OED, every a. 1a)

2429-33 SN Math.19 ... Ephe.S All of these marginal references direct the reader to biblical verses which discuss either marriage, divorce or adultery. Each allusion is quoted individually below.

2429 SN Math.19 A reference to Christ's words concerning the lawfulness of divorce at verses 4-6: 'And he answered and said vnto them [the Pharisees], Haue ye not read, that he which made *them* at the beginning, made them male and female, And saide, For this cause, shall a man leaue father and mother, and cleave vnto his wife, and they which were two shallbe one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twaine, but one flesh. Let not man therefore put asunder that, which God hath coupled together.' Philoponus returns to this teaching at 2495-500.

2430-1 Crescite ... the earth Gen.i.28, quoted in the note to 2405-6.

2430 SN Mark. Mk.x.2-9 retells the encounter between Christ and the Pharisees described at Mt.xix.4-6 (quoted in the note to 2429 SN). No chapter number is given in any of the editions.

2431 replenish fill (OED, v. 5)

2431 SN Luke.16 Lk.xvi.18: 'Whosoeuer putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adulterie: and whosoeuer marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adulterie.'

2432-3 the Lord ... of Israeli Compare Ps.lxxxiii.17-8: 'Let them be confounded and troubled for euer: yea, let them be put to shame, and perish, That they may know that thou, which art called Iehouah, art alone, *euen* the most Hie ouer all the earth.'

2432 SN 1.Cor.6 1 Cor.vi.16: 'Doe yee not know, that he which coupleth himselfe with an harlot, is one body? for two, saith he, shallbe one flesh.' A sidenote to this verse in the Geneva Bible makes an important clarification: 'Moses doeth not speake these words of fornication, but of marriage: but seeing that fornication is the corrupting of marriage, and both of them is a carnall and fleshly copulation, we cannot say that the Apostle abuseth his testimony.'

2433 SN Ephe.S Eph.v.31: 'For this cause shall a man leaue father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twaine shall be one flesh.'

2435-42 First for •• triumphant These reasons for matrimony form part of the wedding service as set out in The Book of Common Prayer: '[consider] the

causes for which matrimony was ordained. One was, the procreation of children to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and praise of God. Secondly, it was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication ... Thirdly, for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity' (290-1). The fourth cause cited by Philoponus echoes a prayer near the end of the service: 'O God, which hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his Church, look mercifully upon these thy servants' (296).

2435 auoydance The only feasible definition provided in OED is 'the action of shunning anything unwelcome' (sb. 7a), the first recorded usage of which is dated 1610. It seems to me, however, that a closer definition would derive from 'avoid' in the sense of 'to do away with' or 'to put an end to' (v. 4c). Compare the context in which 'avoid' appears in the excerpt from the BCP quoted in the previous note. The word is printed in all of the editions.

2438-40 children ... him As a shift in number such as this within a sentence is not unprecedented (see 1314-5), the text has not been emended. This irregularity, however, was introduced in the third edition, a fact which suggests that the reading found in the last two editions may be in error. The end of this sentence in the first two editions reads 'in them glorified.'

2440 SN copulation sexual intercourse. This word, however, could also describe non-sexual coupling, which is perhaps why Philoponus specifies that he is speaking of 'mutuall,' or intimate, union.

2441-2 Church ... triumphant In The Theater of the Popes Monarchie (1584), Stubbes explains that the true Church of God is '[t]wo fold, militant, and triumphant. Militant is that, which beyng dispersed euery where vppon the face of the earth, fighteth and warreth dayly against the Diuell, the world & the fleshe. And Triumphant is that, which beeing deliuered out of this life, resteth in eternall glory' (sigs. A3-A3v). The phrase is not biblical, but a version of it would have been repeated, for example, as part of the Communion: 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth' (BCP, 253).

2441-2 SN except mariage i.e., except sex within marriage.

2442-8 This congression ... execrable Compare Heb.xiii.4: 'Mariage is honourable among all, and the bed vndefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge.'

2442 congression sexual intercourse, copulation (OED, 2)

2444-6 as an action ... our merite Compare the discussion of faith and works at 375-88.

2446 *ex opere operato* 'from a deed carried out' (Latin)

2448 *se* a recognised variant spelling of 'see'

2451 *sort* manner (OED, sb.2 22)

2452 *denounced* proclaimed, pronounced (OED, v. 4a)

2455-6 *In suo ... owne kind* This expression is listed by John Trayner in Latin Maxims and Phrases (267).

2456 *kind* genus, species (OED, sb. 13a)

2456-60 *There is no ... he doeth* The assumption underlying this example from nature is that people from various social ranks within human society are as sexually incompatible as creatures from different species within the animal kingdom. Philoponus's assumption seems to be that unlawful sex, that is, sex outside of marriage, occurs between people of unequal social standing.

2457 *irrationable* irrational, not endowed with reason (OED, a. 1). Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED.

degenerate fall away from excellence, become degenerate (OED, v. 2)

2458 *state and order* status, rank (OED, state sb. 15a, and order sb. 2a)

2461-7 *It is said ... to the end* Compare, for example, Pliny on doves: 'they be passing chaste, and neither male nor female change their mate, but keep together one true unto the other. They live (I say) as coupled by the bond of marriage: never play they false one by the other, but keep homes still, and never visit the holes of others. They abandon not their own nests, unless they be in state of single life or widowhood by the death of their fellow ... [S]o jealous be [the males] of the hens, and suspicious ... shall ye see them peck and job at them cruelly with their beaks' (117).

2461 *de ... animalium* 'about the natural characteristics of animals' (Latin)

2462 *vnreasonable* not endowed with reason

2466 *dissolued* parted, sundered (OED, v. 10b). This is an early usage of this sense of the word as the first example cited in OED is dated 1598. It appears in all of the editions.

2467 *inuiolable* not to be violated. Although invariant in all of the editions, Philoponus seems to confuse this adjective with 'inviolable,' meaning free from violation.

reuolt change allegiance (OED, v. 1a)

2471 *whether soeuer* whichever of the two (OED, pron.)

2473 *the very* i.e., even the (OED, a. 8a)

2475-81 *The Heathen ... vnpunished* Stubbes seems here to recall a passage from the Homily against Whoredom and Uncleanness: 'Among the Locrensians, the adulterers had both their eyes thrust out. The Romans, in

times past, punished whoredom, sometime by fire, sometime by sword. **If** any man among the Egyptians had been taken in adultery, the law was that he should openly, in the presence of all the people, be scourged naked with whips, unto the number of a thousand stripes: the woman that was taken with him had her nose cut off ... Among the Arabians, they that were taken in adultery, had their heads stricken from their bodies ... Among the Turks, even at this day, they that be taken in adultery, both man and woman, are stoned straightway to death, without mercy' (Sermons, 137).

2476 quick alive. Examples of this sense of the adjective found later in the text will not be glossed.

2476-7 some hang them on gibbets This particular punishment, not mentioned in the excerpt quoted above, is cited in the Homily against Whoredom and Uncleanness with reference to Num.xxv.4: 'In another place we also read, that God commanded Moses to take all the head rulers and princes of the people, and *to hang them upon gibbets openly, that every man might see them*, because they either committed, or did not punish whoredom' (Sermons, 135-6). Stubbes includes this as a penalty used amongst the heathen, but this may simply be a fault of memory given the close proximity of this passage in the homily to the examples of punishments devised by civil magistrates. It seems likely that the homily is Stubbes's source for this punishment as the phrase is not used to render Num.xxv.4 in any English translation of the Bible available at this date.

2482 A.B.C. The early editions instead read, 'first rudimentes.'

2486 rehearse quote, cite (OED, v. 3b)

2489-93 Our Sauour ... sin no more Jn.viii.II. Read in context, however, this example is less convincing than Philoponus suggests since Jesus refuses to punish the woman according to the laws prescribing death, saying, 'Let him that is among you without sinne, cast the first stone at her' (verse 7). Guilty in their own minds, the crowd drifts away, and Jesus says to the woman, 'Neither do I condemne thee: goe and sinne no more.'

2493-5 In the fifth ... for the same Compare Mt.v.27-8: 'Ye haue heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adulterie. But I say vnto you, that whosoeuer looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adulterie with her already in his heart.' Death as the punishment for adultery is found not in Matthew, but at Lev.xx.IO and Deut.xxii.22-4.

2495-500 To the ... Husband Mt.xix.7-9: 'They said to [Jesus], Why did then Moses command to giue a bill of diuorcement, and to put her away? He sayd vnto them, Moses because of the hardnesse of your heart, suffered you to put away your wiues: but from the beginning it was not so. I say therefore

vnto you, that whosoeuer shall put away his wife, except *it be* for whoredome, and marry another, committeth adulterie: and whosoeuer marrieth her which is diuorced, doeth commit adulterie.' The sidenotes further refer the reader to Mk.x.11-2 and Lk.xvi.18, but although these apostles agree that remarriage is adulterous, they make no exceptions in the case of extra-marital affairs.

2496 **put away** divorce (OED, put v. 39b)

occasion reason, cause (OED, sb.1 2a)

2500-8 **The Apostle ... owne body** This is quoted almost verbatim from 1 Cor.vi.15-8.

2509-12 **And in ... God destroy** This closely repeats 1 Cor.iii.16-7.

2513-6 **In another ... heauen** An inaccurate rendering of 1 Cor.vi.9-10: 'Know ye not that the vnrighteous shall not inherite the kingdome of God? Be not deceiued: neither fomicatours, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor buggerers, Nor theeues, nor couetous, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdome of God.' Paul says this also to the Ephesians in a slightly different manner (v.5).

2514 **whoremonger** a man who has sex with prostitutes, a lecher

2516-9 **Againe ... God shall iudge** Philoponus quotes the opening of the Latin text of Heb.xiii.4 and the whole of the same verse in English almost word for word. The biblical passage is quoted in the note to 2442-8.

2519-21 **In the Reuelation ... he goeth** Rev.xiv.4: 'These are they which are not defiled with women: for they are virgins: these follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth: these are bought fro men, being the first fruits vnto God, and vnto the Lamb.'

2521 **whether soeuer** whithersoever, wherever

2521-3 **The Apostle ... Saints** This is a close rendering of Eph.v.3.

2523 **Saints** God's chosen people, Christians (OED, sb. 3a)

2525 **such places** The first two editions read 'suche like places.'

20. of Exodus Ex.xx.14: 'Thou shalt not commit adulterie.'

2525-6 **20 of Leuiticus** Lev.xx.10: 'And the man that committeth adultery with another mans wife, because he hath committed adultery with his neighbours wife, the adulterer and the adulteresse shall die the death.'

2526 **22. Deuteronomy. 27** i.e., Deut.xxii.22-4 (discussed in the note to 2493-5) and Deut.xxvii.20-3: 'Cursed be he that lieth with his fathers wife ... Cursed be he that lieth with his sister ... Cursed be he that lieth with his mother in law.' The first edition reads, 'Deutronomie 22. Deutro.27,' but the repetition of the title of the book was omitted from all subsequent editions.

2. Kings. 11 i.e., 2 Sam.xi, in which chapter Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, becomes pregnant with David's child, David has Uriah killed, and the

two lovers marry. Angered by his behaviour, the Lord vows that 'the sword shall never depart from thine house, because thou hast despised me ... I will raise up evil against thee out of thine owne house' (2 Sam.xii.10-11). As a token of his mercy the Lord ends up killing the child in place of David.

2526-7 Leuiticus. 18 Lev.xviii.6-18 prohibits, amongst other types of sex, all forms of incest. Compare Deut.xxvii.20-3, quoted in the first of the notes to the previous line. This reference is wrongly cited as Leviticus xi in all of the editions after O1 (see collation line).

2527 Exodus. 22 Ex.xxii.16-7: 'And if a man entise a mayd that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall endow her, and take her to his wife. If her father refuse to giue her to him, hee shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.'

Num. 5 Num.v.11-31 describes the trial by ordeal that a woman must undergo if her husband believes that she has had sex with another man.

Eccle. 9 Sir.ix.3-9: 'Meete not an harlot, least thou fall into her snares. Vse not the company of a woman that is a singer, [and a dancer, neither heare her,] least thou be taken by her craftinesse ... Cast not thy mind vpon harlots ... Tume away thine eye from a beautifull woman, and looke not vpon others beautie: for many haue perished by the beautie of women: for through it loue is kindled as a fire.'

Prover. 23 Prov.xxiii.26-8: 'My sonne, give mee thine heart, and let thine eyes delight in my wayes. For a whore *is as* a deepe ditch, and a strange woman *is as* a narrow pit. Also she lieth in wait as for a pray, and she increaseth the transgressors among men.'

2527-8 Prouer.7. vers. 24 This chapter describes how easily young men are drawn from wisdom by prostitutes, and at verses 24-7 concludes, 'Heare me now therefore, O children, and hearken to the words of my mouth. Let not thine heart decline to her [the prostitute's] wayes: wander thou not in her paths. For shee hath caused many to fall downe wounded, *and* the strong men *are* all slaine by her. Her house is the way vnto the graue, which goeth downe to the chambers of death.'

2531 rare excellent (OED, a.1 6a)

2535-7 The whole ... dayes The flood story is found at Gen.vi-viii. See in particular chapter vi, verses 2-3: 'Then the sonnes of God saw the daughters of men that they were faire, and they tooke them wiues of all that they liked. Therefore the Lord sayd, My spirit shall not alway striue with man, because hee is but flesh, and his dayes shall be an hundreth and twenty yeeres.'

2537 brothelry harlotry, lewdness (OED, 1)

2538-40 Sodoma ... and fornication Gen.xix.1-25, discussed in the note to 2245-7.

2540-2 The Cittie ... Iacob Gen.xxxiv. Jacob agreed to let the rapist, the son of a Canaanite prince, marry his daughter on the condition that all of his father's male subjects be circumcised. The Canaanites consented to the plan, but 'on the third day (when they were sore) two of the sons of Iaakob, Simeon and Leui, Dinahs brethren took either of them his sword & went into the city boldly, & slue euery male ... the *other* sonnes of Iaakob came vpon the dead, and spoiled the citie, because they had defiled their sister' (verses 25-7). The reference given in the sidenote to 'Gene.24' is wrong in all of the editions.

2542-5 The Lord ... ignorantlie Gen.xx.1-7. Abraham told Abimelech that Sarah was his sister, and God warned the King in a dream not to have sex with her.

2544 shall The first three editions read 'shoulde.'

2545-6 The very ... Isaac also Isaac was another who lied to Abimelech, saying that his wife, Rebekah, was his sister. The King warned his people not to harm her when he learned the truth (Gen.xxvi.1-11).

2546-9 Iudah ... further delay Gen.xxxviii.11-26. Philoponus omits to mention that Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law, was in fact pregnant with Judah's child. Far from being burned, Judah acknowledges at verse 26 that Tamar 'is more righteous then I: for *she hath done it* because I gaue her not to Shelah my sonne.' The sidenote, 'Gene.18,' is wrong in all of the editions.

2547 impregnate pregnant

2549-50 Was not Absolon ... Concubines? Absolon was killed in retreat from battle (2 Sam.xviii.9-15), but there is no suggestion that his death represents divine punishment of sexual transgression. The sidenote is a reference to Absolon's encounter with the concubines at 2 Sam.xvi.20-2.

2550-1 And did not ... hang himself? Ahithophel hangs himself (2 Sam.xvii.23), not because his advice about the concubines was heeded, but because his advice to pursue and kill David was ignored.

2551-4 Was not Ruben ... for the same? It is mentioned briefly at Gen.xxxv.22 that Reuben engaged in sexual intercourse with Bilhah, Jacob's concubine. Compare 1 Chr.v.I: 'The sonnes also of Reuben the eldest sonne of Israel (for he was the eldest, but had defiled his fathers bed, *therefore* his birthright was giuen vnto the sonnes of Ioseph the sonne of Israel, so that the genealogie is not reckoned after *his* birthright' Stubbes's sidenote refers the reader to the account of Reuben's birth at Gen.xxix.32.

2553 dignity high estimation, honour

2554-6 Were there ...Leuits wife? The house in which this Levite and his concubine were being put up for the night in the city of Gibeah was attacked by local men who intended to gang rape the Levite man. In order to save himself the Levite handed over his concubine to thrapists and she was dead by morning (Judg.xix.22-8). The next chupter relates how the Israelites declared war on the Benjamins as a result of this outrage, and after three days fighting the Benjamins were defeated, the dead in total numbering just over 65 000.

2556-7 Was not King ... his wife? This episode is discussed in the note to '2. Kinges. 11' at 2526.

2557 Bersabe Philoponus can only be referring to Bathsheba. This version of her name is invariant in all four editions, but I have not found it used elsewhere.

2557-8 Was not his sonne ... slaine? 2 Sam.xiii. The sidenote directs the reader to Tamar's reaction to her brother's proposition: 'But she answered him, Nay, my brother, doe not force mee: for no such thing ought to be done in Israel: commit not this folly.'

2559-61 Was not Salamon ...the world? The Lord punished Solomon, not because he had sex with foreign women, but because he worshipped other gods as a result (I Kings xi.1-13). The sidenote, which should read 3 Reg.II, is incorrect in all of the editions.

2559 peruerted misled from the true faith in God (OED, v. 3b)

2561-4 Achab ... onely knoweth? I Kings xxi.20-6: 'thou [Ahab] hast sold thy selfe to worke wickednes in the sight of the Lord. Behold, I will bring euill vpon thee, and will take away thy posteritie ... (But there was none like Ahab, who did sell himselfe to worke wickednes, in the sight of the Lord, whom Iezabel his wife prouoked. For hee did exceeding abominably in following idols, according to all that the Amorites did, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel.)'

2563 suffered The quarto reading, 'suffer' (see collation line), appears to be a remnant of the version of the sentence printed in the first three editions which opens with the words, 'Did not Achab,' instead of simply, 'Achab.' Assuming that this is another example of incomplete authorial revision and that the author deliberately chose to present this example as a statement rather than as a question, I have not returned to the reading found in the previous editions, but have instead emended the sentence in keeping with the changes introduced in the quarto.

2565-7 Were not ... sword? Num.xxv.1-15. Phinehas' zeal halted the plague, sent by God, that had already killed 24 000 Israelites. As in many of

these examples cited by Philoponus, the Israelites' sin was not sexual intercourse in itself, but apostasy prompted by sexual relations with foreign women. The sidenote to this passage has been emended as the quarto variant (see collation line) is probably a printing error introduced in place of the correct reading found in the previous editions.

2566-7 ranne them •• priuy members This is an interesting departure from the original source as verse 8 reads with less sensationalism, 'thrust them both thorow: *to wit*, the man of Israel, and the woman, thorow her belly.'

Iauelin a pointed weapon with a long shaft, such as a pike or lance, used for thrusting (OED, sb. 2a)

2567-70 Was not Sampson •• wanton women? This is an accurate summary of Delilah's betrayal of Sampson at Judges xvi.4-31.

2570-2 Was not King ••his wife? Gen.xii.10-20. In order to protect himself, Abraham told the Egyptians that Sarah was his sister, not his wife, and as a result she was taken into Pharaoh's house. Plagued by God, the King eventually learned the truth and returned Sarah to her husband. The sidenote to this passage was incorrectly cited in the first edition as 'Gene.22.'

2571 woonderfully i.e., in such a way as to cause wonder or astonishment.

2572-5 Did not •• Madianites Num.xxv, discussed in the note to 2565-7.

2573 mortalitie visitation of plague (OED, 2a)

2582 suffering ••in their sinne Echoing 2 Pet.ii.20-2, quoted in the note to 2068-70 SN.

2582-3 to fill vp ... iniquity An allusion to Mt.xxiii.32, quoted in the note to 1724.

2583-6 And if •• godly iudge A similar warning is found at Rom.xi.21, quoted in the note to 2270-1.

2584 Saints chosen people (OED, sb. 3a). Compare the similar sense in which 'elect vessels' and 'peculiar people' are used at 2271.

2585 who dayly crucifie him a new Compare Heb.vi.4-6: 'For it is impossible that they which were once lightened, and haue tasted of the heauenly gift, and were made partakers of the holy Ghost, And haue tasted of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, If they fall away, should be renued againe by repentance: seeing they crucifie againe to themselues the Sonne of God, & make a mocke of him.'

2590 no sin comparable vnto it This statement is qualified in the three previous editions: 'no sinne (almost) comparable vnto it.'

2593 inconueniences discomforts, disadvantages (OED, sb. 4a)

2594 infirmeth weakens (OED, v. 1)

2595 exhausteth entirely consumes (OED, v. 2a)

radicall moysture Medieval philosophers believed that this was a humour naturally inherent in plants and animals and considered its presence a necessary condition of life (OED, radical a. 1a).

2596 supplement means available to supply a deficiency

riueleth wrinkles (OED, v.1 2). This example, printed in all of the editions, is the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED.

appalleth makes pale (OED, v. 5)

2597 countenance face

2598 consumption wasting of the body by disease (OED, 4a)

2599 scab a general term for skin disease (OED, sb. 1a)

scurffe a skin condition characterised by the separation of branny scales without inflammation (OED, sb.11)

blaine inflammatory swelling, pustules

botch ulceration, boils (OED, sb.1 2a)

pocks pustules

byles a recognised variant spelling of 'boils'

2600 hoare grey or greyish white

induceth brings about, causes (OED, v. 4a)

in fine in the end (OED, sb.1 1b)

2602-3 Seeing that ... with it Compare Tilley M839: 'Sweet meat must have sour sauce.'

2605 securely confidently, without care or misgiving (OED, adv. 1). Printed in all of the editions, OED's earliest example of this sense of the adverb is dated 1588.

2606-7 vntil one ... Bastardes In the first two editions this short passage reads, 'vntil euery one hath two or three Bastards a peece.' In the third edition, perhaps influenced by the singular pronoun 'him' printed at line 2607, 'euery one' was revised to 'one,' but 'a peece,' originally specifying each member of the collective group of Englishmen, was left unaltered. This change was then carried over into the final edition. Assuming that the revision to O3 was deliberate, I have not returned to the reading printed in the first two editions but have made sense of the quarto text by cutting the adverb 'a peece.'

2608 scury worthless, contemptible (OED, a. 2)

2610 seueral different (OED, a. 2a)

2611 he shewes ... heeles Compare Tilley H394: 'To take to one's heels.'

2612 pilo ... as a ball A proverbial expression implying haste (Tilley B61), used again at 3565. 'Pilo' should in fact read 'pila,' but as this is an easily made grammatical error that may well be authorial, I have not emended the reading. A more precise English translation would be 'faster than a ball.'

Stubbes's original Latin source is unknown, but it is not listed in the *Adagia*. The simile as printed in the first three editions is completely different and reads, 'Euro volocius, *as quicke as a Bee.*' This Latin phrase, which derives from Vergil's *Aeneid* (8.223), in fact means 'swifter than the East wind,' but the English translation offered by the author is proverbial (Tilley B203).

2613 *straunge* situated outside his own area or neighbourhood (OED, a. 1b)

2614-7 *Coelum ... retaine still* This quotation is taken from Horace, Epistle 1.11.27: 'they change their clime, not their mind, who rush across the sea.'

Tilley cites this passage from the first edition as the earliest example of the proverbial saying, 'One may change place but not change the grief' (P374).

2616 *naughty wicked* (OED, a. 2a)

2618 *pristine* former, original

2619 *countrey* county, district

no man say, blacke is their eie A proverbial expression meaning that it is impossible to find fault with them (Tilley E252). Subsequent usages of this expression will not be glossed.

2619 SN *Runnagates* runaways

2623 *if it be true you report* i.e., if it be true [what] you report; if you report the truth. This elliptic construction is invariant in all four editions.

2623-5 *it were much ..commandeth* 1 Cor.vii.2-3: 'Neuerthelesse, to auoyd fornication, let euery man haue his wife, and let euery woman haue her owne husband. Let the husband giue vnto the wife due beneuolence [i.e., her conjugal rights], and likewise also the wife vnto the husband.'

2627-30 *That is ..to the Lord* 1 Cor.vii.8-9: 'Therefore I say vnto the vnmarrid, and vnto the widowes, It is good for them if they abide euen as I *doe* [i.e., chaste]. But if they can not abstaine, let them marrie: for it is better to marrie then to bume.' This solution is also advocated in the *Homily against Whoredom and Uncleanness*: 'they that are single, and feel in themselves that they cannot live without the company of a woman, let them get wives of their own, and so live godly together' (*Sermons*, 140).

2627 *salue* remedy (OED, sb.1 2a)

2629 *vessels* bodies (OED, sb.1 3b)

2629 SN *antidotary* antidote (OED, sb. 1). This is the only example of this sense of the word cited in OED; it is printed here in all of the editions.

2630-5 *But ..primitiue age* A number of instances of child marriages in the diocese of Chester in the years 1561-6 have been documented by Fumivall in *Child-Marriages. Divorces. and Ratifications &c.*, but Peter Laslett argues that they account for only a tiny proportion of the total number of marriages celebrated during those years: 'we can estimate that well over 10, 000

weddings must in fact have taken place in the diocese of Chester during the six years in question. These wretched children cannot, therefore, have made up one-half of 1 per cent of all persons marrying in that area in that period. In nearly all the documents which Furnivall prints it is made plain that the settlement of property was at issue ... they cannot be called representative of the marriages of the great majority who had no land, no house and no property worth assuring in this peculiar fashion' (87-8).

2632 *friendes* relatives, kinsfolk (OED, sb. 3)

2633 *origene* origin, source. This spelling, with an 'e' in place of a second medial 'i,' is not recognised by OED, but it has not been emended as the form is invariant in all of the editions and seems a feasible rendering of the word from the Latin.

2634 *directly against ... of God* I have been unable to trace any place in the Bible forbidding arranged marriages of children.

2635-7 *And besides ... mary her* Although allowance must be made for individual exceptions, demographic studies suggest that this information is inaccurate, England in this period exhibiting what has been termed a 'European marriage pattern,' men and women - if marrying at all - marrying on average at the relatively late ages of 27 and 24 respectively (Hajnal, 110).

2637 *catch* vp snatch, lay hold of (OED, v. 21)

2640 *c2.1lings* livelihoods (OED, vbl. sb. 11a)

2641 *estate* condition with respect to worldly prosperity (OED, sb. 2a)

2642 *pussy* girl or woman (OED, sb. 3a). As this passage, printed in all of the editions, is the only example of this sense of the word listed in OED before 1853, it seems possible that it may instead be a coarse reference to the female genitals, a meaning which, according to OED, dates from 1879 (sb. 6). Gordon Williams records 'puss' used in the same vulgar sense from 1664 (ii, 1120).

huggle hug. This is the earliest usage of the verb cited in OED; it appears in all of the editions.

2645 *store* abundance (OED, sb. 4a)

Beggars This is a shortened version of a fuller passage printed in O3: 'Mendicants, or to speak plainly, of Beggars.'

2647 *like* likely (OED, adv. 8)

2649 *this geare* these doings or 'goings-on' (OED, sb. 11b)

holpen an archaic form of the past participle 'helped'

2650-4 *What ... there are?* The minimum legal age of marriage in this period was twelve for girls and fourteen for boys; Philoponus's suggestion that marriage should be postponed into the early twenties echoes the efforts made

by the Church in 1571 to raise these respective minimum ages to fourteen and sixteen (Thomas, 'Age and Authority,' 226-7).

2650 restraint restriction, limitation (OED, sb. 5)

2658 occasion opportunity

2659 the punishmt ... doth allow It is set out in Deuteronomy that a woman, if challenged, shall produce the bloodied bed sheets after her wedding night, and if no proof of her former virginity can be found, 'the men of her city shall stone her with stones to death: for shee hath wrought folly in Israel, by playing the whore in her fathers house' (Deut.xxii.21). Adultery, as mentioned at 2493-5, was similarly punishable by death.

2660 pollicie prudent action or procedure generally
constituted set up, established (OED, v. 3a)

2663-7 For what ... they haue Numerous contemporary reformers attacked this particular form of penance as an insufficient deterrent to whoredom. Compare, for example, John Stockwood's criticism of it in his sermon preached at Paul's Cross on 24 August, 1578: 'What of whordome ... whyche the Euangelist Luke in the parable of the seed termeth a thorn, shal we thinke that a thorne will be killed wyth spreading a white sheete ouer it, when it rather craueth an axe?' (sig. O6)

2664 Cope a long cloak or cape (OED, sb.1 1a)

2667-71 And truely ... his Lawes This sentence was added after the first edition.

2667 admire wonder or marvel at

2670 wand slender rod or stick

2672 condigne appropriate

2675 white liuered feeble-spirited. This adjective most often qualifies the character of people, and the implication seems to be that the punishment is white-livered because those responsible for it are themselves cowardly and incapable of maintaining control.

2676 gallant excellent, splendid (OED, a. 4a)

2676-8 but certaine ... in hell Compare the proverbial saying, 'Sweet meat must have sour sauce' (Tilley M839).

2678 bitter 01-03 instead print the synonym 'stiptick,' which according to OED (a. 1c), is the earliest usage of the adjective in a figurative sense.

2678-709 And yet as light ... day of the Lord This lengthy attack on monetary fines for whoredom was only printed in the last three editions.

2682-4 Is this any thing ... more then this? See the note to 2699.

2689 faine willingly, gladly

2691 *ā culpa ... the fault* The second edition instead reads, 'a culpa, rubore, & paena, in this worlde, from the falte it self, from the shame, and punishment due for the fault.' The phrase 'in this worlde' was not included after the second edition, and Stubbes apparently further decided when revising for the fourth edition that the shame remains even after the fine has been paid.

2695-701 And this .. as he can i.e., it being the case that offenders are forced to marry and then pardoned, fortune-hunters will have sexual intercourse with as many wealthy virgins as possible. The adverb 'thus' (2698), which suggests that the sentence in which it appears is a complete thought, originally read 'that' in O2. The argument is broken into two separate sentences in all of the editions.

2699 Bull of dispensation Philoponus likens the punishment of sexual offenders in England 'by the purse' to the controversial Roman Catholic practice of indulgences, enabled by a bull of Rome, whereby any sin with its attendant penalty could be pardoned for money.

2703-5 I say .. employed Corruption in the minor ecclesiastical courts in this period provoked a great deal of public protest and criticism. In his analysis of these so-called 'bawdy courts,' Christopher Hill explains that they were not permitted to exact fines from offenders but that 'court fees and money taken in commutation of penance were difficult to distinguish *de facto* from fines.' This distinction becomes even more tenuous when one realises that money given for dispensations was often rerouted, as Philoponus insinuates, into private pockets: 'Theoretically penance could only be commuted if the money paid went *in pios usus* - e.g. for repairs to the local church, or St. Paul's, or for the relief of the poor. [But] Dr. Lambe, the city of Northampton alleged in 1621, when urged to apply to charitable uses money taken for commutation of penance, remarked that charity began at home' (Society and Puritanism, 313).

2705 them i.e., the Church magistrates.

2713 all any whatever

scruple doubt, uncertainty (OED, sb.2 2a)

2714 fact crime (OED, sb. 1c)

2720 cauterized branded with a hot iron (OED, v. 2). Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1591.

2724 wanteth is without, lacks

2725 vppon them i.e., upon those who are guilty of the vice. The first two editions instead read 'therevpon.'

2725-6 winke at it i.e., turn a blind eye to it (OED, v.1 6a).

2726 looking through their fingers The expression 'To look through one's fingers' is cited by Tilley as proverbial (F243).

2726-7 and will not see it. Immediately following the end of this sentence in the previous editions is printed a description of the judgement of God shown on two adulterers in London. What prompted Stubbes to cut this passage from the quarto edition is unknown, but the omission of a transitional sentence before the story itself, along with the substitution of 'Yea' for 'But' at the opening of the next paragraph (2728) would indicate that it was a deliberate revision rather than an unintentional omission. Stubbes's account of their deaths as printed in the third edition is included in Appendix I (Passage E).

2732 clogged encumbered, hampered (OED, v. 2a)

2733-4 full of golde and siluer? This punctuation marks an exclamatory, rather than an interrogatory, statement.

2735 peasants A general term of abuse which is here used as synonymous with meacocks (see next).

2736 maicocks cowards, weaklings

2737-9 But and if .. or other Stubbes may have had particular instances in mind, but it seems suspicious that this claim resembles a passage from Chrysostom's forty-eighth homily on the Gospel of Saint Matthew: 'For such is the nature of whoredom. It makes men not wanton only, but murderous also. Those women at all events, who desire to commit adultery, are prepared even for the slaying of their injured husbands, and not one only, nor two, but ten thousand murders are they ready to venture upon. And of this sort of tragic plots there are many witnesses' (ii, 657). As Stubbes does not seem to have read this sermon himself, all of his quotations from it in the chapter on dancing having been taken from Northbrooke's Treatise, any potential allusion to it would almost certainly be second-hand.

2737 and if if (OED, if conj. 8b)

2739 meane method (OED, sb.2 10a)

2740-6 And some ... the other The practice of divorcing wives to live with prostitutes is censured in the Homily against Whoredom and Uncleaness as an everyday occurrence: 'Of this vice cometh a great part of the divorces, which now-a-days be so commonly accustomed and used ... For when this most detestable sin is once crept into the breast of the adulterer, so that he is entangled with unlawful and unchaste love, straightways his true and lawfull wife is despised ... therefore, to make short work, she must away, for her husband can brook her no longer. Thus, through whoredom, is the honest and harmless wife put away, and an harlot received in her stead' (Sermons, 132).

2741 nusled vp trained (OED, v.2 2a)

2744 conuented summoned (OED, v. 3b)

deposed vpon a booke sworn on oath (OED, depose v. 5c). The only example of 'deposed' used in this sense cited by OED is dated 1610; the verb is printed in all of the editions.

2747 stop the course ... vnguentum In liis A Brief Discoverie of the False Church (1590), Henry Barrow similarly alleges that adultery in London is perpetuated through bribery: 'if [the accused] will not pay for the shooijng Mr. Commissaries mare, he may peradventure do his pennance before al the Sodornites in the parrish in a white sheete ... But if he speake a word in Mr. Cornissarie his eare, and wil stand vpon his purgatio [i.e., oath of innocence], then must he get as bad brothels as himself to sweare by Mr. Cornissaries booke, that they think in their corrupt conscience that he is cleare. This done, and cost of the court discharged, then (haue he beene neuer such a whoremaister all his life time, or beene neuer so manifestly or often detected or taken in this crime) yet is there no credit to be giuen to anie prooffe ... Thus doe these holie fathers the Bishops make adulterie a laughing, or elsa pecuniarie matter' (sigs. Gg4v-Hhl).

Rubrum vnguentum 'red ointment' (Latin). Compare the more explicit use of this Latin expression to refer to bribery at 3273-5.

2753 immunity & impunity This was a phrase used by Hugh Latimer in 1549 to condemn dissolute behaviour in the suburbs of London: 'It is wonderfull that the citey of London doeth suffer such whordom vnpunished ... There is sum place in London, as they saye, *immunitie, impunitie*. What should I call it? a preueledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath nothyng to do there, the Sheriffes, thei can not medle wyth it. And the queste, they not enquire of it, and there men do brynge theyr whores, yea other mennes wyues, and there is no reformation of it' (160-1).

immunity undue freedom, licence (OED, 3)

impunity exemption from punishment or penalty

2757 whoremasters men who have sex with prostitutes, lechers

2763 frequented practised

2765 The Gluttonie and excesse in England This chapter and the next were printed as a single chapter in the first edition under the heading, 'Gluttonie and drunkennesse in Ailg.'

2768 belly cheere feasting, gluttony

2769 gourmandize gluttony

2770-1 That is ... word of God Compare, for example, 1 Pet.iv.9: 'Be ye harberous one to another, without grudging.'

2773-5 Godly ... the same Heb.xiii.2: 'Be not forgetfull to entertaine strangers: for thereby some haue receiued Angels into their houses vnwares.'

2773 wise way, manner

2775 at vnwares without being aware (OED, adv. 4b). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the adverb cited by OED is dated 1595.

2776 Abraham When the Lord appears to Abraham and Sarah at Gen.xviii.1-15 he is not at first recognised: 'And [Abraham] lift vp his eyes, and looked: and loe, three men stood by him, and when he saw *them*, hee ran to meete them from the tent doore, and bowed himselfe to the ground' (verse 2). At the end of the visit, Abraham and Sarah are promised a son.

Lot As a result of Lot's generous hospitality (Gen.xix), he and his family were saved from the Lord's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Compare the note to 2245-7.

Tobias Rather than entertain him, Tobias employed Raphael to show him the way to Media (Tob.v.4-7). This example is presumably included simply because it represents another unwitting encounter with an angel.

2778 pestered overcrowded (OED, v.1 2)

2780 meat food (OED, sb. 1a)

2781 seuerall particular, distinctive (OED, a. 1c)

to his kind to its [i.e., the food's] type, variety (OED, kind sb. 13a).

The quarto substitution of 'in' for 'to' (see collation line) has been emended as a nonsensical error.

2783 Helluo glutton (OED, 1). This passage, printed in all of the editions, is the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED.

2784 Cormorant an insatiably greedy person (OED, 2b)

2784 SN curious dainty, delicate (OED, a. 7b)

2787 mo more in number (OED, a. 2a)

iunkets cakes, confections, or other sweet dishes (OED, sb. 3). The first three editions instead read 'condimentes.'

2788 confections prepared dishes used as a relish or a dainty
spiceries spices

2789 al kind of Wines are This lack of agreement between subject and verb is invariant in all four editions. Although now considered grammatically incorrect to treat 'all kind of' as an adjective modifying the following plural substantive, it was a common enough usage in the period (OED, kind sb. 14b).

2790 nicity excessive refinement in manner of living (OED, 5a)

2791 world? As at 1036-40 and 2733-4, this question mark punctuates an exclamatory statement.

2792-807 for I haue ... life then they Compare 1231-53, where Philoponus instead attributes the increasingly frail constitution of the English to luxurious clothing. William Harrison relates in his *Description of Britaine and En&land* (1577) that this taste for delicacies developed within his own lifetime: 'white meats, milke, butter & cheese ... woont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort ... In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall-headed Frenchmen and strangers) doo most exceed' (144).

2796 able suitable, fit (OED, a. 2a)

2797 digest A recognised variant form of 'digest.' The first three editions go on to explain at this point that delicate diets have led to an inability to digest ordinary food: 'For if they should (their stomacks being so queasie as they bee, and so vnable to concoct it) they might happely euacuate the same agayne, as other filthie excrementes, crude, and indigest, their bodies receiuing no nourishment thereby, or els it might lye stincking in their stomackes, as dirt in a filthie Sinck or Priuie.'

2798 eat A recognised form of the verb in the past tense.

2799 disgesture digestion

2800 baggage rubbish (OED, sb. 4a)

2801 SN faraginy This word is not listed in OED, but it seems to be an Anglicised form of 'farrago' (Latin), meaning a mixture of various types of grain used to feed cattle. Compare 'farrage' (OED, 2), derived from the same Latin root. The word is printed in all of the editions.

2802 complexion bodily constitution (OED, sb. 2a)

2804 nicenesse delicacy, luxury (OED, 2a)

curiousnesse delicacy (OED, 2a)

2805 distempered rendered unhealthy or diseased

2811-3 The Lord ... for a time Compare God's words to Noah after the flood at Gen.ix.3: 'Euery thing that moueth and liueth, shall be meat for you: as the greene herbe, haue I giuen you all things.'

2812 brittle mortal, perishable (OED, a. 1b)

2814-6 For as ... eate to liue proverbial (Tilley E50). Cicero uses the saying in his epistle to Herennium: 'Esse oportet ut vivas, non vivere ut edas' (4.28.39). Quintilian also quotes it in his *Institutio Oratoria* as a good example of antithesis (9.3.85).

2814 SN Medietie moderation (OED, 3). This is the only example of this sense of the word cited in OED; it is printed in all four editions.

2817 *ingurgitate* gorge (OED, v. 1c). OED cites this passage, found in all of the editions, as the earliest usage of this sense of the verb.

2818-20 The Lorde ... world Perhaps an oblique allusion to the manna provided by God to sustain the Israelites in the wilderness (Ex.xvi.1-21).

2823 *impletion* fullness (OED, 1). Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED.

2824-6 as Hiero ... into lust? Closely paraphrasing a passage from St. Jerome's sixty-ninth letter: '*uinolentia scurronum est et cornissatorum uenterque mero aestuans cito despumat in libidines*' (9.1).

2827-30 The Children ... liuing God Ex.xxxii.6-8: 'So they rose vp the next day in the morning, and offered burnt offrings, & brought peace offrings: also the people sat them downe to eate and drinke, and rose vp to play. Then the Lord said vnto Moses, Go, get thee downe: for thy people which thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt, hath corrupted *their wayes*. They are soone turned out of the way, which I commanded them: *for* they have made them a molten calfe, and have worshipped it, and have offered thereto, saying, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.' The sidenote, 'Genes.24,' is wrong in all of the editions.

2830 *stockes, stones* i.e., gods of wood and stone, idols (OED, *stock sb.1 1d*).

2830-3 The sonnes ... for the same Eli's sons made a practice of confiscating food intended as sacrifices to the Lord. At 1 Sam.ii.12-36 Eli is warned that as a result of this contempt his household will eventually be destroyed; the event itself is described at iv.12-8. As the quarto sidenote '3.Reg.2' is probably a printing error carried over from the second edition (see collation line), the text has been emended on the basis of the correct OI reading.

2833-6 The children ... pitifulie Compare Job i.18-9: 'And whiles he was yet speaking, came another, and sayd, Thy sonnes, and thy daughters were eating, and drinking wine in their eldest brothers house, And behold, there came a great wind from beyond the wildemesse, and smote the foure comers of the house, which fell vpon the children, and they are dead, and I onely am escaped alone, to tell thee.' Philoponus misrepresents the reason for their destruction, however, as Job's children were killed in order to test their father, not because their banquet in itself was sinful.

2836-40 Balthazar ... of the Lorde Dan.v. Verses 22-3 explain that it is not strictly Belshazzar's *gluttony* as implied by Philoponus, but his pride and idolatry in eating and drinking from the temple vessels, that is punished by the Lord: 'And thou his sonne, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though

thou knewest all these things, But hast lift thy selfe vp against the Lord of heauen, and they haue brought the vessels of his House before thee, and thou and thy princes, thy wiues and thy concubines haue drunke wine in them, and thou hast praised the gods of siluer and gold, of brasse, yron, wood and stone, which neither see, neither heare, nor vnderstand: and the God in whose hand thy breath is and all thy wayes, him hast thou not glorified.'

2837 Chaldeans The ancient people of Chaldea were located in biblical times in the southernmost Tigris and Euphrates valley.

2838 Mene •• vpharsin Compare verses 26-8: 'This is the interpretation of the thing, MENE, God hath numbred thy kingdome, and hath finished it. TEKEL, thou art weyed in the balance, and art found too light. PERES, thy kingdome is diuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians.'

2838-9 SN Daniei.S.verse.5.25 'At the same houre appeared fingers of a mans hand, which wrote ouer against the candlestick vpon the plaster of the wall of the kings palace, and the king saw the palme of the hand that wrote ... And this is the writing that he had written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL VPHARSIN.'

2840-2 The rich ••.fire of hell Lk.xvi.19-31. The rich man was punished because he allowed the begger Lazarus to starve at his door while living in all comfort himself. See the response at verse 25 to his plea for relief in hell: 'But Abraham sayd, Sonne, remember that thou in thy life time receiuedst thy pleasures, and likewise Lazarus paines: now therefore is he comforted, and thou art tormented.'

2842-4 Our Father ... desire withall Gen.iii.6: 'So the woman (seeing that the tree was good for meat, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, & a tree to be desired, to get knowledge) tooke of the fruit thereof, & did eat, and gaue also to her husband with her, and he did eat.' Compare 2211-4, where Philoponus interprets the expulsion of humans from the Garden of Eden as punishment for pride.

2845-7 Gluttony •..fielde for euer Mt.iv.2-4: 'And when he had fasted fourty daies, and forty nights, he was afterward hungry. Then came to him the tempter, and said, If thou be the Sonne of God, commaund that these stones be made bread. But he answering, said, It is written, Man shall not liue by bread onely, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'

2848 countenance None of the definitions listed in OED fit the context of this passage particularly well. Philoponus seems to use the word as synonymous with 'credite,' but the nearest recognised sense is estimation, or repute in the world (sb. 9).

2849-56 But true ... in neede This definition accords with traditional ideals of hospitality frequently lamented in this period as characteristic of a by-gone age (Heal, 'The Idea of Hospitality,' 66-7). Stubbes complains further about the decay of hospitality in *A motiue to good workes* (sigs. K1-K4). See also the biblical injunction to care for the needy found at Deut.xv.7-11, quoted in the note to 1401-4.

2850-1 the substance ... into accidents Compare the note to 1697-8.

2851 Cookeries cooking practices. The earliest example cited in OED of the plural form of this word is dated 1699 (sb. 1b); it is found in all of the editions.

2852 impotionate poisoned. See the note on this participial adjective at 493.

slibbersawces messy, repulsive concoctions; the second edition prints 'sibbersawces.' The word was used to describe cosmetics at 1567.

2857-63 You shall ... themselues withall Philoponus made this same point at 1408-13. 'Whipping cheare' is an ironic term for flogging.

2864 dispende expend (OED, v. 1a)

bestowe spend, lay out

2865-8 And truly ... it be long This concern is well founded since, as Lawrence Stone describes, extravagant entertainment amongst social peers was one of the chief causes of ruin amongst the Elizabethan nobility: 'the style of entertainment of the aristocracy, both in their great houses in the country and at Ordinaries in the City, was on a truly princely scale. Princely also was the cost. In the twelve days from Christmas to Twelfth Night at his seat at Woolaton, Sir Francis Willoughby spent £104 on food alone, for himself and his guests. It was not so much the gargantuan size of the feast or the Trimalchian rarity of the dishes that ran away with the money, even if both these features were present to a degree that seems unbelievable to the twentieth-century palate. It was rather the scale of the entertainment, the vast numbers of the guests assembled to do honour to the host that caused the expense. For to keep hospitality was a sign of dignity, the hall-mark of the true gentleman' ('The Anatomy,' 7).

2869 largeous liberal, bountiful. Found in all of the editions, this is the only example of the adjective cited in OED.

profluous profluent, flowing. According to OED, this adjective is unique to the Abuses; it was added as a revision to the quarto.

2872-3 many Chimneyes ... litle smoke Printed in all of the editions, this is the first of only two examples of the expression cited in Tilley (C348). The image, however, seems to have been used more widely than Tilley suggests to articulate complaints about the decline of traditional hospitality. Compare, for

example, the response to Clothbreeches' complaint in Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592) that bricklayers are at fault for building chimneys that cannot smoke: 'the fault is not in the workman but the housekeeper, for now adaies men builde for to please the eye, not to profit the poore ... would they vse auntient hospitality as their forefathers did, and value as lightly of pride as their greate graundfathers, then should you see euery chimney in the house smoke' (sig. F4).

2883-917 Experience ... filthy corruption Physical harms associated with excessive eating and drinking such as Philoponus describes are catalogued more briefly in the *Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness* (Sermons, 318).

2885 corrupter more lacking a sound physical condition

2887 choller bile

putrifaction such decomposition within a living body as ulceration or gangrene

grosse thick (OED, a. 8a)

2888 humours bodily fluids indicative of disease (OED, sb. 2a). Compare 'filthy humours' at 2911.

2890 Peason peas

2891 small drinke i.e., a mildly alcoholic beverage.

2893 fairer complectioned of a better physical constitution (OED, ppl.a. 1).

The modern sense of 'complexion,' however, could also be intended.

2897 distemperance bodily disorder, sickness (OED, 4)

2899 concocting digesting (OED, v. 4a)

2904 repugnancies contradictions (OED, 1a). The first three editions print the synonym 'discrepances,' a usage which antedates the earliest example cited in OED by forty-four years.

2905 impugne resist, oppose (OED, v. 1b)

2914 gingered permeated with ginger, presumably through excessive indulgence. Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this participial adjective listed in OED is dated 1825.

spiced seasoned with spices

2915 mortifie neutralize the value or destroy the activity of (OED, v. 2)

vitall spirites fluids or substances thought to permeate the blood and organs, and considered necessary to maintain the body's normal operations (OED, spirit sb. 16a)

2916 pursie fat

2923 Mault-wormes those who love malt-liquor, drunkards

2927 gulling guzzling (OED, v.1 1a)

2928 carousing drinking health and success by draining full bumpers of alcohol (OED, v. 1b). This passage, printed in all of the editions, is cited by OED as the earliest usage of the verb in this sense.

2929 the Spirite of the Butterie This is a sixteenth-century phrase meaning 'the spirit of wine' (OED, buttry sb. 1c). Compare the definition of the expression offered in the sidenote to 2934-8.

2930 a world it is it is a marvel (OED, world sb. 19c). Subsequent usages of this expression will not be glossed.

consider view

gestures bearing, deportment (OED, sb. 1a)

2931 countenances behaviours, demeanours (OED, sb. 1a)

2932 stutte stutter (OED, v.11 a)

2934 other some The early editions add in parenthesis, presumably by way of apology for the indelicacy of the subject-matter that follows, 'Honor sit auribus,' which translates literally from the Latin, 'let honour be to your ears.'

boord table (OED, sb. 5a)

2936 banning cursing. Later usages of this verb will not be noted.

curious elaborate (OED, a. 8)

2943 corroborate invigorate

Arteries Since there is no blood in the arteries after death, medieval writers believed that they held the vital spirit (et)mpare note to 2915).

2950-1 blubbering foorth giving vent to (OED, v. 2a). Printed in all of the editions, OED records this as the earliest usage of this sense of the verb.

2956 tremble The second and third editions instead print the synonym 'Euibrate; which is the earliest usage of the verb cited in OED.

quauer The first edition reads 'quiuer.'

quotidian recurring every day. This adjective had been current in the English language for over two hundred years, but the fact that it is printed in contrasting type in all of the editions perhaps suggests that Stubbes still considers it a Latin rather than an English usage.

2957 Dropsie a disease characterised by abnormal fluid retention

Plurisie a disease characterised by pain in the chest or side, fever, and loss of appetite

2959 dissolueth weakens, enfeebles (OED, v. 4)

at the length in the long run (OED, sb. 14b)

2963 discloseth secretes This fault is noted in the Adagia as proverbial: 'Quod in animo sobrii, id est in lingua ebrii' (428D), a sententia Richard Taverner translates as: 'The thyng that lyeth in a sobre mans hart, is in the

tongue of the dronkarde. Dronken folke can kepe no counsayle' (Proverbes or adagies. sig. D6).

2968-70 modum .• rule of necessity Although this expression sounds proverbial, it is neither listed in Tilley or Dent nor included in the Adagia.

The Latin quotation more precisely reads, 'They put a limit on their appetite.'

2978-85 The Prophete ... the Prophet Isa.v.II-4: 'Woe vnto them, that rise vp early to follow drunkennesse, and to them that continue vntill night, *till* the wine doe inflame them ... Therefore hell hath enlarged it selfe, and hath opened his mouth without measure, and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that reioyceth among them, shall descend *into it*.' Philoponus quotes only the first half of verse eleven in Latin.

2986-8 The Prophete ... heart of man A paraphrase of Hos.iv.II.

2988 infatuate render foolish

2989-91 The Prophet Ioel ... vpon you The first chapter of Joel is a call to people from all walks of life, including drunkards at verse 5, to mourn the plague of locusts devastating the country: 'Awake ye drunkards, and weepe and howle all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine, for it shall be pulled from your mouth.' The sidenote to this passage in the quarto, 'Ioel.2,' is probably a simple misprint for the correct citation printed in the earlier editions (see collation line).

2990 win.e bibbers drunkards

2990-1 wickednesse of destruction It is unclear to me why Philoponus would describe God's punishment of sinners as wicked; it seems likely that in providing such a heavily condensed paraphrase Stubbes has lost the intended sense of the passage, that destruction shall fall upon drunkards as a result of their wickedness. The phrasing is invariant in all of the editions.

2992-5 The Prophete Habacuck .• priuities Hab.ii.15-6: 'Woe vnto him that giueth his neighbour drinke: thou ioynest thine heate, and makest *him* drunken also, that thou mayest see their priuities. Thou art filled with shame for glory: drinke thou also, and be made naked: the cup of the Lords right hand shall be turned vnto thee, and shameful! spuing *shall be* for thy glory.'

2995 priuities private parts, genitals

2996-8 Salamon ... not be wise Philoponus accurately quotes Prov.xx.1.

2998-3000 In another ... beggerie Prov.xxiii.20-1: 'Keepe not companie with drunkards, *nor* with gluttons. For the drunkard and the glutton shall be poore, and the sleeper shall be cloathed with ragges.'

3001-9 In the twenty ... Cockatrice Stubbes is probably quoting this version of Prov.xxiii.29-32 from either the Geneva Bible or the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness (Sermons, 319) as other Bibles available at this

date read 'stingeth as/like an adder' in place of 'hurt like a Cockatrice.' The elaboration on 'Cockatrice' which follows (3009-10), is not part of the biblical text.

3003 murmuring grumbling, complaining

3009 Cockatrice, or Basilicocke basilisk. The relevant feature of this mythological serpent is described by Philoponus in the next line.

3011-2 Againe ... strong drink Compare Prov.xxxi.4-7: 'It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drinke wine, nor for princes strong drinke, Least he drinke and forget the decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. Giue yee strong drinke vnto him that is ready to perish, and wine vnto them that haue grieffe of heart. Let him drinke, that hee may forget his pouerty, and remember his miserie no more.'

3012-5 Our Sauieur ... at vnawares A direct quotation of Lk.xxi.34.

3014 surfetting gluttonous indulgence

3015 at vnawares unexpectedly, suddenly (OED, adv. 4a)

3016-8 S. Paule ... the Spirit Philoponus accurately cites Eph.v.18. A sidenote to this passage referring the reader to 'Ephe.5' was printed in the first two editions.

3018-21 The same Apostle ... ofheauen 1 Cor.vi.9-10. Compare Philoponus's alternative use of the same verses at 2513-6 and the original biblical text quoted in full in the note to these lines.

3027-9 Drunkennesse caused Lot ... rose vp An accurate summary of Gen.xix.30-8.

3030 assotteth makes a fool of

3032-4 Drunkennesse caused Noah ... the same Gen.ix.21-2. Noah cursed his son when he awoke and realised what had happened.

3033 Tabernacle tent, hut (OED, sb. 1a)

Cham i.e., Ham.

3035-7 Through drunkennes ... Faulchon The story of Judith and Holofernes is found at Judith xiii. The incorrect reference to 'Luke.16' was added to 03, no sidenote to this passage being printed in the first two editions.

3037 Faulchon a curved broad sword with an edge on the convex side

3038-40 Through Drunkennes King ... Strumpet Mt.xiv.6-12. Salome is granted her request in the midst of Herod's birthday celebrations, but there is no explicit mention either here or in the version of the story found at Mk.vi.21-9 of Herod being incapacitated with drink. The sidenote is wrong in all of the editions.

3041-3 That rich ... hell for euer Lk.xvi.19-31, discussed in the note to 2840-2.

3041 Epulo carouser, feaster (Latin)

3043 moe further, additional (OED, a. 3a)

3047-50 For euery ... Bedlem This point echoes a passage in the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness: 'And no less truly the mind is also annoyed by surfeiting banquets: for sometimes men are stricken with phrensy of mind, and are brought in like manner to mere madness; some wax so brutish and blockish, that they become altogether void of understanding' (Sermons, 320).

3047 estranged from himselfe put beside himself, maddened (OED, v. 4)

3048 extasie stupor (OED, 1)

Phrensie an alternative spelling of 'frenzy'

3050 Bedlem i.e., an inmate of Bethlehem Hospital, a madman (OED, 5).

3051 member of Christ Jesus i.e., member of Christ's Church. This metaphorical usage is discussed further in the note to 327-8: subsequent usages will not be glossed.

Imp of Sathan child of Satan (OED, sb. 4a)

3051-2 limme of the Deuil agent of Satan. The phrase was in common usage until about the middle of the seventeenth century (OED, sb.1 3b).

3055-9 Knowing that ... stinke These lines paraphrase a sentence in the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness: 'For except God bless our meats, and give them strength to feed us: again, except God give strength to nature to digest, so that we may take profit by them, either shall we filthily vomit them up again, or else shall they lie stinking in our bodies, as in a loathsome sink or channel, and so diversely infect the whole body' (Sermons, 318).

3059 stinke This reading at first seems suspicious given the proximity of 'stinking' in the previous line, the evidence of Stubbes's source text, and the fact that the first two editions instead read 'sincke.' However, I have not emended the text as this change coincided with the substitution of 'all' in place of the indefinite article in the same line - a combination which to me suggests that this variant is likely to represent deliberate revision instead of an error of transmission.

3060 creatures creations (OED, 1a)

3062 sope small amount, sup

3065 receipt taking in at the mouth (OED, sb. 6b)

3067-9 Omnis Christi ... instruction Quoted at greater length, this rhyme makes the opposite point in A motiue to good workes: 'Therefore it is true, *omnis Christi actio, nostra est instructio, non imitatio*, euery action of Christ is our instruction, but not a president to follow in euery thing' (sig. M5v). I have not been able, unfortunately, to trace the original source of the saying.

3070-172 Or if all ... Gods vengeance Neither of these examples of the judgement of God was printed in the first edition, and the sidenotes were included in only the last two editions.

3073 sort company, group (OED, sb.2 17c)

3074 Swaben i.e., Swabia, a former German duchy occupying a region now covered by the state of Baden-Württemberg and part of Bavaria. The Germans were renowned in England for excessive drinking, as suggested by the comparison drawn by George Gascoigne between them and the English in A delicate Diet. for daintiemouthde Droonkardes (1576): 'In lyke manner we were woont (in tymes past) to contempne and condempne the *Almaines* and other of the low Countreyes, for theyr beastly drinking and quaffing. But nowe a dayes (although we use it not dayly lyke them, for it seemes that they are naturally enclyned unto that vyce) yet, when we doo make banquets and merymentes, as wee terme them, we surpasse them very farre' (466-7).

3083 keeps This emendation (see collation line) is discussed in the Editorial Procedures, pp. 91-2.

3083-4 burnt wine heated wine. Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest usage of the term recorded in OED (burnt, ppl.a. 5).

3083 SN propertie character, nature (OED, sb. 6)

3084 Sacke a general name for a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries

Malmsie a strong sweet wine

Hipocrasse a cordial made of wine flavoured with spices

3089 Exercise public worship (OED, 10b)

3093 or euer before ever (OED, ever adv. 8c). 'Ever' is added for emphasis.

3094 brusting a recognised variant form of 'bursting'

3102 guage offer as a forfeit (OED, gage v. 2b)

3102 SN desperate reckless (OED, a. 6)

3103 SN securitie culpable absence of anxiety (OED, 3)

3104 carousing drinking freely, but perhaps also with the sense of drinking bumpers to one another. Compare the use of this verb at 2928.

3105 pay the shotte proverbial (Tilley S398)

shotte bill, reckoning

3109 SN darlings favourites, minions (OED, sb.1 1b)

3112 brake a recognised variant form of 'broke'

3117 sparks of faith Philoponus uses a similar expression at 326 in English and Latin, which suggests that he may here be using the phrase allusively; I have not been able, however, to identify a source.

3120 in sempiternam rei memoriam literally, 'in eternal memory of the matter' (Latin)

3122 Straesburcht i.e., Strasburg.

3126-9 An other ... followeth This account prob.: bly repeats the material found in a pamphlet licenced to John Ch2.;-lewood on 22 August 1581 entitled The wrath of GOD in the punishmente of Twoo Drunckardes at Nekers Hofen in Almayne (Arber, ii, 400), but this work, if ever printed, is no longer extant. A ballad with the similar title, 'Th[e] example of GODs wrath ouer ij drunkardes at Nekershofen,' was licenced to Edward White on 1 August 1586 (Arber, ii, 451), but again, no copy of the text survives.

3127 Almaine Germany

3128 Nekershofewe The precise location of this town is uncertain but it presumably at one time lay along the Neckar, a river in Wiirttemberg and Baden which is one of the chief tributaries of the Rhine.

chaunced happened, occurred (OED, v. 1a)

3129 Varlets knaves, rogues

3129-30 by the way along the road (OED, sb.1 31a)

3133 in fine in the end (OED, sb.1 lb). Subsequent examples of this phrase will not be glossed.

good store in abundance (OED, sb. 4d)

3134-5 as drunke as Swine proverbial (Tilley S1042). The second and third editions read 'as dronke as Rattes.'

3136 pledging drinking in response to (OED, v. 5a)

3140 whether whichever of the two (OED, pron. 3a)

3141-2 SN contemnners scorners, despisers

3143 fane gladly, willingly

3149 L4 This is one of the few pages in the quarto without a page heading.

3151 steere a variant form of 'stir,' meaning move or shift (OED, v. 1f)

3153 countenance bearing, demeanour (OED, sb. 1a)

3163 surceased gave up, abandoned (OED, v. 3a)

3167 the bowels of his mercy i.e., his mercy or compassion. The bowels were considered the seat of tender and sympathetic emotions (OED, sb.1 3b).

3177-9 **It** is a most ... whatsoeuer This largely repeats the description of England offered at 272-5.

3178 store necessities (OED, sb. 1a)

3181 in generall without exception (OED, a. 11c)

3183-6 Crescit ... doth increase Juvenal, Satire 14, line 139. Compare the English proverbs, 'The more a man has the more he desires' (Tilley M1144) and 'Much would have more' (Tilley M1287).

3187-9 tam deest •• vnto him A direct quotation of Publilius Syrus (line 694). Compare Tilley, 'A covetous man is never rich,' an expression which is not listed as proverbial before 1657 (M88).

3189-91 Therefore ..• with ynough Prov.xxvii.20: 'The grave and destruction can never be full, so the eyes of man can never be satisfied.'

3191 yawmeth opens wide, gapes (OED, v. 5)
right as i.e., just as (OED, right adv. 8).

3193 plash puddle

3194 summum voluptatem ·greatest pleasure' (Latin)
momentary transient

3196-8 who the ••.disease increaseth The first two editions instead read, 'who the more he drinketh, the more he thirsteth: the more he thirsteth, the more he drinketh: the more he drinketh, the more his disease increaseth.' The middle phrase may have been lost as a result of compositorial eye-skip, but the insertion of the conjunction 'and' raises the possibility that the sentence was instead deliberately shortened; I have chosen not to emend on the grounds that the quarto version makes clear sense.

3198-200 Bursa ... the Deuill I have not been able to identify Stubbes's source for this phrase but it is neither biblical nor listed as proverbial in Tilley, Dent or the Adagia.

3200 alway always, at all times (OED, adv. 2)

3204-5 Doth not •• familie? 1 Tim.v.8: 'If there be any that prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them of his householde, hee denieth the faith, and is worse then an infidel!.'

3205 Deneger one who denies. Printed in all of the editions, this is the first of only two examples of the word cited in OED, the second of which was printed in A motiue to good workes (sig. 13). OED suggests that it may be a compositor's error for 'deneyer,' but given Stubbes's habit of coining English words from Latin roots (see, for example, the notes to 4644, 2801 SN, and 4729) and the fact that the reading is invariant in all of the editions, there seems little doubt that the word derives from the Latin verb 'denegare,' meaning 'to deny.'

3211 transcende exceed. As this word had been current in the English language for well over two hundred years, it was probably printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

3212-4 His chiefest •• no man An allusion to Jas.i.5: 'If any of you lacke wisdom, let him aske of God, which giueth to all men liberally, and reproacheth no man, and it shall be giuen him.'

3214 withall moreover, in addition (OED, adv. 1a)

ordinarie orderly (OED, a. 1)

3215-21 But so farre ... to them Mt.vi.31-4: 'Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eate? or what shall we drinke? or wherewith shall we be cloathed? (For after all these things seeke the Gentiles) for your heauenlie Father knoweth that ye haue need of all these things. But seeke ye first the kingdome of God, and his righteousnesse, and all these things shalbe ministred vnto you. Care not then for the morrow: for the morrow shall care for it selfe: the day hath enough with his owne grieffe.'

3218 trauell labour, toil. This sense of the word will not be noted again.

3223 presume aspire presumptuously (OED, v. 6)

nor yet ... our God The biblical resonances heard in this phrase are discussed in the note to 2276-8.

3227 alwayes i.e., all ways; printed as two separate words in the previous editions.

3228-31 So likewise ... line on them Population growth and rising food prices increased the value of arable land in the latter half of the sixteenth century and many landlords consequently sought means to maximise property income (Lachmann, 120-1). Freeholders and some copyholders were protected from rent increases by either common or customary law, but tenants with less secure tenures were not. Leaseholders, for example, were subject to shorter term leases with higher rents and fines or were simply evicted once their contracts expired, and tenants without any formal contract, known as tenants at the lord's will, could be evicted almost immediately: 'In law they could claim no more than the safe harvesting of the crops they had put in the ground' (Kerridge, 87).

3228 likewise in the like or same manner (OED, 2)

3228-9 make merchandize of traffic in (OED, merchandize sb. 1c)

3229 racking their rents It is apparent from context that Philoponus is describing rents raised above a reasonable level (OED, rack v.3 4a), but Eric Kerridge is emphatic that '[r]ack-rents were on an adjustable scale. The notion that rack-renting meant screwing up rents to the impoverishment of the farmer is mistaken. Rack-rents moved up or down according to such things as price movements, good and bad harvests and the state of the land' (46).

3230 Fines and Incomes sums of money paid to the landlord at the beginning of the tenancy and with any change in the lease (OED, fine sb.1 7a and income sb.1 3). Stubbes enlarges on the subject of fines and incomes in the Second part: 'though [the tenant] pay neuer so great an annuall rent, yet must he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threescore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in

truth the purchase thereof is hardly woorth so much. So that hereby the poore man if hee haue scraped any little thing together, is forced to disburse it at the first dash before he enter the doores of his poore farme' (sig. E4v).

3230-1 **setting them ... tenter hookes** Although this phrase sounds as though it might be proverbial it is not listed in either Tilley or Dent.

3230 **straight** severely, oppressively (OED, strait adv. 5)

3231 **tenter hookes** that on which something is stretched and strained or otherwise caused to suffer

3231-9 **Besides that ... Parishes** Landlords who forcibly enclosed land without public consent or without adequate recompense to the local population were a cause of serious social tension in areas of England such as the Midlands (Thirsk, 'Tudor Enclosures,' 68-9), and it seems undeniable that enclosure in some parts of the country for subsistence tenants without strong legal claims to their land 'proved catastrophic, a descent into landlessness' (Lachmann, 108). The situation was especially grim for cottagers without land who depended on common rights to supplement their increasingly meager real wages. However, without ignoring the fact that enclosure was disastrous for some, Philoponus's image of the profit-hungry landlord is perhaps over-simplified, as land in many parts of England was peaceably enclosed throughout the sixteenth century by both landlords and tenants who agreed that it led to an increased productivity: 'It was the pressure of rising population and land-hunger which drove lords and tenants alike to a more efficient use of land already farmed, or to extensions of farmland into the waste. The common fields were certainly more efficient and flexible than the textbook stereotype ... [but] many contemporaries were convinced that enclosed land was in general more profitable' (D.M. Palliser, 208).

3232 **pillage and pollage** extortion

3234 **commonalty** general body of the community, common people

3235 **cattle** livestock

3236 **corne** grain

3237 **Puttockes** Said of those having the attributes of birds of prey (OED, sb.1 1b). Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest example cited in OED of this figurative usage is dated 1605.

3241-3 **How long ... vpon the earth?** Compare Rev.vi.9-10: 'And when hee had opened the fifth seale, I saw vnder the altar the soules of them that were killed for the word of God, and for the testimony which they maintained. And they cried with a loud voyce, saying, How long, Lord, which art holy and true! doest not thou iudge and auenge our blood on them, that dwell on the earth?'

3243 *Saintes* chosen people (OED, sb. 3a). Subsequent examples of this sense of the word will not be glossed.

silly deserving of pity or compassion (OED, a. 1a)

3244 *poll & pill* ruin through extortion (OED, pill v.1 9)

3244-7 for the ... the Lord The idea that the Lord will hold the wicked responsible for the harm they cause to others is one to which Stubbes returns throughout the book; compare, for example, 2074-8, 5121-6 and 5549-53.

3247 required at your hands The early editions instead read, 'powred vpon your heddes.'

3248-51 Cursed ... the sea Mt.xviii.6: 'But whosoeuer shall offend one of these little ones which beleeeue in me, it were better for him, that a milstone were hanged about his necke, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' The same injunction is found at Mk.ix.42 and Lk.xvii.1-2.

3248 offendeth wrongs, sins against (OED, v. 3)

3252 imputeth attributes by vicarious substitution

3264 ruffie it out bear themselves proudly or arrogantly (OED, v.2 2b)

3266 Port grand style of living (OED, sb.4 2a)

3270-1 all is fish ... to the nette i.e., they tum everything to account. The expression is cited by Tilley as proverbial (A136).

3272 preferring putting forward for consideration

3273 argent silver coin, money (OED, sb. 2)

3273-4 *rubrum vnguentum* 'red ointment' (Latin)

3274-5 grease ... the fist Tilley records the expression 'To grease a man in the fist' as proverbial (M397).

3276-7 he may goe shooe the Goose i.e., he might as well spend his time in unnecessary labour (Tilley 0354).

3278-80 without ... profite This form of corruption is explained more fully in the Second part: 'The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to retume a *Tarde venit*, or a *Non est inuentus*, when they either haue sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else looking through their fingers see him, & wil not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peradventure his whole right of that which he sueth for' (sig. C8).

3279 *tarde venit* 'came late' (Latin)

non est inuentus 'Non est Inventus, Is the Sheriffs Return to a Writ, when the Defendant is *Not to be found* in his *Bailiwick*' (Jacob, sig. 6S2).

smally not much (OED, a. 3a)

- 3281 beare him in hand assure him. Tilley records the expression as proverbial (H94).
- 3282 in vre i.e., pursuing his case (OED, sb.1 2).
- 3283 naught worthless, of no value
- 3284 SN pretended pretended, alleged
- 3288 suggester one who brings a charge against another
- 3289 himselfe i.e., the lawyer.
- 3291 sleights cunning tricks, stratagems (OED, sb.1 6a)
- 3291-2 goe together by the eares i.e., be at odds with one another. Compare Tilley E23: 'To set together by the ears.'
- 3291 SN sleightie crafty (OED, a. 2)
- 3292 shooring-horne shoe-horn
- 3294 laugh in their sleeues i.e., laugh to themselves. Tilley records the expression as proverbial (S535).
- pretily cleverly, ingeniously (OED, adv. 1)
- 3296 prestigiatorum more 'in the manner of a cheat' (Latin). The first edition instead reads 'prestigiatorum instar,' an indifferent revision that has no impact on the sense of the passage.
- 3297 cast ... world i.e., obscure the (mental) vision of any onlooker and thus get away with their deceit. Compare Tilley M1017: 'To cast a mist before one's eyes.'
- 3300 marting bargaining, business dealing
- 3301 chaffering trading, bartering (OED, v. 4a)
- changing money exchanging
- 3302 surprising the action of setting an excessive price on something (OED, vbl.sb.2). The only citation under this entry in OED is taken from the Second part; this earlier example is printed in all of the editions.
- 3303 occupiers traders, merchants (OED, 2b)
- in generall without exception. This phrase was used previously at 3181 and will not be glossed again.
- 3304 teare i.e., tear the name of God, blaspheme (OED, v.1 3b).
- 3307-8 who saith ... in bargaining Perhaps a conflation of 1 Thess.iv.6, 'That no man oppresse or defraud his brother in any matter: for the Lord is auenger of all such things, as we also haue told you beforetime, and testified,' and Mt.v.34, 'But I say vnto you, Swear not at all.' Compare the similar manner in which John Jewel relates deceitful speech to cheating business methods in his sermon on 1 Thess.iv.6: 'Let no man defraud his brother, neither by false weight, nor by false measure, nor by lying words ... If thou

speake more than is true, if thou take more than thy ware is worth, thy conscience knoweth it is none of thine' (850).

3310-7 Yea, into ••.cracke againe Stubbes previously blamed poverty and price inflation on clothing expenditure; compare the note to 1201-3.

3313-4 twenty Shillings •..twenty Nobles i.e., one pound ... £6 13s.4d.

3316 ballanced heaped up, ballasted (OED, v. 17). The only example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is a passage found later in the Abuses in which 'balanced' was revised in the quarto to 'laden' (see 5083).

3317-20 And to such ••expired Stubbes returns to this injustice in the Second part: 'And sometimes foure or fiue yeres yea, ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former lease be expired, shall [the tenants] be constrained to renue their leases, and disburse great somes, or else haue their houses taken ouer their heads' (sig. E7). William Harrison describes a similar situation in which farmers are forced to renew their leases eight or ten years before they expire, 'sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, and so defeat him out right' (241).

3318 sticke hesitate (OED, v.1 15a). Subsequent examples of this sense of the verb will not be noted.

3326 imbrue stain with blood

3327 friends Probably meaning 'kinsfolk,' but Philoponus may also have the modern sense of the word in mind, as at 3329. Another available meaning is 'lovers' (OED, sb. 4).

3328 make any conscience scruple (OED, conscience 11)

3331-3 O sacra ••.lone of thee? Aeneid, Book 3.56-7

3338-41 Quos dira ... destroyed I have not been able to identify the source of this quotation.

3341 asswage abate, diminish (OED, v. 6)

3346-52 Our sauour ••.giuen vnto you Mt.vi.31-4. These verses are quoted in full in the note to 3215-21.

3347 Euangelie Gospel record (OED, 2a)

carefull anxious, concerned (OED, a. 2)

3347-8 to morrow day the day after today, tomorrow (OED, sb. 3)

3350 meat food

3352-4 He charged ••.purses Lk.ix.3: 'And he saide to them, Take nothing to your ioumey, neither staues, nor scrippe, neither bread, nor siluer, neither haue two coates a piece.' This command is also found at Mt.x.9-10 and Mk.vi.8-9. The sidenote reference to 'Luke.6' is incorrect in all of the editions.

3354-7 He told ... seruaunt of all Mt.xxiii.11: 'But he that is greatest among you, let him be your seruant.' In the three earlier editions the sidenote to this passage reads 'Matt.9.'

3357-8 When ... hid himselfe This is a close paraphrase of Jn.vi.15.

3358-9 He telleth vs ... Mammon Mt.vi.24, quoted in the note to 2181-2.

Tilley records the last sentence of this verse as proverbial: 'We cannot serve God and Mammon' (G253).

3359-61 He biddeth vs ... be also Mt.vi.19-21, quoted in the note to 751-4.

3359 Mammon The Aramaic word for 'riches' found in the Greek text of the Bible and retained in the Vulgate, but in this period considered a proper name for the devil of covetousness (OED, 1). Used by Tyndale and most subsequent translators of the Bible, it does not, however, appear in the Geneva version.

3361 riches is Although it is not unusual to find a plural subject taking a singular verb (Abbott 333), 'riches,' according to OED, could be construed as singular in the period (2a).

3361-4 He saith ... eie of a needle This analogy is made at Mt.xix.24, Mk.x.25, and Lk.xviii.25.

3364-7 The Apostle ... perdition A slightly condensed, but accurate, rendering of 1 Tim.vi.8-9.

3368-70 Dauid saith ... possesse them Ps.xxxix.6: 'Doubtlesse man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine: he heapeth vp *riches*, and cannot tell who shall gather them.'

3371-2 Salomon ... innocent blond Prov.i.17-9: 'Certainly *as* without cause the net is spred before the eyes of all that hath wing: So they lay waite for blood, *and* lie priuily for their liues. Such *are* the wayes of euery one that is greedie of gaine: he would take away the life of the owners thereof,' where the Geneva sidenote reads, 'Whereby he concludeth, that the couetous man is a murtherer.'

3372-3 Again, Hel ... satisfied Prov.xxvii.20, quoted in the note to 3189-91.

3373-6 The Apostle ... Heauen 1 Cor.vi.9-10, quoted in the note to 2513-6.

3376-7 And saith ... root of all euill 1 Tim.vi.10: 'For the desire of money is the roote of all euill, which while some lusted after they erred from the faith, and pearced themselues thorow with many sorowes.'

3378-81 Christ ... from vs Compare Mt.v.42: 'Giue to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow of thee, turne not away,' and Lk.vi.30-5: 'Giue to euery man that asketh of thee: and of him that taketh away the *things that be* thine, aske them not againe ... Wherefore loue yee your enemies, and doe good, and lend, looking for nothing againe, and your reward shallbe great, and

ye shall be the children of the most High: for he is kind vnto the vnkind, and to the euill.'

3389-90 **Adam ... him to eate** Gen.iii. This chapter of the Bible is cited elsewhere in the book as evidence of God's punishment for pride (2211-4) and gluttony (2842-4).

3390 **inhibited** forbidden, prohibited (OED, v. 1a)

3391-4 **Gehesie ... his seruant** An accurate summary of 2 Kings v.20-7.

3395-7 **Balaam ... so to doe** Num.xxii.21-35. Although the Lord was angered by Balaam's decision to go to Balak, Balaam was in fact rebuked by his mule, not for covetousness, but for beating it when it refused to walk past the angel of the Lord standing invisible in front of them in the road.

3398-400 **Achab ... shamefull death** Naboth is killed unjustly for treason so that Ahab may possess his vineyard, but Elijah is sent by the Lord to tell the King that he will be punished for his crime (1 Kings xxi). Ahab dies in battle in the next chapter (see verses 29-40).

3401-2 **The sonnes ... fathers Kingdome** 1 Sam.viii. It is worth noting that the Lord only reluctantly conceded to the wish of the elders of Israel to dispossess Samuel's sons, taking the request as a personal affront: 'And the Lord said vnto Samuel, Heare the voyce of the people in all that they shall say vnto thee: for they haue not cast thee away, but they haue cast me away, that I should not reigne ouer them' (verse 7).

3402 **restrained** forbidden, prohibited (OED, v.1 5b). The previous editions read 'deteined,' probably meaning 'held back,' but the only example of this sense of the verb cited in OED (v. 2b) is a similar passage in the Second part.

3403-5 **Judas ... gushing out** After betraying Christ for thirty pieces of silver, Judas 'purchased a fielde with the reward of iniquity: and when he had throwen downe himselfe headlong, he brast asunder in the middes, and all his bowels gushed out' (Acts i.18).

3406-8 **Ananias ... a fearfull death** An accurate summary of Acts v.1-10.

3409-11 **Achan ... burned presently** Achan's crime is discovered and punishment exacted at Josh.vii.18-26.

3411 **presently** immediately, instantly (OED, adv. 3)

3412-3 **made shipwrack of** brought to total ruin (OED, 4b). This phrase probably alludes to 1 Tim.i.18-9: 'This commaundement commit I vnto thee, sonne Timotheus, according to the prophecies, which went before vpon thee, that thou by them shouldest fight a good fight, Hauing faith and a good conscience, which some haue put away, and as concerning faith, haue made shipwracke.'

3419 **affect** seek to obtain (OED, v.1 1a)

3421 Infidelitie want of faith

3423-5 And they see *** at euery word An allusion to Mt.xxiii.S-10: 'But be not ye called, Rabbi, for one is your doctour, *to wit*, Christ, and all yee are brethren ... Be not called doctours: for one is your doctour *euen* Christ,' where all other Bibles of the period read 'master' in place of 'doctor.'

3425 withall moreover, besides

3426-7 dunghill Gentleman Dent cites the first edition of the Abuses as the earliest usage of this saying (D645.12).

3427 a gentleman of the first head i.e., an upstart (OED, gentleman 5c). The term is listed by Tilley as proverbial (G66).

3430 Husband-man farmer. The hyphenated form is invarient in all of the editions.

3431 Gregarii ordinis literally, 'of the common classes' (Latin)

3436 SN Titiuillers the name given to devils said to pick up words skipped or mumbled during church services, registering them in hell against the offenders; hence scoundrels, villains

3437 Parasites hangers-on

glosing flattering, fawning

Gnatoes people resembling the Gnatho of Terence; parasites, sycophants

3442 no lesse anything but (OED, less adv. 3)

3444-6 Be not *** heauen Mt.xxiii.S-10, quoted in the note to 3423-5.

3447-8 vntill *** Iesus Christ Probably an allusion to Eph.iv.13: 'Till we all meete together (in the vntie of faith and that acknowledging of the Sonne of God) vnto a perlite man, *and* vnto the measure of the age the fulnesse of Christ.' This state, as the sidenote in the Geneva Bible explains, is achieved 'by that knowledge of the Sonne of God increasing in vs, and he himselfe by litle and litle growing vp in vs vntill we come to be a perfit man, which shall be in the world to come, when God shall be all in all.'

3447 perfect righteous, holy (OED, a. 4b)

3451 hostage, gage, or pawne pledge, security

3452-3 as the ..• body Tilley cites this simile as proverbial: 'To follow one like his shadow' (S263).

3454 Vsurie 'Usury is a kind of lending of money, or com, or oil, or wine, or of any other thing, wherein, upon covenant and bargain, we receive again the whole principal which we delivered, and somewhat more for the use and occupying of the same ... This is that that we call usury: such a kind of bargaining as no good man or godly man ever used: such a kind of bargaining

as all men that ever feared God's judgment have always abhorred and condemned' (Jewel, 851).

3457 loan Philoponus seems to refer specifically to the interest paid on a loan but this is not a meaning offered by OED which instead defines it as the sum of money loaned at interest (sb.1 2a). The word is used in this sense throughout the chapter, see, in particular, 3563.

3458-9 as it is ... audible voice Although this analogy sounds proverbial, I have not found it cited in either Tilley or Dent.

3460 Positiue Iawes i.e., laws proceeding from enactment or custom, as opposed to natural laws.

3463-6 Although the ... money lent This is a misrepresentation of the usury law passed by Parliament in 1571 which was expressly opposed to all 'overplus' except that exacted by the courts of orphans. The statute, however, distinguished between loans carrying rates of interest above and at or below 10 per cent per annum, the former being punished with loss of both the interest and three times the value of the principal but the latter leading only to the loss of the interest (Statutes, 13 Elizabeth 1, c.8). The interpretation of the law Philoponus offers here supports the argument posited by Norman Jones that these different penalties eventually led to a tolerance of interest rates not perceived to be biting: 'In short, the Act Against Usury of 1571 shaped the way English people lent money, limiting the cautious to 10 per cent interest and constraining the rapacious to resort to legal subterfuge. In doing so the Act also had the effect of preparing the public to accept that usury only occurred when exorbitant interest of more than 10 per cent was charged. Loans for less came to be regarded as natural' (144). Philip's words to his father in Northward Ho (1607) concisely sum up the contemporary legal situation: 'you were wont to say venery is like vsery that it may be allowed tho it be not lawfull' (3.1.87-8).

3464 inconueniences mischiefs, injuries (OED, sb. 3b)

3465 ouerplus in addition (OED, adv.)

3467-70 then the adulterous ... offence Old Testament permission to divorce is discussed at Mt.xix.7-9, quoted in full in the note to 2495-500. Philoponus's argument is summed up in the Geneva Bible sidenote to verse 7 which reads, 'Because politike Lawes are constrained to beare with some things, it followeth not by and by that God alloweth them.'

3469 put away divorce (OED, put v. 39b)

3470-6 And yet ... to goe Compare the note to 3463-6. Paragraph 7 makes it explicit that the new law is intended to oppose any interest on loans, and not just excessive interest: 'And be it further enacted, That the said Statute now

revived shall be most largely and strongly construed for the repressing of Usury, and against all Persons that shall offend against the true Meaning of the said Statute, by any Way or Device, directly or indirectly.'

3473-4 as couetousnes ... contented This echoes 3189-91, where the covetous man is likened to hell, never satisfied with enough.

3474 meeres boundaries (OED, sb.2 1a)

3481-2 For as ... was not so Mt.xix.8, quoted in the note to 2495-500.

3487-9 The Apostle ... come of it Paraphrasing Rom.iii.8: 'And (as we are blamed, and as some affirme, that we say) why doe we not euill, that good may come *thereof?* whose damnation is iust.'

3492 commodity profit, gain (OED, 2d)

3495 impale confine (OED, v. 1b)

3496 conscionable governed by good conscience (OED, a. 1a)

3498 loane interest. Compare the note to 3457.

3505-6 **If** I see ... say vnto him The first three editions read simply, 'If I saye to a man.'

3511-3 for it saith ... principall I have emended this passage on the evidence of O1 since the variant printed in the last three editions, 'the partie that taketh about tenne pounce' (my emphasis), is a misrepresentation of 13 Elizabeth, c.8, the salient points of which are discussed in the note to 3463-6. However, as the substitution of 'about' for 'but' is an unusual error for a compositor to make, there is the possibility that the mistake is a deliberate revision, representing confused second thoughts on the part of the author.

3517-9 Giue to ... face away A close rendering of Mt.v.42, quoted in the note to 3378-81. The sidenote to this passage reads 'Math.5.6' in all of the editions even though the quotation is not found at either chapter 5 verse 6 or in chapter 6.

3519-21 And againe ... heauen Lk.vi.35, cited in the note to 3378-81.

3524-6 Therefore ... then to receiue Philoponus quotes the conclusion of Acts xx.35. The Latin quotation was slightly improved for the quarto, the first three editions including the redundant word 'potius': 'Beatius est dare, potius quam accipere' (which in English reads, 'it is better to give rather than to receive'). The English translation is invariant O1-Q1.

3526 22. of Exodus Ex.xxii.25: 'If thou lend money to my people, *that is*, to the poore with thee, thou shalt not be as an vsurer vnto him: ye shall not oppresse him with vsurie.'

Deut.24.23 This is a condensed reference to two separate chapters.

Deut.xxiv.10-3: 'When thou shalt aske againe of thy neighbour any thing lent, thou shalt not goe into his house to set his pledge. But thou shalt stand

without, and the man that borrowed it of thee, shall bring the pledge out of the doores vnto thee. Furthermore if it be a poore body, thou shalt not sleepe with his pledge, *But* shalt restore him the pledge when the sunne goeth downe, that he may sleepe in his raiment, and blesse thee: and it shalbe righteousnes vnto thee before the Lord thy God.' Deut.xxiii.20: 'Vnto a stranger thou maiest lend vpon vsurie, but thou shalt not lend vpon vsurie vnto thy brother, that the Lord thy God may blesse thee in all that thou settest thine hand to, in the land whither thou goest to possesse it.'

3526-7 **Leuit.25** Lev.xxv.35-7: 'Moreouer, if thy brother be impouerished, and fallen in decay with thee, thou shalt relieue him, and *as* a stranger and soiourner, so shall he liue with thee. Thou shalt take no vsury of him, nor vantage, but thou shalt feare thy God, that thy brother may liue with thee, Thou shalt not giue him thy money to vsurie, nor lend him thy vitales for increase.'

3527 **Nehe.S** Neh.v.9-11: 'I said also, That which ye [the rulers] do, is not good ... For euen I, my brethren, and my seruants do lend them [the Jews] money and come: I pray you, let vs leaue off this burden. Restore, I pray you, vnto them this day their lands, their vineyards, their oliues, and their houses, and *remit* the hundreth part of the siluer and of the come, of the wine, and of the oyle that ye exact of them.'

Ezech.22.18 Another condensed reference. Compare Ezek.xxii.12: 'In thee haue they taken gifts to shed blood: thou hast taken vsurie and the increase, and thou hast defrauded thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God,' and Ezek.xviii.7-9: '[If a man n]either hath oppressed any, *but* hath restored the pledge to his debtour: bee that hath spoiled none by violence, *but* hath giuen his bread to the hungry, and hath couered the naked with a garment, And hath not giuen fourth vpon vsurie ... bee is iust, he shall surely liue, saith the Lord God.'

3531-7 **Dauid ... neuer fall** Accurately quoting Psalm xv, verses 1 and 5.

3532 **Tabernacle** place of abode (OED, sb. 3a)

3537-9 **In the 15. ... free yeare** Deut.xv.1-2: 'At the terme of seuen yeeres thou shalt make a freedome, And this is the manner of the freedome: euery creditor shall quite the lone of his hand [sic] which he hath lent to his neighbour: he shall not aske it againe of his neighbour, nor of his brother: for *the yeere* of the Lords freedome is proclaimed.'

3537 **craue** demand (OED, v. 1a)

3542-4 **And for ... Israeli** Deut.xv.7-11, quoted in the note to 2849-56.

3546 **prophane** secular

3549-50 Therefore ... kill a man? This quotation is recorded in Cicero's *De Officiis* (2.25.89).

3549 Cato Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 B.C.), famous partly for having expelled usurers from Sardinia in 198 B.C., a decision which Philoponus refers to at 3634.

3551 riddeth delivers (OED, v. 2a)

3556-7 both husband, wife ... and all It is not unusual for 'both' to extend to more than two objects (OED, adv. 1b).

3558 wherwith the means by which (OED, adv. 2b). A similar elliptic construction is found a few lines later at 3564.

3559 cormorant an insatiably greedy person (OED, 2b)

3560 Butterflies writs, legal summons (OED, sb. 3). This passage, printed in all of the editions, is the only example of this sense of the word offered in OED. Compare, however, Thomas Nashe's use of the same word to describe pamphlets in *The retume of Pasquill* (1589): 'May it please your Masterdom to vnderstand, that by the last Butterflie you sent abroad, you tel me a tale of a dry Sommer' (i, 102).

as thicke as haile Tilley records this simile as proverbial (H11).

3561 coram nobis Literally, 'before us' (Latin), referring to the court of the King's Bench.

3562 presently immediately, instantly. Further examples of this sense of the adverb will not be glossed.

3563 loane Compare note to 3457.

3564-7 But if he ... be made In her discussion of Elizabethan prison literature, Sandra Clark explains that the law 'made no provision for the insolvent debtor who had fallen into his creditor's power, either to work off his debt or to achieve solvency in some other way; he simply went into one of the debtors' prisons ... and stayed there until he died. Nothing was freely provided for the prisoner except shelter ... there is much evidence that life in jail could be comfortable and convenient for those with money. But the poor debtor had to rely for food, warmth, clothing, and bedding on the charity of the outside world; and when such charity was not available ... the warden of the prison had no responsibility to keep the prisoners alive' (70-1).

3564 haue not to satisfie i.e., have not the means by which to satisfy.

3565 Bocardo An Oxford prison pulled down in 1771; the word was used, however, for prisons generally.

as round as a Ball i.e., quickly. This proverbial expression is discussed further in the note to 2612.

3567 without unless (OED, conj. 2)

Caitiue a recognised variant spelling of 'caitiff,' meaning 'villain'

3568 Tartarian Tartar

3575-7 which at ••.for euer? Jas.v.3: 'Your gold and siluer is cankered, and the rust of them shallbe a witsesse against you, and shall eat your flesh, as *it were* fire. Ye haue heaped vp treasure for the last dayes.'

3577-8 The very ••.thy cruelty An allusion to Lk.xix.40: 'But he answered, and said vnto them, ■ tell you, that if these should holde their peace, the stones would cry.' Dent suggests that the saying may have been proverbial (S895.1).

3579-80 Is this to doe ..• to thee? Lk.vi.31: 'And as ye would that men should doe to you, so doe ye to them likewise.' The same injunction is found at Mt.vii.12.

3581-4 Art thou .• Christ Iesus? An allusion to Jn.xv.5-6: 'I am that vine: ye *are* the braunches: he that abideth in mee, and I in him, the same bringeth foorth much fruit: for without me can ye doe nothing. **If** a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and withereth: and men gather them, and cast *them* into the fire, and they burne.'

3583 void loppe worthless twig (OED, void a. 6c)

3584-5 a member ... of perdition i.e., a follower of Satan. Drunkards were similarly described at 3050-2.

3586 sort manner (OED, sb.2 21a)

3589-91 mihi •• I will reward Heb.x.30, quoted in the note to 2272-4.

3594 meate food

3599 Giues shackles

3603 I wil make Dice of his bones A proverbial expression (Dent D326.11) apparently arising from the practice of delivering dice to a creditor at the Crown Office after the death of a debtor in prison as the sum of all that he is likely to receive.

3603-9 But take •• gnashing of teeth Mt.xviii.23-35, which in fact concludes, 'O euill seruant, I forgauē thee all that debt, because thou prayedst me. Oughtest not thou also to haue had pitie on thy fellow seruant, euen as I had pittie on thee? So his lord was wroth, and deliuered him to the tormentours, till he should pay all that was due to him' (vv. 32-4). The quotation at 3607-9 is taken from the parable of the marriage feast (Mt.xxii.13). It is unclear to me why Stubbes refers his reader in the sidenotes to Mark xi, but the reference is invariant in all of the editions.

3610-26 An Vsurer •• soule for euer These similes first appear in John Northbrooke's *The poore mans garden* (first edition 1571): 'A Vsurer is worse then all sinners. He is worse then a theefe: a theefe robbeth but in the night, but the Vsurer robbeth daye and night. He is worse then hell, for in hell only

the wicked shall be punished: but the Vsurer punisheth, and spoileth both good and bad, and spareth neither holy, nor vnholý. He is worse then a Iewe, for one Iewe will not take vsurie of an other: but the Vsurer will take vsurye of his Christian brethren. He is worse then death, for death killeth but the body, but the Vsurer killeth bodye and soule. He is worse then Iudas, for Iudas solde Christ but once for thirty pence, but they sell Christe continually, as often as they take vsury. Iudas restored ye money again, but the Vsurers neuer restore the money againe, that they vniustly haue taken' (sigs. LL6-LL6v). Northbrooke notes that he read these similes in 'a boke called sermones discipuli, in the 114. serm[on],' but as *The poore mans garden* also includes the classical authorities cited by Philoponus at lines 3631-8 there is little doubt that Northbrooke's text provided Stubbes's immediate source for both passages. I have been unable to identify Northbrooke's source.

3610-3 An Vsurer ... indifferently Although this comparison derives from *The poore mans garden*, it was also used by other authors in the period who were similarly opposed to lending money at interest. See, for example, John Jewel's sermon on Paul's letter to the Thessalonians: 'They [the Heathen] thought that an usurer was much worse than a thief. For a thief is driven by extremity and need; the usurer is rich, and hath no need ... The thief fleeth, and will be seen no more; the usurer standeth by it, continueth, and stealeth still: day and night, sleeping and waking, he always stealeth' (852).

3614-5 An Vsurer ... God Deut.xxiii.19-20, quoted in the note to 3526.

3616-7 They are ... despaire Mt.xxvii.3-5: 'Then when Iudas which betrayed him, saw that he was condemned, he repented himselfe, and brought againe the thirtie *pieces* of siluer to the chiefe Priests, and Elders, Saying, I haue sinned, betraying the innocent blood. But they sayd, What is that to vs? see thou to it. And when he had cast downe the siluer *pieces* in the Temple, he departed, and went, and hanged himselfe.'

3627 plagueth torments

3629 iurisdiction power, control

3631-8 Therefore ... Plato All of these classical authorities are cited by Northbrooke in *The poore mans garden* (sigs. LL3v-LL6).

3631-2 Therefore saith Ambrose ... to die Stubbes must have been reading one of the later versions of *The poore mans garden* since this example was not printed in it prior to the third edition of about 1575 (sig. LL3v). The quotation is found in the sermon 'Death as a Good' ('De bono mortis'), the words of Ambrose in translation more accurately reading: 'Whoever commits usury or theft is not alive' (12.56).

3632 ranine wholesale robbery

pillage extortion

3632-3 Alphonsus ..• life of death Alphonso V, King of Aragon (1416-58). The King's words are slightly different as quoted by Northbrooke: 'Alphonsus king of Aaragon [sic] was wont to saye, vsury seemeth to mee nothing els then the death of life' (sig. LL5v).

3633 Lycurgus Spartan lawgiver (fl. 825 B.C.)

3634 Cato did the same Compare the notes to 3549-50.

3634-6 Agessilaus ..• Market places Agesilaus II, King of Sparta (c.401-361 B.C.). This is a condensed version of the story as it appears in Northbrooke: Agesilaus Capitayne of the Lacedemonians, perswaded Agis (who was king before him of the same people) that all reckening bookes of the Vsurers mighte be burnt. And so entryng their houses, tooke their bookes, and burnt them in the open market place, before the vsurers faces. Agesilaus laughinglye at their sorowes, said: That he neuer sawe, *puriorem ignem*, a more purer fire' (sig. LL6). The same anecdote is told in Thomas Wilson's Discourse Upon Usury (331).

3635 Lacedemonians Spartans

3636 Claudius Vespasianus i.e., Claudius I, Emperor of Rome 9 B.C. 54 A.D. and Titus Flavius Vespasian, Emperor 70-79 A.D. Although commas are not always used to distinguish between individuals named in a list, the context strongly suggests that Stubbes misunderstood his source, believing that these two authorities were a single person.

3637 Alexander Seuerus Marcus Aurelius Severns Alexander, Roman Emperor 222-35 A.D. According to Aelius Lampridius, Alexander Severns 'reduced the interest demanded by money-lenders to the rate of four-per-cent- in this measure, too, looking out for the welfare of the poor - and in the case of senators who loaned money, he first ordered them not to take any interest at all save what they might receive as a gift, but afterwards permitted them to exact six-per-cent, abrogating, however, the privilege of receiving gifts' (Severns Alexander, 26.2-4).

3638 extirped extirpated, eradicated (OED, v. 3)

3638 Aristotle *Politica* 1258b: 'The most hated sort [of wealth-getting], and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural object of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term interest, which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of getting wealth this is the most unnatural.'

Plato Laws, 742C: 'No one shall deposit money with anyone he does not trust, nor lend at interest, since it is permissible for the borrower to refuse entirely to pay back either interest or principal.'

3639 Pythagoras This is the only authority quoted by Philoponus that is not printed in The poore mans garden and I have been unable to identify the passage to which he is referring.

3642 doers agents acting on behalf of another (OED, sb. 2)

3643 facultie profession (OED, 8)

science occupation, trade (OED, 3d)

Scriueners At first only professional amanuenses, scribes were by this period arranging loans between parties interested either in putting money out at interest or borrowing on security: 'Scribes ... were in a position to know what was going on, drafting and engrossing the bonds, conveyances, and other necessary documents. This also put them in a position to know who had money to lend and who needed to borrow, so the scribes were identified with the brokers. In fact, by the early seventeenth century the scribes seem to have come to dominate the brokering trade' (Jones, 83).

Although it is apparent from his description of the profession that Philoponus is discussing scribes with these more extensive responsibilities, the earliest example cited by OED of the word used in this sense is dated 1607 (OED, 3).

3643-55 For it is ... payment R.H. Tawney, citing this passage from the Abuses in the introduction to his edition of Thomas Wilson's Discourse Upon Usury (1572), concludes that 'we find developing also among the scribes a kind of anticipation of deposit banking. The man who has a surplus of cash leaves it with a scribe, who pays interest to the depositor and re-lends it at a higher rate' (99). However, as Jones points out (83-4), there is only sketchy external evidence to support Stubbes's account of this practice.

3646 sureties securities, guarantees

3653 assurance guarantee

3657 fleece booty (OED, sb. 2b). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example cited by OED of this figurative usage is dated 1601.

3659 owes owns (OED, v. 1a)

vent a market or outlet (OED, sb.3 2d). Compare the same usage in the Second part: 'this is a great prouocation ... to filch & steale ... seing they may haue such good vent for ye same' (sig. F5v).

3660-2 Secondly ... the mony The concluding clause of this sentence, omitted apparently as the result of eye-skip during the printing of O2, is found only in the first edition.

3663 **intangled** The first three editions instead print the synonym 'implicate,' a usage which antedates the first example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by twenty-seven years (OED, v. 1a).

3668 **Great swearing in England** This chapter, excluding Spudeus's final speech (3907-10), does not form part of the first edition; the sidenotes are printed in only O3 and Q1.

3671 **faithful** full of Christian faith (OED, a. 1)

3678 **sincerely** in a proper or correct manner (OED, adv. 1a)

3680 **pretily** fairly, passably (OED, adv. 3)

3686 **contemning** scorning, despising

3687 **light** fickle, unsteady (OED, a.1 16)

3691 **exercise** religious observance (OED, sb. 10a)

3697 **purchasing** procuring (OED, v. 4a)

3702-7 **These sedicious ... protestantes** This passage is ironic in light of the fact that the first three editions of the Abuses were dedicated to the Earl of Arundel, a man apprehended for recusancy in 1585.

3702 **Pythonicall** The only definition of this adjective offered by OED is 'prophetic,' but it seems to me more likely that the intended meaning is 'monstrous; with allusion to the serpent fabled in Greek mythology to have been destroyed by Apollo at Delphi (compare OED pythonic, a.2).

3703 **Hydraes** In Greek mythology, the Hydra was a nine-headed serpent which grew two heads for each one cut off. Philoponus is probably suggesting that it is equally difficult to root out the Catholic presence in England.

3705 **decorum** Compare the note to 476.

3707-11 **And if the ... siluer** See the note on prison life at 3564-7.

3714 **sport and pastime themselues** entertain themselves (OED, sport v. 1a, pastime v. 1b)

3715 **Tables** backgammon (OED, sb. 11)

Bowles either carpet-bowling or billiards

3720 **moe** more in number

3721 **They** i.e., the English.

3727-30 **Doth not ... commended?** Deut.vi.13: 'Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and serue him, and shalt swear by his Name.'

3733-51 **For you ... light trifle** This distinction between the godly and ungodly oath is discussed at length in the first part of the Homily against Swearing and Perjury: 'when judges require oaths of the people for declaration or opening of the truth, or for execution of justice, this manner of swearing is lawful ... But when men do swear of custom, in reasoning, buying, and selling,

or other daily communications, (as many be common and great swearers,) such kind of swearing is ungodly, unlawful, and forbidden by the commandment of God: for such swearing is nothing else but taking of God's holy name in vain' (Sermons, 71-2).

3744 obstestation protestation

3751-2 neuer ... no occasion Although reversing the intended sense, double negatives such as this result from a desire for emphasis (Abbott 406).

3753-61 Swear not ... euill An almost direct quotation of Mt.v.34-7.

3767 sure free from risk (OED, a. 1a)

3770-1 for in these ... troubles Heb.vi.l6: 'For men verely swear by him that is greater *then themselues*, and an oathe for confirmation is among them an end of all strife.'

3772 familiar common, everyday (OED, a. 6b). Although printed in the last three editions, the earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited by OED is dated 1599.

3773-5 A man ... from his house Sir.xxiii.11: 'A man that vseth much swearing, shall be filled with wickednesse, & the plague shall neuer goe from his house.'

3778-9 a valiant stomack courage, valour (OED, stomach sb. 7b)

3779 generosious This adjective, which I interpret to mean gallant or courageous, is not listed in OED, but it seems to be a unique Anglicized form of 'generosus' (Latin), synonymous with 'generous' (OED, a. 2a). It is printed here in all of the editions which include this chapter.

heroicall brave, noble (OED, a. 1a)

puissant powerful, mighty

3782 Dastarde coward

Clowne peasant, boor

Patch fool, dolt

3783 effeminate unmanly, weak. Compare both Spudeus's description of male dandies as effeminate at 1257-61 and the discussion of the 'effeminate' character of Sardanapalus in the note to 4513. This adjective's nuances of meaning are further explored in the Introduction, pp. 66-8.

3784 perfection conclusion, state of completion (OED, sb. 2a)

3787 vntorne not blasphemed (OED, tear v.1 3b). Compare 'swear and teare' at 3304.

3791-2 who crucifie ... Apostle saith Philoponus alludes to Heb.vi.6, quoted in the note to 2585, where Paul refers not specifically to swearers but to anyone who turns away from God, thus mocking His Word.

3801 humanity human condition (OED, 1a)

- 3804 nosethrels nostrils
- 3805 inspirations divine influences
- 3818 moment importance (OED, sb. 4)
- 3821 lurers those who give false witness either against the innocent or in favour of the guilty (OED, 2)
- 3822 Libertines or Atheists Philoponus's use of these terms is discussed in the note to 1759-60.
- 3824 abdicate renounce, surrender (OED, v. 5). Printed in the last three editions, this usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by fifty years. The synonym 'abandon' was added in O3.
- 3827-31 God grant ..•so much A law against swearing was eventually enacted in 1623 (21 Jac.1, c.20). The penalty was set at one shilling.
- 3832 lay their Daggers on their faces i.e., attack the Magistrates? The meaning of this phrase is uncertain and although it sounds allusive, I have not found it listed in Tilley, Dent or the OED.
- 3834 without all controlement without any restraint whatever (OED, all a. 4). Subsequent examples of the construction 'without all' will not be noted.
- 3839-41 For we read ... worldes end Lev.xxiv.16: 'And he that blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shallbe put to death: all the Congregation shall stone him to death: aswell the stranger, as he that is borne in the land: when he blasphemeth the Name *of the Lord*, let him be slaine.'
- 3846 posie emblem or emblematic device (OED, 1b)
- 3852 vanish ... smoke This simile is listed in Dent as proverbial (S576.11).
- 3853 against ... appeare i.e., in anticipation of the appearance, or coming, of judgment day. This construction is invariant O2-Q1.
- 3862-4 (whose ... thereof) The ballad to which Stubbes refers, 'A fearefull and terrible Example' (1581), is no longer extant, but it was reprinted by J. Payne Collier in Broadside Black-letter Ballads (42-7). Stubbes reused this material in a pamphlet printed probably later in the same year under the title 'Two wunderfull and rare Examples. Of the vnderferred and present approaching iudgement, of the Lord our God.' This pamphlet prints a few more relevant details about the event, explaining that it took place 'in the moneth of *June*, last past, in a Towne called *Boothebie*, three myles from *Granthame*, in the house of a good Gentleman, bothe of worshippe and credite, named Maister *Pennell*' (sig. A2v). The man in question was Pennell's servant.
- 3863 discourse narrative, account (OED, sb. 4)
- 3866 willing desiring (OED, v.1 2)
- 3870 contemned scorned, despised. Further examples of this verb will not be glossed.

3876 **the bell** i.e., the death-bell.

3888 **ranckled** festered

3889-90 **by peace meale** piece by piece

3896-8 As **bee ... delicate meates** Lk.xvi.19-31; see the note to 2840-2.

3898 **tasting** eating (OED, v. 7a)

3898-902 **There** was •..**miserable** This same event is related with more detail in Stow's Chronicles: 'The eleauenth of February [1576], **Anne Aueries** widowe, forswearing hirselfe for a little mony that she should haue paid for sixe pounce of Towe, at a shop in *Woodstreete of London*, fell immediately downe speechlesse, casting vp at hir mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter, whych by natures course should haue bin voided downwardes, til she dyed' (sig. EEee5). See also the account provided by Anthony Munday in A view of sundry Examples (1580, sig. B3v).

3905 **rehearse** relate, give an account of (OED, v. 2a)

3917 **Sacraments** i.e., baptism and Holy Communion.

3919-32 **But other ... godlinesse** Other writers in the period similarly criticised the fact that these sorts of activities were held on the Sabbath. John Stockwood, for example, wrote in 1578 that 'on the Lordes daye [we] muste haue Fayers kept, must haue Beare baytyng, Bulbayting ... muste haue baudie Enterludes, siluer games, dicing, carding, tabling, dauncing, drinking ... I dare boldelye stande to auouche it, that there is no daye in the weeke, wherin God is so much dishonoured, as on that daye when he shoulde bee best serued' (sigs. D5v-D6). Later in his sermon Stockwood goes on to include Lords of Misrule, morris dancers and May games in his attack (sigs. 17-17v). As W.B. Whitaker usefully points out, however, one should be careful not to assume a necessary connection between support for the strict observance of the Sabbath and Puritanism: 'the need for a more devotional Sunday, tended to be obscured in the struggle over the Establishment. Those who advocated a Sunday free from work and amusements and devoted wholly to religious observances were all branded as Puritans, by which term was meant enemies of Anglicanism. As a consequence many of the friends of a reformed Sunday within the ranks of the Anglican church were reduced to silence or misrepresented' (65).

3920 **Enterludes** Acknowledging that the meaning of this term is 'a matter of some perplexity,' E.K. Chambers concludes that it applies to 'any kind of dramatic performance whatever' (MS. ii, 181, 183).

3921 **Lordes of misrule** Most often associated with the Christmas revels, Lords of Misrule were elected to preside over other celebrations as well: 'His presence there [in popular spring festivals] would appear to be the result of an amalgamation of the burlesque sovereign of the Christmas festivals with the

Summer Lord, who used to organize the May game' (Laroque, 151). The chapter on Lords of Misrule at 4245-319 makes it clear that Philoponus is referring in particular to Summer Lords.

3922 plaie diversion, game (OED, sb. 8a)

Maie games This term was sometimes used in the period to refer to morris dances, but the lengthy description of May games offered at 4320-61 clarifies the fact that Philoponus is attacking the whole range of festivities and sports commonly associated with Maying customs.

Church Ales These festive gatherings, held in a period when there were no compulsory church rates, were important charity events designed to raise money for the local parish through the sale of ale and beer. Stubbes devotes a chapter to the subject at 4362-444.

3923 Wakesses i.e., wakes -the double plural form was common in the sixteenth century. A wake was an annual festival celebrated in honour of the patron saint of the parish church; a fuller account is found at 4445-501.

Carding card-playing

Bowling playing at bowls. This term could designate either lawn- or carpet-bowling or billiards.

3923 SN prophane irreligious, wicked

3924 Tennisse playing i.e. real tennis, played in a specially constructed indoor court. Although far less popular now than lawn tennis, the sport is still played, for example, at Hampton Court.

3926 Leets These local courts of record, the abuses of which are discussed also in the Second part, were held annually or semi-annually (OED, sb.1 1a).

football playing Elizabethan football should not be confused with either modern-day soccer or rugby; a vivid description of the sport is provided at 5475-513.

3933 Stoycall indifferent to pleasure (OED, a. 2b). According to OED, this sense of the adjective was not current before 1577, which may suggest why it is printed in contrasting type in all of the editions but the second.

3938-42 After ... the worlde Gen.ii.1-3: 'Thus the heauens and the earth were finished, and all the hoste of them. For in the seuenth day God ended his worke which hee had made, and the seuenth day hee rested from all his worke, which he had made. So God blessed the seuenth day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his worke, which God created and made.'

3943 in effect in fact (OED, effect sb. 8)

3944 Mount Horeb alternatively known as Mount Sinai

3945 **all** This emendation (see collation line) is discussed in the Introduction, p. 47.

3945-6 **Remember** ... &c The fourth commandment: 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keepe it holy' (Ex.xx.8).

3952 **creatures** creations

3954 **sincerely** in a proper or correct manner (OED, adv. 1a)

3955 **Suffrages, Orisons** These are synonyms meaning 'prayers.'

3960 **cattell** livestock

3961 **supportes** The first three editions instead read '**adiumentes**,' meaning helpers or assistants, a usage which antedates the earliest example of this word cited in OED by twenty-four years.

3962 go **thorow in** complete (OED, go v. 91b); 'thorow' means 'through' (OED, adv. 2)

3963-6 **For** as .•. **continue long** Paraphrasing Ovid's *Heroides*: 'quod caret alterna requie, durable non est' (4.89).

3965 **durable** able to endure toil (OED, a. 3)

3966 **typicall** emblematic (OED, a. 1). Although printed in all four editions, the earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED is dated 1612.

3967 **signitor** significator, signifier? This word, invariant in all of the editions, is not listed in OED. Although there is a possibility that this is a variant form of 'signator' (Latin), meaning witness (as to a will or marriage), it seems to me more likely that this is another example of Stubbes's ability to invent English words from Latin roots, in this instance from 'signum,' literally meaning mark or token.

3968 **discipher forth** express, make manifest by outward signs (OED, v. 6). The first three editions instead print the synonym 'cipher forthe,' an early usage which has already been discussed in the note to 367.

3975-7 **The man ... of Heauen** Num.xv.32-6: 'And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered stickes upon the Sabbath day. And they that found him gathering stickes, brought him unto Moses and to Aaron, and unto all the Congregation ... Then the Lord said unto Moses, This man shall die the death: and let all the multitude stone him with stones without the hoaste. And all the Congregation brought him without the hoaste, and stoned him with stones, and he died, as the Lord had commanded Moses.'

3977 **Theator, of Heauen** i.e., the place from which the Lord's words are publicly presented to the people (OED, theatre sb. 6a). This figurative usage is surprising given the vehemence with which Stubbes expresses his animosity towards the theatre in the following chapter.

3984 **Lurdens** sluggards (OED, sb. 1a)

of set purpose on purpose (OED, purpose 10a)

3988 **grinded** a recognised, but weak, form of the verb in the past tense (OED, grind v.1)

3990 **dress** prepare

3991 SN **precise** strict or scrupulous in religious observance (ObD, a. 2b). This adjective was more commonly associated with Puritanism.

3992-3 **they suffer ... Sabbath day** Stubbes may have picked up this detail from John's account of the Crucifixion: 'The lewes then (because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remaine vpon the crosse on the Sabbath *day*: for the Sabbath was an high day) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken downe' (Jn.xix.31). This verse was paraphrased in the Book of Common Prayer (150).

3994-4002 **And which ... Sabbath** This passage is not printed in OI.

3996 **deliuary** rescue, release (OED, 1a)

for violating i.e., for fear of violating. This elliptic construction is invariant in all of the editions in which the phrase appears.

3997-4002 **So it chaunced ... Lords Sabbath** This story was also included in Stow's Chronicles of England (1580): 'A *lew* at *Tewkesburie* fell into a priuie vpon the Saterdag, and woulde not for reuerence of his Sabbath be plucked out, wherefore **Richard** of *Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, kept him there till Munday, at which time he was founde dead' (sig. S3). A similar account of the incident is printed in Holinshed's Chronicles (ii, 253-4). According to Stow, the event dates from the reign of Henry III in about the year 1259.

3997 **chaunced** happened (OED, v. 1a)

4001 **other** following (OED, a. 3b)

4007-8 **(for Christ ... Sabbath)** Taken almost directly from Mk.ii.27.

4012 **Temporizers** people who, for self-interested reasons, shape their conduct to conform with views currently in favour; time-servers

4015 **obsequious** obedient, dutiful (OED, a. 1a). As this adjective had long been in use in the language, it seems to have been printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

4016 **spit against heauen** i.e., contemptuously defy the power of God (Tilley H355). This passage represents Tilley's earliest example of the saying but it is used previously in the Abuses at 792-3 and 1027.

striue ... streame Perhaps deriving from Sir.iv.26: 'Be not ashamed to confesse thy sinnes, and resist not the course of the riuer.' Tilley records the saying as proverbial: 'It is folly to strive against the stream' (S927).

4025 **benefites** kindnesses, gifts (OED, sb. 2a)

4026 *xercises* religious observances

4031 *resiant* settled, occupied (OED, a. 1c). This passage, found in all four editions, is the only example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED.

4034-7 *Haning ... Enterludes* The practice of Sunday playing had been discontinued in the city of London by 158t and in the liberties by 1583 (ES, i, 314-5); consequently, in attacking stageplays and interludes as abuses of the Sabbath, Stubbes is addressing an issue which had already been at least partly reformed by the date of publication of the first edition and completely reformed by 1595, the date of the book's final publication. The implication is that his opposition to the theatres rests not solely on the fact that they distract from Sunday worship but also on the firm belief that they represent, at all times, an immoral pastime. See also the note on bear-baiting at 5279.

4035 *particularly* one by one, individually (OED, adv. 1a)

4038 *Are they ... sinne?* This commonly-held view is discussed in the note to 4149-51.

fray frighten (OED, v.1 2a)

4042 *diuine* sacred (OED, a. 6)

prophane secular

4043 *Sacrilegious* The earliest usage of this adjective recorded in OED is dated 1582, which may explain why it is printed in contrasting type in the last two editions.

4045 *sagely* in a dignified or solemn manner (OED, sage a. 3)

4046 *iybingly* The use of this adverb in all of the editions antedates the earliest example cited in OED by nineteen years.

4049-50 *the merites ... passion* i.e., Christ's sacrifice, as the basis on which sinners achieve God's forgiveness.

4053 *scaffoldes* platforms or stages (OED, sb. 4)

4054-5 *In the first ... the word* Jn.i.1: 'In the beginning was that Word, and that Word was with God, and that Word was God.'

4058 *purchaseth to* brings upon

4063-5 *the Deuils ... his wrath* Jas.ii.19: 'Thou beleueest that there is one God: thou doest well: the deuils also beleuee it, and tremble.'

4067 *Gnatoes* people resembling the Gnatho of Terence; parasites, sycophants. Philoponus previously used the word at 3437.

4068 *masking* hypocritical (OED, ppl.a.3)

painted Sepulchres Alluding to Mt.xxiii.27, quoted in the note to 684.

4068-9 *double dealing* duplicitous (OED, ppl.a.). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this participial adjective cited in OED is dated 1587.

- 4069 **Ambodexters** an obsolete form of 'ambidexters,' or double-dealers
betimes in good time, before it is too late
- 4070 **Computists** accountants (OED, 2). The earliest example of this sense of the word cited by OED is found in the dedicatory epistle (93).
- 4073 SN **intermixt** intermix, mingle together. This is a very rare example of the verb; the verb 'rnixt' for 'mix' (4074) was used somewhat more commonly.
- 4073-144 **For at ... infinite variety** All of these authorities cited as opponents of the theatre have been taken either from John Northbrooke's Treatise wherein Dicing. Dauncing. Vaine playes or Enterluds ... are reprobued (c.1577) or Stephen Gosson's Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions (c.1582).
- 4073-9 **For at ... for it** Compare Northbrooke's Treatise, where Youth is surprised to learn that Age disapproves of plays 'seeing that many times they play histories out of the scriptures,' only to be informed that 'Assuredly that is very euill so to doe; to mingle scurrilitie with diuinitie, that is to eate meate with vnwashed hands. Theopompus intermingled a portion of Moses' lawe with his writings, for the whiche God strake him madde: Theodectes began the same practise, and was stricken starke blind' (92). The references to Theopompus and Theodectes are from Flavius Josephus's Jewish Antiquities (12.111-3).
- 4076 **Theopompus** Athenian comic poet (fl. c.410- c.370 B.C.)
- 4077 **stroke** a recognised variant form of the verb in the past tense
- 4078 **Theodictes** Theodectes of Phaselis, tragic poet and rhetorician (c.375-334 B.C.)
- 4085-6 **sucked ... and sinne** This image may have been developed from a passage in Playes Confuted in which Gosson claims that 'Maygames, Stageplaies, & such like ... were suckt from the Deuilles teate, to Nurce vp Idolatrie' (sig. B8).
- 4086 **nourish** rear, nurture (OED, v. 1b)
- 4086-8 **And therefore ... they goe** Probably an allusion to the mark of Cain (Gen.iv.15).
- 4087 **note** mark, sign
- 4095 **Counsels and Synodes** assemblies of ecclesiastics
- 4097 **disallowed** prohibited
- 4099-104 **The learned ... Gentilisme** Tertullian and Augustine are cited by Gosson at greater length in Playes Confuted, the latter authority named only in a marginal note to the passage: 'Amonge suche Idolatrous spectacles as they sacrificed to their Gods, *Tertullian* affirmeth yt Playes were consecrated vnto *Bacchus* for the firste findinge out of wine. These Playes were not set vp by the Gentiles of any blinde zeale within themselues, but by the motion of the

diuell, as may be prooued by the originall of them in Rome ... [T]he inhabitantes beinge mightelie deuowred with a greate plague, the Deuill foreseeing the time wlie the plague should cease, taught ye Romanes by the oracles of *Sibilla* to set forth plaies to appease ye ager of ye Gods, yt ye pestilence ceasing after this solemnising of their plaies, might nussle the in idolatrie and watonnesse euer after' (sigs. C1-C1v).

4099 Tertullian Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus, Latin Church Father (c.160- c.240 A.D.)

de speculo i.e., De Spectaculis, 19.

4100 Bacchus the Greek god of wine

4101 found out discovered, invented

4102 Augustinus St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430 A.D.)

de ciuit. Dei i.e., De Civitate Dei, Book 1, chapter 32.

ordained set up, established (OED, v. 4)

4104 Gentilisme heathenism, paganism (OED, 1)

4104-7 And in ..no vertue Stubbes paraphrases the words of this Church Father as quoted by Northbrooke: 'Saint Augustine sayth, *Donare quippe res suas histrionibus, vitium est immane, non virtus*: whosoever giue their goodes to enterlude and stage players is a great vice and sinne, and not a vertue' (85). The quotation is found in the one hundredth tractate in Augustine's Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel According to St. John (398).

4108-9 Chrysostom ... deuill Taken almost word for word from Northbrooke (90). I have not been able to locate the source of the quotation.

4108 Chrysostom St. John Chrysostom (c.347-407 A.D.), Bishop of Constantinople

4110-3 Lactantius ... vncleannesse Stubbes condenses the reference as printed in Northbrooke's Treatise: 'Lactantius saith, *Histrionum quoque impudicissimi motus, quid aliud nisi libidines docent et instigant?* those filthie and vn honest gestures and mouings of enterlude players, what other thing doe they teache than wanton pleasure and stirring of fleshly lusters, vnlawfull appetites and desires, with their bawdie and filthie sayings and counterfeyt doings?' (92) This is a very loose rendering of a passage in chapter 63 of Lactantius's Epitome of the Divine Institutes, which reads, 'Histrionum etiam impudici gestus, quibus infames feminas imitantur, libidines, quas saltando exprimunt, docent' ('The lewd gestures of actors, whereby they imitate loose women, actually teach the lusts expressed in their dances').

4110 Lactantius Firmianus Lactantius, Christian orator and apologist (c.240-c.320 A.D.)

4114-7 **And therefore ... maintained** Stubbes here misquotes Northbrooke who writes that, 'the godly fathers ... commaunded by counceils that none shoulde go or come to playes: as in the third counceil of Carthage, and in the synode of Laodicea, it was decreed that no Christians (and especially priests) shoulde come into any place where enterludes and playes are, for that Christians must abstain from such places where blasphemie is commonly vsed' (90). In the Treatise, this reference is immediately followed by the words of Chrysostom (4108-9).

4114 **30. Counsell of Carthage** The third Synod of Carthage, held on 28 August 397 A.D., renewed the canons which had been accepted in the Synod at Hippo four years earlier, the eleventh of which reads, 'The sons of the bishops and clergy may not join in secular plays, or witness them' (Hefele, 398). I have not emended Stubbes's reference to the '30. Counsell,' however, as it is invariant in all of the editions and may well represent confusion on the part of the author rather than a printing error. The sidenote to this passage, 'Concil 30,' was 'corrected' in the quarto to bring it into agreement with the main text, the previous editions instead reading 'Concilium 3.'

4114-5 **Sinode of Laodicea** The fifty-fourth canon of the Synod of Laodicea reads, 'The higher and inferior clergy shall not join in witnessing any dramatic performance at weddings or feasts, but before the actors appear they shall rise and go' (Hefele, 321). Hefele speculates that this meeting dates between the years 343 and 381 A.D.

4115 SN **Cartha.cap.II** The fact that the eleventh canon of the Synod of Carthage is correctly cited in the first two editions strongly suggests that the reference to the first canon in O3 and Q1 (see collation line) results from compositorial error.

4118-22 **Scipio ... Country** Taken from Playes Confuted: 'The noble *Scipio Nasica* perceiuing that the Citie cannot longe endure whose walles stande and manners fall, when hee sawe the whole Senate bent to builde vpp Theaters, and sett out Playes, with earnest persuasion drewe them from it. And *Valerius Maximus* flatlie affirmeth, that they were not brought in to *Rome Sine pacis rubore, without a steine of disgrace to the time of Peace*' (sigs. C2v-C3). Scipio is also cited by Northbrooke, but the phrasing and vocabulary of the quotation as well as its juxtaposition to the words of Valerius Maximus suggest a greater dependence on Gosson. Scipio's opposition to the theatre is discussed at length by Augustine in the City of God (1.31).

4118 **Scipio** Scipio Nasica Corculum (fl. 162-155 B.C.)

bent determined, resolute (OED, ppl.a. 3)

4119 **dehorted ... from** advised ... against (OED, v. 1b)

prudent wise, discerning (OED, a. 2)

4121 **Valerius maximus** Roman historian (first century A.D.)

brought vp introduced (OED, v. 27c)

4123-5 **Aristotle ... fire** Politica, 1336b. This quotation, however, clearly derives from Playes Confuted: '*Aristotle* vtterly forbiddeth yog men of Plaies till they bee settled in minde & immoueable in affection lest comming to the Stage to fetch Physicke for loue, they quench their heate with a pynte of water and a pottle of fire' (sigs. C7-C7v).

4124 **Venus** sexual desire, lust (OED, sb.1 2)

4125 **pottle** an obsolete measure equal to two quarts (OED, sb.1 1a)

4126-7 **Augustus ... trumperie** Stubbes may have taken this reference from Northbrooke's Treatise in which it is briefly mentioned that 'Ouid was banished by Augustus into Pontus (as it is thought) for making the book of the Craft of Loue' (93). He would have read about Augustus also in Gosson's Schoole of Abuse (1579, sig. A5v), but his use of this earlier pamphlet appears to have been limited to the chapters on dancing and music.

4126 **Augustus** C. Octavius Augustus, Roman emperor (63 B.C. 14 A.D.)

Ouid Publius Ovidius Naso, Latin poet (43 B.C. 17 A.D.)

4127 **trumperie** nonsense, rubbish

4128-9 **Constantius ... Lord** Compare Northbrooke's similar use of this authority: 'It was decreed vnder Constantinus, the emperour, that all players of enterludes shoulde be excluded from the Lorde's table' (97).

4128 **Constantius** Flavius Valerius Constantinus, Roman emperor (c.285-337 A.D.), popularly known as 'the Great.' The name is wrong in all of the editions.

4128-9 **the Table of the Lord** i.e., the communion table.

4129-33 **Then, seeing ... rest** Stubbes paraphrases Gosson quoting *De Spectaculis* (19): '*Tertullian* teacheth vs that euery part of the preparation of playes, was dedicated to some heathe god, or goddesse, as the house, stage, apparrell, to *Venus*; the musike, to *Apollo*; the penning, to *Minerua*, and the *Muses*; the pronuntiacion and action to *Mercurie*; he calleth the Theater *Sacrarium Veneris*, *Venus* chappell, by resorting to which we worshippe her' (*Playes Confuted*, sig. D7).

4130 **Gentiles** pagans (OED, sb. 2a)

4132 **Venus** The connection between the Roman goddess of love and the stage and costumes is explained at 4147.

Appollo the Greek and Roman god of music and poetry

Minerua the Roman goddess of wisdom

4133 **pronunciacion** elocution (OED, sb. 2)

Mercurie the Roman god of, amongst other things, eloquence
 4136-43 **the arguments ... young men** Lifted nearly verbatim from Playes
Confuted: 'The argum'et of Tragedies is wrath, crueltie, incest, iniurie, murther
 eyther violent by sworde, or voluntary by poyson. The persons, Gods,
 Goddesses, furies, fiendes, Kinges, Quenes, and rnightie men. The ground
 worke of *Commedies*, is loue, cosenedge, flatterie, bawderie, slye
 conueighance of whordome. The persos, cookes, queanes, knaues, baudes,
 parasites, courtezannes, lecherouse olde men, amorous yong men' (sigs. C5-
 C5v). The passage can perhaps be traced back to Lactantius: 'What of the
 stage? is it less vile? there comedy discourses of debaucheries and illicit loves,
 tragedy of incest and parricide' (Epitome of the Divine Institutes, chapter 63).
 4136 **arguments** ... is It was not unusual in the period for a plural subject to
 take a singular verb (Abbott 333).

immunity undue freedom, licence (OED, sb. 3)

4137 **iniurie** wrongful action or violation of another's rights

4138 **persons** characters

Actors i.e., those with the power to act, doers (OED, 3). The earliest
 example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1603; it is printed in
 all of the editions. Compare 'agents' at 4141.

4139 **Hags** evil spirits in female form, Furies (OED, sb.1 Ia)

4140 **Bawdrie** fornication (OED, sb.1 2)

Cosonage the practice of deception and fraud (OED, sb.1 Ia). This
 passage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example cited in
 OED which is taken from the Second part; it is used again at 4193.

4141 **Agents** thosewhoexertpower(OED,sb.1a). Printedinallofthe
 editions, this usage antedates the earliest example cited in OED by about
 seventeen years; the word was previously used in the early editions in the
 chapter on men's shirts (compare note to 1260-1).

4142 **queanes** harlots, strumpets (OED, 1)

scullions menial domestic servants

4147 **Venus Pallace** This label derives from the decision taken by Pompey
 the Great to call his newly-built theatre in Rome a temple to Venus in order to
 frustrate the censors (Tertullian, de Spectaculis, 18-9).

Sathans Sinagogue Alluding to Rev.ii.9: '... *I know* the blasphemie of
 them, which say they are lewes, and are not, but *are* the Synagogue of Satan.'

4148-9 SN **Theaters and Curtains** The Theatre and the Curtain were two of
 the first playhouses built in London, in 1576 and 1577 respectively. They are
 alluded to again at 4181.

4149-51 But ... out of them? Defenders of the theatre frequently attempted to demonstrate the virtuous precepts made available to the public through plays, Thomas Nashe, for example, writing in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) that '[i]n Playes, all coosonages, aU cunning drifts ouer-guylded with outward holinesse, all stratagemes of warre, all the cankerwormes that breede on the rust of peace, are most liuely anatomiz'd ... no Play they haue, encourageth any man to tumults or rebellion, but layes before such the halter and the gallowes; or praiseth or approoueth pride, lust, whoredome, prodigalitie, or drunkennes, but beates them downe vtterly' (i, 213-4). Stubbes himself maintains in his 'Preface to the Reader' that 'when honest & chast playes, tragedies & enterluds, are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreatio of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that, which is euill, and learning of that which is good, tha are they very tollerable exercyses.' As this more moderate attitude flatly contradicts the opinion of the theatres expressed in this chapter as essentially wicked and unreclaimable, it is not surprising to find that the preface was dropped from all of the editions after the first. It is included in this edition as Appendix I-B.

4156 equiualent with equal in excellence or authority to (OED, a. 1). The first three editions instead read 'equipollent with' a now obsolete usage which means possessed of equal power or authority (OED, a. 1).

4158 ordinarie regular, orderly (OED, a. 1)

inferred conferred, bestowed (OED, v. 1b)

4158-9 the other i.e., stage-plays.

4160-2 **If** he ... sowre sweet Isa.v.20: 'Woe vnto them that speake good of euill, and euill of good, which put darknes for light, and light for darkenesse, that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for sowre.'

4162 **a fortiori** 'so much the more' (Latin)

4165-6 otia ... vice proverbial (Tilley 113; Proverbia, 20490)

4166-70 Doe they ... apace This complaint dates at least as far back as Salvian, the fifth-century presbyter at Marseilles: 'spernitur dei templum, ut curratur ad theatrum: ecclesia uacuatur circus impletur' ('De Gubernatione Dei,' 6.38).

4167 Lectures According to Gerald Cragg, the lecture, as opposed to the sermon, 'was more specifically and avowedly a teaching medium; the preacher believed that he could claim closer attention, for a longer time, and could legitimately deal with more technical subjects ... The place where they were given was the same; the general method was the same; but the audience would consist of the Puritan elect - those who delighted in such disquisitions, and came on weekdays to supplement the simpler fare of the Sabbath' (210).

- 4168-9 *thicke* ••.folde Tilley records this expression as proverbial (T1CO).
- 4172-4 *the way* ••.find it An allusion to Mt.vii.13-4: 'Enter in at the strait gate: for it is the wide gate, and broad way that leadeth to destruction: and many there be which goe in thereat. Because the rate is strait, and the way narrow that leadeth vnto life, and few there be that finde it.'
- 4175-6 (for he ••• Christ) Lk.xi.28: 'But [Christ] said, Yea, rather blessed *are* they that heare the word of God, and keepe it.'
- 4176 *exercises* acts of public worship (OED, sb. 1Ob)
- 4177 *insinuat* i.e., subtly instil into the spectators' minds (OED, v. 5).
- 4179 *vnclennesse* moral impurity
- 4180-8 For *proofe* ••.friendly This description of audience behaviour is similar to that provided by Stephen Gosson in *The Schoole of Abuse*, which, as has been demonstrated by Sheldon Zitner (206-8), relies heavily on Ovid's *Amores*: 'In our assemblies at playes in *London*, you shall see suche heauing, and shoouing, suche ytching and shouldring, too sitte by women ... Such masking in their eares, I knowe not what: Such giuing them Pippins to passe the time: Suche playing at foote Saunt without Cardes: Such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such maning them home, when the sportes are ended, that it is a right Comedie, to marke behaiour' (sig. C1v). Complaints about licentiousness in the theatres, however, were common in the period, and I am not convinced that the echoes are more than coincidental.
- 4182 *time and tyde* i.e., at all times. This alliterative reduplication forms part of the proverbial saying 'Time and tide stays for no man' (Tilley T323).
- 4184 *flearing* coarse laughing
bussing kissing
- 4185 *clipping and culling* hugging, cuddling (OED, v.1 1a, and v.2 respectively)
wincking significant glancing (OED, v.1 7a)
- 4187 *Pageants* Philoponus seems to use this term in a general sense to mean shows or spectacles; compare 4282, where the word describes the activities of the Lord of Misrule and his men in the church.
sortes to pairs up with. Although Philoponus's meaning is clear, this precise sense of the verb is not offered by OED (but compare v.1 12a, b). This construction is printed here in all of the editions.
- 4189 *conclaues* private rooms (OED, 1a)
they play the Sodomits Alan Bray quotes this as evidence that homosexual prostitution formed part of the sixteenth-century London theatre scene (*Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 35, 54). It seems to me more likely, however, especially in light of the concern about the loss of 'maidenly

'Virginity and chastity' expressed a few lines earlier, that the phrase points more generally to any form of sexual debauchery. Its meaning would thus approach the sense in which the similar expression 'they ... play the filthie persons' is used at 2337-8 to describe the behaviour of men and women who meet in secluded garden houses for sex. This more inclusive interpretation is consonant with the insight offered by Bray elsewhere in his book that sodomy in this period need not necessarily refer to male/male sex: '[w]hat sodomy and buggery represented - and homosexuality was only part of these - was rather the disorder in sexual relations that, in principle at least, could break out anywhere' (25). Compare the note to 'Sodomiticall' at 4472, and Stubbes's use of the expression 'playing the filthie Sodomites together' to describe the adulterous relationship between William Bruster and Mary Breame, included in this edition in Appendix I (Passage E, 20-1).

4189-90 or worse Readers are encouraged to imagine for themselves the supposedly perverse and abhorrent activities indulged in by spectators pairing off after the show; it seems to me a mistake to try to pin down 'the worst' too precisely as the rhetorical power of this phrase lies in its suggestive indeterminacy. Compare the similarly evocative manner in which the terrible fate awaiting young men who indulge in dancing and music is described in a later chapter: 'if you wold haue [your son], as it were transnured into a woman, or worse, & inclined to all kind of whordome and abhominacion, set him to dancing schoole, & to learne Musicke' (5092-4). Here, the worst thing Stubbes can imagine a man turning into is a woman - 'or worse' points to horrors not yet conceived of.

4191-209 **And** whereas ... **&** Plaies This long passage seems to have grown out of Northbrooke's claim that attending plays, 'you will learne howe to bee false and deceyue your husbandes, or husbandes their wyues, howe to playe the harlottes, to obtayne one's loue, howe to ravishe, howe to beguyle, howe to betraye, to flatter, lye, swears, forswears, howe to allure to whoredome, howe to murther, howe to poyson, howe to disobey and rebell against princes, to consume treasures prodigally, to mooue to lustes, to ransacke and spoyle cities and townes, to bee ydle, to blaspheme, to sing filthie songs of loue, to speake filthily, to be prowde, howe to mocke, scoffe, and deryde any nation' (94-5). William Ringler warns readers not to assume that this list is at all indicative of the range of topics presented on the Elizabethan stage: 'similar lists of subjects are a commonplace of patristic comments on the drama ... Northbrooke got his list of subjects from accounts he had read of third-century Roman spectacles, rather than from his own observation at London theaters in the sixteenth century' ('First Phase,' 407, n.15).

- 4194 **cog** cheat, deceive (OED, v.3 3a)
- 4195 **mowe** grimace, make faces (OED, v.3 1)
- 4198 **diuirginate** deflower, violate. Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest example of the verb cited by OED.
- 4199 **picke** rob, steal
 roue practise piracy (OED, v.2)
- 4200 **consume** waste, squander
- 4201 **Venerie** indulgence of sexual desire
- 4203 **smooth** flatter (OED, v. 5a). This usage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example cited in OED by eight years.
- 4208 SN **Seminaries** schools. Although Stubbes would undoubtedly consider Roman Catholicism 'pseudochristianity; the context of this marginal note suggests that he is not alluding specifically to institutions dedicated to the training of Catholic priests (compare OED, sb.1 4, Sa). The earliest example cited in OED of the word used in this more general sense is 1585; the sidenote is printed in all of the editions.
- 4212-3 **For the ... sinnes** 2 Jn.i.10-11: 'If there come any vnto you, and bring not this doctrine [of Christ], receiue him not to house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speede, is partaker of his euill deeds.'
- communicate with** share, take part in (OED, v. 5b)
- 4213 SN **premunire** warning. This sense, not listed in OED, appears to result from the tendency in medieval Latin to confuse the verbs 'praemunire,' meaning to protect in front, and 'praemonere,' meaning to warn in advance (see OED, premonition and praemunire). The word is printed here in all of the editions.
- 4216 **sort** multitude (OED, sb.2 18b)
 Lubbers louts (OED, sb. 1a)
 laizie Lurdens The first three editions instead read '**buzzing dronets**,' which is a very rare usage as the only example of 'dronets,' meaning 'drones,' cited in OED is taken from the 'Preface to the Reader' printed in O1 (see Appendix I-B, 33).
- 4219 **Founders** supporters, maintainers (OED, sb.2 4)
- 4220 **in the ... Christ** The bowels were considered the seat of mercy and tender emotion (OED, sb.1 3b).
- 4221 **tender** value, regard (OED, v.2 3a)
- 4223 **mysteries** professions, callings (OED, sb.2 2a)
- 4224-9 **For who ... part?** Jonas Barish notes that Richard Baker, writing in 1662, was one of the first defenders of the stage to highlight the inconsistency

of identifying the character of an actor with his stage roles: 'A Player Acts the part of *Solomon*; but is never the wiser for acting his part: why should he be thought the wickeder for acting the part of *Nero*, or the more blasphemous for acting the part of *Porphyrie*?' (*Theatrum Redevivum. or the Theatre Vindicated.* quoted in Barish, 125-6).

4227 iust righteous

4231 braue finely-dressed. Stubbes's concern that actors wear clothing beyond their station in life echoes the recurrent anxiety about social disorder expressed in the earlier chapters on apparel; see in particular lines 591-602. Similarly drawing a connection between the author's treatment of the theatres and his attack on infractions of the sumptuary laws, Jean Howard comments that '[i]n denigrating the stage and its actors, as well as social upstarts of all kinds, Stubbes seems intent on denying the actual fluidity of the social order and possibilities for mobility within it, and on demonizing those who "play" with their identities and social positions' ('Renaissance antitheatricality,' 166).

4232-6 And are ... desertes Philoponus is referring to a statute passed in 1572 entitled 'An Acte for the punishment of Vacabondes and for Releif of the Poore & Impotent' which reads in part, 'all Fencers Bearewardes Comon Players in Enterludes & Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme or towardes any other honorable Personage of greater Degree ... whiche ... shall wander abroad and have not Lycense of two Justices of the Peace at the leaste, whereof one to be of the Quorum, when and in what Shier they shall happen to wander ... shalbee taken adjudged and deemed Roges Vacaboundes and Sturdy Beggars' (quoted in ES, iv, 270). As Percy Simpson noted in 1917, '[t]o be professionally liable to arrest was not encouraging, and the opponents of plays made the most of it' ('Actors and Acting,' 240). First offenders were whipped and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron one inch in diameter; if taken again, they were hanged.

4233 Rogues vagabonds

4234 Countries i.e., provinces.

4237-40 beseeching ... and others An allusion to Heb.x.30-1, quoted in the note to 2272-4.

4242-3 Of what ... Misrule? This transitional sentence makes clear, as does the sidenote to lines 4254-8, the connection in Stubbes's mind between theatrical performances and traditional festival games as different forms of 'playing.'

4251 as haue seen The first three editions instead read, 'as I haue seen,' but as the sense of the passage as printed in the quarto is clear I have not emended the text to include the personal pronoun.

4257 lustie arrogant, insolent (OED, a. 6). Other meanings available in this period, however, include 'vigorous' and 'lustful' (OED, a. 5a, 4).

4261 light frivolous

wanton lively, bright (OED, a. 3d). This passage, printed in all of the editions, is the first example of this sense of the adjective cited in O ED. The same usage, however, is found earlier in the book at 1956.

4263 Laces decorative ties, ribbons

4266 a crosse i.e., across. Printed as two words in all of the editions.

4268 bussing kissing

4269 Hobby horses The hobby horse in a morris dance consists of a light frame shaped like a horse which one of the performers carries around his waist. The dancer's legs are concealed under a long skirt and short artificial legs at either side complete the illusion of a man riding a horse.

Dragons The dragon formerly had formed part of the Saint George's Day celebrations held on April 23, and although this festival was banned in 1567, the dragon continued to be incorporated into the May games (Laroque, 110). Chambers suggests that 'it is possible that, when there was a dragon, the rider of the hobby-horse was supposed to personate St. George' (MS, i, 196-7).

4269 SN rablemet riotous conduct (OED, sb. 1d)

4270 Antiques performers who play grotesque parts, clowns (OED, sb. 4a). Traditional figures in the morris dance besides the hobby-horse include a man dressed as Maid Marian, a friar and the fool. In his Dialogue agaynst light, lewde. and lasciuious dauncing (1582), Christopher Fetherston singles out the jester for particular criticism: 'What mere madnes is this, that a man whome God hath endued with witt & reason, shoulde put on a noddies coate, and feigne him selfe to bee a foole, and to be destitute of both these most precious giftes? ... By your foole (who is most commenly amongst the thickest) men doe playnely see, that al the company are but fooles' (sig. D8).

4271 the Deuils Daunce i.e., the morris dance.

4272-3 Church-yarde This hyphenated form is used in the first, third and fourth editions.

4274 stumpes legs (OED, sb.1 1c)

4276-80 and in this ... owne voyce That incidents such as this were not unknown in the period is attested to by Archbishop Grindal's injunction to the laity at York in 1571 that 'the minister and churchwardens shall not suffer any lords of misrule, or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons or others in Christmas or at May games, or any minstrels, morrice-dancers, or others, at rushbearings or at any other times, to come unreverently into any church or

chapel or church-yard, and there dance or play any unseemly parts with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely in the time of divine service or of any sermon' (141-2).

4276 sorte manner (OED, sb.2 21a)

4281 fleere laugh impudently

4282 formes benches

pageants shows, spectacles. Compare the similar usage at 4187.

4282 SN Receptacles places to which people are able to retire, in this case, for entertainment and festivity (OED, 2a)

4285 Sommer haoles ... Bowers, Arbours These synonyms describe shaded retreats, the sides and roofs of which are constructed out of trees and shrubs.

Philoponus mentions at 4345 that they were often built near the maypole.

4286 banquetting houses Philoponus previously mentioned these buildings in the chapter on gardens as secret rendezvous points for lovers (2336).

4288 furies infernal spirits (OED, sb. 6a). This sense of the word had been current for over two centuries and it was presumably printed in contrasting type in the last two editions in order to convey emphasis.

4289 Lurdane sluggard

4291 babberie childish foolery. See note to 2112.

Imagerie worke images collectively, probably referring to painted pictures (OED, imagery 9)

4292 Cognizances devices, emblems

4296 buxome indulgent, obliging (OED, a. 1c)

4298-300 Yea ... abused A cowl-staff, or 'stang,' was a pole which was supported between the shoulders of two bearers and used to carry burdens; 'riding the stang' and water dunkings were popular forms of public humiliation (Brand, ii, 188-9). This detail is printed only in the fourth edition.

4299 diued dipped, submerged (OED, v. 6a)

ouer ... eares Tilley cites this expression, meaning to be completely immersed, as proverbial (H268).

4300 assotted foolish, infatuated (OED, v. 3)

4306-8 Sub vexillo ... his Iawes I have been unable to locate the original source of this quotation.

4310 complices accomplices, confederates

4311 Custardes open meat or fruit pies covered with a preparation of broth or milk and thickened with eggs (OED, sb. 1a)

Cracknels light, crisp biscuits

4312 Flaunes cheesecakes or modern-style custards (OED, flawn)

- 4314 any i.e., any of these foods - meat, cheese, cakes, and so on. The adjective is used in this absolute sense in only the last three editions, the first edition instead reading 'any thing.'
- 4322 order customary practice (OED, sb. 15)
- 4322-29 Against Maie ... pastimes This passage as printed in the first edition differs significantly from subsequent revised versions of the text: 'Against May, Whitsunday or other time, all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues, hils & mountains, where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes.'
- 4322-3 Against Maie ..• yeare This is clear evidence that May games were not restricted to May Day. As Leah Marcus points out, these customs 'were practiced on and off throughout the "Maying season," beginning on May Day, clustering particularly around Whitsuntide, and ending about Midsummer, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, in late June' (151).
- 4322 Against in anticipation of
- 4322-3 Maie day i.e., May 1.
- 4323 Whitsunday i.e., the seventh Sunday after Easter.
- 4324 both men, women and children It is not unusual for 'both' to extend to more than two objects (OED, adv. 1b).
- 4325 indifferently alike, equally
- 4331 assemblies gatherings for purposes of social entertainment (OED, 7). Although this word is printed in all of the editions, the earliest example cited in OED is dated 1590.
- 4331-3 And no ... Prince of Hell C.L. Barber suggests that Stubbes identifies the Lord of Misrule with Satan (21) but such a direct connection may not have been intended, the author simply affirming that May games are conducted under the devil's auspices. Compare the speech at 1345-52 where the excessive pride of the English in apparel is similarly explained in terms of Satan's malevolent, but unseen, presence in the country.
- 4341 variable diverse, various (OED, a. 4a)
- 4344 strawe cover with something loosely scattered (OED, v.1 2)
- 4345-7 And then ••• Idolles The image Philoponus evokes of men and women feasting and dancing around the May-pole seems to allude deliberately to the Israelites' worship of the golden calf in the wilderness: 'So they rose vp the next day in the morning, and offered burnt offrings, & brought peace offrings: also the people sat them downe to eate and drinke, and rose vp to play' (Ex.xxxii.6). The parallel, however, is less clear in the unrevised first edition which instead reads, 'And then fall they to daunce about it like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the Idols.'

4348 *patterne* copy, likeness (OED, sb. 4)

4348-52 I haue heard ••.vndefiled Christopher Fetherston is another writer who emphasises that May games provide unaccustomed opportunity for sexual license: 'The thirde abuse [committed in your maygaymes], is, that you (because you will loose no tyme) doe vse commonly to runne into woodes in the night time, amongst maidens, to fet howes, in so muche, as I haue hearde of tenne maidens whiche went to fet May, and nine of them came home with childe' (sig. D7v). The tenth, Fetherston goes on to suggest, was left for the parson, 'because they would deprive him of none of his right.' Laroque argues that the discrepancy between the details offered by these two writers strongly indicates that their so-called facts are nothing more than conjecture, but acknowledges that 'one could not go so far as to suggest that these accusations contain not a grain of truth, for there does seem to be general agreement on this particular point ... everything combines to suggest that these May games were not necessarily totally innocent pastoral frolics' (113-4).

4349 *viua voce* 'by word of mouth' (Latin)

4354 *Saracens* heathens, infidels (OED, sb. 2a)

4361 *vncouth* unfamiliar (OED, a. 3a)

4366 *Churchwardens* These officials, usually two in number, were chosen annually by the parishioners and were responsible not only for the upkeep of the church and its grounds but also for a whole range of secular duties which included public appointments, rat-catching, and the maintenance of roads and bridges (Cox, 2-5).

4367-8 *halfe* •• quarters i.e., between eighty and one hundred sixty bushels. A quarter is approximately equal to eight bushels.

4368-71 *whereof* •..ability Despite his disapproval of these festive events, Stubbes's description of the parishioners generously donating to a general fund according to their means anticipates the manner in which he ideally would like to see churches maintained (4426-9) and echoes the account of the construction of the Lord's tabernacle printed in the dedication (64-83).

4368 *buy of* i.e., buy out of.

4370 *conferring* contributing (OED, v. 2a)

4372 *set to sale* put on sale (OED, sale sb.2 2a)

4373 *Nippitatum* prime quality ale. This word is of obscure origin and OED suggests that the Latin ending is probably only fanciful.

Huffecappe strong ale (OED, sb. 1)

4374 *Nectar* delicious drink (OED, 2a). According to OED, this is the earliest usage of the word in this transferred sense; it is printed in all of the editions.

is set abroad i.e., when the barrels containing the ale are pierced and left running.

4381 make hard shift try all means possible (OED, shift sb. 6a)

4382 for being put i.e., for the money being put

Corban church treasury (OED, st. 2)

4383-6 In this ... Hares This extraordinary claim is printed in all of the editions. Other accounts of church-ales more reasonably imply that the holiday lasted a single day (see Carew, sig. S4v, and Barnes, 106-7).

4385 gulling guzzling (OED, v.1 1a)

4386 as drunke as Swine proverbial (Tilley S1042)

as mad as March Hares proverbial (Tilley H148)

4387-8 Seeing ... good gaines Church-ales, especially those held at Whitsuntide, were in fact the principal means through which money was raised to support the local parish church; J. Charles Cox records that in Mere, Wiltshire, for example, these gatherings earned just over £12 in 1557 and £7 6s.10d. in 1578 (291).

4387 vtterance sales (OED, sb.1 1b)

4393 Sir Iohn a contemptuous name for a priest (OED, John 3)

4396 pretended feigned (OED, ppl. a. 1)

allegations excuses (OED, 2)

4397-8 conueigh ... Cloud proverbial (Dent C443.1)

4398-9 But if ... espied Tilley records a similar saying as proverbial: 'You dance in a net and think nobody sees you' (N130).

4402-3 Must ... it? An allusion to Rom.iii.8, quoted in the note to 3487-9.

4407 Oratories chapels

4408 Swine coates swine-cotes, pigsties

4411 betorne tattered

4411-2 Ecce ... obliuion The last two words of the English translation are not part of the Latin quotation, which echoes the words of Job to the Lord at Job vii.21, quoted in the note to 1542-3.

4415-6 (this ... nothing,) The first three editions instead read '(this I speake but in waie of parenthesis).'

4422 Domine ... facis? Literally translated from the Latin, 'O Lord, why do you thus?' This perhaps alludes to the words with which the Apostles rebuked the idolatrous crowds in Lystra: 'O men, why doe yee these things?' (Acts xiv.15) The first three editions instead read 'blacke is their eye.'

4423-4 And when ... themselues This may allude to the parable of the dishonest steward at Lk.xvi.1-13.

4424 accomptants an archaic form of 'accountants'

4426-9 **Were it ... they doe?** Richard Carew, defending church-ales in 1602, counters this sort of criticism by observing that parishioners 'would sooner depart with 12. pennyworth of ware, then sixepence in coyne, and this shilling they would willingly double, so they might share but some pittance thereof againe. Now in such indifferent matters, to serue their humors, for working them to a good purpose, could breed no maner of scandall' (sig. T2).

4428 **Temples ... Churches** The first three editions instead read '**Templaries ... Oratories.**' Although from context it is apparent that 'templaries' is intended as synonymous with 'temples,' this is not a sense recorded in OED; it seems possible that Stubbes, influenced by the proximity of 'oratories,' confused the two words.

4430-3 **It were ... Lord** A marginal note to this sentence which reads '**Churches are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power**' is included in all of the editions prior to the fourth. It is unclear why the sidenote was cut; its omission may be due to compositorial oversight.

4430-6 **& so ..doe withall** An accurate summary of Ex.xxxvi.3-6.

4435 stay cease (OED, v.l 2a)

4438 **importable** unbearable, unendurable (OED, a.1)

4440-1 SN **in respect of** in comparison with (OED, sb. 3a)

4444 **order** established practice

4448-52 **Euerie towne ... good cheare** Originally celebrated in villages the week after the local saint's day, wakes were supposed to have been limited after the Reformation to the first Sunday in October (Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 66). Felicity Heal suggests that it was the reciprocal nature of the event which prevented the adoption of a common date of celebration: 'the custom seems to have been to give food and drink as an expression of communal generosity ... the holding of open house for the visitors from neighbouring parishes was ... no doubt costly for each householder in his turn, but requited by a series of returned gifts at other dedication feasts' (*Hospitality*, 361).

4450 **proper** particular

and appropriate i.e., and in a manner specially suited.

4450 SN **Saturitie** repletion

4454 **fulnesse** satiety, excessive indulgence (OED, 4). The first three editions instead read 'Saturitie.'

impletion the condition of being full. The earliest example of this word cited by OED is found in the chapter on gluttony (2823).

4456-7 keep the worsor houses i.e., are forced to limit the manner in which they provide for their household and guests.

4459 thripple practise small economies. Printed in all of the editions, this is the only example of the verb cited in OED.

pinch spend very sparingly (OED, v. 10a)

4460 daunger obligation or debt (OED, sb. 1a)

4461 decay ruin (OED, sb. 1b)

4465 prefixed fixed in advance. The early editions instead print the synonym 'determinate.'

4472 Sodomiticall Exercises The fact that drunkenness and gluttony are included with whoredom as 'sodomitical' activities suggests that this adjective carries a broad connotative meaning in the sixteenth century, referring not only to issues of sexuality but also to other forms of unrestrained and, in Stubbes's opinion at least, morally debauched social behaviour. Compare the rhetorically similar passage at 4441-2, where whoredom, drunkenness, gluttony and pride are alternatively described as 'abhominations.' See also the note on the phrase 'they play the Sodomits' at 4189.

4474 congratulate celebrate (OED, v. 2b). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is taken from the Second part.

4477 conuenient proper, befitting (OED, a. 5)

4480 Country county, district

4483 Verlettes a recognized variant form of 'varlets'

bawdry fornication (OED, sb.1 2)

4492 blockish wooden

4495 whence soeuer from whatever source

original origin, beginning (OED, sb. 1a). The first three editions instead print the synonym 'exordium.'

4495 SN stationary fixed. Unlike movable festivals such as Easter or harvest-home the dates of which varied from year to year, wakes were always held on the same day. Although the sidenote is printed in all of the editions, this sense of the adjective is not recorded in OED.

4497 destructtion This spelling is not listed as a variant form in OED but I have not felt it necessary to emend the text; it is worth noting, however, that the three previous editions print the more usual form, 'destruction.'

4502-3 The horrible .• in England This chapter, like the chapter on stage-plays, is heavily dependent on John Northbrooke's Treatise. Affinities between the two texts will be noted in the commentary as they arise.

4506 introduction preliminary step (OED, sb. 2). This sense of the word, now obsolete, had been in use since the age of Chaucer and seems to have been printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

preparatiue incentive

4507 entrance beginning (OED, sb. 4a). The first three editions instead print the synonym 'introite,' which is the only usage of this sense of the word printed in OED (sb. 1b).

4511 science occupation requiring trained skill (OED, sb. 3d)

4512 Cinoedus catamite, sodomite (Latin). The accuracy of Stubbes's understanding of the word is drawn into question by his use of it as a name.

prostitute licentious, abandoned to sensual indulgence (OED, a. 1)

Ribald dissolute, licentious person (OED, sb. 3a)

4513 Sardanapalus According to Ctesias' mythical account he was the last of the thirty kings of Ninevah. All of these rulers supposedly indulged in luxury and licentiousness but Sardanapalus is presented as the most extreme, dressing in women's clothes and surrounded by concubines in the privacy of his palace. In The boke of wysdome (1532) his unmanly behaviour, which Stubbes describes as 'effeminate,' is ascribed to lechery: 'This sinne of Letcherye dyd so poyson the brest of Sardanapalus, that all manlye courage was whole killed in him, and he become so womannish, that he contemned the company of men, only delighted with the fellowship of his Harlots, in so much, that he contrarye to all Maiestie of a Kingly personage, or courage of a man, did put himselfe into Womans Apparrell ... this loathsome lust doth make of men women, of women beastes, & finally Diuels, a meete ende for suche beginning' (sigs. G4v-G5).

effeminate self-indulgent, unmanly; perhaps also, overly given to women (OED, a. 1, 3)

4517-21 verbo ... Pagans I have been unable to locate the source of this quotation.

4517-8 Christiani vocitentur The reading found in the first two editions, 'Christiani boni vocitentur,' more closely represents the English translation but I have decided not to emend the passage as printed in the quarto since 'boni' may have been deliberately cut after having been misprinted 'booi' in the third edition. It is not unusual to find that Stubbes's translation does not precisely reflect the original Latin quotation; compare, for example, the notes to 515 and 4411-2.

4519 deteriores reperientur The first edition reads 'peiores reperi tur,' while the second and third editions print 'peiores inuenientur.' The meaning

of the sentence is not affected by any of these substitutions and the English translation is unchanged in all four editions.

4522-4 it shal ... them Quoted nearly verbatim from Mt.xi.24.

4528 in a meane with moderation (OED, sb.2 1r)

4529 conuenient appropriate, suitable (OED, a. 4a)

4532-7 For this ... of God Rom.viii.5-8: 'For they that are after the flesh, sauour the things of the flesh: but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit. For the wisdom of the flesh *is* death: but the wisdom of the Spirit *is* life and peace ... So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.'

4532 a maxime Found only in the last edition, the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1594 (sb.1 2a). The three previous editions print versions of the phrase, '(basis & fundamentum veritatis) *a ground and foundation of truth.*'

4533 vncircumcised A figurative usage meaning 'irreligious,' or 'not spiritually purified' (OED, ppl.a. 2).

4535 regenerate spiritually re-born. The adjective seems to have been printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.

4539 enticementes The first three editions instead print the synonym 'allections,' a usage which antedates by fifty-seven years the only example of the word cited in OED.

4541-8 For what ... seeth not? The preface to the first edition describes men and women dancing together as an abuse of the activity (Appendix 1-B, 42-3), and the assertion that people should dance either by themselves or amongst members of their own sex is one to which Philoponus returns repeatedly (see, for example, 4748-51, 4775-9 and the justification of his position at 4904-9). The view that the modern fashion of mixed gender dancing provokes lust and is therefore incompatible with either spiritual rejoicing or mental recreation is also stressed by Northbrooke (154-5, 161) and Fetherston: 'For their daunces [in the Bible] were sage & sober, but yours are light & laciuious: their daunces were milde and moderate, but yours wilde and wanton: they made no mixture of sexes in their daunces, but the men daunced by them selues, and the women by themselues: but you in your daunces must haue women, or else the market is marred. Which thing is intollerable, because that, that thing is an intiser and prouoker vnto wantonnes and lust' (sigs. D4-D4v).

4541 clipping ... culling hugging, cuddling. These verbs were previously used to describe the behaviour of theatre audiences at 4185.

4547 blow vp Venus coale i.e., incite lust.

4551 SN corasiue corrosive, annoyance (OED, sb. 3a)

4555 Summum bonum 'greatest good' (Latin)

- 4556 comforted refreshed, invigorated (OED, v. 4)
- 4562 amarulent full of bitterness. Printed in all of the editions, this is the only example of the word cited by OED before 1656.
- 4565 diuers many (OED, a. 3c)
- 4568 vaulting an obsolete form of 'vaultiHg'
- 4571-2 truly a ... loue? This sentence is exclamatory, not interrogative.
- 4572 venerous venereal, lustful (OED, a. 2)
concupiscentious lustful (OED, a.)
- 4573 pump A figurative usage which derives from the well of a ship where bilge-water collects (OED, sb.1 2b).
sinck the gathering-place of corruption and vice (OED, sb.1 2a)
- 4575 the bowels i.e., the centre, the depths.
ingenerate engendered, produced
- 4576-8 Wherefore ... willeth them 1 Thess.v.22: 'Absteine from all appearance of euill.'
- 4578-9 proceeding ... Iesus Alluding to Eph.iv.13, quoted in the note to 3447-8.
- 4579-82 knowing ... our death This is an embellishment of Rom.xiv.12: 'So then eury one of vs shall giue accounts of himselfe to God.'
- 4582-3 for there ... then time proverbial (Tilley N302)
- 4583 which is ... good workes An allusion to Mt.v.16, quoted in the note to 303-4.
- 4584 luxurious unchaste, lecherous (OED, a. 1)
fantasies inclinations, desires (OED, sb. 7)
- 4586-609 But ... against it Northbrooke constructs a similar opportunity to refute Scriptural support for dancing, having Youth ask Age, 'Why do you speake so much against dauncing, sithe we haue so many examples in the scriptures of those that were godly, and daunced?' (147) Youth goes on to mention all of the passages listed by Spudeus, omitting only Matthew xiv (Salome dancing before Herod) and Exodus xxxii (the Israelites dancing before the golden calf); in Northbrooke's Treatise, these two examples are cited by Age as proof of the wickedness of dancing.
- 4586 that ... probable i.e., that the merits of dancing can be proven (OED, probable a. 1). The first two editions read 'prouable' in place of 'probable.'
- 4587-91 did not ... before them? A close paraphrase of 1 Sam.xviii.6.
- 4589 Psalteries ancient stringed instruments similar to the dulcimer but played by plucking with the fingers or a plectrum; they differ from harps in having the soundboard behind and parallel with the strings
- 4590 Fluits an obsolete form of 'flutes'

Tabrets tabors, small drums

4591-3 **Did not ... deliuerance?** Ex.xv.20-1: 'And Miriam the Prophetesse, sister of Aaron, tooke a timbrell in her hand, and all the women came out after her with timbrels and dances. And Miriam answered the men, Sing yee vnto the Lord: for hee hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he ouerthrowen in the sea.' The grammatically irregular construction of this sentence, 'Did not ... daunced,' is invariant in all of the editions.

4593-4 **Againe ... Sinai?** Ex.xxxii.6, quoted in the note to 4345-7.

4595 **Did not ... the Lord?** 2 Sam.vi.5: 'And Daudid and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all *instruments* made of firre, and on harpes, and on Psalteries, and on timbrels, and on comets, and on cymbals.'

4595-7 **Did not ... the field?** Judg.xi.34: 'Now when Iphtah came to Mizpeh vnto his house, beholde, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, which was his onely childe: he had none other sonne, nor daughter.'

4597-8 **Did not ... Iudith?** Jdt.xv.12-3: 'Then all the women of Israel came together to see [Judith], and blessed her, and made a dance among them for her ... shee went before the people in the dance, leading all the women: and all the men of Israel followed in their armour, with crownes, and with songs in their mouthes.' The marginal note to this example in the three previous editions reads 'Iudic.I5,' an incorrect Latin reference to the book of Judges which was omitted from the quarto.

4598-9 **Did not ... Herode?** Mt.xiv.6: 'But when Herods birth day was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod.'

4598 **Damosell** damsel, girl

4599-601 **Did not Christ ... daunced?** Lk.vii.31-2: 'And the Lord sayd, Wherevnto shall I liken the men of this generation? and what *thing* are they like vnto? They are like vnto little children sitting in the market place, and crying one to another, and saying, We haue piped vnto you, and yee haue not danced: we haue mourned to you, and yee haue not wept.' An almost identical account is found at Mt.xi.16-7.

4601-3 **Saith not ... to daunce?** Taken directly from Eccl.iii.4.

4603-5 **And doth ... Musicke?** See, for example, Ps.clix.2-3: 'Let Israel reioyce in him that made him, and let the children of Zion reioyce in their King. Let them prayse his Name with the flute: let them sing prayses vnto him with the timbrell and harpe.' The Geneva Bible is the only Bible from this period which prints 'with the flute' instead of 'in the/a dance.' This substitution of 'flute' for 'dance' is made in other psalms as well (see, for example, Ps.cl.4).

4607 **instinct** instigation, prompting (OED, sb. 1)

4611-3 Hominis ... trueth This proverbial saying is discussed in the note to 951-2.

4613-4 Therefore •..Christ I Cor.xi.1: 'Be yee followers of mee, euen as I am of Christ.'

4614-9 but to •• particularly Northbrooke similarly maintains that advocates of dancing wilfully misinterpret the Scriptures: 'wheresoeuer you read this worde (daunce) presently you apply it in such sort, as though were ment thereby your filthie dauncings; which is not so if it be diligently considered' (148). Like Philoponus, Age examines and discredits each of the biblical examples put forward in support of dancing.

4614 to the intent that in order that (OED, sb. 6b)

4615 pretende allege as a ground or reason (OED, v. 6)

4619 particularly one by one (OED, adv. 1a)

4620 Timbrels percussion instruments such as tambourines

4625 nicenesse wantonness (OED, 1)

4629 SN cosequet consequence, logical inference (OED, sb. 1a)

4631 poised weighed (OED, v. 5b)

4635 fame public report, rumour (OED, sb.1 1a)

4640-1 maketh this for aids, furthers this (OED, v.178a)

4641 nice wanton, lascivious (OED, a. 2b)

vbiquitarie ubiquitous (OED, a. 2c). This usage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED by twenty-seven years.

4643 Cerberus the name of the dog in Greek and Latin mythology who guards the gate to the infernal regions

4644 barke The first edition instead reads 'alatrare,' a word which derives from the Latin root 'allatrare,' meaning 'to bark'; this is the only usage of the verb recorded in OED.

4648 actiuity nimbleness, liveliness

4649 curious skilful, expert (OED, a. 4)

nicitie precision of movement? This word, with its overtones of daintiness and control, approaches the sense in which 'concinnity' is used at 4668 but no single definition offered in OED quite captures these nuances of meaning. The word is printed in all of the editions.

4651 allegation citation, quotation (OED, 5)

4657 Rereward a recognised variant form of 'rearward,' used in a transferred sense to describe those at the back of the group

Hoste large company, multitudes

4659 benefites favours, kindnesses

4663 *conduceth* contributes (OED, v. 5a). Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the earliest example cited in OED by three years.

4667 *interiour* inward, spiritual

4668 *concinnity* skilful harmony of movement

curiosity proficiency, expertise (OED, 3). Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1603.

4669-70 *God: we Colons* in this sentence otherwise mark pairs of oppositions but I have not emended this irregularity since it is typical both of the book, as well as of this passage as printed in the previous editions.

4670 *motions* impulses, desires (OED, sb. 9a)

4673 *Measures* stately movements or steps. OED defines 'measure' as a dance (sb. 20a), but Philoponus seems to refer to the individual motions of which the dance consists. A similar usage is found in John Lyly's *Campaspe*: 'But let us ... see how well it becomes them to tread the measures in a dance that were wont to set the order for a march' (4.3.36-8).

capers leaps into the air (OED, sb.2 1a). The earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1592; it is printed in all of the editions.

Quauers eighth notes, presumably implying movements appropriate to a quick rhythm. The word may have occurred to the author simply because it rhymes with 'measures' and 'capers.'

4677 *they* i.e., the Israelites' actions.

4679-81 *as the man ... God* This, Peter and John's first miracle, is related at Acts iii.8: 'And [the crippled man] leaped vp, stoode, and walked, and entred with them into the temple, walking and leaping, and praising God.'

4686 *frequented* practised (OED, v. 3a). The first two editions instead read 'frequentyng.'

4689 *adored* worshipped

4691-2 *Adam ... Deuill* Alluding to the temptation story at Genesis iii.

4702 *conferre* contribute (OED, v. 2a). The first two editions instead read 'infer' which perhaps explains the unusual construction of 'confer' with 'for' instead of 'to.'

4711 *refelleth* refutes, disproves (OED, v. 1a)

4714 *effeminate* make womanish or unmanly

4729 *Chorusses* dances. This sense, not listed in OED, derives from the original Latin root; the fact that Stubbes uses the English plural form confirms that he is using it as an English and not a Latin word. It is printed in contrasting type in only the last two editions.

- 4730-1 which they ... worse Not listed by Tilley or Dent as proverbial.
- 4735 Amonits A biblical race of people descended from Ben-Ammi, the son of Lot by his younger daughter (Gen.xix.38).
- 4747 comely seemly, decorous (OED, a. 3a)
- 4748 gesture movement of the body
- 4757 their remembrance i.e., remembrance of them.
- 4759 compassed surrounded. The first three editions instead read 'circumualled; the only other example of which cited in OED is in the verbal form and dated 1623.
- 4760 suborned commissioned in their place (OED, v. 7)
- 4766 Faulchone a curved broad sword with an edge on the convex side
- 4766-7 wrapping ... sleeping This detail is not biblical; in the original account Judith returns to the Israelites with Holophernes' head and the canopy stripped from his bed as proof of her success.
- 4769 congratulate celebrate (OED, v. 2b)
- 4778-9 which ... together In the first two editions, Philoponus concludes not against mixed gender dancing but against any dancing at all on the part of men: 'whiche plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of it in respect of Man.'
- 4779 fact action, deed (OED, sb. 1a)
- 4780 sort group (OED, sb.2 17a)
simple The other editions instead read 'imprudent.'
- 4783 Consistory court (OED, 4)
- 4810 exercising practising, taking part in (OED, v. 5a)
- 4811 Metaphoricall As this is not a particularly early usage, the word was probably printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.
- 4813 pertinacious stubborn (OED, a. 1a). Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the first example of this sense of the word cited in OED by forty-three years.
- 4816 sort manner (OED, sb.2 21b)
- 4820-6 Iohn ... Gospell This passage enlarges on Lk.vii.33-4, verses immediately following the citation in question: 'For Iohn Baptist came neither eating bread, nor drinking wine: and ye say, He hath the deuill. The Sonne of man is come, and eateth, and drinketh: and yee say, Behold, a man *which is* a glutton, and a drinker of wine, a friend of Publicanes and sinners.'
- 4824 comfortable cheering, encouraging (OED, a. 1a)
- 4840 and if if (OED, and C 1b)
- 4842 circumstances context (OED, sb. 1c)
- 4846 purchased procured (OED, v. 3a)

- 4848 diuturnall of long duration. This usage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example cited in OED by sixteen years.
- 4849 censured judged (OED, v. I). The earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1590; it is printed in all of the editions.
- 4851 vltimum refugium 'final refuge' (Latin)
- 4859-61 For, to ... Aungels This passage makes better sense as originally written by Chrysostom: 'For neither did God giue us feet for this end, but that we may walk orderly: not that we may behave ourselves unseemly, not that we may jump like camels, (for even they too are disagreeable when dancing, much more women), but that we may join the choirs of angels' (Homily 48, ii, 655). The quotation is also used by Northbrooke (165).
- 4861-2 and to ... workes An allusion to Mt.v.16, quoted in the note to 303-4.
- 4866 conuenticles assemblies, meetings (OED, 1a)
kind gender (OED, sb. 7a)
- 4872 comfort physical refreshment (OED, sb. 2)
- 4873 distinct separated
- 4876-83 And thus ... abuses thereof Although Stubbes concludes firmly at 5012-17 that dancing should be abolished, this chapter, in contrast to the chapter on stage-plays, is on the whole in accordance with the preface printed in the first edition in which the author explains that his goal is not to stamp out, but merely to reform, certain pastimes (see Appendix 1-B, 37-49). The marginal note at 4893-6 therefore seems out of place as it suggests that dancing is immoral under any circumstances; not printed in the first two editions, this sidenote may represent second thoughts on the part of the author, or possibly, especially in light of the similarly phrased clause at 4889-90, a non-authorial misinterpretation of the text.
- 4876 luxurious lecherous, lascivious (OED, a. 1)
- 4888 gestures movements of the body
misdemeanours Perhaps meaning misconduct or evil behaviour (OED, sb.1 1a), but it seems feasible that Philoponus is referring specifically to the dancers' lewd manner of comportment and physical bearing, a sense which is not listed in OED (but compare 'demeanour' sb. 2).
- 4889 accustomed practised habitually (OED, v. 1a)
- 4890-1 as it is ... borne This image, used previously at 939-40, probably derives from Proverbs vi, verse 27: 'Can a man take fire in his bosome, and his cloathes not be burnt?'
- 4892 moe more in number
- 4893 more tollerable The first edition reads more enthusiastically, 'very commendable.'

4901 **gainstand** oppose

4906-9 **Because ... Fornication** This conclusion, also found in Northbrooke (160), is taken from Rudolph Walther's fifty-first homily on Mark, chapter 6: 'Inflammatur enim libidinis igne concupiscentia, datur scortandi & moechandi occasio' (sig. M4v).

4907 **concupiscence** sexual desire

4908 **irruption** According to OED, this word was commonly confused with 'eruption,' meaning 'outbreak.'

4909-12 **And therefore ... bel** I have been unable to trace this quotation.

'**Cloacae,**' which literally means 'sewer,' was substituted in the quarto for '**inferni**' without any alteration to the English translation.

4922-4 **Sirach ... craftinesse** Sir.ix.4: 'Vse not the company of a woman that is a singer, [and a dancer, neither heare her,] least thou be taken by her craftinesse.' The sidenote to this passage, 'Eccle.13,' is wrong in all of the editions and seems to derive from Northbrooke's incorrect marginal reference to 'Eccle.13,2' (157).

4925-7 **Chrysostome ... mind** Stubbes condenses Northbrooke's summary of the words of this Church Father (164-5), which in translation read, 'thou wilt not surely tell me, that when full of wine, and drunken, and looking at a woman who is dancing and uttering base words, thou dost not feel anything towards her, neither art hurried on to profligacy, overcome by thy lust ... For though the daughter of Herodias be not present, yet the devil, who then danced in her person, in theirs also holds his choirs now, and departs with the souls of those guests taken captive' (Homily 48, ii, 659).

4925 **delating** a recognised variant form of 'dilating,' meaning 'enlarging' or 'expatiating' (OED, v.2 4)

4927 **sensible** evident. The first three editions instead print 'palpable.'

4927 SN **Math.14** All of the editions cite Matthew iv, but although the arrest of John the Baptist is mentioned in this chapter, his death at the request of Salome is in fact related in Matthew xiv, verses 1-12. As the reference is cited correctly in Stubbes's source, I have emended what appears in all likelihood to be an overlooked and easily-made printing error.

4928-31 **Theophilus ... company** Stubbes misquotes the Treatise which reads, 'Theophilact sayth herevpon: *Mira collusio; saltat per puellam diabolus, &c.* This is a wonderfull collusion; for the deuill daunced by the mayde' (159-60). Northbrooke is correct in attributing the quotation to Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida (died c.1107 A.D.), but as the name is wrong in all of the editions of the Abuses, and the mistake is not likely to have resulted from a printing error, I have left it unemended. The Latin passage is

taken directly from Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Marcum, ch:apter 6 (sig. K4v), but Stubbes's English translation - which simply paraphrases the words attributed to Chrysostom at 4925-7 - is inaccurate in all of the editions and should in fact conclude, 'for the Devil dances through her.' The first two editions print '**puellam**' in place of '**illam**,' or in English, 'the girl' instead of 'her.'

4928 **Marke ... chapter** Verses 16-29 repeat the account of the beheading of John the Baptist told in Matthew xiv.

4932-40 **Augustine ... Dauncers** This is a close paraphrase of the Treatise: 'Saint Augustine sayth, **It** is much better to dygge all the whole day, than to daunce (vpon the Sabbaoth daye) ... Erasmus sayth, And when they be wearie of drinking and banketting, then they fall to reuelling and dauncing. Then, whose minde is so well ordered, so sadde, stable, and constant, that these wanton dauncings, the swinging of the armes, the sweet sound of the instruments, and feminine singing, woulde not corrupt, ouercome, and vtterlye molifie? ... therefore, as thou desirest thine owne wealth, looke that thou flee and eschewe this scabbed and scuruie companie of dauncers' (165).

4932-3 **Augustine ... daunce** This opinion is expressed in his sermon on Psalm 33, or using the Latin numbering system, Psalm 32 (Expositions, i, 313).

4934 **Erasmus** Desiderius Erasmus, Dutch theologian and humanist (1466?-1536)

in ... de contemptu mundi The quotation is found in chapter 7 (sigs. F1v-F3).

4935 **disposed** governed, controlled (OED, v. 2)

4939 **scabbed and scuruie** contemptible, worthless (OED, a. 2 and a. 2a respectively). This passage, as printed in Northbrooke's Treatise, provides the earliest usage of this sense of these two adjectives cited in OED.

4941-54 **Lodouicus ... Forie** Stubbes alters his source by obscuring the fact that these words are addressed to women: 'Ludouicus Vives, a learned man, sayth: Loue is bred by reason of company, and communication with men; for among pleasures, feastings, laughing, dauncing, and voluptuousnesse, is the kingdom of Venus and Cupide ... O woman! (sayth he) howe miserably art thou entangled of that companie! howe much better hadde it bene for thee to haue bidden at home, and rather to haue broken a Iegge of thy bodye, than a Iegge of thy minde! ... Feastings out of time, and pleasant sportes, and delicate pastime bringeth alwayes dauncing in the last ende; so that dauncing must needes be the extreme of all vices ... I remember (saith he) that I heard one vpon a time say, that there were certayne men brought out of a farre countrie

into our partes of the worlde, which, when they sawe women daunce, they ran away wonderouslie afrayde, crying out, that they thought the women were taken with an vncloth kynde of phrensie: and to saye good sooth, who woulde not reckon women franticke when they daunce, if hee had neuer seene woman daunce before?' (166-7) Northbrooke is closely quoting Rychard Hyrde's transiation of Vives entitled, A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the Instruction of a christen woman, Book 1, chapters 13-14 (sigs. N2-N4).

4941 Lodouicus Viues Juan Luis Vives, Spanish scholar (1492-1540)

4955-7 Bullinger •.. vncleannesse Taken almost directly from Northbrooke (167). I have not been able to locate the sermon to which Stubbes is referring, but it is not included in Bullinger's Fiftie Godlie Sermons translated by 'H.I.' in 1577.

4955 Bullinger Heinrich Bullinger, Swiss reformer (1504-75)

paraphrasting paraphrasing. This usage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example cited in OED by twenty-four years.

4958-61 Maister ... whoredome Stubbes cites the wrong sermon and chapter (see next), but this is otherwise an accurate rendering of Northbrooke's text (169).

4958 Maister Caluin John Calvin, French Protestant reformer (1509-64)

lob ... Cap.12 This quotation is in fact taken from the eightieth sermon, the third on the twenty-first chapter of Job (sig. Cc5). I have not, however, emended the citation since it is incorrect in all of the editions and may well be the author's error; Northbrooke mistakenly refers to Job xxiii.

4960 gestures body movements

4962-4 Marlorate •• dauncing This is a fairly accurate rendering of Northbrooke (167), but Marlorat is himself citing Calvin (see Marlorat's Catholike and Ecclesiasticall exposition of ... S. Mathewe, sig. Dd5v).

4962 Marlorate Augustine Marlorat, French Protestant convert and theologian (1506-63)

4962-3 hath ••• haue This shift in number from singular to plural is invariant in all of the editions.

4965-6 No man ..• mad Taken almost directly from Northbrooke (164), who quotes verbatim from Rychard Hyrde's translation of Vives' Instruction of a christen woman (sig. N3v).

4965 a certaine Heathen Writer i.e., Cicero, in Pro Murena, 6.13.

4967-71 Salustius ••. treasure This is the same order in which Northbrook quotes these two authorities: 'Salust writeth, that Sempronia (a certayne laciuous and vnchast woman) was taught to sing and daunce more elegantlye than became an honest matrone; saying, also, that singing and dauncings are

the instruments of lecherie. Cicero sayth, that an honest and good man will not daunce in the market place, although he might by that meanes come to great possessions' (172). Stephen Gosson also quotes Sallust's description of Sempronia in the Schoole of Abuse (sigs. A4v-A5).

4967 **Salustius** i.e., Sallust, Roman historian (86-34 B.C.). The passage is taken from *The War with Catiline* (25.1-5).

Sempronia Married to D. Junius Brutus (consul 77 B.C.), Sempronia took part in Catiline's conspiracy; Philoponus alluded to her promiscuous character previously at 1741.

4970 **Cicero** Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman orator and statesman (106-43 B.C.). This is a highly condensed version of a hypothetical situation posed in De Officiis (3.24.93).

4972-8 **The Council ... sinne** Stubbes has reproduced in a condensed form Northbrooke's slightly fuller account of these three authorities (172).

4972-3 **The Council ... feast** Canon fifty-three of the Synod of Laodicea reads, 'Christians, when they attend weddings, shall not jump and dance, but shall partake of the meal or breakfast with a modesty becoming Christians' (Hefele, 321). This Synod, which Hefele speculates took place between the years 343 and 381 A.D., was previously cited against stage-plays at 4114-5.

4974-5 **In another ... time** I have been unable to identify the Council to which Philoponus is referring; Northbrooke cites the 'Concilium Illerdense' which was held 'in the time of Theodoricus the king' (172).

4976-8 **The Emperour ... sinne** Justinian in fact makes no mention of dancing, inveighing instead against theatrical performances, gladiatorial fighting and animal baitings on holy days: 'Nee huius tamen religiosi diei otia relaxantes, obscœnis quemquam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil eodem die sibi vindicet scena theatralis, aut Circense certamen, aut ferarum lachrymosa spectacula' (Codicis, 3.12.11). This mistake results from a misunderstanding of the source text, Stubbes failing to distinguish Northbrooke's amplification of the law from the law itself: 'Justinian, the emperour, made a decree, saying: We wyll not haue men giue themselues vnto voluptuousnesse; wherefore it shall not be lawfull in the feast dayes to vse any dauncings, whether they be for lustes sake, or whether they be done for pleasures sake' (172).

4976 **Iustinian** Justinian I, East Roman emperor (483-565 A.D.)

respect consideration (OED, sb. 14b)

4980 **in generall** without exception (OED, a. 11c)

- 4981 quagmire Although the synonym printed in the first three editions, 'quauemire,' had long been current in English, this quarto variant antedates by forty years the earliest figurative usage of the word cited in OED.
- 4982 puddle used figuratively with reference to moral defilement
- 4983 motions promptings, desires (OED, sb. 9a)
- 4984 inferreth brings on, induces (OED, v. 1a)
 affoordeth promotes. This original Old English sense of the verb is not recorded by OED as current in this period.
 ribaldry debauchery, lasciviousness (OED, 1)
- 4985-6 ministreth ... Pride Compare the proverbial saying, 'To add oil to the fire' (Tilley O30).
- 4990-7 for some ... Horeb This explanation of the origins of dancing is attributed by Northbrooke (167) to Rudolph Walther, who writes, 'Saltationes autem, de quibus agimus, à gentibus originem duxere, quae illis primum inter sacra sua vsae sunt, ita nimirum illas exagitante diabolo, cui superstitiosi cultus tum demum gratissimi sunt, si lasciuiæ & illicitis voluptatibus simul inseruiant. Gentium morem Israelitæ imitati fuerunt, quando post peracta vituli aurei sacra luisse dicuntur' (Homily 51, sig. M4v).
- 4995-7 And this ... Horeb Ex.xxxii.6, quoted in the note to 4345-7.
- 4997-5012 Some again ... doth flow These accounts have been taken directly from Northbrooke's Treatise (146).
- 4998 one ... Priestes 'Sibylla' was originally used in ancient mythology as the proper name of an individual woman reputed to have powers of prophecy and divination; the term, however, eventually became generic.
- 5001 Hiero Hieron I, tyrant of Syracuse (died 467 B.C.). The story about his decree against speaking was printed in Claudius Aelianus's Varia Historig, which was translated into English by Abraham Fleming in 1576 as A registre of Hystories (sigs. TT4v-UU1v).
- 5001 SN supposal hypothesis, conjecture
- 5002 inhibited forbad, prohibited (OED, v. 1a)
- 5010-2 S. Chrysostome ... doth flow This passage probably derives from Chrysostom's sixth homily on the Gospel of Saint Matthew: 'For it is not God that grants to play, but the devil. At least hear, what was the portion of them that played. "The people," it is said, ..sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play" ... Ask not then of God these things, which thou receivest of the devil' (i, 89). The original sermon is echoed more closely in Northbrooke's rendering: 'Saint Chrysostome, an ancient father, sayth that it came first from the deuill; for, when he sawe, (sayth he) that the people had committed idollatrie to the

golden calfe, he gaue them this libertie, that they shoulde eate and drinke, and ryse vp to daunce' (146).

5011 it sprag ••.breast A similar image was used at 4085-6 in the context of stage-plays.

5012-6 Therefore ••• not els Neither of these expressions is listed as proverbial by Tilley or Dent, but Thomas White used a similar analogy in 1577 in his *Sermo Preached at Pawles Crosse*: 'And if you breede Cockatrice egges, of whiche whosoouer eateth he dieth, and he that treadeth on them, Serpentes come vppe: if you weaue the Spydys webbe, whiche makes no clothe: if the deedes of wickednesse and the workes of robbery be in your hands, well you may looke for health but it is farre from you' (sig. D5).

5013 Cockatrice a mythological serpent said to be able to kill with its glance
meat food

5022 Plato The Republic (3.411A-B)

Aristotle On the contrary, Aristotle in fact supports the study of music during the formative years: 'Enough has been said to show that music has a power of forming the character, and should therefore be introduced into the education of the young' (*Politica*, 1340b).

Galen Greek physician (c.130- c.200 A.D.). Music is included by Galen amongst a number of activities that corrupt morals: 'Corrumputur animi mores praua cosuetudine cuiusque bonY, cibi, potionis, exercitationis, uidendi, audiendi, totius denique musices' ('The habits of the mind are corrupted by the debased use of any of these: of food, of drink, of exercise, of seeing, hearing and, finally, of all music') (de sanitate tuenda, Book 1, sig. C8). Significantly, Stubbes seems to be referring to the received opinion on Galen and music as summed up in the sixteenth-century annotation to this passage: 'Recte igitur à Galeno dictum est consuetudine Musices corrumpi animi mores' ('Rightly, therefore, was it said by Galen that the habits of the mind are corrupted by the custom of music') (*Annotationes*, sig. C8v). It is worth noting that Galen explains earlier in the book that music is soothing to children because they have a natural propensity to it (Book 1, sig. C7).

5025 effeminacie unmanly weakness or softness (OED, 1). Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest usage of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1602.

5028 disgesture a recognised variant form of 'digestion'

5030 queasie weak, delicate (OED, a. 3b)

5034-46 And hereof ... and eare Stubbes selected these quotations from the many authorities cited by Stephen Gosson in The Schoole of Abuse. Particular borrowings are cross-referenced below.

5034-6 **And hereof ... Whorish** A close rendering of Gosson: 'Sappho was skilfull in Poetrie and sung wel, but she was whorish' (sig. A5).

5035 **Sappho** Greek poetess (fl. 611-592 B.C.)

5037-8 **Tirus ... world** This is a misleading representation of Stubbes's source-text which reads, '*Maximus Tyrius* holdeth it for a Maxime, that the bringing of instru ts to Theaters & plaies, was the first cup that poisoned the common wealth' (*Schoole*, sigs. B3-B3v). The quotation originally derives from Maximus's twenty-first dissertation: 'But the ancient Athenian muse consisted of choirs of boys and men; and the husbandmen being collected in tribes, who had not yet wiped away the dust which they had collected in the field from the harvest and sowing, poured forth the extemporaneous song. This muse, however, gradually declining into the art of insatiable grace in the scene and in theatres, became the source to the Athenians of political error' (ii, 5).

5037 **Tirus Maximus** Greek rhetorician and philosopher (second century A.D.). I have returned to the spelling of the name printed in the first edition as it seems likely that the variant printed 02-Q1 (see collation line) results from an overlooked compositor's error.

bringing in introduction

5039-41 **Clytomachus ... farewell** A loose paraphrase of Gosson's text: '*Clitomachus* the wrestler geuen altogether to manly exercise, if hee had hearde any talke of loue, in what copany soeuer he had bin, would forsake his seat, & bid them adue' (sigs. B4-B4v). According to Plutarch, Cleitomachus would leave a party if anyone mentioned sex ('Table-Talk,' 710D-E).

5039 **Clytomachus** celebrated Theban athlete. I have emended the spelling of this name since the incorrect quarto variant (see collation line) was picked up from a misprint introduced in the third edition.

5042-4 **Plutarchus ... vertue** A condensed version of the citation as quoted by Gosson: '*Plutarch* complaineth, that ignorant men, not knowyng the maiestie of auncient musick, abuse both the eares of the people, and the Arte it selfe: with bringing sweete consortes into Theaters, which rather effeminate the minde, as pricks vnto vice, then procure amendement of manners, as spures to vertue' (sig. B3). The citation is from 'On Music,' 1136B-C.

5042 **Plutarchus** Mestrius Plutarchus, Greek biographer and philosopher (c.46- c.120 A.D.)

5043 **feminine** weaken, effeminate. Printed in all of the editions, this is the only example cited in *OED* of the word used as a verb. Gosson, as noted above, used the more familiar 'effeminate.'

5045-6 Pithagoras ... and eare Quoted from Gosson almost verbatim (sig. A8). I have not found a source for this opinion, but it sounds as though it may be a misrepresentation of Pythagoras's ideas about the music of the spheres which cannot be heard by human ear. Compare Maximus's twenty-first dissertation: 'If, indeed, we are persuaded by Pythagoras, as it is fit we should, the heavens themselves sing sweetly, not being struck like a lyre, nor inflated like a flute; but the revolution of the elegant and harmonious bodies which they contain being commensurate and equally balanced, produces a certain divine sound. The beauty of this song is, indeed, known to the gods, but is not perceived by us, through its transcendency and our penury' (ii, 5-6).

Northbrooke, on the contrary, cites Pythagoras in support of the beneficial merits of music: 'Pithagoras opinion was, that they which studied his doctrine should be brought in sleepe with a harpe, and by the accordes thereof also wakened, whereby they might quietly enjoy the time both of sleeping and waking' ITreatise, 110).

5046 Cloake-bagge portmanteau, valise

5051 comforteth strengthens, refreshes (OED, v. 4)

5055-7 and therefore ... posterity David appoints Asaph and his kindred to sing praises to the Lord at 1 Chr.xvi.5-9, and this becomes a tradition that is continued throughout the reign of David's son, Solomon: 'And the Priests waited on their offices, and the Leuites with the instruments of musicke of the Lord, which king Daud had made to prayse the Lord, because his mercy *lasteth* for euer: when Daud prayed *God* by them, the Priests also blew trumpets ouer against them: and all they of Israel stood by' (2 Chr.vii.6).

5059 conuenticles assemblies, meetings (OED, 1a)

Directorie guide

5060 estrangeth maddens (OED, v. 4)

5061 womannisheth renders characteristic of a woman

5066 fantasies delusive imagination (OED, sb. 3a)

5076-81 I think ... eye This image is taken from The Schoole of Abuse: 'If you enquire howe manic suche Poetes and Pipers wee haue in our Age, I am perswaded that euerie one of them may creepe through a ring, or daunce the wilde Morice in a Needles eye' (sig. B1).

5077 sockets Philoponus clearly intends this as a disparaging term of abuse, but such a sense is not recorded in OED and it is unclear to me how this usage may have developed; the word is invariant in all of the editions.

5078 Countries i.e., counties.

5082 exercise habitual occupation (OED, sb. 2)

5083 laden with merchandize The first three editions instead read 'balanced with massie matter; which is the only example cited in OED of 'balanced' used as a verb to mean 'ballasted' (v. 17). The verb was used in this sense previously in the text, however, at 3316.

pestred encumbered (OED, v.1 1)

5090 soft weak, unmanly (OED, a. 14b). Printed in all of the editions, the earliest usage of this sense of the adjective cited in OED is dated 1593.

5090-1 smooth mouthed insinuating, flattering

5092 transnatured i.e., changed in nature.

5093 a woman, or worse Compare the note to 4189-90.

5101 Ribauldry debauchery (OED, 1). The modern sense, however, of 'coarse language,' may also be implicit.

5105-7 But some ... commoditie Alluding to 14 Elizabeth chapter 5 (1572), the salient points of which are discussed in the note to 4232-6.

5107 commoditie advantage, profit (OED, 2c)

5112 Rogues idle vagrants, vagabonds (OED, sb. 1a)

5112-3 SN mystery or facultie trade, profession (OED, sb. 2a and 8 respectively)

5113 extrauagantes vagrants, vagabonds (OED, sb. 2). Printed in all of the editions, this is the earliest example of this sense of the word cited in OED.

Straglers vagabonds (OED, 1)

5114 pretended feigned, spurious. The first edition instead reads 'presented.'

5118 goe for payment i.e., be accepted. Compare the similar expression 'run for good payment' (OED, payment sb.1 2b).

5121-6 Giue ouer ... lodgment As at 2074-8, 3244-7 and 5549-53, Philoponus claims that the Lord will hold the inventors of evil responsible for the harm they cause to others; compare the note to 2074-8.

5123 Tabretters performers on the tabret, drummers. Although printed in all of the editions, this word is not listed in OED.

5129 Tables backgammon

Boules i.e., either lawn- or carpet-bowling or billiards.

Tennise This sport is described in the note to 3924.

exercises customary practices (OED, sb. 2)

5140 spoyled robbed (OED, v.1 Sa)

5143-7 but especially ... they will Statutes passed under both Henry VII and Henry VIII banning such games as tables, dice, tennis, cards and bowls, made an exception of the Christmas season (Statutes, 11 Henry VII, c.2; 33 Henry VIII, c.9, para.16).

5144 **masking, mumming** Philoponus presumably associates these entertainments with gaming since both constituted important and popular features of the Christmas celebrations. His claim at 5163-5 that masking encourages robbery, whoredom and murder probably refers to the uninvited visits at one time made by mummers to stately homes, a practice which, as Laroque notes, was abused and eventually banned by Henry VIII (150-1).
 5151-2 **the soule ... offendeth** An interpretative allusion to Ezek.xviii.20: 'The same soule that sinneth, shall die.'

5158 **cogitations** thoughts

5172-3 **though** a ... **dayes** Compare Tilley N302: 'Nothing is more precious than time.'

5177 **of God?** This punctuation is invariant in all of the editions and is probably intended to signal an exclamatory remark.

lucre of Gaine acquisition of profits (OED, lucre sb. 2)

5178 **substance** possessions, wealth

5186-8 **The Commandement ... neighbour** The tenth commandment (Ex.xx.17).

5191-3 **The Apostle ... gaming** 1 Thess.iv.6, quoted in the note to 3307-8. Northbrooke draws a similar conclusion against gambling in his *Treatise*: 'If St. Paule forbiddeth vs to vse deceyte in bargaining and selling, what should we doe in gaming?' (121)

5194-5 **Our Sauour ... vnto him** Mt.vii.12, Lk.vi.31

5204 **aggrauateth** makes worse (OED, v. 6b). This usage, printed in all of the editions, antedates the earliest example recorded in *OED* by thirteen years.

5207 **Seminaries** places of origin and early development (*OED*, sb.1 3a). The earliest example of this figurative usage cited in *OED* is dated 1592; it is printed in all of the editions.

5210 **neuer** The first three editions instead read 'euer.' Because the quarto variant may represent a deliberate attempt to convey added emphasis I have not emended the text, even though the change in fact reverses the intended meaning.

5213-5 **The Apostle ... doe it** Rom.i.31: 'Which men [backbiters, boasters, inuenters of euill things, etc.], though they knew the Law of God, how that they which commit such things are worthy of death, *yet* not onely doe the same, but also fauour them that doe them.' Stubbes's Latin quotation, however, in fact resembles more closely the words of Augustine on the fifty-seventh psalm: 'quoniam qui ea agunt, digni sunt morte; non solum qui faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus' (18.22-4).

5220 **rapine** plunder, robbery

;n fine in the end (OED, fine sb.1 1b)

5221 as the ... body? Tilley cites this simile as proverbial (S263).

5223 shambles slaughter-houses

Blockhouses The context of the passage strongly suggests that this word, invariant in all of the editions, is synonymous with slaughter-houses (a sense perhaps deriving from the butcher's block?), but the nearest definition to this in OED is 'forts blocking access to strategic points' (OED, sb. 1a).

5229 SN diuulgate made public, spread abroad

5230-73 Octavius •• eight pence Stubbes found all of these authorities against gambling in John Northbrooke's Treatise (c.1577). Specific page references to Northbrooke's text will be given in the discussion of each passage which follows.

5230-46 Octavius •• Gamester? Most of this passage, a slightly condensed paraphrase of Northbrooke's Treatise (130-2), originated in Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour (1531): 'The most noble emperour Octavius Augustus, who hath amonge writers in diuers of his actes an honorable remembraunce, only for playing at dise and that but seldome, sustaineth note of reproche. The lacedemones sent an ambassade to the citie of Corinthe, to haue with them aliaunce; but whan the ambassadours founde the princes and counsailours playeng at dyse, they departed without exploytinge their message, sayeng that they wolde nat maculate the honour of their people with suche a reproche, to be sayde that they had made aliaunce with disars. Also to Demetrius the kynge of Parthians sent golden dise in the rebuke of his litenesse. Euerything is to be esteemed after his value. But who bering a man, whom he knoweth nat, to be called a disar, anone supposeth him nat to be of light credence, dissolute, vayne, and remisse?' (i, 277-9) It seems unlikely, however, that The Boke Named the Governour provided an immediate source-text for the Abuses since Stubbes uses many examples, as for instance the reference to Cicero at 5233-4, which were printed only in the Treatise.

5230-2 Octavius •• besides This paraphrases the account of Augustus given by Suetonius: 'He did not in the least shrink from a reputation for gaming, and played frankly and openly for recreation, even when he was well on in years, not only in the month of December, but on other holidays as well, and on working days too. There is no question about this ... In the other details of his life it is generally agreed that he was most temperate and without even the suspicion of any fault' ('Augustus,' 71.1-72.1).

5230 Octavius Augustus Roman emperor (63 B.C.- 14 A.D.)

5233-4 **Cicero ... him** Alluding to Philippic II: 'in [the case] of Licinius Denticulus, his [Mark Antony's] fellow-gambler, a man convicted of dicing, he reinstated him ... when an utter reprobate, one who would not even shrink from gambling in the Forum, is convicted under the Gambling law, does not the man who reinstates him in all his rights most openly proclaim his own bias?' (23.56)

5233 **objected to** brought as a charge against (OED, v. 5a)

Marcus Antonius Roman triumvir (c.83-30 B.C.)

5235-42 **The noble ... Dice of gold** A close paraphrase of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale (603-28).

5235 **Lacedemonians** Spartans

5241 **Demetrius** Demetrius I of Macedonia (336-283 B.C.)

5243 **Sir Thomas Eliot** English diplomat and scholar (c.1490-1546)

5243-4 **his ... Gouvernance** i.e., The Boke Named the Governour. i, 278-9.

5244 **light** of small account (OED, a.113c)

5245 **remisse** characterised by a lack of proper restraint (OED, a. 3a)

5247-50 **Publius ... maners** A close paraphrase of the Treatise (117). The original quotation reads, 'Aleator quanto in arte est, tanto est nequior: The cleverer the gamester, the greater his knavery' (Publilius Syrus, line 33).

5247 **Publius** Publilius Syrus, Latin writer of mimes, first century B.C. The name is misspelled in all of the editions.

5250-8 **Justinian ... of others** Stubbes has taken this passage almost directly from Northbrooke's Treatise: 'Justinian the Emperour made a decree, that none should play at tables publickly, or priuately in their houses, &c. Alexander Seuerus, the Emperour, did deane banishe all diceplayers ... He made a lawe, therefore, against all diceplayers, that if anye were found playing at dice, he shoulde be taken for franticke and madde, or as a foole naturall ... Ludowicke, king of France, returning home from Damiata, commanded that *omnes faeneratores, ludaeos, aleatores*, &c. All Vsurers, lewes, Diceplayers, and such as are raylers and euill speakers against the worde of God, shuld depart out of this realm' (134).

5250-2 **Justinian ... openly** Codicis, 3.43.3: 'hac generali lege decemimus, vt nulli liceat in publicis vel priuatis domibus vel locis ludere, neque in genere, neque in specie.'

5250 **Justinian** Justinian I, East Roman emperor (483-565 A.D.); his laws against dancing are cited at 4976-8.

5251 **none ... for no cause** It is not unusual in this period for an author to emphasise a point through the use of a double negative (Abbott 406).

5253 Alexander Seuerus Roman Emperor 222-35 A.D. Although his laws against gambling are not reported in the life of the emperor written by either Herodian or Aelius Lampridius, George Whetstone also mentions them in A Mirour for Magestrates (1584): '[Alexander] ordayned, yt if any man were founde playing at the Dice, he shuld be taken, for a frantick or a natural foole, which could not goueme himself: and his gooddes and Iande, should be committed to sage and discreete Gouemours, vntyll he were againe enabled by the Senate' (sig. F1v). His laws against usury are cited at 3637.

5257-8 Lodouicus ... others This ruling formed part of the moral reforms decreed in the ordinance of 1254 by Louis IX, King of France (1214-70): 'the king forbade his officers from dicing, "tables" and even chess, from games of chance or playing for money ... The ordinance added that the manufacture of dice was prohibited throughout the kingdom' (Richard, 161). Louis IX was canonised 9 August 1297.

5259-73 King Richard ... eight pence A condensed, but accurate, representation of Northbrooke's text (136).

5259-60 King Richard ... dice playing Statutes, 12 Richard II, c.6

5259 King Richard the second King of England, 1442-83.

5260-2 King Henrie ... gaming Statutes, II Henry IV, c.4

5260 King Henrie the fourth King of England, 1367-1413

5261 seuerall individual, single

5263-6 King Edward ••ten pound Statutes, 17 Edward IV, c.3

5263 King Edward the fourth King of England, 1442-83

5267-70 King Henry ..•behaviour Statutes, 11 Henry VII, c.2

5267 King Henry the seuenth King of England, 1457-1509

5268 all aday i.e., a whole day; 'aday' is printed as two words in the previous editions. The Treatise reads 'one whole day' (136).

5270 Recognizaunce a legal obligation by which the offender is engaged to observe some condition

5271-3 King Henry ••eight pence Statutes, 33 Henry VITI, c.9

5271 King Henry the eight King of England, 1491-1547

5276 stumbling blocks causes of moral stumbling. The phrase probably glances at Rom.xiv.13: 'Let vs not therefore iudge one another any more: but vse *your* iudgement rather in this that no man put an occasion to fall, or a stumbling blocke before *his* brother.'

5279 the Sabboth ••Bear-baiting By 1595, the date of the final edition of the Abuses, Thursday had been substituted for Sunday as the regular day for bear-baiting (ES, i, 315n.1, 316). This reform seems to have been prompted

by the collapse of Paris Garden on 13 January, 1583, an event which Stubbes describes at 5326-51.

5284 vpon the Sabboth day This qualification is only printed in the quarto, a revision that strongly suggests that bear-baiting was in at least some places still taking place on Sunday.

5286-7 which ... seruice This clause is a good example of the sort of slow and cumulative revision which is typical of the Abuses. O1 reads, 'which ye Lord hath cosecrat to holy vses,' the tense of the verb being revised in O2 to 'would haue consecrated'; the text is left unchanged in O3, and 'his seruice' is substituted for 'holy vses' in Q1.

5299 kind nature (OED, sb. 3a)

5302-3 Qui aime ... my Dog proverbial (Tilley D496)

5306 oweth owns (OED, v. 1a)

5307 resulteth recoils, rebounds (OED, v. 2c). Although printed in all of the editions, the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1598; it is printed in contrasting type in only the last two editions.

5309 redoundeth recoils, falls (OED, v. Sa)

5314 Mastiues a recognised, but now obsolete, form of 'mastiffs.' The first edition adds, 'and badogs.'

5316 make any bones of i.e., make any objections about. Tilley records the expression as proverbial (B527).

5317 beyt a recognised form of 'bait,' which is the action of setting dogs to worry other animals, a baiting

5319 Bearward keeper of the bear

5319-21 A goodly ... reputation Paul Hentzner, visiting England in 1598, notes that baitings are often followed by 'this entertainment ... of whipping a blinded bear, which is performed by five or six men, standing in a circle with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy; although he cannot escape from them because of his chain, he nevertheless defends himself vigorously, throwing down all who come within his reach and are not active enough to get out of it, tearing the whips out of their hands and breaking them' (Travels in England, as translated from the Latin in Rye, 216).

5320 wei fitting The more common usage in this period, 'wei sittyng,' was printed in the first three editions.

5323 reueiled a recognised variant form of 'revealed'

5326-7 A fearfull ... Sabboth day John Field provides a detailed account of this event in A godly exhortation by occasion of the late judgement of God at Parris garden (1583), mentioning the names and occupations of the seven people who were killed, and the fact that the disaster took place during the

time of afternoon prayers. Verbal parallels between the two texts suggest that Stubbes's account is based on this earlier pamphlet, Field, for example, using the phrase 'being now amidst their iolity' (sig. B8, compare 5334) and describing the wounded as 'some hauing theyr legs and armes broken, some theyr backes, theyr bodies beeing sore brused' (sig. C2, compare 5338-42). 5330 **of each sort** i.e., young and old? The opening to this sentence was heavily revised for the third edition but my sense is that this ambiguous remark is supposed to be synonymous with the redundant phrase 'both yong and olde' printed in the the first two editions: 'Vppon the thirteene daie of Ianuarie last, beyng the Sabbaoth daie. **Anno. 1583.** the People, Men, Women and Childrboth yong and olde, an infinite number, flocking to those infamous places'

5332 **Courts** courtyards

5333 **Scaffolds** a raised platform for holding spectators (OED, sb. 5)

5334 **galleries** spaces in which to house spectators. The term was used in a broad sense in the period, but Stubbes clearly has in mind those areas which were raised above ground level. Printed in all of the editions, and in contrasting type in O3 and Q1, this is not, however, a definition included in OED (but compare sb. 3c, the earliest example of which is dated 1690). The same sense of the word is used by Field: 'the yeard, standings, and Galleries being ful fraught ... This gallery that was double, and compassed the yeard round about, was so shaken at the foundation, (yt it fell as it were in a moment) flat to the groud, without post or peece, that was left stading, so high as the stake whervnto the Beare was tied' (sig. B8). Field goes on to specify that those worst hurt were those who 'stood vnder the Galleries on the grounde, vpon whom both the waight of Timbre and people fel' (sig. C2v).

5340 **alto quasht** smashed to pieces (OED, all adv. 14b). The first edition instead reads 'all to squasht.'

5352-3 **A feareful ... Theaters** The earthquake which took place in the early evening of April 6, 1580 shook all of London; from other printed accounts it emerges that two children were killed by stones falling from a church ceiling (see, for example, Thomas Churchyard, A warning for the wise, and Arthur Golding, A discourse vpon the Earthquake).

5364 **fray** frighten (OED, v.1 2)

5369 **Cockfighting ... England** This chapter title and those which follow in the book were not printed in the first edition; most of them specify 'vpon the Sabboth day' only in the fourth edition.

5370 thick & threefold Tilley records this expression as proverbial (T100); Stubbes used it previously at 4168-9 to describe audiences flocking to the theatres.

5371 nothing to the rest The early editions read 'nothing inferiour to the rest,' but since the phrase as printed in the quarto makes sense as an ellided version of the expression 'nothing in comparison of the rest' (used at 1483-4), there seems no reason to emend.

5373 couitious railing, abusive

5376 blanch palliate, 'whitewash'

5389-91 accomptes ... exercises An interpretative reading of Rom.xiv.12, quoted in the note to 4579-81.

5396 Esau *** reprobate Gen.xxv.27: 'And the boyes grewe, and Esau was a cunning hunter, and liued in the fields: but Iaakob was a plaine man, and dwelt in tents.' Esau is considered wicked because he sold his birthright to his younger brother in exchange for a meal (Gen.xxv.29-34).

5396-7 Ismaell ... miscreant Gen.xxi.20: 'So God was with the child [Ishmael], and he grew and dwelt in the wildemesse, and was an archer,' or, as the Geneva sidenote concludes, 'shot in the bow, and was an hunter.' God refused to make his covenant with Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar, instead choosing Isaac, Abraham's legitimate son (Gen.xvii.18-9). As the Geneva sidenote interprets this decision, 'The euerlasting Couenant is made with the children of the Spirit: and with the children of the flesh is made the temporall promise, as was promised to Ishmael.'

5397-8 Nimrod .•. wrath Compare Gen.x.8-9: 'And Cush begate Nimrod, who began to be mightie in the earth. He was a mightie hunter before the Lord. Wherefore it is saide, As Nimrod the mightie hunter before the Lord.' The sidenote in the Geneva Bible explains that '[h]is tyrannie came into a prouerbe as hated both of God and man: for he passed not to commit crueltie euen in Gods presence.'

5398 abiect outcast

5403 sort group, company

5404 lubbers louts

5406-17 So long *** their blood According to the Bible, animals were in fact alienated from humans after the flood, when God gave them to humankind for food: 'Also the feare of you, and the dread of you shalbe vpon eury beast of the earth, and vpon eury foule of the heauen, vpon all that moueth on the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the sea: into your hand are they deliuered. Eury thing that moueth and liueth, shall be meat for you: as the greene herbe, haue I giuen you all things' (Gen.ix.2-3). Philoponus's interpretation of

events, however, probably grows out of a passage in the Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion: 'And as God would have man to be his obedient subject, so did he make all earthly creatures subject unto man, who kept their due obedience unto man, so long as man remained in his obedience unto God' (Sermons, 587).

5421 spoyle injure (OED, v.IIOb)

5422 or not ... Tartarian This is a revised reading, the early editions instead printing, 'or not rather a Pseudo-christian.'

5429 annoying harming (OED, v. 4a). The first three editions instead print the synonym 'preiudicyng.'

5430 betimes while there is yet time (OED, adv. 3)

5431 Mora ... daunger proverbial (Tilley, D195; Proverbia. n.s. 38321)

5443-4 Can we ... Mammon? Mt.vi.24, quoted in the note to 2181-2. The same quotation is also found at Lk.xvi.13.

5444 Mammon The Aramaic word for 'riches of wickedness,' which in English came to personify greed.

5445-6 by peecemeale by degrees

5446-9 For saith ... strength A close paraphrase of Deut.vi.5.

5457-62 For what ... committed? Laroque confirms that although 'the survival of large fairs to some extent testified to the continuing vitality of the popular culture and its festivals ... [t]here can be no doubt that, like most public places in those days, a fairground was a venue for a whole shady world of beggars, cutpurses, charlatans, 'cony-catchers,' prostitutes and pimps, who tended to give it the air of the court of some Beggar-king' (165-7).

5459 counterfeit made of inferior materials, sham. The early editions print the now obsolete synonym 'fucate.'

deceivable deceitful (OED, a. 1)

5463 Expostulation complaining, protesting

5464 repieriung Printed in all of the editions, this is the only example of such a usage listed in OED; there are no examples of the word in the verbal form.

5466 polling & pilling extortion, robbery

5469 in a wanion i.e., with a vengeance. 'Wanion' or 'waniand' means 'at the time of the waning moon,' that is, in an unlucky hour.

5470 mo more in number

5470-4 And ... maintained After this sentence the first edition exhorts, 'The Lord cut of these with all other sin, both from their soules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified, & thy Church truely edified.'

5472 conculcate trod under foot, trampled on

- 5484 hale draw, pull (OED, v.11a)
- 5484-7 for as •• pastime Football games such as Stubbes describes here were popularly held on Shrove Tuesday and extant records indicate that the sport was as violent as he suggests. According to the Essex Assize records, for example, John Pye died after colliding with Richard Elye of Bocking during a match held in February 1582 at Stony Field in Gosfield, while John Warde was killed instantly when he was thrown to the ground by an opposing player in a game held two months later (Emmison, 226).
- 5487 fellowly companionable, sociable
- 5489 picke hurl, pitch (OED, v.2 2a)
- 5490 hole The first three editions instead read 'hill.'
- 5494 sometymes their backes ■ have emended the text to include this phrase (see collation line) as it appears to have been omitted from the quarto as a result of compositorial eye-skip.
- 5496 start out burst out
- 5498 scotfree exempt from injury. As the word had long been current in English it seems likely that it was printed in contrasting type in the last two editions for emphasis.
- 5499-500 scapeth very hardly i.e., recovers with great difficulty (OED, hardly adv. 6).
- 5500 sleights tricks, stratagems (OED, sb.1 6a)
- 5502 short ribbes the lower ribs which are not attached to the sternum griped clenched. This is the earliest example of the participial adjective listed in OED; it is printed in all of the editions.
- 5502-3 with their •• the hip i.e., to strike a blow at his hip with their knees.
- 5511 prepensed premeditated, purposed
- 5511-2 Is this •• doe to vs Mt.vii.12, Lk.vi.31
- 5519 annoy injuriously affect (OED, v. 5)
- 5526 plausibly approvingly, with applause (OED, adv. 1)
- 5528 contradiction opposition
- 5535 Book of Martyrs The popular title of Actes and Monuments (1563). An eight line poem written by Stubbes in Latin was included at the end of the commendatory material in the fourth edition of 1583 (sig. <J4).
- 5537 Maister Iohn Foxe English martyrologist (1516-87)
- 5538 reuerenced esteemed, respected
toyes light or trifling compositions (OED, sb. 3a)
- 5539 bableries childish fooleries. See the note to 2112.
- 5540 Schedules slips of paper containing writing (OED, sb. 1)

Libels short books (OED, sb. 1a)

5542 challenge demand, lay claim to (OED, v. Sa)

5546 Belzebub Eventually coming to designate a devil or Satan himself, this name is mentioned in the Bible at 2 Kings i.3: 'Is it not because there is no God in Israel, that yee goe to enquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron?'

5547 Pluto the Greek god of the underworld

set abroch published, diffused (OED, abroach adv. 2)

5549-53 But let ... their hands Compare the note to 2074-8. Philoponus, however, may also be alluding to Ezek.xxxiii.S: 'When I shall say vnto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt die the death, if thou doest not speake and admonish the wicked of his way, that wicked man shall die for his iniquitie, but his blood will I require at thine hand.'

5550 Hethnical heathenish

5565 inferiour subordinate, lower in rank

5567 disfranchized deprived of their privileges and rights. This is an unusual usage as one more commonly speaks of people being so treated.

5568 Pecunia ... all things Tilley cites 'What will not money do?' as proverbial (M1102); compare the analogous phrase, 'pecuniae obediunt omnia' (Eccl.x.19), included in the Adagia (144D). In O1 the quotation instead reads, 'quid non pecunia potest? what is it, but money will bring to passe?'

5569 done inuisibly in a cloud Dent lists a similar expression as proverbial from 1585: 'To carry in a cloud' (C443.1).

5570 benedicite blessing

borne in hand led to believe, deluded (OED, v.1 3e). Tilley records the expression as proverbial (H94).

5577 publike weale general good

5580 corruptible perishable, earthly

5582-4 as much as ... Stigian flood The first edition instead reads, 'as it were in Charons boate to the Stigian flood.'

5583 Stigian i.e., of the River Styx, one of the five rivers in Hades.

5586 the most The first edition reads with less reservation, 'al.'

5590 constitute ordained, established (OED, v. 3a)

5594-7 but no inferiour ... wisse Rom.xiii.1-2, verses which were read from the Book of Common Prayer on the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany: 'Let euery soule be subiect vnto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God: and the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receiue to themselues condemnation.'

5602-3 **all flesh ... God** Echoing the conditions which prompted God to send the great flood, destroying almost all life: 'Then God looked vpon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt: for all flesh had corrupted his way vpon the earth' (Gen.vi.12).

5605-7 **For when ... Euangely** Mt.xxiv.12-4: 'And because iniquitie shall be increased, the loue of many shall be cold. But he that endureth to the end, he shall be saued. And this Gospel of the kingdome shallbe preached through the whole world for a witsse vnto all nations, and then shall the end come.'

5608 **Philo.** It is odd that the substitution of the wrong speech prefix in the third edition was overlooked for the printing of the quarto (see collation line), but this oversight may perhaps be attributed to the length of the book.

5608-12 **The day ... wickednes of life?** Prodigious happenings such as those which Philoponus goes on to relate provided subject-matter for numerous pamphlets and are noted as a matter of course in contemporary chronicle histories. Keith Thomas points out that in England, 'the belief in natural portents had always been widespread ... It was not just that contemporaries attached moral importance to such natural occurrences as thunder and lightning, earthquakes, eclipses or comets; even more striking was their capacity for seeing apparitions in the sky of a kind denied to us - galloping horses, dragons or armies in battle' (89).

5609 **wonderfull strange miracles** The first three editions instead read 'wonderfull **portents**, straunge miracles.' It is impossible to be certain that the word 'portents' was deliberately dropped from the fourth edition, but as there is no strong reason to assume compositorial eye-skip and the text as it stands in the quarto makes good sense, I have not returned to the reading found in the previous versions.

5610 **Preachers** exhorters, persuaders

5613 **remooue** stir, move (OED, v. 11)

5616-7 **To raine ... & the like?** This event is described in detail by William Averell in a pamphlet entitled, A wonderfull and straunge newes. which happened in the Countye of Suffolke. and Essex. the first of February ... where it rayned Wheat. the space of vi. or vii. miles compas (1583). I have quoted Averell's text at some length since the only extant copy of this short work has not yet been filmed by University Microfilms International: 'Men ryding by the way, as it is credibly reported, felte in a Snowe as it were in a small drizzling, a heauier fall of matter then in snowing is accustomed to be, and feeling the same to pat somewhat hardly vpon them, by better aduisment perceyued it to bee a contrarie matter, and therefore taking of it vp in their handes, they founde that it was Wheate ... [T]here was (at the writyng hereof

in Toune, one Maister Willyam Geffreies Clothier, a credible man and dwellyng in Ipswich, who founde of the same in his Garden, and brought thereof to London: and liyng at the George in Lumbardstreate, gaue therof to the Host named Maister Ginue ... Now, as touchyng the maner and likenesse thereof, it did rightly resemble our common Wheate, sauynge that it was of a softer substaunce, and looked somewhat greener, otherwise like vnto our Wheate in all respectes' (sigs. A8v-B1).

5617-20 Hath he ... heard of? In the continuation of Holinshed's Chronicles, Arthur Fleming writes about an astronomer who prompted a great deal of public concern by predicting that plagues, tempests and political unrest would result from the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter on April 28, 1583; the day, however, passing unremarkably, the 'people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie' (iv, 511). Stubbes mentions the event in the Second part as evidence of the 'vanitie, and vncerteintie' of astrology (sig. H7v).

5623 biasing stars comets (OED, 1). Comets seen in November 1577 and October 1580 received much attention, Francis Shakelton concluding in 1580 that God '[d]ooeth now ... goe an other waie to woorke, and by fearfull Eclipses of Sonne, and Moone and by glisteryng flames of fierrie Cometes, and other suche like monstrous signes and tokens in the heauen, and in the earth: doeth goe (I saie) about, to enforce and copell vs, (against our willes) to be mindfull of the latter daie, whiche is not farre of (A blazyng Starre, sigs. C5-C5v).

5623-4 firy Drakes fiery meteors (OED, 2a)

5624-7 Hath not ... beast John Stow, for example, relates in great detail how on 17 June 1580, 'in the parishe of *Blamsdon*, in *Yorkeshire*, after a great tempest of lightning and thunder, a woman of foure scoure yeares old named Ales Perin, was deliuered of a straunge and hideous Monster, whose heade was like vnto a sallet or heade-peece, the face like vnto a mans face, except the mouth which was rounde and small, like to the mouth of a Mouse, the forepart of the bodye lyke vnto a manne, hauyng eight legges, not one like vnto an other, and a tayle halfe a yarde long. Whiche Monster brought into the world no other newes, but an admiration of the deuine workes of God' (Chronicles, sig. GGgg2v).

5625 operation influence, force

5626 abortiuues still-born children, premature births (OED, sb. 1a)
vgglesom horrible, gruesome

5641 **remunerate** reward (OED, v. 2a). Printed in all of the editions, this usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED by five years.

5648 **written At** It is unusual in the quarto not to find a quotation set apart from the speaker's own words with some form of punctuation, and the comma found in all of the previous editions may have been lost as the result of a line break after 'written.' As the sense is not impaired, however, I have chosen not to emend. Only in the fourth edition is the quotation from Ezek.xviii.26-8 (see next) printed in contrasting type with an initial capital letter.

5648-50 **At what ... Lord** Ezek.xviii.26-8: '*For* when a righteous man tumeth away from his righteousnes, and committeth iniquitie, hee shall euen die for the same, hee shall *euen* die for his iniquitie that he hath done. Againe, when the wicked turneth away from his wickednes that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawfull and right, he shall saue his soule aliue. Because he considereth, and tumeth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely liue, *and* not die.'

5658-60 **cum ... peruerted** A similar saying is found at Prov.xiii.20: 'He that walketh with the wise shalbe wise: but a companion of fooles shalbe afflicted.' The first edition reads 'peruerseris' in place of 'peruerteris,' or in English, 'will have been perverted'; the translation is invariant in all of the editions.

5664 **liuely** living (OED, a. 1b)

5671-5 as we **may** ... as **before** Mt.xxvii.3-5, quoted in the note to 3616-7.

5675-7 **Peter repented ... liuely faith** Alluding to Peter's denial of Christ: 'Then began hee to curse *himsel*fe, and to sweare, saying, I know not the man. And immediatly the cocke crew. Then Peter remembred the words of Iesus, which had said vnto him, Before the cocke crowe thou shalt denie mee thrise. So hee went out, and wept bitterly' (Mt.xxvi.74-5).

5679 **pretenced** pretended, feigned

5681 **Cain ... condemned** Cain never explicitly repents murdering his brother, but he cries out against the Lord's curse, saying, 'My punishment is greater then I can beare' (Gen.iv.13). The alternative translation offered in the marginal note in the Geneva Bible is perhaps slightly more penitent: 'my sinne is greater then can be pardoned.'

5681-2 **Esau ... condemned** Esau weeps when he learns that Jacob not only has his birthright, but has also received their father's blessing in his place: 'Then Izhak answered, and sayd vnto Esau, Behold, I haue made him thy lord, and all his brethren haue I made his seruants: also with wheat and wine haue I furnished him, and vnto thee now what shall I doe, my sonne? Then Esau

sayd vnto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? blesse mee, *euen* me, also my father: and Esau lifted vp his voyce, and wept' (Gen.xxvii.37-8).

5682 **Antiochus ... condened** Macc.ix.11-12, quoted in the note to 2233-9.

5683 **ludas ... condemned** See the note to 5671-5.

mo more in number

5684 **prologed** delayed, postponed (OED, v. 3a)

5685-8 **Thus they ... worth nothing** Compare Mt.vii.21: 'Not euery one that saith vnto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heauen, but hee that doeth my Fathers will which is in heauen.'

5686 **affection** inclination (OED, sb. 5)

5691-3 **But repentance ... light** A reading based on Jas.i.17: 'Euery good giuing and euery perfect gift is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whome is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'

5694-6 **It is ... please him** A very common Biblical theme. Compare Rom.ix.15-6, quoted in the note to 375-88.

5705 **not to deferre** I have returned to the reading printed 01-03, as I can make no sense of the quarto variant 'did not deferre' (see collation line).

5714 **alone** only, sole (OED, a. 5)

5715-7 **King Salomon ... the Sonne** Eccl.i.2-4: 'Vanitie of vanities, sayth the Preacher: vanitie of vanities, all *is* vanitie. What remaineth vnto man in all his trauel, which he suffreth vnder ye sunne?' The concluding lines of this sentence (5717-9) appear to be Stubbes's own interpolation.

5728 **deceiuable** deceitful

5739 **God ... Amen** Not included in the previous editions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Additional Passages

Passages found in one or more of the early versions, but not included as part of the fourth edition of the *Anatomie of Abuses*, are reprinted below. In each instance the text has been taken from the latest editor in which the passage appears; obvious printing errors have been emended and noted at the bottom of the page but copies of the book have not been collated. A commentary is included after the final passage.

A. The *Abuses*, dedicated in 1595 to the Magistrates of England, was dedicated in the first three editions to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. Passages from the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' which were revised significantly in order to accommodate this shift in patronage have been reprinted below; approximately two and a half octavo pages of text following the salutation in the third edition have been elided (sigs. A2-A3), the epistle resuming at the top of sig. A3v (line 130 at the equivalent point in the critical edition).

To the Right

A2

*Honorable, and his singuler good Lorde,
Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip*

Stubbes, wisheth helth of body & soule, fauour
of God, increase of Godly honour, re- ward of
laudable vertue, and eter-
nall felicitie, in the Heauenly hierar-
chie by IESVS Christ.

NOBILITAS Patriae DECVS

[...]

After that I had (right honorable) fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, bothe in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and sundrie causes, and neuer to haue offred it to the viewe of the World. But notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunate request, and infatigable desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as now you see, is extant.

A3v

But, when I had once granted to imprinte the same, I was in greater doubt than before, fearing, to whome I might dedicat the same so rude &

impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such books as this. which shewith to euery one his sin, & discouereth euery Mans wicked waies, which indeed, the vngodly can not at any had abide, but as it were mad men disgorging their stomacks (Cum in Authore tum in codicem plenis buccis, & dentibus plusquam caninis rabide feruntur:) they rage, thei fume and raile both against the AvTHOR and his booke. Thus (vacillante animo) my mind wadring too & fro, & resting, as it weare in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue pearced the Skies, & whose laudable vertues ar blowen, not ouer the realme of England onely, but euen to the furthest costs & parts of the world. 20

All whose vertues, and condigne praises, if I should take vpon mee to recount, I might as well number the starres in the Sky, or grasse vpon the Earth. 30

For, for Godly Wisdome, and zeale to the truth, is not your good Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable to the best? For sobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtesie to euerie one, farre excelling any.

For deuotion and compassion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie, to your Soueraigne, lone to the CVNTREY, and vertues in generall, euerie where most renowned.

But lest I might obscure, your Worthie commenda- // tions with my vnlearned penne, (litle, or nothing at all, emphaticall) I will rather surcease, than further to proceed heerein, cotenting my self rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, then to haue ciphred them foorth, which indeed are both infinit, and inexplicable. A4 40

In consideration (whereof) not withstanding that my Booke be simpler, baser, and meaner, than that it may (without blushing) present it self to your good Lordship (being far vnworthie of such an honorable Personage) yet according to your accustomed clemencie, I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship to receiue the same into your honors Patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull hearte, seruice, and good will towards your honorable Lordship: For prooffe whereof, would GOD it might once come to passe, that if not otherwise, yet with my humble seruice, I might shewe foorth the faithfull & euer willing heart I beare in brest to your good Lordship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie, and faithfulness faile neuer. 50

And bPcause, ibis my Booke is subiect (my very good Lord) to as many reproches, tauntes and reproofes, as euer was any litle booke subiect vnto (for that fewe can abyde to heare their sins detected) therefore I haue had the greater care to commit the same to the guardance & defence of your honour, rather the to many others, not onely for that GOD hath made your honour a Lamp of iight vnto the world, a mirroure of true nobilitie and a rare Phenix of integritie and perfection, but also hath made you his substitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte sinne. 60

And as in mercie he hath giuen you his power & autoritie, so hath he giuen you a hungrie desire to accomplish the same according to his will: Which zeale in your sacred brest, the LORD increase for euer.

For as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of maners and amendment of life, was neuer more needfull. For, was pride (the chiefest argument of this Booke) euer so rype? Doe not, both men and women (for the most part) euery one in generall goe attired in Silkes, Veluetes, Damasks, satans, and what not? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at // any hand. Are not vnlawfull games, Plaies Enterludes, & the like euery where frequented? Is not whordome, couetousnesse, vsurie and the like daylie practised without all punishment of lawe or execution of iustice? 70 A4v

But hereof I need to say no more, reseruyng the good consideration as well of these as of the rest, to your Lordships Godly Wisedome. Beseaching your good Lordship, to pardon my presumption in speakyng thus much, for (Zelos domini hue adegit me:) the zeale of my God hath driuen me heather.

Thus I ceese to molest your sacred eares any further with my rude speaches, most humbly beseaching your good Lordship not onely to admit this my Booke into your honours patronage and protection, but also to persist, the iust Defender thereof, against the swinishe crew of railing ZOILVS & flowting MoMVS with their complices of bragging Thrasoes, and barking Phormions to whom it is easier to depraue all things, than to amend any thing themselues. But if I shall perceiue the same to be accepted of your honour, besides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the same, I shal not onely thinke my self to haue receiued a sufficient guerdon for my paines & shalbe therby greatly incoraged (if GOD permit) hereafter, to take in hand some memorable thing to your immortall praise, honour and renowm, but also shal daylie praie 80

to GOD, for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleasure and
your harts desire, with increase of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, 90
& eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS, by Iesus Christ.

Columna gloriae virtus.

Your Honors to commaund in the Lorde.

PHILLIP Stubbes.

B. After the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' (line 178), the first edition prints:

A PREFACE TO THE READER.

<J[5v

I thought it conuenient (good Reader, who soeuer thou art, yt shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply yu mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: That wheras in the processe of this my booke, I haue intreated of certen exercyses, vsually practised amongst vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming, and such other like: I would not haue thee so, to take mee, as though my speaches tended, to the ouerthrowe and vtter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare Abuses, which are crept into euery one of these seuerall exercyses, is the onely thing, which I think worthie of reprehension.

10

For, otherwise (all Abuses cut away) who seeth not, yt some kind of playes, tragedies and enterluds in their own nature, are not onely of great ancietie, but also very honest and very commen- // dable exercyses, being vsed and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example and wholsome instruction? And may be vsed in tyme and place conuenient, as conducible t0 example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our grosse & dull nature, that what thing we see opposite before our eyes, do pearce further, and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing, which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen Poet can witness. Segnius irritant animum, dimissa per aures, quam quae sunt hominum oculis obiecta. So, that when honest & chast playes, tragedies, & enterluds, are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreati6 of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that, which is euill, and learning of that which is good, tha are they very tollerable exercyses. But being vsed (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his sabaoth, to the alluring and inuegling of the People from the blessed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean assemblies, to ydlenes, vnthriftynes, whordome, want6nes, drunkenes, and what not? and which is more, when they are vsed to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle Persons, doing nothing, but playing and loytring, hauing their lyuings of the sweat of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronets deuouring ye sweet honie of ye poore labouring bees, // than are they exercyses (at no hand) sufferable.

<J[6

20

30

<J[6v

But being vsed to the ends that I haue said, they are not to be disliked of any sober, and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not haue thee (good **Reader**) to think that I condemne the exercyse it self altogether, for I know the wisest Sages and the Godlyest Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vsed the same, as **Dauid, Salomon**, and many others: but my woords doo touch & c6cerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vsed vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning vntill night, in publike assemblies and frequencys of People, Men & women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming, and such like inticements to wantonnesse & sin, together with their leapinges, skipplings, & other vnchast gestures, not a few. Being vsed, or rather abused in this sort, I vtterly discommmend it. 40

But vppon the otherside, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howse for his Godly solace, and recreation in the feare of GOD, or otherwise abroade with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not, that it is an exercise altogether vnlawfull. For, I know that one Christian may play with another, at any kind of Godly, honest, ciuile game, or exercise, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with co- // ueitousnes, or desire of vnlawfull gaine: for the c6maundemt saith, thou shalt not couet: wherfore, if any be voide of these affections, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may vse the same in the feare of God: yet so as the vse therof be not a let, or hinderance vnto him, to any other Godly exploit. 50

But, if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting, gaming howses, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether discommmendable and vnlawfull. Wherfore, as these be exercyses lawfull, to them that know how to vse them in rhe feare of GOD, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse the, as I haue shewed. But take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill, being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good, but it may be abused, yet because of ye abuses, I am not so strict, that I wold haue the things, themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away. 60

And wheras also I haue spoken of the excesse in Apparell, and of the Abuse of the same, as wel in men, as in women generally, I wold not be so vnderstood, 70

as though my speaches exteded, to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful: for, I am so farre from once thinking that any kind of // sumptuous, or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I suppose them rather Ornaments in them, than otherwise. '1[7v

And that they both may, and for some respects, ought to were such attire (their birthes callings, functions and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my Booke laid downe, as maye appeare, and for the distinction of them from the inferiour sorte, it is prouable both by the Woord of GOD, Ancient Writers, and common practise of all ages, People and Nations, from the beginning of the World, to this day. 80

And therefore, when I speake generally of the excesse of Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour sorte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpasse, either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold, Siluer, and what not? with their swards, daggers, and rapiers guilte, and reguilte, burnished, and costly ingrauen, with all things els, that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull Man doth, or may weare, so as the one cannot easily be discerned from the other.

These be the Abuses, that I speake of, these be the euills, that I lament, and these be the persons that my words doo concerne, as the tenure of my Booke consideratly wayed, to any indifferent READER doth purport. 90

This much I thought good (Gentle **Reader**) to informe thee of, for thy better instruction, as // well in these few points, as in all other the like, whersoever they shall chauce to occurre in my Booke. Beseaching thee, to construe al things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and to giue the same thy good-woord, and gentle acceptaunce. And thus in the LORD, I bid thee, farewell. '1[8

Thyne to vse in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.

C. Before 'I.F. In commendation of the Authour and his Book' (line 179), 02 and 03 print three prefatory poems, the first and third of which are also included in the first edition:

**PHILIPPVS STV-
BEVS CANDIDO
LECTOR!.**

B1

Offendit nimia te garrulitate libellus forte
meus, Lector, miror id ipse nihil. Obsitus
est etenim verboru colluuioe plusquam
vandalica, rebus & insipidis. Quare si
sapias operam ne perditio posthac nostra
legendo, legas vtiliora, vale.

¶ Idem in Zoilum.

10

ZOILE cum tanta rabie exardescis in omnes,
non aliter rabidus, quam solet ipse canis:
Dente Theonino rodeos alios, calomoque,
incessens hos, qui nil, nocuere tibi:
Viperea in cunctos vibrans O Zoile linguam,
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam:
Cum Debacchandi finis sit Zoile nullus, bora
quieta tibi nullaue praetereat:
Cum tumeas veluti ventrosus ZOILE bufo,
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

20

¶ Aliud in eundem.

Daemones ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antru,
hunc lacerent furiae, Cerborus ore voret.
Imprecor at misero quid paenas, cui satis intus?
daemona circumfert pectore namque suo.

¶ Eiusdem aliud.

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur
pauca legas, poterit sic liber esse breuis.

C.B. In commendation

of the Auctors lucubrations.

Blv

30

You Sages graue with heares so hoare,
attend what you doe heare:

And eke you youthfull gallants all,
marke well and giue good eare.

You princely peeres and Senatours,
in sacred breasts imprint:

These sayngs wise, and prudent eke,
to practize doe not stint.

You Bishoppes, and you prelates all,
leame here your flocke to keepe:

40

You Ministers, and Preachers eke,
to feede your seely sheepe.

You Commons all, whiche doe inioye,
bothe high and lowe degree: Step
boldly in amongst the route, and
view with single eye:

This perfect glasse, and mirror pure,
whiche doeth your sinnes descrie:

And sacred precepts doeth prescribe,
by name Anatomie.

50

Approche therefore bothe high and lowe,
this Booke see that thou buye:

And leame thy self by sacred lore,
in vertue for to dye.

To God, to Queene, to all men eke,
how thou thy self shouldst frame:

To liue, to dye in vertues Iawes,
to win immortall fame.//

B2

Loe here (you readers all) the gaine,
whiche you herein maie haue:

60

Delay not then, giue Stubbes the praise,
since freely he it gaue.

Loe here my freende his freendly harte,
 whiche he to Countrey beares:
 His taken paines to all he sendes,
 with sighes and tricklyng teares.
 In his behalfe I as his freende,
 doe humbly of you craue:
 His willing minde accept, and giue,
 him praise he ought to haue.

70

FINIS.

ΤΗΣ ἄρετῆς λεγοῦν τὸ τευχὴ
 ἀλλοδαπῶν.

A.D. In commendation

of the Auctor and his Booke.

If mortall man maie challenge praise,
 For any thing doen in this life:
 Then maie our **Stubbes**, at all assaies,
 Inioye the same withouten strife.
 Not onely for his Godly zeale,
 and Christian life accordinglie:
 But also for his Booke in sale,
 Here present now before thyne eye.
 Herein the Abuses of these daies, As
 in a glasse thou maiest beholde: Oh
 buy it then, heare what he saies,
 And giue him thanks an hundred folde.

80

D. After 'I.F. In commendation of the Authour and his Book,' the first three editions print a final prefatory poem:

THEAVTHORAND
HIS BOOKE.

B3

Now hauing made thee, seely Booke,
and brought thee to this frame: Full
loth I am to publishe thee, least thou
impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why so? good Maister, what's the cause,
why you so loth should be,
To send me forth into the Worlde,
my fortune for to trye?

10

The Author

This is the cause, for that I knowe,
the wicked thou wilt moue:
And eke because thy ignoraunce
is suche, as fewe can loue. The
Booke.

I doubt not, but all Godly men,
willloue and like me well:
And for the other I care not,
in pride although they swell.

20

The Author.

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
and subiect euery waie:
To MOMVS and to ZOILVS crew,
Who'le dayly at thee bay.

The Booke.

Though MOMVS rage, and ZOILVS carpe:
I feare them not at all,
The Lorde my God in whom I trust,
shall cause them soone to fall.

30

The Author.

Well, sith thou wouldst so faine be gone,

I can thee not withholde:

Adieu therefore, God be thy speede,
and blesse thee an hundred folde.

The Booke.

And you also good Maister mine,

God blesse you with his grace:

Preserue you still, and graunt to you,
in Heauen a dwelling place.

40

E. After line 2727 in the chapter on whoredom, the first three editions print an account of two adulterers punished by God in London. The sidenotes are included only in O3:

And therefore, the Lorde is forced to take the sworde into his owne handes, and to execute punishment himself, because ye Magistrates wil not do it. For better prooffe whereof, marke this straunge and fearefull iudgement of God, shewed vppon two Adulterous persons in Munidnol, euen the last day in effect, the remembraunce whereof is yet greene in their heades. //

Ilv

There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb being
 A most dreadfull certainly knowne to be a notorious Vsurer (and yet pretending
 example of alway a singuler zeale to religion, so that he would seldome times
 two notorious go without a Bible about him, but see ye iudgements of God vpon
 whoremongers. them that wil take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyue cleane
 contrary, making the worde of God a cloke to couer their sinne &
 naughtinesse withall as many do in these daies) who vpo
 occasion of businesse visiting Lewedirb, a place appointed for ye
 correction of such as be wicked liuers, saw there a famous Whore
 but a very proper woman, whome (as is saide) he knew not, but
 whether he did, or not, certain it is, that he procured her deliuey
 from thence, bailed her, and hauing put away his owne wife
 before, kept her in his Chaber, vsing her at his pleasure. Whilest
 Whoremongers these two members of the Deuill were playing the filthie
 members of Sodomiters together in hys chamber, & hauing a litle panne of
 the Deuill. coales before them, wherein was a very little fire, it pleased God
 euen in his wrathe, to strike these twoo persones dead in a
 momente. The woman falling ouer the panne of coales, was
 burned, that all her bowelles gushed out, the man was founde
 liyng by, his clothes in some partes being scorched and burned,
 and some partes of his body also. But whiche is moste
 The punishmet wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very bone, his Shurt
 of whordome by sleeue, and dublett, not once perished, nor touched with the fire.
 the Lord himself sleuee, and dublett, not once perished, nor touched with the fire.
 from heauen. Whereby may bee thought, and not without // great probabilitie of
 truth, that it was euen the fire of God his wrathe from heauen, and

10

20

12

Ilv. PH: Two Adulterers burned in Ailgna.

12. PH: Knowne Whores kept openly.

not any naturall fire from the Earth. And in this wonderfull and fearfull manner, were these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a **document or lesson admonitorie** to al that heare or read ye same, to auoid the like offence: and to all Magystrates, an example to see the same punished with more seueritie, to the glory of GOD, and their owne discharge.

F. A cancelled page (sigs. P8-P8v) is bound in one of the copies of O1 held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Crynes 833). The recto is blank, but a full page of text is printed on the verso. Further information about this copy is found in the Bibliographical Analysis at pp. 30-4. The catchword printed on this page is 'they'.

// And which is more, I pray God there be not some vile Atheists, P8v
& Nullifidians amongst the, who in their harts say non est Deus,
there is no God at all, and with the filthie swinishe Epicures cry out.
Emoi theos tou parou theou to mallon. that is: giue me ye fruition
of these temporall ioyes present, & for the rest that are to come, let
God alone: as though indeed they beleued there were none such.
And yt there be some such, their Iiues showe plaine: for besides all
these (with infinit the like Abuses.) what colde zeale, what small
deuotion, and what frozen affection is their now a dayes to the woord
ofGod? 10

In time of palpable ignorance, I mean, in time of papistrie, when
their Temples were stuffed with Idolatrie, supersticion, Imagery and
such like: when God was dishonored euerie way, his sacraments
prostituted, his blessed woord conculcate, and troden vnder foot, and
when they them selues vnderstoode nothing that they heard: then I
say, euen then, was there more zeale, feruencie and deuotion to the
same, more then Mahometicall heatherie & hethnicall diuilrie then
is now to the blessed woord of God, the food of our saluation.

So that it falleth out with them, as it dooth with a man that
hauing sore eyes, is not able to abide the bright beames of the Sun. 20
For their Iiues being wicked, and detestable, //

P8v. PH: Atheists and Nullifidians.

11. mean,] *This ed*: mean.

COMMENTARY

Passage A:

2 singular i.e., singularly; commonly used in the sixteenth century in forms of address to a person of title (OED, a. 9c).

9 NOBILITAS Patriae DECVS This phrase translates literally from the Latin as 'Nobility, the honour of our country.'

22 stomachs The second edition adds 'and spewing out the poyson of their maliciouse harts'. Since 03's dedicatory epistle was revised and printed from the version of the letter printed in 01, this revision only appears in 02. Printer's copy used for each edition is discussed in the Introduction at pp. 37-53.

23-4 Cum ... feruntur This sentence translates literally from the Latin as, 'They are carried away in a rage with mouths and teeth more than dog-like both against the author and against the book.'

29 costs regions, districts (OED, sb. 6)

30 condigne worthily deserved, merited (OED, a. 3a)

31-2 I might ... the Earth This imagery is biblical. Compare the note to 1967-8.

39 commendations recommendations, commendable features (OED, sb. 5)

40 emphaticall suggestive, allusive (OED, a. 1)

42 ciphered ... foorth expressed, portrayed (OED, v. 3)

43 inexplicable inexpressible, indescribable (OED, a. 2)

48 Patrociny patronage, protection

59-60 a Lamp ... the world Compare Mt.v.14: 'Ye are the light of the world.'

68 rype fit for curative treatment (OED, a. 3b)

69 in generall without exception (OED, a. 11c)

72 frequented practised habitually

73 all any

76-7 Zelos ... heather This biblical allusion is discussed in the commentary to the main text in the note to lines 165-6. This sentence in the first two editions goes on to conclude, 'knowing, that the Lord hath ordeined you, to himselfe a chosen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses, and corruptions, which as in a table are depainted & set foorth in this Iitle treatise.'

81 ZoiLUS a censorious or malignant critic, taken from the name of a Greek critic and grammarian

82 MoMVS the Greek god of ridicule; hence, a fault-finder

complices ... Phormions The first two editions simply read 'complices.'

complices accomplices

Thrasoes 'Thraso' is the name of a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*; hence, braggarts.

Phormions It is unclear to me what Stubbes intends by this word. Phormion was an Athenian admiral who, returning home after military success against the Peloponnesian fleets, was sentenced in 428 B.C. for embezzlement of public funds. The word is not listed in OED, but is used in a similar context in the preface to the reader in the Second part (sig. A6v), as well as in the dedication to A perfect Pathway to Felicitie (1610) where Stubbes describes 'the poisoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disdain' (sigs. <J[6v-17).

83 deprave vilify, disparage (OED, v. 4)

92 *Columna gloriae virtus* This phrase translates literally as 'Virtue, the pillar of glory' (Latin).

Passage B:

3 conuenient appropriate, suitable (OED, a. 4a)

4 admonish inform

6 intreated treated (OED, v. 3a)

exercyses customary practices (OED, sb. 2)

13-26 For, otherwise ... tollerable exercyses This view is in sharp contrast to the arguments put forward against the theatres in the main text which denounce all stage-plays as wicked at any time; compare Philoponus's speech at 4041-90.

14 are not onely of great ancietie i.e., have not only existed since remote times (OED, ancienty 4).

18 conducible conducive (OED, a. 1a)

19-20 thing ... do pearce Shifts such as this from the singular to the plural construction are not unusual in the Abuses; compare, for example, 4962-3.

21 Horace Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Roman poet (65 B.C. – 8 B.C.)

22-3 Segnius ... obiecta 'Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes' (Ars Poetica, lines 180-1). Stubbes alludes to this quotation at 417-21.

31 sort cornpany, group

32 loytring allowing time to pass idly (OED, v. 2a)

33 dronets drones. This is the only example of the word cited in OED; the same usage is found in the first three editions in the chapter on stage-plays (see the note to 4216).

35 disliked The earliest usage of this sense of the verb cited by OED is dated 1594 (OED, v. 3a).

37-41 **And** as **... thereof onely** In the chapter on dancing Stubbes at times presents all dancing as wicked, but on the whole his views are consistent with those expressed in this passage; compare the note to 4876-83.

40 **Dauid, Salomon** Compare 4595, 4601-3 and notes.

42 **frequencies** crowds, assemblies (OED, 1)

42-3 **Men & women together** Stubbes's opposition to mixed gender dancing is discussed in the note to 4541-8.

45 **gestures** body movements

48 **abroade** out of one's house

50-7 **And wheras ... Godly exploit** Compare the more grudging tolerance of gaming expressed by Philoponus at 5171-9.

52 **cuile** orderly (OED, a. 7). The earliest example of this sense of the adjective cited in OED is dated 1591.

54 **for the ... shalt not couet** The tenth commandment (Ex.xx.17).

55 **affections** inclinations (OED, sb. 5)

65 **There is nothing ... may be abused** proverbial (Tilley N317)

66 **strict** rigorous, austere (OED, a. 15a). This usage antedates the earliest example of this sense of the adjective by thirty-one years.

75-8 **And that ... sorte** Philoponus explains at 573-80 why rich apparel is appropriate to the nobility, gentry and magistracy.

77 **distinction** distinguishing

85 **reguilte** This is the earliest example of the verb cited in OED.

89 **tenure** a recognised variant form of 'tenor'

90 **consideratly** carefully, attentively

indifferent impartial, unbiased

Passage C:

1-28 **PHILIPPVS ... breuis** I am grateful to Dr. Susan Brock for providing the following literal translation:

PHILLIP STUBBES

to the fair reader.

Perhaps my little book offends you, Reader, with its excessive prating; I don't wonder at it myself. For it was filled by a swill of words that was more than vandal-like and by weak subject matter. So, if you are wise, after this don't waste your effort reading our words, read more useful ones, farewell.

The same against Zoilus.

Zoilus, you are inflamed with a rage against everyone just like a rabid dog is. Gnashing at some with Theon's tooth and attacking with the pen these who have done you no harm. Flicking a viper's tongue at them all, O Zoilus, your tongue which terrible poisons infect. Zoilus, since there is no limit to your raving and for you no hour passes quietly, since, Zoilus, you swell up like a pot-bellied bullfrog, I wonder, standing in the midst of it, that you croak the less.

Another against the same.

Let Zoilus descend to the black cave of the demon, here let the furies tear him and Cerberus devour him in his jaws. Why do I call down these torments upon a wretched man who has enough of them within him? For he carries the demon in his own breast.

Another by the same.

If this book seems too long to you, read just a few words. Thus the book will seem short.

30 **Auctors** a recognised variant form of 'Author's'

lucubrations the product of nocturnal study and meditation. The earliest usage of this sense of the word cited in OED is dated 1611.

31 **heares** a recognised variant form of 'hairs'

33 **eke** also, in addition

42 **seely** innocent

43 **Commons** common people

45 **route** company

46 **single** honest, sincere (OED, a. 14b)

47 **glasse** mirror

48 **descrie** disclose, reveal (OED, v.1 2b)

53 **learne** teach

lore doctrine, teaching

55-8 **To God ... fame** The verb, 'leame thy self,' is implicit from the previous sentence.

72-3 [**Greek sentence**] Professor Desmond Costa of the Classics Department at the University of Birmingham has advised me that this passage, identical in the two editions in which it is printed, has been badly garbled by either the author or the compositor and cannot be translated beyond the first two words which mean 'virtue.' The Greek text provided here is a facsimile reproduction of the sentence as it appears in the third edition.

76 challenge claim (OED, v. 6b). The earliest example of this sense of the verb cited in OED is dated 1615.

78 at all assaies always (OED, sb. 21)

Passage D:

3 seely innocent (OED, a. 5)

4 frame form, shape (OED, sb. 5)

15 eke also

16 fewe The first edition instead reads 'none.'

25 MOMVS a fault-finder

ZOILVS a censorious critic

Passage E:

5 in Munidnol i.e., in London. Almost all proper names were spelled backwards and often in Latin in the first three editions; the first two editions instead simply read 'there.'

the last day yesterday (OED, a. 3b)

in effect in fact (OED, sb. 8)

7-37 There was ... discharge Alternative accounts of this event are found in Holinshed (iv, 504), Stow's Annales (sig. Hhhhl), and in a short pamphlet written by Samuel Saxey entitled, A straunge and Wonderfull Example of the Judgement of almighty God. shewed vpon two adulterous persons in London, in the parish of S. Brydes, in Fleetestreete, this thirde of Februarie. 1583.

7 W. Ratsurb i.e., William Bruster.

9 alway always

13 naughtinesse wickedness, depravity (OED, 1a)

as ... daies Not printed in the first two editions.

14 Lewedirb i.e., Bridewell, a detention centre for prostitutes which burned down in 1666.

15-6 a famous Whore ... proper woman According to Holinshed, the woman's name was Marie Breame.

15 famous notorious (OED, a. 3a)

16 proper good-looking, beautiful (OED, a. 9)

18 put away sent away, got rid of (OED, v.1 39b)

20-1 playing ... Sodomites A similar expression is discussed in the note to 4189.

33 **these cupple** It is not unusual in this period to find the plural form of the demonstrative adjective used with reference to a singular noun of multitude such as 'couple' (OED, II 1d).

34 **document** warning, lesson (OED, sb. 2). This word was not new to the language and was therefore probably printed in contrasting type for emphasis.

admonitorie warning. This usage antedates the earliest example of the adjective cited in OED by eleven years; it seems likely, however, that the word was set off in contrasting type for emphasis rather than to mark its novelty. The words 'or lesson admonitorie' were added in the second edition.

37 **discharge** i.e., of their consciences. Compare the similar usage at 5366-8.

Passage F:

2 **Nullifidians** those of no faith or religion

4 **Emoi ... mallon** This sentence as printed here is meaningless. Professor Desmond Costa suggests, however, that with drastic emendation (i.e., 'Emoi theos tou parontos theou tou mellontos') it could be twisted into a sense approaching Stubbes's translation: 'give me the god of the present rather than the god of the future.'

12 **Imagery** i.e., image-work such as statuary.

14 **conculcate** trod under foot, trampled on

17 **Mahometicall** Muslim

hethnicall heathenish

APPENDIX II: Neologisms

The following is an alphabetical listing of words which were either coined by Stubbes or used in an original sense in one or more of the four editions of the Abuses. Usages which antedate the earliest cited example or otherwise add to or modify the definition(s) offered in the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (1989; compact edition, 1991) have been asterisked. Each entry is keyed to a corresponding line number in the critical edition to allow readers to refer to the commentary for a discussion of meaning, and is followed by the signature of the quarto page on which it appears. Signature references to earlier editions are given in the case of entries which are used only in one or more of the first three editions, and are cross-referenced to a note in the commentary at the equivalent point in the quarto text.

- *abdicate 3824, sig. N4v
- abrupte See the note to 'corrupt' at 288; 02, sig. B5
- *Actors 4138, sig. 04v
- *adherent 895, sig. D2
- adiumentes See the note to 'supportes' at 3961; 03, sig. M5
- *admonitorie Appendix I, E-34; 03, sig. 12
- *agentes See the note to 1260-1; 03, sig. E2
- *aggrauateth 5204, sig. S2
- agonized 1812, sig. G2
- alatrare See the note to 'barke' at 4644; 01, sig. N2v
- *allections See the note to 'enticementes' at 4539; 03, sig. 01v
- amarulent 4562, sig. Q2
- antidotary 2629 SN, sig. K1
- *argented ouer 1495-6, sig. F2
- *Arsnecke 493, sig. B4v
- *assemblies 4331, sig. P3
- Assie 1137, sig. E1
- *at vnawares 2775, sig. K3
- *auoid 100, sig. A3
- *auoydance 2435, sig. 12v
- bableries 2112; sig. H2
- balanced See the note to 'laden with merchandize' at 5083; 03, sig. P5
- *Blockhouses 5223, sig. S2v
- blubbering foorth 2950-1, sig. L1
- bombasted 1267, sig. E3

brace 1912, sig. G3v
 *brande 1629, sig. F4
 brothellous 1634, sig. F4
 burnt wine 3083-4, sig. L3
 Butterflies 3560, sig. N1
 Canions 1305, sig. E3v
 *capers 4673, sig. Q3v
 *Capes 1890, sig. G3v
 carousing 2928, sig. L1
 *cauterized 2720, sig. K2
 *censured 4849, sig. R1v
 *challenge Appendix I, C-76; 03, sig. B2
 *Chorusses 4729, sig. Q4
 cipher fourth See the note to 'describe' at 367; 01, sig. B5
 *circumgiring 1669 SN, sig. F4v
 *circumualled Compare the note to 'compassed' at 4759; 03, sig. O6
 *Cisternes 1705, sig. G1
 *ciuilest 528, sig. C1
 *clogged 1475, sig. F2
 clogged 2021 SN, sig. H1
 *close worke 1781, sig. G2
 *Cobbler 1559, sig. F3
 combinate 927, sig. D2v
 computist 93, sig. A3
 *condiments 1596, sig. F3v
 *conduceth 4663, sig. Q3
 *congratulate 4474, sig. Q1
 *contracted 656, sig. C3
 *Cookeries 2851, sig. K4
 *corrupted 1605, sig. F3v
 *Cosonage 4140, 04v
 *countenance 2848, sig. K4
 counteruaile 1531, sig. F2v
 crasie See the note to 1160-3; 03, sig. D8
 *crowne 1108, sig. E1
 *curiosity 4668, sig. Q3v
 Cyclopicall 2019, sig. H1
 *damasked 1496 SN, sig. F2
 *Decorum 475 SN, sig. B4v

- *degrees 1772, sig. G1v
 Deneger 3205, sig. L4v
 denigrate See the note to 'darken and obscure' at 2011; 03, sig. G2
 *deposed 2744, sig. K2v
 *detained See the note to 'restrained' at 3402; 03, sig. K8v
 diamond 1540, sig. F2v
 *diamond 1227, sig. E2v
 direful 1752, sig. G1v
 *discharge Appendix I, E-37; 03, sig. I2
 *discrepances See note to 'repugnancies' at 2904; 03, sig. I6
 *disliked Appendix I, B-35; 01, sig. <Jl6v
 *dissolued 2466, sig. 13
 distinctiue 1859, sig. G3
 diuirginate 4198, sig. P1
 *diuturnall 4848, sig. R1v
 *double dealing 4068-9, sig. 03v
 *effeminacie 5025, sig. R4
 euibrate See the note to 'tremble' at 2956; 03, sig. I7
 *exasperate 2277, sig. H4v
 extenuate 1253, sig. E2v
 extrauagantes 5113, sig. S1
 *familiar 3772, sig. N3v
 *faraginy 2801 SN, sig. K3
 feminine 5043, sig. R4
 fixnet See the note to 'Thraso' at 609; 01, sig. C3
 *fleece 3657, sig. N2
 frontiers 1664, sig. F4v
 *furnish foorth 1726, sig. G1
 *galleries 5334, sig. S3v
 *generosious 3779, sig. N4
 *genuine 2053, sig. H1v
 *gingered 2914, sig. K4v
 gradatim 1773, sig. G1v
 griped 5502, sig. T1v
 Helluo 2783, sig. K3
 huggle 2642, sig. K1
 impletion 2823, sig. K3v
 *implicate See the note to 'intangled' at 3663; 03, sig. L6v
 impotionate 493, sig. B4v

*in effect 521, sig. C1
 *induments 831, sig. D1
 *infirmie 1233, sig. E2v
 *ingrauen 1499, sig. F2
 ingurgitate 2817, sig. K3v
 *intended 259, sig. B1v
 *interim 1972, sig. G4v
 intestine 295, sig. B2
 introite See the note to 'entrance' at 4507; 03, sig. O1
 *inunctions 1631, sig. F4
 inuested 718, sig. C3v
 inuisories 2063, sig. H1v
 irrationable 2457, sig. 13
 *iybingly 4046, sig. O3v
 *laced 1086, sig. D4v
 *laide downe 1308, sig. E3v
 largeous 2869, sig. K4
 *laying it forth 1678, sig. F4v
 lethal 375, sig. B3
 *loan 3457, sig. M3v
 lubricious 1803 SN, sig. G2
 *lucubrations Appendix I, C-30; 03, sig. B1v
 *Measures 4673, sig. Q3v
 Medietie 2814 SN, sig. K3v
 *memorandum 2228, sig. H3v
 minsednes 2016; sig. H1
 *Miscreant 1977, sig. G4v
 *misdemeanours 4888, sig. R2
 mizzeled 2311, sig. 11
 *mutuall 2397, sig. 12 (discussed in the note to 'coition' on the same line)
 Nectar 4374, sig. P3v
 *nicitie 4649, sig. Q3
 obnubilate 2005 SN, sig. H1
 *open worke 1780, sig. G2
 *paraphrasting 4955, sig. R3
 *patted 1768, sig. G1v
 pearking vp 1108, sig. E1
 pedagogie 701, sig. C3v
 pendices 1664-5, sig. F4v

- *pertinacious 4813, sig. R1
- pinions 1847-8, sig. G2v
- *predicament 2185, sig. H3
- *preiudicate 785-6, sig. C4v
- *premunire 4213 SN, sig. P1v
- *pretending 2399-400 SN, sig. 12
- procliuitie See the note to 'proanesse' at 720; 03, sig. C6v
- Proconsul See the note to 'of our sauiour' at 1464; 03, sig. E6
- profluous 2869, sig. K4
- *pussy 2642, sig. K1
- *Puttockes 3237, sig. M1
- *Pythonicall 3702, sig. N3
- *quagmire 4981, sig. R3v
- rage See the note to 'exceed' at 1347; 03, sig. E3v
- reguilte Appendix I, B-85; 01, sig. <Jl7v
- *remunerate 5641, sig. T3v
- reperiuring 5464, sig. T1
- resiant 4031, sig. O3
- *resulteth 5307, sig. S3v
- riueleth 2596, sig. I4v
- *scandal 263 SN, sig. B 1v
- *Scriueners 3643, sig. N2
- seasoned 904, sig. D2
- *securely 2605, sig. I4v
- *Seminaries 4208 SN, sig. P1v
- *Seminaries 5207, sig. S2
- *signitor 3967, sig. O2v
- slabbering 1997, sig. G4v
- *smooth 4203, sig. P1v
- *sockets 5077, sig. R4v
- *soft 5090, sig. R4v
- *sortes to 4187, sig. P1
- *stationary 4495 SN, sig. Q1
- stelliferous See the note to 'splendent' at 2054; 03, sig. G2v
- sternes See the note to 'fooles babies' at 1143; 03, sig. D7v
- stimule 2404, sig. 12
- stiptick See the note to 'bitter' at 2678; 03, sig. H8
- *supellectiles 2150, sig. H2v
- *supererogation 1412, sig. F1

- Supportasses 1171 SN, sig. E1v
*surprising 3302, sig. M1v
*Tabretters 5123, sig. S1
*Templaries See the note to 'Temples' at 4428; 03, sig. N7
thriipple 4459, sig. P4v
to an end 1116, sig. E1
*to catch at 1996, sig. G4v
*Turkish 1429 SN, sig. F1
*tutch 2409, sig. 12
*typicall 3966, sig. 02v
*vbiquitarie 4641, sig. Q3
*vaile See the note to 'Pentise' at 1160; 03, sig. D7v
*wanton 4261, sig. P2
*wayrish 1260, sig. E3
*well 1415, sig. F1
*withall 2018, sig. H1

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions of The Anatomie of Abuses

C[ollier], J.P, ed. The Anatomie of Abuses. By Philip Stubbes.
Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. I. London, 1870.

Fumivall, F.J, ed. Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspeare's Youth. A.D. 1583. Part 1. New Shakspeare Society. 6th ser. Nos. 4 and 6. 2 vols. London: N. Triibner & Co, 1877-9.

Stubbes, Philip. The Anatomie of Abuses. May I, 1583. Facsimile reprint. The English Experience 489. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1972.

---. The anatomy of abuses. May I, 1583. Facsimile reprint. With an introductory note by Peter Davison. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1972.

---. The Anatomie of Abuses. May I, 1583. Facsimile reprint. The English Stage: Attack and Defense 1577-1730. With a preface for the Garland edition by Arthur Freeman. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1973.

Turnbull, William B.D.D., ed. The Anatomie of Abuses. By Philip Stubbes. Edinburgh: W & D Laing, 1836.

Secondary Sources

à Wood, Anthony. Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford. 1691. Rev. Philip Bliss. 4 vols. London, 1813-20.

Abbott, E.A. A Shakespearian Grammar: An Attempt to Illustrate some of the Differences Between Elizabethan and Modem English. New ed. London: MacMillan and Co, 1883.

Aelianus, Claudius. A registre of Hystories. Trans. Abraham Fleming. London, 1576.

Agnew, Jean-Christophe. Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought. 1550-1750. Cambridge: CUP, 1986.

Ambrose, Saint. 'Death as a Good.' Seven Exegetical Works. Trans. Michael P. McHugh. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1972. Vol. 65 of The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation. 69-113.

---. 'Three Books of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, Concerning Virgins, to Marcellina, his Sister.' Some of the Principal Works of St. Ambrose. Trans. H. de Romestin, with E. de Romestin, and H.T.F. Duckworth. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Ser. 10. Oxford: James Parker and Company, 1896. 361-387.

Amussen, Susan Dwyer. An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Angeloglou, Maggie. A history of make-up. London: The Macmillan Company, 1970.

Arber, Edward, ed. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 A.D. 5 vols. London and Birmingham, 1875-94.

Archer, Ian W. The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London. Cambridge: CUP, 1991.

Aristotle. Politica. Trans. Benjamin Jowett. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966. Vol. 10 of The Works of Aristotle. Gen. ed. W.D. Ross.

Arnold, Janet. Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c.1560-1620. London: Macmillan Ltd, 1985.

---. Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd. London: W.S. Maney & Son Ltd, 1988.

Ascham, Roger. The Scholemaster. 1570. Ed. John E.B. Mayor. London: Bell and Daldy, 1863.

Ashelford, Jane. *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1988.

Ashley, Clifford W. *The Ashley Book of Knots*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company Inc, 1944.

Aughterson, Kate. *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook*. Constructions of Femininity in England. London: Routledge, 1995.

Augustine, Aurelius. *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*. Trans. Henry Bettenson. With an introduction by David Knowles. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.

---. *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*. Trans. J. Tweed, T. Scratton, H.M. Wilkins, et al. 6 vols. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-57.

---. [Expositions on the Book of Psalms] *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C. Aurelii Augustini Opera* 10.2. Ed. Elegius Dekkers, and John Fraipont. *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 39. Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1956.

---. *Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel According to St. John*. Trans. James Innes. Vol. 2. *The Works of Aurelius Augustine. Bishop of Hippo* 11. Gen. ed. Marcus Dods. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1874.

---. 'On Christian Doctrine.' Trans. J.F. Shaw. The Works of Aurelius Augustine. Bishop of Hippo. Vol. 9. Ed. Marcus Dods. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1873. 1-171.

---. ['On Christian Doctrine.'] 'De Doctrina Christiana.' Aurelii Augustini Opera 4.1. Ed. Joseph Martin. *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 32. Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1962. 1-167.

Averell, William. A meruailous combat of contrarities. London, 1588.

---. A wonderfull and straunge newes. which happened in the Countye of Suffolke. and Essex. the first of February ... where it rayned Wheat, the space of vi. or vii. miles compas. London, 1583.

Avis, F.C. English Printers' Marks of the Sixteenth Century. London: Glenview Press, 1965.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. Rabelais and His World. Trans. Helene Iswolsky. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1968.

Baldwin, Elizabeth Frances. Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 44.1. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926. 1-282.

Baldwin, T.W. William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke. 2 vols. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1944.

Barber, C.L. Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and its Relation to Social Custom. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1959.

Barish, Jonas. The Antitheatrical Prejudice. Berkeley: U of California P, 1981.

Barnes, Thomas G. 'County Politics and a Puritan Cause Celebre: Somerset Churchales, 1633.' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. 5th ser. 9 (1959): 103-22.

Barrow, Henry. A Brief Discoverie of the False Church. London, 1590.

Belsey, Catherine. The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and difference in Renaissance drama. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1985.

Bernard, Saint. 'In Festo Omnium Sanctorum.' Opera Omnia. Ed. John Mabillon. Vol. 2. Patrologiae cursus completus. Ed. J.P. Migne. Editio Nova. Series Latina Prior 183. Paris, 1854. 453-82.

Berry, Herbert. 'The First Public Playhouses, Especially the Red Lion.' Shakespeare Quarterly 40 (1989): 133-48.

Bertram, Paul, and Bernice W. Kliman, eds. The Three-Text Hamlet: Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and First Folio. By William Shakespeare. New York: AMS Press, 1991.

Bevington, David. *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1968.

The Bible. [Geneva.] London, 1599.

The 1599 Geneva Bible. Facsimile. 3rd ed. The Samuel Henson Simpson Memorial Edition. With an introduction by Michael H. Brown. Pleasant Hope, Missouri: L.L. Brown Publishing, 1993.

The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version. Ed. Bruce M. Metzger, and Roland E. Murphy. New York: Oxford UP, 1991.

[Latin Bible.] Biblia Sacra Latina ex Biblia sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons Ltd, n.d.

Binns, J.W. 'Shakespeare's Latin Citations: The Editorial Problem.' Shakespeare Survey 35 (1982): 119-28.

Blaxton, John. The English Usurer. London, 1634.

The Booke of Wysdome ... Following the Authority of auncient Doctoures and Philosophers. deuyding and speaking of Vices and Vertues. 1532. London, c.1580.

The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book. Ed. John E. Booty. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976.

Borde, Andrew. The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge. Ed. F.J. Fumivall. Early English Text Society. Extra Ser. 10. London: N. Trtibner & Co, 1870.

Bowers, Fredson. 'Current Theories of Copy-Text, with an Illustration from Dryden.' Essays in Bibliography, Text, and Editing. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1975. 277-88.

---. 'Mixed Texts and Multiple Authority.' TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 3 (1987): 63-90.

'The Problem of the Variant Forme in a Facsimile Edition.' *The Library* 5th ser. 7 (1952): 262-272.

---. Textual and Literary Criticism. The Sandars Lectures in Bibliography 1957-58. Cambridge: CUP, 1959.

Brand, John. *Observations of the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*. Rev. and enlarged by Henry Ellis. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849.

Braunmuller, A.R. 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space.' *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society. 1985-1991*. Ed. W. Speed Hill. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 107. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1993. 47-56.

Bray, Alan. 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England.' Queering the Renaissance. Ed. Jonathan Goldberg. Durham: Duke UP, 1994. 40-61.

---. Homosexuality in Renaissance England. London: Gay Men's Press, 1982.

Bredbeck, Gregory W. Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991.

Breitenberg, Mark. 'The Anatomy of Masculine Desire in Love's Labor's Lost.' Shakespeare Quarterly 43 (1992): 430-49.

Breton, Nicholas. The Works in Verse and Prose. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. 1879. 2 vols. Chertsey Worthies' Library. New York: AMS Press Inc, 1966.

Bristol, Michael D. Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England. New York: Methuen Inc, 1985.

---. 'Lenten butchery: legitimation crisis in Coriolanus.' Shakespeare Reproduced: The text in history and ideology. Ed. Jean E. Howard, and Marion F. O'Connor. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1987. 207-24.

Brome, Richard. *The Court Begger. The Dramatic Works. Vol. I*. London: John Pearson, 1873. 181-272.

Brown, Henry Phelps, and Sheila V. Hopkins. *A Perspective of Wages and Prices*. London: Methuen, 1981.

Bruster, Douglas. 'Female-Female Eroticism and the Early Modern Stage.' *Renaissance Drama* ns 24 (1993): 1-32.

Byrne, M. St. Clare, ed. *The Elizabethan Home: Discovered in Two Dialogues by Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell*. Rev. ed. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1949.

Caesar, Phillippus. *A general discourse against the damnable sect of Vsurers*. Trans. Thomas Rogers. London, 1578.

Calvin, John. *Sermons of Master John Caluin, vpon the Booke of IOB*. Trans. Arthur Golding. London, 1574.

Camden, Carroll. *The Elizabethan Woman: A Panorama of English Womanhood. 1540 to 1640*. London: Cleaver-Hume Press Ltd, 1952.

Carew, Richard. *The Survey of Cornwall*. 1602. *The English Experience Series 100*. Facsimile reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.

Carey, John. 'Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Prose.' *English Poetry and Prose 1540-1674*. Ed. Christopher Ricks. Rev. ed. *Sphere History of Literature 2*. London: Sphere Books Ltd, 1986. 329-411.

Cartwright, William. *The Ordinary*. *The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright*. Ed. G. Blakemore Evans. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1951. 257-351.

Cay, John, ed. *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta, To the Thirtieth Year of King GEORGE the Second, inclusive*. 6 vols. London: Thomas Baskett and Henry Lintot, 1758.

Cerasano, S.P. "'Borrowed Robes," Costume Prices, and the Drawing of Titus Andronicus.' *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 45-57.

Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851.

Chambers, E.K. The Elizabethan Stage. Rev. ed. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

---. The Mediaeval Stage. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1903.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Riverside Chaucer. Gen.ed. Larry D. Benson. 1987. Oxford: OUP, 1988.

Chettle, Henrie. Kind-Hartes Dreame. 1592. Ed. G.B. Harrison. Bodley Head Quartos. London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd, 1923.

Chrysostom, Saint. The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom. Archbishop of Constantinople. on the Gospel of St. Matthew. Trans. by members of the English Church. 3 vols. A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Anterior to the Division of the East and West. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1851-4.

Churchyard, Thomas. A warning for the wise. a feare to the fond. a bridle to the lewde. and a glasse to the good. Written of the late Earthquake chanced in London and other places. the 6. of April 1580. for the glorie of God. and benefite of men that warely can walke. and wisely can iudge. London, 1580.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Rhetorica ad Herennium. Trans. Harry Caplan. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1954. Vol. 1 of Works.

---. De Officiis. Trans. Walter Miller. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1913. Vol. 21 of Works.

---. Philippics. Trans. Walter C.A. Ker. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1926. Vol. 15 of Works.

---. Pro Murena. The Speeches. Trans. Louis E. Lord. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1937. 143-255. Vol. 10 of Works.

---. *Pro Sestio. The Speeches.* Trans. R. Gardner. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1958. 36-239. Vol. 12 of Works.

Clark, Sandra. *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640.* London: The Athlone Press, 1983.

Clod, Random. 'Information Upon Information.' *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 5 (1991): 241-281.

Collier, J.P. *Broadside Black-letter Ballads. Printed in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Illustrated by Original Woodcuts. Thomas Richards (for private circulation), 1868.

Collinson, Patrick. *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988.

---. 'A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan.' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980): 483-8.

---. 'Ecclesiastical vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism.' *The reign of Elizabeth 1: Court and culture in the last decade.* Ed. John Guy. Cambridge: CUP, 1995. 150-70.

The Elizabethan Puritan Movement. London: Jonathan Cape, 1967.

---. *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture.* William Andrews Clark Memorial Library Paper. With an introduction by Karen E. Rowe. Los Angeles: U of California, 1989.

---. *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625.* The Ford Lectures 1979. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

---. 'William Shakespeare's Religious Inheritance and Environment.' *Elizabethan Essays.* London: The Hambledon Press, 1994. 219-52.

Colvin, H.M., gen. ed. *The History of the King's Works.* Vol. 4. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982.

Cook, Ann Jennalie. "'Bargaines of Incontinencie": Bawdy Behavior in the Playhouses.' Shakespeare Studies 10 (1977): 271-90.

---. *Making a Match: Courtship in Shakespeare and His Society*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991.

Cooke, John. *Greene's Tu Quoque or. The Cittie Gallant*. 1611. Ed. Alan J. Berman. *The Renaissance Imagination* 8. Gen. ed. Stephen Orgel. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1984.

Cooper, Thomas. *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*. London, 1573.

Cotgrave, Randle. *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*. London, 1611.

Cox, J. Charles. Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century. *The Antiquary's Books*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1913.

Cragg, Gerald R. Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1688. Cambridge: CUP, 1957.

Cressy, David. Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.

---. 'Foucault, Stone, Shakespeare and Social History.' English Literary Renaissance 21 (1991): 121-33.

Cunnington, C. Willett, and Phillis Cunnington. Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century. Illustrations by Barbara Phillipson. Rev. ed. London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1970.

Cyprian, Saint. 'On the Dress of Virgins.' The Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Trans. Robert Ernest Wallis. Vol. 1. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* 8. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1868. 333-50.

['On the Dress of Virgins.'] 'Liber de Habitu Virginum.' Operum Pars II: Opuscula. Patrologiae cursus completus. Ed. J.P. Migne. Series Prima 34. Paris, 1844. 439-64.

Darlow, T.H., and H.F. Moule. Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961. 1903. Rev. and expanded AS. Herbert. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France.' Past and Present 59 (1973): 51-91.

---. 'Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe.' *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis*. London: Duckworth, 1975. 124-51.

de Courtais, Georgine. *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles in England from AD 600 to the present day*. London: BT Batsford Ltd, 1973.

de Grazia, Margreta. 'The essential Shakespeare and the material book.' Textual Practice 2 (1988): 69-86.

---. Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

de Grazia, Margreta, and Peter Stallybrass. 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text.' Shakespeare Quarterly 44 (1993): 255-283.

Dekker, Thomas. *The Gull's Hornbook*. 1609. Ed. R.B. McKerrow. De La More Press Quartos. London: De La More Press, 1904.

Dekker, Thomas, with John Webster. Northward Ho. 1607. The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Vol. 2. Cambridge: CUP, 1955. 405-90.

Dent, R.W. *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.

- Diehl, Huston. 'Observing the Lord's Supper and the Lord Chamberlain's Men: The Visual Rhetoric of Ritual and Play in Early Modern England.' *Renaissance Drama* ns 22 (1991): 147-74.
- Dollimore, Jonathan. 'Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism, Feminism and Marxist Humanism.' *New Literary History* 21 (1990): 471-93.
- . 'Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection.' *Renaissance Drama* ns 17 (1986): 53-81.
- Earnshaw, Pat. *Lace in Fashion from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. London: BT Batsford Ltd, 1985.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*. 1979. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The Boke Named the Governour*. 1531. Ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co, 1883.
- Emmison, F.G. *Elizabethan Life: Disorder*. Essex Record Office Publications No. 56. Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1970.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *Adagia*. 1703. Facsimile reprint. London: Gregg Press Ltd, 1962. Vol. 2 of *Opera Omnia*.
- Apophthegmes. Trans. Nicolas Udall. 1542. Facsimile reprint. *The English Experience* 99. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1969.
- . *De Contemptu Mundi*. Trans. Thomas Paynell. 1533. Facsimile reprint. With introduction by William James Hirten. Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1967.
- Proverbes or adagies. Trans. Richard Taverner. 1539. *The English Experience* 124. Facsimile reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.
- Evans, G. Blakemore, ed. *Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama: a New Mermaid background book*. 1988. London: A & C Black (Publishers) Ltd, 1989.

Fairholt, F.W. *Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. 4th ed. Enlarged and revised by H.A. Dillon. 2 Vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1909-10.

Fetherston, Christopher. *A Dialogue agaynst light. lewde. and lasciuious dauncing*. London, 1582.

Field, John. *A godly exhortation. by occasion of the late iudgement of God. shewed at Parris-garden*. London, 1583.

Fischer, Sandra K. *Econolingua: A Glossary of Coins and Economic Language in Renaissance Drama*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1985.

Fisher, F.J. 'The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 4th ser. 30 (1948): 37-50.

Fleming, Abraham. *A Bright Burning Beacon ... A commemoration of our late Earthquake. the 6. of April. about 6. of the clocke in the euening 1580.* London, [1580].

---. *A straunge and terrible Wunder wrought ... the fourth of this August. in ye yeere of our Lord 1577.* London, [1577].

Foxe, John. *Actes and Monuments*. 4th ed. London, 1583.

Frye, Northrop. 'Varieties of Literary Utopias.' *Utopias and Utopian Thought*. Ed. Frank E. Manuel. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965. 25-49.

Fumivall, F.J, ed. *Child-Marriages. Divorces. and Ratifications. &c. in the Diocese of Chester. A.D. 1561-66.* Early English Text Society. Original Ser. 108. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trtibner & Co, 1897.

---. *The Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses. By Philip Stubbes.* New Shakspere Society. 6th ser. No. 12. London: N. Trtibner & Co, 1882.

G., I. [John Greene]. *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors.* London, 1615.

Gabler, Hans Walter, with Woltbard Steppe, and Claus Melchior, eds. Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition. By James Joyce. 3 vols. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.

Gabler, Hans Walter. 'The Synchrony and Diachrony of Texts: Practice and Theory of the Critical Edition of James Joyce's Ulysses.' TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 1 (1984): 305-326.

---. 'The Text as Process and the Problem of Intentionality.' TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 3 (1987): 107-16.

---. 'Unsought Encounters.' Devils and Angels: Textual Editing and Literary Theory. Ed. Philip Cohen. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1991. 152-66.

Galen, Claudius. Claudii Galeni Pergameni medicorum omnium facile principis de sanitate tuenda libri sex, à Thoma Linacro Anglo latinitate donati. & nunc recens annotationibus sane luculentis. & quae commentarij uice esse possint. à Leonharto Fuchsio scholae Tubingensis professore publico, in studiosorum gratiam. illustrati. Tübingen, 1541.

Garber, Marjorie. 'Shakespeare as Fetish.' Shakespeare Quarterly 41 (1990): 242-50.

---. Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Gamer, Shirley Nelson. "'Let Her Paint an Inch Thick": Painted Ladies in Renaissance Drama and Society.' Renaissance Drama ns 20 (1989): 123-39.

Gascoigne, George. A delicate Diet, for daintiemouthde Droonkardes. 1576. The Complete Works of George Gascoigne. Ed. John W. Cunliffe. Vol. 2. Cambridge English Classics. Cambridge: CUP, 1910. 451-71.

Gaskell, Philip. From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

---. A New Introduction to Bibliography. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Genders, Roy. A History of Scent. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972.

Gildersleeve, Virginia. *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*. 1908. New York: Burt Franklin, 1961.

Girouard, Mark. *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era*. 1966. Rev. and rpt. as *Robert Smythson & The Elizabethan Country House*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1983.

Goldberg, Jonathan. *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts. Modern Sexualities*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992.

---. 'Textual Properties.' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37 (1986): 213-217.

Golding, Arthur. *A discourse vpon the Earthquake that hapned throughe this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom. the sixt of Aprill.1580. betwene the houres of fiue and six in the Buening*. London, [1580].

Gomperz, Theodor. *Greek Thinkers: A History of Ancient Philosophy*. Trans. G.G. Berry, and Laurie Magnus. London: John Murray, 1901-12. 4 vols.

Gosson, Stephen. *An Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse*. 1579. *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*. Ed. Arthur F. Kinney. Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Gen. ed. James Hogg. Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur Universität Salzburg, 1974. 121-37.

---. *Playes Confuted in Fiue Actions*. [1582]. *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*. Ed. Arthur F. Kinney. Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Gen. ed. James Hogg. Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur Universität Salzburg, 1974. 138-97.

---. *The Schoole of Abuse*. 1579. *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*. Ed. Arthur F. Kinney. Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Gen. ed. James Hogg. Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur Universität Salzburg, 1974. 69-137.

Gotch, J. Alfred. *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1901.

Graham-White, Anthony. Punctuation and Its Dramatic Value in Shakespearean Drama. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1995.

Granville, Henry, Duke of Norfolk, ed. The Lives of Philip Howard. Earl of Arundel. and of Anne Dacres. His Wife. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857. Rpt. as The Life of Saint Philip Howard. Ed. Francis W. Steer. With a foreword by Bernard, 16th Duke of Norfolk. London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1971.

Gray, G.J. A General Index to Hazlitt's Handbook and his Bibliographical Collections 0867-1889. Ed. W. Carew Hazlitt. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893.

Greenblatt, Stephen. Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980.

---. Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Greene, Robert. A Quip for an Upstart Courtier. 1592. Scholar Press Facsimile. Menston, Yorkshire: The Scholar Press Ltd, 1971.

---. The Second Part of Conny-Catching. 1592. Ed. G.B. Harrison. Bodley Head Quartos. London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd, 1923.

Greg, W.W. The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text. 3rd ed. The Clark Lectures 1939. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.

'The Rationale of Copy-Text.' *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 19-36.

Review of E.M.S. Thompson, The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage. *Modern Language Review* 1 (1905-6): 143-5.

Grindal, Edmund. The Remains of Edmund Grindal, successively Bishop of London. and Archbishop of York and Canterbury. Ed. William Nicholson. Parker Society 29.9. Cambridge: CUP, 1843.

Gunn, Fenja. *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973.

Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*. 3rd. ed. Cambridge: CUP, 1992.

Guy, John. 'The Elizabethan establishment and the ecclesiastical polity.' *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade*. Ed. John Guy. Cambridge: CUP, 1995. 126-49.

Hajnal, J. 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective.' *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*. Ed. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley. London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1969. 101-43.

Hake, Edward. *A Touchestone for this time present*. London, 1574.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffigues & Discoveries of the English Nation*. 1589. 12 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-5.

Hall, Joseph. *Vergidemiae*. 1597. *The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall Bishop of Exeter and Norwich*. Ed. A. Davenpon. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1949. 5-99.

Haller, William. *The Rise of Puritanism*. 1938. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.

Hamilton, Donna B. *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

Harrison, Michael. *The History of the Hat*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960.

Harrison, William. *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth: Being the Second and Third Books of his Description of Britaine and England*. Edited from the first two editions of Holinshed's *Chronicle*. A.D. 1577. 1587. Part 1: The Second Book. Ed. F.J. Furnivall. The New Shakspeare Society. 6th ser. No. 1. London: N. Trtibner & Co, 1877.

Hartley, T.E. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I. Vol. 1.*
Leicester: Leicester UP, 1981.

Harvey, Gabriel. *Pierce's Supererogation. 1593. A Scolar Press facsimile.*
Menston: The Scolar Press Ltd, 1970.

Hawkes, Terence. *That Shakespeherian Rag: essays on a critical process.*
London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1986.

Hazlitt, W. Carew. Collections and Notes 1867-1876. London: Reeves &
Turner, 1876.

---. *The English Drama and Stage Under the Tudor and Stuart Princes 1543-
1664.* N.p.: Printed for the Roxburghe Library, 1869.

---. *Hand-Book to the Popular. Poetical. and Dramatic Literature of Great
Britain. From the Invention of Printing to the Restoration.* London: John
Russell Smith, 1867.

---. Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English
Literature 1474-1700. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882.

---. Third and Final Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early
English Literature 1474-1700. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1887.

---. Supplements to the Third and Final Series of Bibliographical Collections
and Notes 1474-1700. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1889.

---. Bibliographical Collections and Notes (1474-1700) Third and Final Series
Second Supplement. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892.

Heal, Felicity. Hospitality in Early Modem England. Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1990.

---. 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modem England.' Past and Present 102
(1984): 66-93.

Hefele, Charles Joseph. A History of the Councils of the Church. from the original documents. Trans. Henry Nutcombe Oxenham. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896.

Heinemann, Margot. Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.

Henderson, Katherine Usher, and Barbara F. McManus. Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England. 1540-1640. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1985.

Hie Mulier: or. the Man-Woman and Haec-Vir: or. the Womanish-Man. Exeter: The Rota, U of Exeter, 1973.

Hill, Christopher. Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1958.

---. Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1964.

Hodges, Devon L. Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1985.

Holbrook, Peter. Literature and Degree in Renaissance England: Nashe. Bourgeois Tragedy. Shakespeare. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1994.

Holden, William P. Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642. 1954. Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1968.

Holderness, Graham. Shakespeare Recycled: The Making of Historical Drama. Heme! Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

Holderness, Graham, and Bryan Loughrey, eds. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Shakespearean Originals: First Editions. Heme! Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.

Holinshed, Raphael. Holinshed's Chronicles of England. Scotland. and Ireland. 1577. Rev. and rpt. 1587. 6 vols. London: J. Johnson, et al, 1808.

Honigmann, E.A.J. The Stability of Shakespeare's Text. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1965.

Horace. The Odes and Epodes. Trans. C.E. Bennett. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1934.

---. Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1929.

Howard, Jean E. 'Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England.' Shakespeare Quarterly 39 (1988): 418-40.

---. 'The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies.' English Literary Renaissance 16 (1986): 13-43.

---. 'Renaissance antitheatricality and the politics of gender and rank in Much Ado About Nothing.' Shakespeare Reproduced: The text in history and ideology. Ed. Jean E. Howard, and Marion F. O'Connor. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1987. 163-87.

---. The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England. London: Routledge, 1994.

Hughes, Paul L., and James F. Larkin. Tudor Royal Proclamations. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1964-9.

Hutson, Lorna. Thomas Nashe in Context. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Ingram, William. 'Minstrels in Elizabethan London: Who Were They, What Did They Do?' English Literary Renaissance 14 (1984): 29-54.

Ioppolo, Grace. Revising Shakespeare. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1991.

Jacob, Giles. A New Law-Dictionary. 5th ed. London, 1744.

Jardine, Lisa. 'Cultural Confusion and Shakespeare's Learned Heroines: "These are old paradoxes."' Shakespeare Quarterly 38 (1987): 1-18.

Still Harpinon Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare. Brighton: Harvester Press Ltd, 1983.

---. 'Twins and travesties: gender, dependency and sexual availability in Twelfth Night.' *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*. Ed. Susan Zimmerman. London: Routledge, 1992. 27-38.

Jerome, Saint. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae. Recensuit Isidorus Hilberg*. Vol. 1. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910.

Jewel, John. 'An Exposition upon the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.' *Works of John Jewel. Bishop of Salisbury*. Ed. John Ayre. Vol. 2. The Parker Society 24. Cambridge: CUP, 1847. 813-946.

de Joinville, Jean Sire. *The History of Saint Louis*. Trans. Joan Evans. London: Oxford UP, 1938.

Jones, Norman. *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Jonson, Ben. *Every Man out of his Humour*. Ben Jonson. Ed. C.H. Herford, and Percy Simpson. Vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 405-606.

Josephus, Flavius. *Jewish Antiquities: Books 12-14*. Trans. Ralph Marcus. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1943. Vol. 7 of Works.

Justinian. *Codicis Iustiniani ... Libri XII*. 1614.

Juvenal. *The Satires of Juvenal. Juvenal and Persius*. Trans. G.G. Ramsay. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1940. 1-307.

Kastan, David Scott. 'Is There a Class in This (Shakespearean) Text?' *Renaissance Drama* ns 24 (1993): 101-21.

---. 'Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule.' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37 (1986): 459-75.

Kennett, Frances. *History of Perfume*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1975.

Kerr, Cecil. *The Life of the Yen. Philip Howard. Earl of Arundel and Surrey*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1926.

Kerridge, Eric. *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After. Historical Problems: Studies and Documents 6*. Ed. G.R. Elton. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1969.

Klein, Joan Larsen, ed. *Daughters. Wives. and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England. 1500-1640*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992.

Lachmann, Richard. *From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England, 1536-1640*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987.

Lactantius. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes*. Ed. and trans. E.H. Blakeney. London: S.P.C.K, 1950.

Laertius, Diogenes. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers: Books 1-5*. Trans. R.D. Hicks. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1938.

---. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers: Books 6-10*. Trans. R.D. Hicks. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1925.

Lake, Peter. *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1988.

---. 'Deeds against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth-Century England.' *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*. Ed. Kevin Sharpe, and Peter Lake. Problems in Focus Series. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1994. 257-83.

---. *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church*. Cambridge: CUP, 1982.

'Puritan Identities.' Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35 (1984): 112-23.

---. Rev. of The Religion of Protestants, by Patrick Collinson. Journal of Ecclesiastical History 34 (1983): 627-9.

Lampridius, Aelius. Severns Alexander. The Scriptorum Historiae Augustae. Trans. David Magie. Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1924. 178-313.

Laroque, François. Shakespeare's festive world: Elizabethan seasonal entertainment and the professional stage. Trans. Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: CUP, 1991.

Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost further explored. 3rd ed. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1983.

Latimer, Hugh. Seven Sermons before Edward VI. 1549. Ed. Edward Arber. English Reprints. London: Alex Murray & Son, 1869.

Lavin, J.A. 'John Danter's Ornament Stock.' Studies in Bibliography 23 (1970): 21-44.

Lenz, Joseph. 'Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution.' ELH 60 (1993): 833-55.

Levi, Peter. The English Bible 1534-1859. London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1974.

Levin, Richard. 'Women in the Renaissance Theatre Audience.' Shakespeare Quarterly 40 (1989): 165-74.

Levine, Laura. Men in women's clothing: Anti-theatricality and effeminization. 1579-1642. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 5. Cambridge: CUP, 1994.

Lily, William, and John Colet. A Short Introduction of Grammar. 1549. A Scholar Press facsimile. Menston: Scholar Press Ltd, 1970.

Linthicum, M. Channing. Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.

Livingston, Carole Rose. *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century: A Catalogue of the Extant Sheets and an Essay*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1991.

Livy, Titus. *An argument. wherin the appaile of women is both reprod and defended*. [A translation of the fourth decade of Livy.] Trans. William Thomas. London, 1551.

---. Books 31-34. Trans. EvanT. Sage. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1936. Vol. 9 of Works.

Lodge, Thomas. *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*. 1883. 4 vols. New York: Russell & Russell Inc, 1963.

Lupton, Thomas. *Siuqila. Too Good. to be True.* London, 1580.

Lyly, John. *Campaspe*. Ed. G.K. Hunter. *Campaspe with Sappho and Phao*. Ed. G.K. Hunter, and David Bevington. *The Revels Plays*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991. 1-140.

---. *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*. 1579. *John Lyly*. Ed. Edward Arber. *English Reprints*. Birmingham: n.p., 1868. 31-198.

MacCabe, Colin. 'Abusing self and others: puritan accounts of the Shakespearian stage.' *Critical Quarterly* 30.3 (1988): 3-17.

Maclean, Ian. *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. *Cambridge Monographs on the History of Medicine*. Ed. Charles Webster, and Charles Rosenberg. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.

Macquoid, Percy. 'Costume.' *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917. 91-118. 2 vols.

Mager, Donald N. 'John Bale and Early Tudor Sodomy Discourse.' *Queering the Renaissance*. Ed. Jonathan Goldberg. Durham: Duke UP, 1994. 141-61.

Manley, Lawrence. 'Proverbs, Epigrams, and Urbanity in Renaissance London.' *English Literary Renaissance* 15 (1985): 247-76.

Marcus, Leah S. 'Levelling Shakespeare: Local Customs and Local Texts.' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 168-78.

---. *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986.

Marlorat, Augustine. *A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Mathewe*. Trans. Thomas Tymme. London, 1570.

Maus, Katharine Eisaman. 'Horns of Dilemma: Jealousy, Gender, and Spectatorship in English Renaissance Drama.' *ELH* 54 (1987): 561-83.

---. "'Playhouse Flesh and Blood": Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress.' *ELH* 46 (1979): 595-617.

Maximus, Tyrius. *The Dissertations of Maximus Tyrius*. Trans. Thomas Taylor. 2 vols. London: R.H. Evans, 1804.

McGann, Jerome J. *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983.

---. 'Shall These Bones Live?' *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 1 (1981): 21-40.

McKerrow, R.B., gen. ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1910.

---. *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.

---. *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1949.

---. *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.

McLeod, Randall. 'UnEditing Shak-speare.' Sub-stance 33-34 (1982): 26-55.

McLuskie, Kathleen. Renaissance Dramatists. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989.

McPherson, David. 'The Attack on Stage in Shakespeare's Time: An International Affair.' Comparative Literature Studies 20 (1983): 168-82.

Mirabellius, Dominicus Nannus, et al. Florilegii Magni. 1645.

Montrose, Louis. 'Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History.' English Literary Renaissance 16 (1986): 5-12.

Moore, J.K. Primary Materials Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Occasional Publication No. 24. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1992.

Morgan, John. Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640. Cambridge: CUP, 1986.

Morris, Brian. 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama.' English Drama to 1710. Ed. Christopher Ricks. 1971. Rev. ed. Sphere History of Literature 3. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1988. 55-102.

Mosse, Miles. The Arraignment and Conviction of Vsurie. London, 1595.

Mullaney, Steven. The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.

Munday, Anthony. A view of sundry Examples. London, 1580.

Nashe, Thomas. The Works of Thomas Nashe. Ed. R.B. McKerrow. Rev. F.P. Wilson. 5 vols. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.

Neely, Carol Thomas. 'Constructing the Subject: Feminist Practice and the New Renaissance Discourses.' English Literary Renaissance 18 (1988): 5-18.

- Newman, Karen. 'City Talk: Women and Commodification in Jonson's Epicoene.' *ELH* 56 (1989): 503-18.
- . *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991.
- Norbury, James. 'The Knitter's Craft.' *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 99 (1951): 216-228.
- Norris, Herbert. The Tudors. Book II: 1547-1603. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1938. Vol. 3 of Costume and Fashion.
- Northbrooke, John. The poore mans garden. 1571. 3rd ed. London, [1575].
- . A Treatise wherein Dicing. Dauncing. Vaine playes or Enterluds with other idle pastimes &c. commonly vsed on the Sabboth day. are reprod by the Authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers. c.1577. Ed. J.P. C[ollier]. The Shakespeare Society. London: F. Shober!, 1843.
- O'Connell, Michael. 'The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm, Anti-Theatricalism, and the Image of the Elizabethan Theater.' *ELH* 52 (1985): 279-310.
- Ong, Walter J. 'Commonplace Rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare.' *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700*. Ed. R.R. Bolgar. Cambridge: CUP, 1976. 91-126.
- Orelli, J.C. *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae Antiquitatis*. 3 vols. Turin, 1828-56.
- Orgel, Stephen. *Impersonations: The performance of gender in Shakespeare's England*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996.
- . 'Nobody's Perfect: Or Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 88 (1989): 7-29.
- . 'The subtexts of The Roaring Girl.' *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*. Ed. Susan Zimmerman. London: Routledge, 1992. 12-26.

---. 'What is a Text?' Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 24 (1981): 3-6.

Otto, A. Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer. Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1890.

Ovid. The Amores. Heroides and Amores. Trans. Grant Showerman. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1914. 313-508. Vol. 1 of Works.

---. The Heroides. Heroides and Amores. Trans. Grant Showerman. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1914. 1-312. Vol. 1 of Works.

---. Shakespeare's Ovid: Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses. Ed. W.H.D. Rouse. London: Centaur Press, 1961.

Painter, William, trans. The Palace of Pleasure. Ed. Joseph Jacobs. 3 vols. London: David Nutt, 1890.

Palliser, Bury. History of Lace. Rev. M. Jourdain, and Alice Dryden. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1902.

Palliser, D.M. The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors 1547-1603. 2nd ed. London: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1992.

Palmer, Daryl W. Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England. West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1992.

Parker, R.B., ed. 'A Critical Edition of Robert Greene's A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592).' Diss. U of Birmingham, 1958.

Parkes, M.B. Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992.

Patterson, Annabel. Reading Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994.

Penry, John. *Three Treatises Concerning Wales*. With an introduction by David Williams. Cardiff: U of Wales P, 1960.

Peter, John. *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Petti, Anthony G. *English Literary hands from Chaucer to Dryden*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1977.

Planche, J.R. *History of British Costume. from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. 3rd ed. London: George Bell & Sons, 1893.

Plater, W.E., and H.J. White. *A Grammar of The Vulgate being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of The Vulgate Bible*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Plato. Epistles. Trans. R. G. Bury. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1929. 383-627. Vol. 9 of Works.

---. Laws. Trans. R.G. Bury. Loeb Classical Library. 2 vols. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1926. Vols. 10 and 11 of Works.

---. The Republic: Books 1-5. Trans. Paul Shorey. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1937. Vol. 5 of Works.

---. The Republic: Books 6-10. Trans. Paul Shorey. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1935. Vol. 6 of Works.

Plautus. *Truculentus*. Trans. Paul Nixon. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1938. 223-331. Vol. 5 of Comedies.

Pliny. Selections from the History of the World Commonly Called The Natural History of C. Plinius Secundus. Trans. Philemon Holland. Ed. Paul Turner. London: Centaur Press Ltd, 1962.

Plomer, Henry R. English Printers' Ornaments. NY: Burt Franklin, 1924.

- Plutarch. 'Table-Talk: Books 7-9.' Trans. Edwin L. Minar, F.H. Sandbach, and W.C. Helrold. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1961. Vol. 9 of *Moralia*.
- . 'On Music.' Trans. Benedict Einarson, and Phillip H. de Lacy. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1967. 343-455. Vol. 14 of *Moralia*.
- Pollard, A.W., and G.R. Redgrave. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*. 2nd ed. Rev. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. 3 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-91.
- Prynne, William. Histriomastix. 1633. Facsimile reprint. *The English Stage: Attack and Defense 1577-1730*. With a preface for the Garland edition by Arthur Freeman. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1974.
- Quintilian, M. Fabi. Institutio Oratoria. Trans. H.E. Butler. Vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1921.
- Rackin, Phyllis. 'Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage.' *PMLA* 102 (1987): 29-41.
- Rainoldes, John. Th'overthrow of Stage-Playes. London, 1599.
- Reiman, Donald H. "'Versioning": The Presentation of Multiple Texts.' *Romantic Texts and Contexts*. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1987. 167-80.
- Richard, Jean. Saint Louis: Crusader King of France. Trans. Jean Birrell. Ed. and abridged by Simon Lloyd. Cambridge: CUP, 1992.
- Ringler, William. 'The First Phase of the Elizabethan Attack on the Stage, 1558-1579.' Huntington Library Quarterly 5 (1941-2): 391-418.
- . Stephen Gosson: A Biographical and Critical Study. Princeton Studies in English 25. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1942.
- Rivius, John. Of the foolishnes of men in putting-off the amendement of their liues from daie to daie. Trans. Thomas Rogers. London, [1582].

Rose, Mary Beth. 'Women in Men's Clothing: Apparel and Social Stability in The Roaring Girl.' *English Literary Renaissance* 14 (1984): 367-91.

Rye, William Brenchley. *England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the First*. London: John Russell Smith, 1865.

Sallust. *The War with Catiline*. Sallust. Trans. J.C. Rolfe. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1931. 1-130.

Salvian. 'De Gubematione Dei.' *Opera Omnia*. Recensvit Franciscus Pauly. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* 8. Vienna, 1883. 1-200.

Saxey, Samuel. *A straunge and Wonderfull Example of the Judgement of almighty God. shewed vpon two adulterous persons in London. in the parish of S. Brydes. in Fleetestreete. this thirde of Februarie. 1583. London, [1583].*

Schmitt, Charles B., gen. ed. *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge: CUP, 1988.

Screech, M.A. 'Commonplaces of Law, Proverbial Wisdom and Philosophy: Their Importance in Renaissance Scholarship (Rabelais, Joachim du Bellay, Montaigne.)' *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700*. Ed. R.R. Bolgar. Cambridge: CUP, 1976. 127-34.

A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters. set forth by Anglo-phile Eutheo. By Antony Munday? London, 1580.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire. 1985. With a new preface by the author. New York: Columbia UP, [1993?].

Shaheen, Naseeb. 'Misconceptions about the Geneva Bible.' *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 156-8.

Shakelton, Francis. A blazyng Starre or bumyng Beacon. seene the 10. of October laste (and yet continewyng) set on fire by Gods prouidence. to call all sinners to earnest & speedie repentance. London, 1580.

Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works: Compact Edition*. Ed. Stanley Wells, and Gary Taylor, with John Jowett, and William Montgomery. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Sharpe, Jim. 'Social strain and social dislocation, 1585-1603.' *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade*. Ed. John Guy. Cambridge: CUP, 1995. 192-211.

Shillingsburg, Peter L. *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1986.

Shirley, Frances A. *Swearing and Perjury in Shakespeare's Plays*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.

Shugg, Wallace. 'Prostitution in Shakespeare's London.' *Shakespeare Studies* 10 (1977): 291-313.

Simpson, Percy. 'Actors and Acting.' *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917. 240-82.

Shakespearian Punctuation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

---. Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. London: Oxford UP, 1935.

Singh, Jyotsna. 'Renaissance Antitheatricality, Antifeminism, and Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra.' *Renaissance Drama* ns 20 (1989): 99-121.

Smith, Bruce R. Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991.

Smith, David L, Richard Strier, and David Bevington, eds. The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

Spear, Gary. 'Shakespeare's "Manly" Parts: Masculinity and Effeminacy in Troilus and Cressida.' Shakespeare Quarterly 44 (1993): 409-22.

Stafford, Anthony. *Staffords Heauenly Dogge: or The life, and death of that great Cynicke Diogenes.* London, 1615.

Stallybrass, Peter. 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed.' *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe.* Ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, Nancy J. Vickers. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986. 123-42.

---. 'Transvestism and the "body beneath": Speculating on the boy actor.' *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage.* Ed. Susan Zimmerman. London: Routledge, 1992. 64-83.

Stationers' Company. Court Book B: 1576-1595. Stationers' Hall, London.

Stockwood, John. A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse on Barthelmew day, being the 24. of August. 1578. London, 1578.

Stone, Lawrence. 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy.' *Economic History Review* 18.1-2 (1948): 1-53.

---. The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641. Oxr'ord: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Stow, John. The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England ... continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614 by Edmund Howes, gentleman. London, 1615.

---. The Chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ 1580. London, 1580.

---. A Survey of London. 1603. Ed. Charles Kingsford. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Stubbes, Philip. The Anatomie of Abuses. London, 1583.

---. A Christal Glasse for Christian Women. London, 1591.

The Intended Treason. of Doctor Parrie: and his Complices, Age
Queenes moste Excellent Maiestie. London, 1585[?].

---. A motiue to good workes. Or rather. To true Christianitie indeede.
London, 1593.

---. A perfect Pathway to Felicitie. Containing godly Meditations, and praiers.
fit for all times. and necessarie to be practized of all good Christians. London,
1592.

---. Preface. A Godlie and fruitfull Treatise of Faith and workes. Wherein is
confuted a certaine opinion of merit by workes. which an aduersary to the
Gospell of Christ Iesu. held in the conference. had in the Tower of London.
By H.D. London, 1583.

---. The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses, Containing the display of
Corruptions. London, [1583].

The Theater of the Popes Monarchie. 1584. London, 1585.

---. Two wunderfull and rare Examples. Of the vnderferred and present
approching iudgement. of the Lord our God. London, [1581].

Suetonius. 'The Deified Augustus.' Suetonius. Trans. J.C. Rolfe. Loeb
Classical Library. Rev. ed. Vol. 1. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1951.
121-287.

Sugden, Edward H. A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare
and his Fellow Dramatists. Manchester: MUP, 1925.

Synge, Lanto, gen. ed. The Royal School of Needlework Book of
Needlework and Embroidery. London: Wm. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd, 1986.

Syrus, Publilius. Sententiae. Minor Latin Poets. Trans. J. Wight Duff, and
Arnold M. Duff. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William
Heinemann Ltd, 1935. 1-111.

Tanselle, G. Thomas. 'Reproductions and Scholarship.' Studies in
Bibliography 42 (1989): 25-54.

---. *Textual Criticism Since Greg: A Chronicle 1950-1985*. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1987.

---. 'Textual Instability and Editorial Idealism.' *Studies in Bibliography* 49 (1996): 1-60.

Taverner, Richard, trans. *Catonis disticha moralia ex Castigatione D. Erasmi Roterodami*. London, 1540.

---. *The fyrst and second bookes of the garden of wysedome*. London, 1547[?].

Tawney, R. H. *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1912.

Terence. *The Lady of Andros*. Terence. Trans. John Sargeant. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1912. 1-112. Vol. 1 of Works.

Tertullian. 'On Female Dress.' *The Writings of Tertullian*. Trans. S. Thelwall. Vol. I. Ante-Nicene Christian Library 11. Ed. Alexander Roberts, and James Donaldson. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1869. 304-32.

---. 'On the Spectacles.' ['De Spectaculis.'] *The Writings of Tertullian*. Trans. not given. Vol. I. Ante-Nicene Christian Library 11. Ed. Alexander Roberts, and James Donaldson. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1869. 8-35.

Theophylact. 'Argumentum in Evangelium secundum Marcum.' Theophylacti Archiepiscopi Bulgariae. in quatuor Euangelia enarrationes. denuo recognitae. John Oecolampadio Interprete. N.p., 1525. I3-N4v.

Thirsk, Joan. Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

---. 'The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: the English Stocking Knitting Industry, 1500-1700.' Textile History and Economic History. Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann. Ed. N.B. Harte, and K.G. Ponting. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1973. 50-73.

---. 'Tudor Enclosures.' Historical Association. General ser. 41 (1958): 1-23. Rpt. in The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays. London: Hambledon Press, 1984. 65-83.

Thomas, Keith. 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England.' Proceedings of the British Academy 62 (1976): 205-48.

---. Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

Thompson, Elbert N.S. The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage. 1903. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.

Thorpe, James. Principles of Textual Criticism. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1972.

Tilley, Morris Palmer. A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1950.

Tillyard, E.M.W. The Elizabethan World Picture. London: Chatto & Windus, 1943.

Traub, Valerie. 'Desire and the Differences it Makes.' The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare. Ed. Valerie Wayne. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991. 81-114.

---. 'The (In)Significance of "Lesbian" Desire in Early Modern England.' Queering the Renaissance. Ed. Jonathan Goldberg. Durham: Duke UP, 1994. 62-83.

Trayner, John. Latin Maxims and Phrases. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: William Green, 1876.

A Treatise of Daunces. wherin it is shewed. that they are as it were accessories and depedants (or thinges annexed) to whoredome. By H. Middleton? London, 1581.

Underdown, David. Revel. Riot. and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660. 1985. Oxford: OUP, 1987.

Vergil. The Aeneid. Ed. J.W. MacKail. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.

---- Eclogues. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Rev. ed. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1967. Vol. 1 of Works.

Vives, Juan Luis. An Introduction to Wisedome. Trans. Richard Moryson. London, 1540.

---. A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the Instruction of a christen woman. Trans. Rychard Hyrde. London, 1557.

Walen, Denise A. "Lust-exciting Apparel" and the Homosexual Appeal of the Boy Actor: The Early Modem Stage Polemic.' *Theatre History Studies* 15 (1995). 87-103.

Walther, Hans. Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina. 5 vols. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963-7.

---. Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii ac Recentioris Aevi. Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina. Nova series. 3 vols. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982-6.

Walther, Rodolph. Rodolphi Gualtheri Tigurini. in Evangelium Iesu Christi secundum Marcum Homiliae CXXXIX. Heidelberg, 1608.

Warren, Michael, ed. The Complete 'King Lear' 1608-1623: Texts and Parallel Texts in Photographic Facsimile. By William Shakespeare. 4 parts. Berkeley: U of California P, 1989.

---. 'Repunctuation as Interpretation in Editions of Shakespeare.' *English Literary Renaissance* 7 (1977): 155-169.

Watt, Tessa. Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640. Cambridge: CUP, 1991.

- Wells, Stanley. *Re-Editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Wells, Stanley, with Gary Taylor. *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spellings with Three Studies in the Text of Henry V*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Wells, Stanley, and Gary Taylor, with John Jowett, and William Montgomery. *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- West, James L.W. "Fair Copy, Authorial Intention, and "Versioning." *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 6 (1994): 81-9.
- Wharton, John. *Whartons dreame. conteynine an inuectiue a ainst vsurers*. 1578.
- Whetstone, George. *A Mirour for Magistrates of Cities with A Touchstone for the Time*. London, 1584.
- Whitaker, **W.B.** *Sunday in Tudor and Stuart Times*. London: Houghton Publishing Co, 1933.
- White, Thomas. *A Sermon Preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the thirde of Nouember 1577. in the time of the Plague*. London, 1578.
- Wilcox, Thomas. *A Glasse for Gamesters: and namelie for suche as delight in Cards & Dice: wherein they may see not onely the vanitie. but also the vilenesse of those plaies plainly discovered and ouerthrowen by the word of God*. London, 1581.
- Williams, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. 3 vols. London: The Athlone Press, 1994.
- Wilson, Eunice. *A History of Shoe Fashions*. London: Pitman Publishing, 1974.
- Wilson, **F.P.** *Shakespeare and the New Bibliography*. Rev. and ed. Helen Gardner. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

- Wilson, J. Dover. Life in Shakespeare's England: A Book of Elizabethan Prose. The Cambridge Anthologies. Cambridge: CUP, 1947.
- . 'The Puritan Attack upon the Stage.' The Cambridge History of English Literature. Ed. A.W. Ward, and A.R. Waller. Vol. 6. Cambridge: CUP, 1933 421-61.
- Wilson, Richard. "'Like the old Robin Hood": As You Like It and the Enclosure Riots.' Shakespeare Quarterly 43 (1992): 1-19.
- Wilson, Thomas. A Discourse upon Usury. 1572. Ed. R.H. Tawney. 1925. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1962.
- Withington, Robert. English Pageantry: An Historical Outline. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1918-20.
- Woodbridge, Linda. Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind. 1540-1620. Brighton: Harvester Press Ltd, 1984.
- Wright, A.R. British Calendar Customs. Ed. T.E. Lones. The Folk-Lore Society. 3 vols. London: William Glaiser Ltd, 1936-40.
- Wright, Louis B. Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England. 1935. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1958.
- Wrightson, Keith. English Society 1580-1680. 1982. London: Routledge, 1993.
- . 'Estates, degrees, and sorts: changing perceptions of society in Tudor and Stuart England.' Language, History and Class. Ed. Penelope J. Corfield. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991. 30-52.
- . "'Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England.' The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England. 1550-1800. Ed. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994. 28-51.
- Youngs, Frederic A. The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens. Cambridge: CUP, 1976.

Zeller, Hans. 'A New Approach to the Critical Constitution of Literary Texts.' Studies in Bibliography 28 (1975): 231-264.

Zitner, S.P. 'Gosson, Ovid, and the Elizabethan Audience.' Shakespeare Quarterly 9 (1958): 206-8.