

Renascence Editions

Return to
[Renascence Editions](#)

The Arte of Rhetorique

Thomas Wilson

Introduction | [Book I](#) | [Book II](#) | [Book III](#)

Note on the e-text: this [Renascence Editions](#) text was transcribed by Judy Boss, Omaha, NE, September, 1998, from *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique 1560*. Ed. G. H. Mair. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Content unique to this presentation is copyright © 1998 The University of Oregon. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the Publisher, rbear at uoregon.edu.

In the "Introduction" by G. H. Mair, I have made the following emendations to the text:

p. vi, final line, I have emended "so" to "[to]";

p. xi, line 12, I have emended "Art" to "[Arte]";

p. xii, line 20, I have emended "Master.²" to "Master.²";

p. xv, line 9, I have emended "*Rhetorike*" to "[*Rhetorique*]"

Inconsistencies in placing terminal quotation marks before or after punctuation in the text of the "Introduction" remain as found.

In "A Prologue to the Reader," folio A.v., I have changed "wordly" to "[worldly]"

In the first book of *The Arte of Rhetorique*, I have made the following emendations:

p. 7, line 8, I have emended "confirmation" to "[C]onfirmation"

p. 7, line 9, I have emended "confutation" to "[C]onfutation"

p. 7, marginalia, n. 1, l. 5, I have emended "partes," to "partes[.]"

p. 9, marginalia, n. 4, l. 5, I have emended "speake" to "speake[.]"

p. 13, marginalia, n. 5, l. 3, I have emended "worthie," to "worthie[.]"

p. 78, line 39, I have emended "But" to "[b]ut"

In the second book of *The Arte of Rhetorique*, I have made the following emendations:

p. 102, running head, I have emended "Rhetorique" to "Rhetorique."

p. 120, line 32, I have emended "*Amplification ?*" to "*Amplification[?]*"

p. 138, line 5, I have emended "*bebaiour.*" to "*be[h]aiour.*"

In the third book of *The Arte of Rhetorique*, I have made the following emendations:

p. 162, line 17, I have emended "gentleman" to "gentlemen"

p. 188, line 18, I have emended "than" to "tha[t]"

p. 197, line 19, I have emended "young" to "young[-]"

p. 217, line 23, I have emended "liuely" to "liuely)"

p. 221, line 22, I have emended "man." to "man[]"

Throughout (with the exception of a few headings where font changes would have to change), words hyphenated at line ends and continued to the next line have had the parts joined as a single, unhyphenated word on the first line where a portion of the word appears; the hyphen appears in the source code.

In Wilson's text, I have omitted catchwords, have transcribed long "s" as modern "s", have included folio designations and running heads and page numbers within the source code, although I have omitted signature designations and bolding and italicizing of the running heads.

Presently omitted from this text are pp. 223-232: "A Table to finde out such matter *as is contained in this Booke.*" and pp. 233-236: "Notes"

This edition copyright © 1998 The University of Oregon. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the [Publisher](#)

***Tudor & Stuart
Library***

***Wilson's
Arte of Rhetorique 1560***

Henry Frowde, M.A.
Publisher to the University of Oxford
London, Edinburgh, New York
Toronto and Melbourne

***Wilson's
Arte of Rhetorique***

1560

Edited by
G. H. MAIR

[colophon omitted]

At the Clarendon Press
MCMIX

Oxford
Printed at the Clarendon Press
By Horace Hart, M.A.
Printer to the University

Introduction.

IN 1560 there was imprinted at London by John Kingston, 'and now newlie sette forthe againe, with a prologue to the reader,' *The Arte of Rhetorique*, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence, set forthe in Englishe, by Thomas Wilson.' This is not the first edition. As is implied in the title the book had been already issued; it had been published in 1553, beautifully printed in black letter by Richard Grafton, the king's printer. For reasons which will appear hereafter, the last year of Mary's reign had been a stirring time for the author, and little leisure was left him for literary tasks. But with the accession of Elizabeth security and prosperity returned to him, and he set about preparing a new edition of his successful textbook. Much was altered and much added; he prefaced it by a new prologue of much personal interest. Towards the end of the year the corrected and completed book was issued from the press. It was reprinted in 1562, 1563, and 1567, and indeed frequently down to about the year of the Great Armada, when apparently, whether owing to the advent of newer textbooks or to the changing taste of a more fastidious and sophisticated period we cannot know, it fell out of demand and public esteem and gradually ceased to be reprinted. *The Arte of Rhetorique*, then, was in its day a work of great popularity; it passed through numerous editions and was eagerly read by two generations of seekers after eloquence and literary skill, and then slipped gently back into the night, gathering the dust of unused bookshelves. But a day arrives when the obsolete becomes again alive and interesting. A modern finds little to choose between the book that has been superseded and its successor; he loves them both for their strangeness and for the picture which they suggest to him of forgotten habits of thought. Antiquity gilds dullness; stupidity becomes amiable in dead men. It is not, however, the indiscriminating zeal of

the antiquary or the mere delight in quaintness for quaintness' sake that has suggested the reprinting of this book. It is in its way a landmark in the history of the English Renaissance, and many passages in it are important and indeed indispensable to the historian of English literature. This has long been known; the book was styled by Warton 'The first system of criticism in our language'; but so far to all but a few it has been accessible only in extracts and these not representative. There is so much that is of interest in the mass that is forgotten, so much that explains and interprets many aspects of Elizabethan art, as to make this reprint of some service perhaps to those who are studying the period. The book appeared in an age of busy and eager experiment when many conflicting fashions were struggling for the mastery both in prose and in verse. Its author was no pedagogue remote from the live issues of the time. He was a courtier and a statesman as well as a writer and a scholar; on many of the problems which emerged from the turmoil of literary effort he had strong opinions, and the mark of them is left on his work. The student of Tudor literature may find it worth his while to hear what an alert and cultured contemporary has [to] say on these matters.

Thomas Wilson, the author (dignified by many as Sir Thomas Wilson, though he was never knighted) was born about the year 1525. He was a Lincolnshire man, the son of another Thomas Wilson of Strubby in that county and Anne Cumberworth his wife. He himself disclaims any pride in his native shire, and when Lincoln folk are mentioned in his books it is generally for their stupidity. He had all the Elizabethan's impatience of rusticity and dullness, all the contempt which London and the court felt for the country. 'It is better,' he says, 'to be borne in London then in Lincolne. For that the aire is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth much greater and the men for the most part more wise'.¹ Yet he owed much to the neighbours of his early home. One of them, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, did much to promote Wilson to the honourable state employment of his later years. There are others who deserve no less mention -- Katherine Willoughby,

¹ P. 13 inf.

Duchess of Suffolk, with whom his friendship was firm and lifelong and about whom we shall hear presently; and Sir Edward Dymock, who helped him both at the University and later, and at whose house *The Arte of Rhetorique* was written during a holiday visit.

Thomas Wilson was educated first at Eton; in 1541 he became a scholar of King's College, Cambridge. The time and the circumstances were fortunate. During his residence there Sir John Cheke was chosen provost, and Wilson was thus thrown into contact with what was at once the most progressive and the most national side of English Humanism. Through Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith (himself a member of King's and afterwards his predecessor in the Secretaryship of State) he gained the friendship of Roger Ascham; through them, too, he became intimate with Walter Haddon, another member of the coterie and the most distinguished Latinist of his time. With him Wilson collaborated in his earliest book. Before he left Cambridge he had become one of a school of men who, by their scholarship

and the individuality of their opinions, did much to mould the course of the Renaissance in England on its pedagogic side, and who had no inconsiderable influence on the development of English prose. From them he learned the lesson of simplicity and his horror of exaggerated Latinism. He fought side by side with them in the crusade against inhorn terms, and he bore the brunt of the battle. For whereas Ascham confined himself to the practice of teaching and the composition of dialogues which contain precepts in style only by the way; whereas Haddon distilled from his pen poetical effusions in the learned tongues and Cheke's influence was exerted through personal contact only, Wilson set himself in his textbooks on Logic and Rhetoric to provide sure guidance for the aspiring student who was anxious to acquire what the new learning had to give him. Through him the teaching of Cheke and Ascham found its way to a wider circle of disciples than either of these could command.

At Cambridge, Wilson formed an attachment which remained throughout his life his most precious recollection. We have seen that in Lincolnshire he enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk. At the University he became the tutor of her two sons, Henry and Charles Brandon, both counted Dukes of Suffolk because in their death one survived the other by a few hours, made by the brilliancy and high promise of their talents and the bitter tragedy of their early death a remarkable impression on their contemporaries. The elder for a time was a fellow-pupil with King Edward under Sir John Cheke; but both during the larger part of their education were under Wilson's care. It is easy to see how deep was his regard for them; he returns to their praise again and again, and there is nothing of the conventional eulogy which is the due of patronage in his tone. When they died, of the sweating sickness, in 1551, he published along with Walter Haddon a volume of memorial verses and two letters by way of biography.¹ In *The Arte of Rhetorique* the examples 'Of Commending a noble Personage', and 'Of Comfort',² are both tributes to their memory. He begins his commendation after the manner of rhetoricians in vague phrases and high-sounding generalities. *Gorgias*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Phaphorinus* the philosopher 'extolling the feuer quartain', all have their place, but when he reaches the matter in hand he forgets the precepts of the ancients and the mannerisms of the schools. Of his own special pupil, the Duke Charles, 'for the Greeke, the Latine and the Italian, I know he could do more than would be thought true by my report. I leaue to speake of his skill in pleasant instrumentes, neither will I utter his aptnesse in Musicke, and his toward nature, to all exercises of the bodie . . . if his brother were set aside there was not one that went beyond him. A child that by his owne inclination, so much yeilded to his ruler, that few by chastment haue done the like; pleasant of speech, prompt of wit, stirring by nature, hault without hate, kind without craft, liberall of heart, gentle in behauiour, forward in all

¹ 'Vita et obitus duorum fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandoni, duabus epistolis [Gault. Haddoni et Tho. Wilsoni] explicata; adduntur epitaphia et acroamata in eosdem Graece et Latine conscripta, cum Cantabrigiensium tum Oxoniensium iugi commendatione et industria,' etc. Edente Tho. Wilsono. London. in ed. Rich. Graftoni. ² pp. 14, 66 inf.

things, greedie of learning, and Loth to take the foil in any assemblie.' The second example, 'Of Comfort,' is addressed to their mother. 'When God lately visited this relme with the sweating disease and received the two worthie gentlemen, Henrie, Duke of Suffolk and his brother Lord Charles: I, seeing my Ladies Grace their mother taking their death most greeuously, could not otherwise for the dutie whiche I then did, and euer shall owe unto her, but comfort her in that her heauiness, the whiche undoubtedly at that time much weakened her bodie.' There is no mistaking the sincerity of his friendship. It is pleasant to read his gratitude for her patronage who was 'by birthe noble and witte great, of nature gentle and mercifull to the poore, and to the Godlie and especially to the learned an earnest good patronesse, and most helping ladie aboue all other'.

In the same year, 1551, which saw his first appearance as an author in the two epistles, Wilson published his first famous book, 'The Rule of Reason, conteyning the Arte of Logike, sette forthe in Englishe by Thomas Wilson.' In his dedication to King Edward he explains the reasons which led to its writing and publication. Hitherto students of logic have been obliged to have recourse to the ancient tongues; his object is to provide a textbook 'in the vulgar tongue'. 'I take not upon me so cunningly and perfectlie to haue written of the said arte, as though none could dooe it better; But because no Englishman untill now, hath gone through with this enterprise, I haue thought meet to declare that it may be dooen.' The book is based on Aristotle and makes no pretence at originality. 'I doe herein take vpon me no more,' he says, 'but to be as a poore meane manne, or a simple persone, whose charge were to bee a Lodesman, to conueigh some noble Princes, into a straunge lande.' The composition of the book was apparently suggested by Richard Grafton, the King's printer, who had already helped the author at Cambridge.¹

¹ 'The Printer hereof your Maiesties seruauant, prouoked me first hereunto, vnto whom I haue euer founde myselfe greatly beholdyng, not only at my being in Cambridge, but also at all tymes else when I most needed helpe.' *Rule of Reason*, Ep. Ded., ed. 1567.

Richard Grafton was the leading publisher of his time and issued the First Book of Common Prayer, Hall's *Chronicles*, and many other notable works.

Despite his fears that 'this fruit being of a straunge kind (soche as no Englishe ground hath before this tyme, and in this sorte by any tillage brought forthe) maie perhaps in the firste tastyng, proue somewhat rough and harsh in the mouthe, because of the straungenesse', the book had a considerable vogue. It was republished with corrections and additions in 1567,¹ and frequently reprinted later. Immediately after, encouraged by its success to continue his plan of making the sciences accessible to the unlearned, Wilson published *The Arte of Rhetorique*. It was dedicated to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Master of Horse, to whom he tells us its inception was due. 'For whereas it pleased you, emong other talke of learning, earnestlie to wishe, that ye might one daie see the preceptes of *Rhetorike* sette forthe by me in Englishe, as I had erste dooen the rules of *Logike*: a hauyng in my countree this laste sommer, a quiete tyme of vacacion with Sir Edwarde Dymoke knight: I trauailed so muche as my leasure might serve thereunto.' The book was published in

1553,² and with its appearance his career as an author ceased for the time being, and he fell under the ban of religious persecution. 'Hard shift," says Fuller,³ 'he made to conceal himself in the reign of Queen Mary.' Eventually he was forced to quit the country and fly over seas.

His subsequent career must be told in less detail. Its importance belongs to political and diplomatic rather than to literary history; it is written in his dispatches at the Record Office, in State papers and the like, and could not be adequately treated within the limits which a preface imposes. In 1555 the fall of Northumberland drove him abroad, and he travelled to Italy. In the same year we find him with Sir John Cheke in Padua. Two years later he proceeded

¹ The 1567 edition is interesting as containing a passage cited from 'An enterlude, made by Nicholas Udall'. This is *Ralph Roister Doister*, the date of which is fixed by the allusion.

² The statement of one bibliographer (see *D. N. B.*) that it was published at the same time as *The Rule of Reason*, is undoubtedly wrong. No such edition exists; and the passage from the Dedication above quoted implies some time between the dates of writing.

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1840, vol. ii., p. 277.

ceeded to Rome, and in December, 1557, he became implicated in an intrigue at the Papal Court against Cardinal Pole. In January he was summoned by Philip and Mary to return to England and appear before the Privy Council. There can be no doubt what was the fate they had in store for him; Wilson apparently recognized the meaning of the summons; he paid no heed and was arrested in Rome by the Inquisition on a charge of heresy. His position was one of the greatest danger, and only the fortunate accident of an insurrection in the city prevented his death; apparently he had been already put to the torture. The incident is described in a passage of gravity and dignity in 'The Prologue to the Reader', which he added to *The [Arte] of Rhetorique* in 1560.¹ 'Twoo yeres past, at my beyng in Italie, I was charged in Roome toun, to my greate daunger and vtter vndoing (if God's goodnesse had not been the greater) to haue written this booke of Rhetorike and the Logike also, for the whiche I was compted an heretike, notwithstanding the absolution granted vnto all the realme, by Pope Julie the thirde, for all former offences or practises, deuised againste the holie mother Church, as they call it . . . God be my Iudge, I had then as little feare (although death was present and the torment at hande, whereof I felte some smarte) as euer I had in all my life before. For, when I sawe those who did seeke my death to be so maliciously sette, to make soche poore shiftes, for my readier despatche and to burden me with these back reckonings: I tooke soche courage, and was so bolde, that the Iudges did moche maruaile at my stoutnesse.' The account is too long to quote in full; but it shows that the spirit of Ridley and Latimer fired other men not less ardently though martyrdom was only for a few. 'In the ende,' he says, 'by God's grace I was wonderfully deliuered, through plaine force of the worthie Romaines (an enterprise heretofore in that sorte neuer attempted) being then without hope of life, and moche lesse of libertie.' In 1559, before his return to England he was made an LL.D. of Ferrara, an honour which he

afterwards received from his own university and from Oxford.

¹ See *infra*.

From 1560 to the end of his life, Wilson was employed in State business. He was appointed Advocate of the Court of Arches and Master of Requests; he enjoyed the patronage, like so many other men of letters, of the Earl of Leicester, and he was employed with increasing frequency on diplomatic missions. Amongst his other posts he held that of Master of St. Catherine's Hospital in the Tower of London; his conduct there seems to have aroused much controversy. 'Under Queen Elizabeth,' says Fuller,¹ 'he was made master of the hospital of St. Catherine's nigh the Tower of London, upon the same token that he took down the choir, which my author saith (allow him a little hyperbole) was as great as the choir of St. Paul's. I am loath to believe it done out of covetousness to gain from the materials thereof, but would rather conceive it so run to ruin that it was past repairing.' Fuller's 'author' was Stowe in whose *Survey of London* the charge against Wilson is made. Whatever the motive which drew him into the task of house-breaking, he was checked in his destructive career, and the ancient privileges of the Hospital were apparently confirmed on the presentation of 'an earnest address from the inhabitants to Secretary Cecyl, complaining unto him against the said Master.'² It is unlikely that Stowe is right in alleging his action to have been for the sake of personal gain. Fuller's conjecture is the more charitable. The trial for treason of the Duke of Norfolk in 1571³ and the detention and examination of the prisoners (under torture) absorbed his attention as a Tower official and he dates his letters 'from prison in the Bloody tower'. In the following year he was sent along with Sir Ralph Sadler 'to expostulate by way of accusation' with Mary, Queen of Scots. Two years later he was ambassador to the Netherlands, and in 1576 conducted the negotiations for the projected marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou. On November 12, 1579, he was sworn Secretary of State in place of Sir Thomas Smith.

¹ Fuller, *ibid*.

² Stowe, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, p. 205.

³ *State Trials*, vol. 1., pp. 957, 1017. Trial of the Duke of Norfolk. Wilson gave evidence at the trial.

Meanwhile, even under the pressure of State business (and Elizabethan officials were hardworked men) his pen was not idle. As early as 1556 he and Cheke had formed the project of a translation of Demosthenes into the English tongue. In 1570 there was published, being dedicated on June 10 of that year to William Cecil, 'Three Orations of Demosthenes, chiefe orator of the Grecians in fauour of the Olynthians . . . with those his foure Orations against King Philip of Macedonie; most nedeful to be redde in these daungerous dayes of all them that loue their countries libertie and desire to take warning for their better auayle.' Wilson is responsible for the whole of this translation, which is said to attain a high level of scholarship. As is made clear on the title page the work was intended to have a political significance. Philip of Macedon for the Englishman meant

Philip of Spain, and the lesson was enforced by a comparison of Athens and England in the preface. It is possible that the Government through Cecil commissioned Wilson to do the work; if so, he is the earliest of the long line of English authors who have used their pens in the service of politics. To be set side by side with Milton, Dryden, and Swift, to name only a few, is to be in no bad company. In his last publication he turned to the field of Economics. In 1572 he dedicated to Leicester 'a discourse on Usurye, by waye of Dialogue and Oracions'. The dialogue takes place between 'a rich worldly merchaunt, the godlie zealous Preacher, the Temporall and ciuil Lawyer', who in turn make the orations. As might be supposed the rich and worldly merchant is confuted and the godly and zealous preacher triumphs. Usury is condemned, as it had been by Aristotle and the Canonists, on moral grounds. In doing so the author is expressing the opinion held by his own generation; an Act of Parliament utterly forbidding the practice was passed the year before his treatise was published; at the end of the century Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice* takes the same standpoint. There is no wonder that the book was popular and much relished by the Church. In a prefatory letter to the author which appeared in the edition of 1584¹ the Bishop of Salisbury eulogizes the work.

¹ Quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1835, p. 471.

'If I were a usurer never so greedily bent to spoil and rapine, *us sunt foineratores*, yet would I think myself most unhappy if such persuasion could not move me.' The usurer did not prove so tractable as the good bishop imagined, and modern ears remain altogether deaf to his appeal. These, with a Latin treatise which perhaps was a translation of part of the preface to Demosthenes, are all his published works. Antony Wood refers to 'other things which I have not yet seen'.¹ They have not come to the light since his time.

Wilson became Secretary of State, as we have seen, in 1579; he did not live above two years to enjoy the office. While he held it, he obtained a reputation for great ability and deep policy. Despite his long connexion with the Leicester party, he seems to have done his best to dissuade Elizabeth from identifying herself with it at the expense of Sussex. 'His peculiar knack,' we are told, 'was a politic and artificial nourishing of hopes.'² 'While he enjoyed the office of Secretary,' says Antony Wood, 'He became famous for three things (1) For quick dispatch and industry, (2) for constant diligence, and (3) for a large and strong memory.'³ His friendship and influence were much sought after,⁴ and had he lived, he might have been a guide and patron to the new generation of poets and writers. As it was, he died while still in office in 1581, and his funeral was celebrated on June 17 in St. Catherine's Church, East Smithfield. His portrait may be seen in the National Portrait Gallery.

His career presents him as a man closely in touch with the three greatest forces in the England of his time -- the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the revival of the State under the Tudors. The last he served faithfully in many quarters. Whether we are to believe or not the statement of a seventeenth-century biographer⁵

¹ Antony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. 1721, p. 98.

² Lloyd, *Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation*, 1665. Quoted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, loc. cit.

³ Antony Wood, loc. cit.

⁴ Gabriel Harvey counts him as 'my honourable fauourer'; he was one of the numerous friends from whom Harvey hoped advancement.

⁵ Lloyd in *Gentleman's Magazine*, ibid.

that his parents designed him for a life of letters and his own inclination drove him into business, there can be no doubt as to his capacity. Says Fuller, speaking of his secretaryship, 'It argues his ability for the place because he was put into it; seeing in those active times, under so judicious a queen, weakness might despair to be employed in such an office.'¹ There is no reason to quarrel with this terse and just verdict. There is no mistaking his zeal for the Reformation. It shines through everything he wrote, and the reader of the *Logike* and the [*Rhetorique*] will have no cause to wonder at the papal persecution of his works. No opportunity is lost of driving a nail into the coffin of English catholicism. Examples will be found on many pages of this book. The pre-Reformation period is 'the doting world when stockes were saintes and dumme walls spake'. He approves the marriage of priests and monks. 'And I thinke the Bishops officers would have procured this matter long agoe, if they had not found greater gaines by Priestes Lemmans then they were like to haue by priestes wiues.' *The Rule of Reason* is one long Protestant tract in which the doctrines of Geneva are enforced by the apparatus of mediaeval logic. But though he loved Latimer as 'the father of all preachers' he was not blind to abuses in his own Church. 'Doe ye not see, how euey one catcheth and pulleth from the Church, what thei can? I feare me one day, they wil pluck doune Church and all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seeke onely to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groate whether their soules go to Hell? A patrone of a benefice, will have a poore ymgramme soule, to beare the name of a Parson, for twentie marke or ten pound: and the patron himselfe, wil take up for his snapshare, as good as a hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learning decayed, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded.'²

His part in the English Renaissance and the importance in it of *The Arte of Rhetorique* must now be treated at more length.

¹ Fuller, ibid. ² P. 36.

II

The Renaissance did not come to pass in a night. The forms of teaching and schemes of knowledge which we associate with the Middle Ages subsisted for long side by side with the new learning. It is the mediaeval division of arts and sciences which we find in

Wilson's work. When he says in his preface to the *Arte of Logike*, that 'divers learned menne, of other countries, have heretofore, for furtheraunce of knowledge, not suffered any of the sciences liberals, to be hidden in the Greke or Latine tongue, but haue with most earnest trauaile, made every of them familiare to their Vulgar people', the liberal sciences he is thinking of are no other than the famous seven of mediaeval pedagogy. Later on in the book, he runs them into a rude kind of rime for the benefit of the learner.

Grammer doeth teach to utter wordes:
 To speake both apt and plaine.
Logike by Arte, settes forthe the truthe,
 And doeth tell what is vaine.
Rhetorike at large paintes well the cause,
 And makes that seem right gaie
 Which *Logike* spake but at a word
 And taught us by the waie.
Musike with tunes, delites the eare:
 And makes us thinke it heauen.
Arithmetike by nomres can make
 Reckenynges to be euen.
Geometrie thynges thicke and broade,
 Measures by line and square:
Astronomie by starres doeth tell;
 Of foule and eke of faire.

All that the new zeal for learning worked for in the first instance, and all that Wilson pretended to do, was to make these accessible in the vernacular. Along with this went the breaking up of the older cyclopaedic system and the beginning of separate textbooks for each subject.

This is, however, only half the truth of the matter. Though the historian must needs deny the cleavage once imagined between the old and the new, the theory of a kind of tropical dawn, a sudden passage from light to darkness, he must admit that the change of outlook and purpose of life which we call the Renaissance, though it was gradual, was none the less complete. It meant a new beginning for the artist and the author as well as for the theologian, the adventurer, and the statesman. In the Middle Ages the groundwork of thought and letters was logic. It extended to every department of culture. Works of piety and the poetry of love, to take two of the largest and simplest kinds of writing, were founded on a logical attitude towards things. In the schools it was supreme; the trivium was threefold only in name; dialectic overshadowed both rhetoric and grammar. With the Renaissance, however, a complete revolution took place. Logic gradually went under, and rhetoric, reinforced by the reading of authors, took the highest place in the curriculum. What happened in education happened also in literature. The reading of the ancients awakened a new delight in the melody of language: men became intoxicated with the

beauty of words. The practice and study of rhetoric was quickly universal and coloured all literature. The new drama, with its preference for declamatory speeches over dialogue; the new prose, with its fantasy and its exuberance of figure; the new poetry, with its mythological allusiveness and its sensuousness of imagery, all owe their origin to the fashion of rhetoric. 'Unless the school and university training in rhetoric are borne in mind, an important factor in accounting for the wealth of imagery and expression in the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is overlooked.'¹ *Tamburlaine* and *Lucrece*, *Arcadia* and *Euphues*, a host of sonneteers -- all come to the mind. It is no mere accident that Wilson's long translation of Erasmus's epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage reminds one of the first part of Shakespeare's sonnets. The same literary impulse dictated both. The order of his two treatises and the greater popularity of the *Rhetorique* represent a fact in the development of literature and thought.

¹ Prof. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*.

This is hardly the place in which to attempt a detailed history of the study of rhetoric in England,¹ but some of the most prominent books and writers may be briefly noticed. Of course a large part of the study of rhetoric was carried on directly from the ancient writers; notably Cicero whom Ascham praised and held superior to all others of learning rhetoric, and Quintilian, the idol of the teachers of that time. But the use of modern works was more usual. There were two books in the vulgar tongue before Wilson's: Cox's *Arte or Crafte of Rhetorique* and Sherry's *Treatise of the figures of Grammar and Rhetoric, profitable for all that be studious of eloquence*. They were both schoolbooks, pure and simple. Wilson does not seem to have known them; at any rate, in writing his treatise in English, he professes an innovation. Later Abraham Fraunce, author of several books for lawyers, published his *Arcadian Rhetoric* (1588), designed to show the beauties of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Richard Mulcaster combined Grammar and Rhetoric in one of the most popular treatises of the day. This combination was one of the most fortunate features in Tudor Education. Grammar was studied in the sixteenth century more broadly than it has been, perhaps, before or since. Both Ascham in his *Scholemaster* and Elyot in his *Grammar* minimize the importance of the formalities of grammatical study. 'Back to Quintilian,' the great ideal for which the Renaissance educationalists worked, means nothing so much as this, that grammar could not be studied independently of literature. The growth of rhetorical teaching went steadily on and for the seventeenth century we have more information. Brinsley's *Ludus Litterarius, or Grammar schoole* (1612), and Hoole's *New discovery of the old art of teaching schoole* (1659), give many interesting particulars. We learn the way rhetoric was taught; how the pupils kept a book with the headings of invention under which they entered subjects for exercise. We learn, too, much regarding the textbooks generally

¹ The thing has in some degree been done by Professor Foster Watson's recent book, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*. Most of the above was written before I had an opportunity of reading it, but I have ventured to add one or two points from it which had escaped my own

reading.

used in schools, none of which were in English. The most popular (it was greatly admired by Gabriel Harvey) appears to have been that of a Frenchman of the name of Talon who latinized himself as Talaeus. 'For answering the questions of Rhetorike,' says Brinsley in one place, 'you may if you please, make them perfect in Talaeus' *Rhetorike*, which I take to be most used in schools.' He was run hard by English competitors, the chief of whom was Charles Butler, a member of Magdalen College, who published his *Rhetoricæ Libri Duo* in 1598. In a later edition he quotes by way of preface the eulogy bestowed upon him by Brinsley, 'Instead of Talaeus you may use Master Butler's *Rhetorike*, of *Magdalens* in Oxford, being a notable abridgement of Talaeus; making it most plaine and farre more easie to bee learned of scholars: and also supplying many things wanting in Talaeus . . . it is not of much greater price though the worth be double.' Brinsley commends it further for its treatment of the figures belonging to poetry, and for its rules as to metre. One other famous book on Rhetoric deserves notice. This is Thomas Farnaby's *Index Reticus*, a small but exceedingly well-constructed book. Like Wilson, its author had an adventurous career, for he began life as a postmaster at Merton College, and after sailing with Drake and Raleigh to the Main, and serving as a soldier in the Low Countries, settled down to his profession as an usher in a Devonshire school. Three years after he had commenced teaching, he was headmaster of a large school of his own in London, with three hundred pupils and an educational system which was famous all over Europe. His *Index* he dedicated to a senator of Venice; it had a continental as well as an English reputation. Of the others, and they are legion, there is no space here to deal at length and there is little profit and much tedium in a mere catalogue. Many will be found treated in Warton's *History of Poetry*, which is, much more than its name implies, a history of all branches of literature, and which is particularly well informed on this period.

All these textbooks owe their system and their terminology to the ancient writers. Wilson is no exception to the rule. His book is a judicious compilation from Quintilian as far as the first two books are concerned, while the third owes almost as much to Cicero. Yet the charge of plagiarism would be an idle one to prefer. The Elizabethans had none of our modern squeamishness about literary copyright, as the whole result of the study into Shakespeare's sources sadly witnesses. The words of the Player king in *Hamlet*.

Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own,

sum up the author's point of view. And in writing on such a subject as Rhetoric there is a double excuse, for a science must have a received terminology, and it lies not with every new artist to invent new names for his colours or the processes that he uses. The terms and divisions of Quintilian were common property among his Renaissance imitators, and with this caveat we can turn to *The Arte of Rhetorique* without the danger of unjust censure.

The first book treats of certain preliminaries, such as what is an orator, what is rhetoric, with what subjects it deals and what is its end. Three things are required of an orator: that

he should teach, that he should delight, and that he should persuade. The lessons of plainness, order, and directness are duly enforced, without which it is impossible either to delight or win over. The means by which Eloquence is attained leads the author to point out that the knowledge of the art is of no avail without practice, which came before theory was invented; for 'Rhetorique was first made by wisemen, and not wisemen by rhetorique'. Besides practice, five general qualities are necessary for the perfect orator, Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory, and Utterance. The first of these is now systematically treated; and so a detailed account of the different causes and the 'places' which confirm them completes the first book. The bulk of it, and the part which is of most interest to readers, is made up of the numerous examples which the author gives to enforce his instruction. Many varied kinds of oration are provided for the study of the pupil. Some of these are translated, but the bulk are from the author's own hand. Those on comfort we have already seen. The translation of Erasmus's epistle persuading a friend to marriage, and the example of praising King David for killing Goliath are perhaps the best of the statelier sort. Some of the judicial speeches, particularly that on p. 92, *to prove by conjectures the knowledge of a notable and heinous offence, committed by a Souldier*, when he forgets the solemnity of the occasion and begins to tell his story, are not without a kind of merit, though they show an entire ignorance of the rules of evidence. As a whole, however, the examples are of no great worth, as even the writer of an essay in praise of the book is bound to confess. His precept is unimpeachable, but plainness and directness, at once the most sought after and the most elusive of all literary qualities, are not so easily come by in practice, and cannot be had save by much striving. Moderns when they essay to write on the subject generally take their examples from authors of standing. We may admire Wilson for his courage in taking the bolder course of original composition, but we cannot help questioning his discretion.

The second book deals with Disposition, and in it the author gets to much closer grips with his subject. His method is to take each different part of an oration and discuss the various ways in which it may be treated. He begins with the Entrance, which may be treated in two ways, either the orator may plainly set forth what he is going to say and so win straight to the matter on hand or else he may proceed by insinuation, gaining his hearers' attention by some tale or by some strange thing, 'that they all may quake at the onely hearing of the same'. His examples are aptest for pleading at the bar, but many will serve for the clergy also, of whose preaching he has a poor opinion; for often, he says 'they beginne as much from the matter as it is betwixt Dover and Barwicke, whereat some take pitie and many for wearinesse can scant abide their beginning, it is so long or they speake anything to the purpose'. Next comes Narration which should be brief, plain, and probable, and then Division which should declare the points at issue between the orator and his adversary. The Confirmation in which he must prove his point and the Conclusion in which he should sum all up for the benefit of the hearers complete the scheme. There follows a discussion of the figure Amplification, that is a storing of sentences and examples which shall help to win favour or move affections. Under this head we get Wilson's treatment of Mirth and Laughter and the best means by which these may be used by the rhetorician. Elocution, Memory, and Utterance are dealt with in the third and last book. Of these the first consists

in an account of the Figures or Tropes, largely based on Cicero, each furnished with examples, mainly from the classical writers. The sections on Memory and Utterance, as they are the last, are also the best part of the book. In them he is less bound by his models; his hand is freer and has gained in expertness; the clumsiness of style which tries the reader's patience in the earlier parts is absent, because his subject holds him more imperiously than before. They may be commended to those who wish to see Wilson at his best. It is not great prose, but it is vigorous, living, and unaffected, and it comes nearer to fulfilling the precepts of its author than anything else in the *Arte of Rhetorique*.

The formalities of Rhetoric are no more cheerful reading in Wilson than in any other author who treats of the subject. Fortunately the space at his disposal allowed him much opportunity for wandering a little from the matter at hand and giving his verdict on men and things. Many of his friends are mentioned or alluded to in his pages. A reference to Latimer we have already seen; Walter Haddon is the best 'Latine man' in England. Sir John Cheke's arrival at Cambridge from the court to take up the provostship of King's College gives occasion for one of the best anecdotes in the book (p. 164). The proverbs of Heywood, 'whose paines in that behalf are worthy immortal praise,' are mentioned with eulogy more than once. Ascham is not named, but we learn that 'bowes are not esteemed as they haue beene among vs Englishmen, but if we were once well beaten by our enemies, we should soone know the want, and with feeling the smart, lament much our folly', and it is plain enough where he learned these doctrines. Passing from his personal references to his opinions and prejudices, the reader is most struck, perhaps, by the Protestant zeal which we have already noticed and which shines through every page of the book. But the statesman is there as well as the reformer. The direction and reorganization of industry which ended in the Statute of Apprentices and the proceedings in check of vagrancy are both treated of under the head of Justice or True Dealing. 'Thankes be to God, wee hang them apace, that offend a lawe, and therefore, wee put it to their choyce, whether they wilbe idle, and so fall to stealing or no? they knowe their reward, goe to it when they wil. But if therewithal some good order were taken for the education of youth, and setting loyterers on worke (as thanks be to God, the Citie is most godlie bent that way) all would sone be well, without all doubt.' The inclosure of the Common Lands finds in Wilson a strong supporter. 'Commons or Equalitie,' he says, 'is when the people by long time have a ground . . . the whiche some of them will keepe still for custome sake, and not suffer it to be fenced, and so turned to pasture, though they might gain ten times the value: but such stubbornesse in keeping of commons for custome sake, is not standing with justice, bicause it is holden against all right.' To comment, however, on the idiosyncrasies and tastes which he displays to his reader is a work of too great magnitude to be attempted here; the curious will find material enough on almost every page.

Besides these the book is enlivened with many anecdotes. They serve one of two purposes; either they are meant to enforce a point or enliven the tedium of his discourse, or else they are given as samples of the kind of entertainment an orator should interpose to lighten the effect of the weightier message he has to tell. Some of them are of historical or personal

interest, such as that of the Spaniard who watched the burning of a heretic at Smithfield (p. 138), or that of the rebel priest in Norfolk, or the story of the Cambridge lecturer who would not face his audience; others are of the perennial sort which pass from age to age, and from country to country, which find no difficulty in achieving a local habitation and a name in all climates, and are not abashed or estranged by any kind of company. The story of the sentry and the abbot, for instance, appears from time to time even in our own day in newspapers; many others are under the same category. The author's treatment of his stories is not always free from carelessness of a disconcerting kind. He sometimes begins a tale and fails to finish it. In this way perishes the story of the archdeacon and the young man, which began with much promise; the archdeacon had inveighed in the tone of Sir Andrew Aguecheek against the multitude of heretic and vain preachers: 'You say euen troth (quoth the yong man) and so went forth: but to tell all, I had neede to haue time of another world, or at least to haue breath of another bodie.' Sometimes he begins a tale for edification and then his baser nature carries him away and the matter becomes one of scurrility and jest. So the story of the poor hermit, perhaps the best in the book, abruptly passes from a denunciation of the carnal living of the Religious to a frank enjoyment of the favourite subject of Elizabethan humour in which the laughter is all on the side of the hermit. Wilson is catholic in the extreme as regards his sources. For 'moving sport by old tales' he recommends the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table, 'the which,' in the opinion of his friend Ascham, 'are nothing else than open manslaughter and bold bawdrie.' The bulk of his anecdotes, however, deal with the ancients, and particularly with Diogenes and Cicero. These he took bodily from a contemporary collection -- *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus* -- translated into English by his friend Nicholas Udall and first published in the year 1542. Udall designed his work to be for 'the most pleasant and the same most honeste, profitable and holsome readyng of all maner men, and especially of nobel men', and to this purpose Wilson borrowed the portions he used in *The Arte of Rhetorique*. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the source; most of the classical stories can be traced to this book. Sometimes Wilson fills up his page by taking two together as they follow one another in Udall's work, as for instance, the two Cicero stories on p. 156, in the first of which he writes Vibius Curius, where the original had Iubius Curtius, a fact which indicates that his method was both hurried and unscrupulous. But these stories, carelessly chosen and thrown in by haphazard as they are, point to the future supremacy of the lives of the Greeks and Romans as moral teachers to the modern world. Plutarch had not yet been translated and students had to be content with the casual and secondhand information they gleaned from Erasmus. With the coming of Amyot and North began that intelligent and anxious study of the lives of the ancients from the most beautiful and dignified account of them that the world possesses, which was to have such momentous consequences in the next age, and was destined to lead Europe a far cry from the path of social and political advance which the sixteenth century trod.

The philologist will find little to interest him in this book; unlike Mulcaster, Wilson touches not at all the study of language. He does preserve a number of old and obsolete words -- 'snapshare,' 'yngrame,' 'haultie,' 'nesh,' are a few -- but his instinct was to distrust any word not in daily use, and he hated archaism as much as he did the inkhorn term. The

student of style on the other hand will find him an instructive example of a certain stage in the development of English prose. The intention is plain enough; he desired to write as men spoke; to use no words and no constructions not already familiar to all his readers. Yet he utterly failed to carry this out in practice. There is a clumsiness and ineffectiveness of syntax which makes the expression of any abstract idea impossible or at best halting; it shows itself most prominently in his constant use of participial nouns, particularly in his definitions. Insinuation is 'a priuie twining or close creeping in'; a conclusion is 'the handsomely lapping vp together, and brief heaping of all that which was said before, stirring the hearers by large vtterance, and plentiful gathering of good matter, either the one way or the other'. It is easy enough to see that prose as an instrument of instruction or a means of expressing ideas is in its infancy here. The later Elizabethans found that Latinism was a safer road than that which Wilson and his fellows in their poverty trod, and the ideals of Cheke had to wait for their acceptance and their success till the days of Dryden. Yet Wilson was not free from extravagances of a kind incident to the practice of his art, and these are worth looking into as a possible clue to the origin of the most popular type of English prose in the generation which followed him. The historians tell us that Euphuism is older than Euphues, but they have failed to notice that the English study of rhetoric provides a much better indication of its origin than do the imagined influences of Italy and Spain. It is very easy to exaggerate the cosmopolitanism of literary effort; and an English source for this affectation is in the nature of things more likely than a foreign. Now, the recipe, so to speak, of Euphuism is to be found in *The Arte of Rhetorique*. By this is not meant that we claim that Wilson's book taught Lyly his secret; only that it was through the fashionable study of rhetoric in the literary coteries of the time that this manner of writing was evolved. Examples of what is meant abound in this book. One or two characteristics may be noted here. In the first place, one of the most prominent features of Lyly's style was its adornment with metaphors drawn from natural history of a legendary kind; this is recommended by Wilson when he talks of the use of similitudes: -- 'Oftentimes brute beastes and thinges which haue no life, minister great matter in this behalf. Therefore those that delite to prove thinges by similitudes, must learn to knowe the nature of diuers beastes, of metailles, of stones, and all such as haue any vertue in them, and be applied to man's life.' Passages such as the following occur many times, and they all have the ring of Euphues about them. 'For if felicitie should stand by length of time, some tree were more happie than any man, for it liueth longer, and so likewise brute beastes, as the Stagges, who liueth (as *Plinie* doth say) two hundred years and more.' Here is both the natural history and the ascription of the fact to the ancients, a favourite method with the Euphuists. But other characteristics are also to be found in these pages. The full-mouthed rhetoric of the later writer finds an anticipatory echo, so to speak, in such a passage as this: -- 'For if they that walke much in the sunne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the most part sunne burnt, it can not but be that they which wittingly and willingly trauail to counterfect other, must needes take some colour of them and be like unto them in some one thing or other, according to the prouerbe, by companying with the wise, a man shal learn wisdome:' or in a translation such as that which Wilson gives on p. 186, of Tully's invective against Verres, a passage which shows that a large part of the Euphuistic manner was derived from the imitation of Cicero practised by the teachers and students of rhetoric

in the schools. The connexion of Wilson with the Literature of the reign of Elizabeth must now (as he would say) be set forth more at large.

III

We talk too loosely when we extend the patronage of Elizabeth forward and backward outside the limits of her actual reign. Though Wilson served the queen faithfully as an ambassador and counsellor for twenty most eventful years of peril and stress, he cannot with any justice be termed an Elizabethan. The word fits best the high sense of glory and achievement which sprang upon the nation after the destruction of Spain and lasted till the inexplicable apparition of unsought melancholy which saddened the reign of James. Wilson died while the issue of the fight was still undecided; in truth he belongs to an elder and graver age. His companions were no splendid courtiers nor daring and hardy adventurers; still less were they swashbucklers, exquisites or literary dandies. He was one of a band of grave and dignified scholars, men preoccupied with morality and citizenship as well as with the lighter problems of learning and style. They fought for sound education, for good classical scholarship, for the purity of written English, and behind all these for the strength and worth of the native English character which they felt was menaced by the reckless orgy of assimilation which seized young England face to face with the allurements which reached it from abroad. It was not difficult to discern from which quarter the danger came. Its eminence as the fount and origin of the revived learning had led English scholars to Italy early in the sixteenth century, and the path was worn hard with the steady stream of their feet for over a hundred years after. This could not be without its influence on the manners of the nation, and indeed the fears of the prophets of evil did not prove groundless. There followed in the train of the men of learning the men of fashion, eager to con and copy the new manners of a society whose moral teacher was Machiavelli, whose patterns of splendour were the courts of Florence and Ferrara. The effect on England was not long in showing itself, and it lasted for more than two generations. Coryat, writing well within the seventeenth century, is as enthusiastic as the authors who began the imitation of Italian metres, in Tottel's *Miscellany*; the rod of censure is wielded as sternly in the satires of Donne and Hall as it had been by Ascham fifty years before. The danger feared was a real one no doubt, yet the evil was not unmixed with good, for insularity will always be a foe to good literature. The Elizabethans learned much more than their plots from their Italian models. Improvements in dress, in the comforts of life and in the amenities of society all came this way, nor were the worst effects dreaded by the patriots ever planted on our shores. Italian vice stopped short of real life; poisoning and hired ruffianism flourished in the theatre merely. All this, however, is later than our author's period. He and his companions only foresaw the danger ahead; they laboured to meet it as it came. The brunt of the contest was borne by Ascham; in the *Scholemaster* (the passage is too trite to make quotation possible) he inveighs against the translation of Italian books and the corrupt manners in living and the false judgement in doctrine which they breed. Wilson, perhaps because he knew his Italy better, perhaps with some memory of the service done him by the citizens of Rome in his time of

peril, is much less outspoken than his fellows. The Italianate Englishman, instead of being specially singled out for damnation, finds himself classed with all who have come out of foreign parts. 'Some farre iourneyed gentleman at their returne home, like as they loue to goe in forraine apparell, so wil thei ponder their talke with ouersea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke Frensh English and neuer blush at the matter. An other chops in with English Italienated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that professeth to vtter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge antiquitie.' It is plainly only the man of letters who speaks here.

But if he was a laggard in the matter of the Italianate Englishman, in the battle of style and language he fought in the van. In estimating the influence of his book it must be observed that whatever he and his party achieved of practical result was probably due to his efforts. *The Arte of Rhetorique* not only treated the matter much more systematically, but it reached a much wider public than Cheke or Haddon or Ascham commanded. The attack was delivered at three points. It was directed against undue Latinism, against archaism, and against affectations borrowed from foreign tongues. The last need not detain us; his attitude towards it has already been noticed. But the question of 'inkhorn terms' requires larger treatment. The word seems to have been first used about the year 1543, and it speedily became popular as a nickname for this vice in writing. The leader of this movement against Latinism was Sir John Cheke, and his attitude need cause no surprise. That the leading scholar of his day should be the chief opponent of the triumph of the classics as a source of English vocabulary is no more inexplicable a paradox than that which is presented by the literary history of a century and a half later when Bentley championed the cause of modern literature in the battle of the books. Both fought against men of far less scholarship than themselves, and Cheke, at any rate, knew and loved his own literature and had its welfare deeply at heart. In the introductory letter to Thomas Hoby, which he wrote as preface to the latter's translation of Castiglione's *Courtier*, he gives a plain statement of his case. 'I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed by tijm, ever borowing and neuer payeng, she shal be fain to kep her house as bankrupt. For then doth our tung naturallie and praisable vtter her meaning, when she boroweth no counterfeitness of other tungen to attire herself withall, but vseth plainlie her owne, with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want by any tijm (as being imperfight she must) yet let her borow with suche bashfulness, that it mai appear, that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned words could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of vnknown wordes.'

Wilson entered on the campaign with vigour. 'I know them that thinke Rhetorique standeth wholie vpon darke wordes, and hee that can catch an inkhorne terme by the taile, him they coumpt to be a fine Englisheman, and a good Rhetorician.' He inveighs against the unlearned or foolish fantasticall, 'soch fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies,'

who so Latin their tongue that the simple think they speake by some revelation, and he gives as an example his famous letter 'devised by a Lincolnshire man, for a voyde benefice'. -- 'Such a letter that William Sommer himselfe, could not make a better for that purpose.' In his translation of Demosthenes ten years later, he returns to the subject. 'I had rather follow his veyne (he is speaking of Demosthenes) the which was to speake simply and plainly to the common people's vnderstanding, than to overflouryshe with superfluous speach, although I might thereby be counted equall with the best that euer wrate Englysh.' His model in writing was such a style as Latimer's, that is to say, the pure speech of the common people. He was too wise not to see that the avoidance of classicisms might be pushed to extremes. 'Now whereas wordes be receiued as well from Greeke as Latine, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lack of store, or els because we would enrich the language; it is well doen to use them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation, when all other are agreed to followe the same waie. There is no man agreed when he heareth (Letters Patents) and yet patent is Latine, and signifieth open to all men.' There can be no doubt as to the sanity and justice of his attitude and doubtless many good Saxon words were saved in the crusade which would otherwise have been lost, for their nature makes them difficult to recover if once they fall out of use. But there were not wanting strong opponents to Wilson and Cheke. George Pettie, one of a number of writers who made their bread out of the detested style of composition, boldly championed the cause of Latinism and ornament. 'It is not unknown to all men,' he says, 'how many words we have fetcht from hence within these few yeeres, whiche if they should all be counted inkpot tearmes, I know not how we shall speake anie thing without blacking our mouthes with inke.' There is reason in the criticism; Cheke and his followers did go too far, while safety, in this case as in most, lay in the mean. Yet their efforts were not without fruit, for the worst excesses never took a strong grip of English prose; that it was saved is not so much due to their precepts as critics as to their work as translators.

The shafts which Wilson directs against archaism are no less keen though their effect was less. He puts his arguments into the mouth of an ancient philosopher.

'*Phauorinus* the Philosopher (as *Gellius* telleth the tale) did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbes very handsomely, for vsing ouer old, and ouer straunge wordes. Sirha (quoth he) when our olde great auncesters and Graundsires were aliue, they spake plainly in their mothers tongue, and vsed olde language, such as was spoken then at the building of Roome. But you talke me such a Latine, as though you spake with them euen now, that were two or three thousand yeres agoe, and onely because you would haue no man to vnderstand what you say. Now, were it not better for thee a thousande fold, (thou foolish fellowe) in seeking to haue thy desire, to holde thy peace, and speake nothing at all? For then by that meanes, fewe should knowe what were thy meaning. But thou saiest, the olde antiquitie doth like thee best, because it is good, sober, and modest. Ah, liue man, as they did before thee, and speake thy mind as men doe at this day.'

Now, the return to Chaucer is by far the most striking feature of the revival of English

letters. We are accustomed to hear from the historians of the introduction and imitation of Italian metres by the authors of Tottel's *Miscellany*, but in reality their indebtedness to the older English poets is far more obvious and much better worth noting. It is not merely the direct references to Chaucer nor the acknowledged quotations from his work. The whole spirit of the verse both of Surrey and Wyatt is caught from him. The opening lines of the first poem in the volume, written by Surrey, are pure Chaucer: --

The sonne hath twise brought furth his tender grene,
And clad the earth in lustie loueliness.

In the second we get the 'soote season' and all the Chaucerian language of spring. Wyatt is no less firm in his allegiance. There is no mistaking the source of the rhythm of such a passage as this: --

He knoweth, how grete Atride that made Troy freat,
And Hanniball, to Rome so troubelous:
Whom Homer honored, Achilles that great,
And Thaffricane Scipion the famous:
And many other, by much nurture glorious:
Whose fame and honor did bring them aboue:
I did let fall in base dishonest loue.

The minor authors who contributed to the collection fell also under the spell.

Full faire and white she is and White by name:

There is no need to multiply instances. As Wilson scornfully says, 'The fine courtier wil talke nothing but Chaucer,' and the fine courtier was to be the saving of English verse. Wilson and his companions, in attacking Latinisms and language borrowed from the older poets, were attacking the two most precious sources of the Elizabethan poets' vocabulary. All the sonorousness, dignity, and beauty of Spenser and the dramatists would have been lost had they succeeded in their object, and English poetry would have been starved into the warped and ugly forms of Sternhold and Tusser. We cannot, then, regret that their efforts failed, as they did. For all their learning and high morality, they were not fit teachers; their moral preoccupations made it impossible that they should be so. Their ideal reappeared and was fulfilled late in the seventeenth century when fantasy and imagery had worn themselves out and the greater richness of the language made simplicity possible and adequate for poetic speech.

There remains a matter of special interest. From time to time there have been critics who suggested that traces of the reading of *The Arte of Rhetorique* might be found in Shakespeare. Nathan Drake, a student of Shakespeare whose wide knowledge of minor Elizabethan literature should have saved him from the neglect into which he has fallen,

suggested that the character of Dogberry might be derived from Wilson. 'An other good fellowe of the countrey being an Officer and Maior of a toun, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauing just occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, said after this wise in a great heate. Thou yngrame an vacation knaue, if I take thee anymore within the circumcision of my dampnation: I will so corrupt thee, that all other vacation knaues shall take illsample by thee.' There is sufficient similarity to warrant the suggestion, but much more certain evidence of Shakespeare's reading of Wilson is to be found; it lies, as might be expected, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. There can be no doubt from this play that Shakespeare had read some Rhetoric, that he found it tedious and dull and fit matter only for ridicule and laughter. It is the formal rhetoric which he satirizes; its schemes and its technical terms. 'I will look again on the intellect of the letter,' says Holofernes, 'for the nomination of the party writing to the person written unto.' The word here is Wilson's Intellection, which is 'a trope, when we gather or iudge the whole by the part, or part by the whole'. But Holofernes was not the only student of *The Arte of Rhetorique* in the company gathered in Navarre. Don Armado culled some of the splendour of his speech from this source. His letter to Jaquenetta is modelled on one of Wilson's examples. He is writing of King Cophetua: --

'He it was that might rightly say Veni, vidi, vici; which to annothimize in the vulgar, -- O base and obscure vulgar! -- videlicet, He came, saw, and overcame: he came, one; saw, two; overcame, three. Who came? the king: why did he come? to see: why did he see? to overcome: to whom came he? to the beggar: what saw he? the beggar: who overcame he? the beggar. The conclusion is victory: on whose side? the king's. The captive is enriched: on whose side? the beggar's. The catastrophe is a nuptial: on whose side? the king's: no, on both in one, or one in both. I am the king; for so stands the comparison: thou the beggar: for so witnesseth thy lowliness.'

All this follows the questions appended to the Example of commending King David given below p. 21. It is quite possible that other evidence of Shakespeare's acquaintance with Wilson's work might yet be found; a certain knowledge of it can be proved beyond doubt.¹

That sort of criticism which consists in the resurrection of dead reputation, or in the erection of broken monuments, is not apt to be the most sound. It is not pretended here that *The Arte of Rhetorique* is a great book. But that it has an historical interest apart from, and independent of, its real merits has perhaps been shown in these pages. No treatise on Rhetoric can ever be anything more than a kind of tool-box with whose contents the novice may try his hand, and in a case of this sort there is neither best nor worst. If he has talent and imagination he will use his tools well, however poor they be; if not, he will be a botcher at the best, even if they are good. The words of Theseus may be applied with greater truth in this matter than in that of which he used them: 'The best of this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse if imagination mend them.'

I have to acknowledge the help and suggestions of Professor Raleigh, and of Professor

Grierson of Aberdeen University, and the courtesy of Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who kindly lent me his copy of the very rare edition of 1560.

¹ The reference to Timon on p. 55 has been thought to have suggested *Timon of Athens*. It is possible that the panegyric of order on p. 157 may have suggested the speech of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*, Act. I. Sc. iii. There is little similarity between the two, save in idea, but the passage in Shakespeare looks as though it were based on a particular reminiscence of his reading. Professor Raleigh has pointed out (*Shakespeare*, E. M. L.) the similarity of some of Wilson's speeches to those of Falstaff.

GEORGE HERBERT MAIR.

Oxford, *December*, 1908.

NOTE

This book is a reprint of the edition of 1585, which is stated on its title-page to be taken from that of 1567. As it contains many errors (for the most part typographical and due to carelessness) it has been collated with the edition of 1567, and with that of 1560 (which is the *editio princeps*). The latter has so far been regarded as non-existent; none of the great libraries contain a copy. I am indebted to Mr. R. B. McKerrow for the loan of one in his possession. The first edition (that of 1553) is quite incomplete, and was revised and added to (see *Prologue to the Reader*).

THE

Art of Rhetorique,

for the vse of
all such as are studious
of Eloquence, set forth
in English, by Tho-
mas Wilson.
1553.

¶ *And now newly set forth a-
gaine, with a Prologue
to the Reader.*
1567.

¶ Imprinted at London, by
George Robinson.

1585.

¶ **TO THE RIGHT HO-**
nourable Lorde Iohn Dudley,
Lorde Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, and
Maister of the Horse to the Kinges
Maiestie: your assured to
commaund, Tho-
mas Wilson.



When Pirrhus King of the Epirotes made battaile against the Romaines, and could neither by force of armes, nor yet by any policie winne certaine strong Holdes: He vsed commonly to send one Cineas (a noble Orator, and sometimes Scholer to Demosthenes) to persuade with the Captaines and people that were in them, that they should yeeld vp the saide Hold or Townes without fight or resistaunce. And so it came to passe, that through the pithie eloquence of this noble Orator, diuers strong Castelles and Fortresses were peaceably giuen vp into the handes of Pirrhus, which he should haue found very hard and tedious to winne by the sworde. And this thing was not Pirrhus himselfe ashamed in his common talke, to the praise of the said Orator openly to confesse: alledging that Cineas through the eloquence of his tongue, wanne moe Cities vnto him, then euer himself should els haue beene able by force to subdue. Good was that Orator that could doe so much: & wise was that King which would vse such a meane. For if the worthinesse of Eloquence maie mooue vs, what worthier thing can there bee, then with a word to winne Cities and whole Countries? If profite maie perswade, what greater gaine can we haue, then without bloudshed achiue to a Conquest? If pleasure maie prouoke vs, what greater delite doe wee knowe, then to see a whole multitude, with the onely talke of man, rauished and drawne which way he liketh best to haue them? Boldly then may I aduenture, and without feare step forth to offer that vnto your Lordship, which for the dignitie is so excellent, and for the vse so necessarie: that no man ought to be without it, which either shall beare rule ouer many, or must haue to doe with matters of a Realme. Considering therefore your Lordships high estate and worthie calling, I knowe nothing more fitting with your Honor, then to the gift of good reason and vnderstanding, wherewith we see you notablie endued, to ioyne the perfection of Eloquent vtterance. And because that aswell by your Lordshippes most tender imbracing of all such as be learned, as also by your right studious exercise: you do euidently declare, not onely what estimation you haue, of all learning and excellent qualities in generall, but also what a speciall desire and affection, you beare to Eloquence: I therefore, commend to your Lordshippes tuition and patronage, this treatise of Rhetorique, to the ende that ye may get some furtheraunce by the same, & I also be discharged of my faithfull promise, this last yere made vnto you. For, whereas it pleased you among other talke of learning, earnestly

to wish, that ye might one day see the preceptes of Rhetorique, set forth by me in English, as I had erst done the rules of Logicke: hauing in my countrey this last Sommer, a quiet time of vacation, with the right worshipfull Sir Edward Dimmocke Knight: I trauailed so much, as my leasure might serue thereunto, not onely to declare my good heart, to the satisfying of your request in that behalfe, but also through that your motion, to helpe the towardnesse of some other, not so well furnished as your Lordship is.

For, as touching your selfe, by the time that perfect experience, of manifolde and weightie matters of the Commonweale, shall haue encreased the Eloquence, which alreadie doth naturally flowe in you: I doubt nothing, but you will so farre be better then this my Booke, that I shall not onely blush to chalenge you for a Scholer, in the Art of Rhetorique, by me rudely set forth: but also be driuen to set this simple treatise, to your Lordship to Schoole, that it may learne Rhetorique of your daylie talke, finding you such an Oratour in your speech, as great Clarkes do declare what an Oratour should bee. In the meane

*season, I shall right humbly beseech your good Lordship,
so to be a patrone and defendour of these
my labours, to you dedicated: as I shall
be a continual petitioner vnto almightie
God, for your preseruacion,
and long
continuance*

A Prologue to the Reader.



REAT may their boldnesse bee thought, that seeke without feare to sett forth their knowledge: & suffer their doinges to be sene, they care not of whom. For, not onely thereby doe they bring men to thinke, that they stand much in their owne conceipt, but also they seeme to assure themselues, that all men will like whatsoeuer they write. Wherein they commit two great faults: the one is, that they are proud: the other is, that they are fond. For, what greater pride can there be, then for any man to thinke himselfe to be wiser, then all men liuing? Or what greater folly can be immagined, then for one to thinke, that all men will like, whatsoeuer he writeth? Such are they for the most part by all likelihood, that doe set forth Bookes. Wherein they doe both betray them selues, and also giue great occasion to the world, to talke largely of them. But al those that doe write, are not such as I say, nor meane not as I thinke, as the which are wise and learned men, writing onely vnder the correction of others, to edifie their neighbour, and not seeking in any wise their own glorie. Neither all that bee Readers will talke their pleasures, but rather stay their iudgements, and weye things with reason. Some perhappes may like the writer,

if his doinges bee good, but the most part vndoubtedly must of force bee offended, as the which are corrupt of iudgement, because they are nought. Then such as seeke the greatest praise for writing of Bookes, should do best in my simple minde to write foolish toyes, for then the most part would best esteeme them. And herein perhappes may I get some aduantage, that in my yong yeares, haue bene bold to set forth my simple fantasies. For, in follie, I dare compare with the proudest, and in pride I dare match with him that is most foolish: not doubting to finde such fellowes, that not onely will seeke to be egall vnto me, and perhappes excell me, but also such as will therein right well esteeme me.

Cicero in his second Booke *de Oratore*, bringeth in one *Lucilius*, a pleasaunt and merie conceipted man, who saith, that he would not haue such thinges as he wrote to bee read, either of those that were excellently learned, or of them that were altogether ignoraunt. For, that the one would thinke more of his doinges, and haue a farther meaning with him, than euer the aucthour selfe thought: the other taking the booke in his hand, would vnderstand nothing at all, being as meete to reade Aucthours, as an Asse to play on the Organnes. This man in thus saying, had some reason. But I being somewhat acquainted with the world, haue found out an other sort of men, whom of all others, I would bee loth should reade any of my doinges: especially such thinges as either touched Christ, or any good doctrine. And those are such malicious folke, that loue to finde faults in other mens matters, and seuen yeares together wil keepe them in store, to the vtter vndoing of their Christian brother: not minding to reade for their better learning, but seeking to depraue whatsoeuer they finde, and watching their time, will take best aduantage to vndoe their neighbour. Such men I say of all others, would I be loth to haue the sight, of any myne earnest doinges, if I could tell how to forbid them, or how to hinder them of their purpose.

Two yeares past at my beeing in *Italie*, I was charged in *Roome* Towne, to my great daunger and vtter vndoing (if Gods goodnesse had not bin the greater) to haue written this Booke of *Rhetorique*, & the *Logicke* also, for the which I was coumpted an Hereticke, notwithstanding the absolution, graunted to al the Realme, by *Pope Iulie* the third, for al former offences or practises, deuised against the holie mother Church, as they call it. A straunge matter, that thinges done in England seuen yeres before, and the same vniuersally forgiuen, should afterwards be layd to a mans charge in *Roome*. But what cannot malice doe? Or what will not the wilfull deuse, to satisfie their mindes, for vndoing of others? God be my Iudge, I had then as little feare (although death was present, and the torment at hand, wherof I felt some smart) as euer I had in all my life before. For, when I saw those that did seeke my death, to bee so maliciously set, to make such poore shifts for my readier dispatch, and to burden me with those backe reckenings: I tooke such courage, and was so bolde, that the Iudges then did much maruaile at my stoutnesse, and thinking to bring doune my great heart, told me plainly, that I was in farther perill, then wherof I was aware, and sought therupon to take aduantage of my words, and to bring me in daunger by all meanes possible. And after long debating with me, they willed me at any hand to submit my selfe to the holy Father, and the deuout Colledge of Cardinalles. For otherwise there was no remedie. With that beeing fully purposed, not to yeeld to any submission, as

one that little trusted their colourable deceit: I was as ware as I could bee, not to vtter any thing for mine owne harme, for feare I shoulde come in their daunger. For then either should I haue dyed, or els haue denyed both openly and shamefully, the knowne trueth of Christ and his Gospell. In the ende by Gods grace, I was wonderfully deliuered, through plain force of the worthie *Romaines* (an enterprise heretofore in that sort neuer attempted) being then without hope of life, and much lesse of libertie. And now that I am come home, this booke is shewed me, and I desired to looke vpon it, to amend it where I thought meet. Amend it, quoth I? Nay, let the booke first amende it selfe, and make mee amendes. For surely I haue no cause to acknowledge it for my booke, because I haue so smarted for it. For where I haue beene euill handled, I haue much a doe to shewe my self friendly. If the Sonne were the occasion of the Fathers imprisonment, would not the Father bee offended with him thinke you? Or at the least, would he not take heede how hereafter he had to doe with him? If others neuer get more by bookes then I haue done: it were better be a Carter, then a Scholer, for [worldly] profite. A burnt child feareth the fire, and a beaten dogge escheweth the whippe. Now therefore, I will none of this booke from henceforth, I will none of him I say: take him that list, and weare him that will. And by that time they haue paid for him so dearely as I haue done, they will bee as wearie of him as I haue beene. Who that toucheth Pitch shall be filed with it, and he that goeth in the Sunne shall bee Sunne burnt, although he thinke not of it. So they that wil reade this or such like bookes, shall in the ende be as the bookes are. What goodnesse is in this treatise, I cannot without vainglorie report, neither will I meddle with it, either hot or colde. As it was, so it is, and so bee it still hereafter for mee: so that I heare no more of it, and that it be not yet once again cast in my dish. But this I say to others, as I am assured they will laugh that will reade it: So if the world should turne (as God forbid) they were most like to weepe, that in all pointes would followe it. I would bee loth that any man should hurt himselfe for my doinges. And therefore to auoyde the worst for all parts, the best were neuer once to looke on it: for then I am assured no man shal take harme by it. But I thinke some shal reade it, before whom I doe wash my handes, if any harme should come to them hereafter, & let them not say but that they are warned. I neuer heard a man yet troubled for ignoraunce in Religion. And yet me thinkes it is as great an heresie not to know God, as to erre in the knowledge of God. But some perhaps may say vnto me: Sir, you are much to be blamed that are so fearfull, and doe cast such perrilles before hande, to discourage men from well doing. I aunswere: My minde is not to discourage any man, but only to shewe how I haue beene tried for this bookes sake, *tanquam per ignem*. For in deede the Prison was on fire when I came out of it, and where as I feared fire most (as who is he that doth not feare it?) I was deliuered by fire and sworde together. And yet now thus fearfull am I, that hauing beene thus swinged, and restrained of libertie: I would first rather hassard my life presently hereafter to dye vpon a Turke: then to abide againe without hope of libertie, such painfull imprisonment for euer. So that I haue now got courage with suffering damage, and my selfe as you see, very willing from henceforth to dye: being then brought only but in feare of death. They that loue sorrowe vpon sorrowe: God send it them. I for my part had rather bee without sence of grieffe, then for euer to liue in grieffe. And I thinke the troubles before death being long suffered, and without hope continued are worse a great deale, then present death it selfe can bee: Especially to him that maketh litle accompt of this life, and

is wel armed with a constant mind to Godward. Thus I haue talked of my self more then I needed, some will say, and yet not more (may I well say) then I haue needed in deede. For I was without all helpe, and without all hope, not onely of libertie, but also of life, and therefore what thing needed I not? Or with what wordes sufficiently could I set forth my neede? God be praised, and thankes be giuen to him onely, that not onely deliuered me out of the Lyons mouth, but also hath brought England my deare Countrey, out of great thraldome and forraine bondage.

And God saue the Queenes Maiestie, the Realme, and
the scattered flocke of Christ, and graunt, O mercifull
God, an vniuersall quietnesse of minde, perfect
greement in doctrine, and amendment of our
liues, that we may be all one Sheepfolde, and
haue one Pastour Iesus, to whom with
the Father, the Sonne, and the
holy Ghost, bee all honour
and glorie worlde without
ende. *Amen.*

This seuenth of
December.
1560.

E L O Q V E N C E F I R S T

giuen by God, and after lost

by man, and last repayred

by God againe.



An (in whom is powred the breath of life) was made at the first being an euerliuing creature, vnto the likenesse of God, endued with reason, and appointed Lorde ouer all other thinges liuing. But after the fall of our first Father, sinne so crept in that our knowledge was much darkned, and by corruption of this our flesh, mans reason and entendement were both ouerwhelmed. At what time God being sore greued with the follie of one man, pitied of his mere goodnesse the whole state and posteritie of Mankind. And therefore (whereas through the wicked suggestion of our ghostly enemy, the ioyfull fruition of Gods glorie was altogether lost:) it pleased our heauenly Father to repaire mankind of his free mercie, and to graunt an euerliuing enheritaunce, vnto all such as would by constaunt faith seeke earnestly hereafter. Long it was ere that man knewe himselfe, being destitute of Gods grace, so that all thinges waxed sauage, the earth vntilled, societie neglected, Gods will not knowne, man against man, one against an other,

and all against order. Some liued by spoyle: some like brute beastes grased vpon the ground: some went naked: some roomed like Woodoses: none did any thing by reason, but most did what they could by manhood. None almost considered the euerliuing GOD, but all liued most commonly after their owne lust. By death they thought that all thinges ended: by life they looked for none other liuing. None remembred the true obseruation of Wedlocke: none tendered the education of their children: Lawes were not regarded: true dealing was not once vsed. For vertue, vice bare place: for right and equitie, might vsed authoritie. And therefore, whereas man through reason might haue vsed order: man through folie fell into errour. And thus for lacke of skill, and for want of grace euill so preuailed, that the deuil was most esteemed, and God either almost vnknowne among them all, or els nothing feared among so many. Therefore, euen now when man was thus past all hope of amendement, God still tendering his owne workmanshippe, stirring vp his faithfull and elect, to perswade with reason all men to societie. And gaue his appointed Ministers knowledge both to see the natures of men, and also graunted them the gift of vtterance, that they might with ease win folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order. And therefore, whereas men liued brutishly in open feeldes, hauing neither house to shroude them in, nor attire to clothe their backes, nor yet any regard to seeke their best auaille: these appointed of GOD called them together by vtterance of speech, and perswaded with them what was good, what was bad, & what was gainful for mankind. And although at first the rude could hardly learne, and either for the straungenesse of the thing, would not gladly receiue the offer, or els for lack of knowledge, could not perceiue the goodnesse: yet being somewhat drawne, and delited with the pleasantnesse of reason, and the sweetnesse of vtterance: after a certaine space they became through Nurture and good aduisement, of wilde, sober: of cruell, gentle: of fooles, wise: and of beastes, men: such force hath the tongue, and such is the power of Eloquence and reason, that most men are forced euen to yeeld in that which most standeth against their will. And therefore the Poets doe feine, that *Hercules* beeing a man of great wisdom, had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine, to drawe them and leade them euen as he lusted. For his witte was so great, his tongue so eloquent, and his experience such, that no one man was able to withstande his reason, but euery one was rather driuen to doe that which he would, and to will that which he did: agreeing to his aduise both in word and worke in all that euer they were able. Neither can I see that men could haue beene brought by any other meanes, to liue together in fellowship of life, to maintaine Cities, to deale truely, and willingly obeye one an other, if men at the first had not by art and eloquence, perswaded that which they full oft found out by reason. For what man I pray you, beeing better able to maintaine himself by valiaunt courage, then by liuing in base subiECTION, would not rather looke to rule like a Lord, then to liue like an vnderling: if by reason he were not perswaded, that it behoueth euery man to liue in his owne vocation: and not to seeke any higher rouse, then wherunto he was at the first appointed? Who would digge and delue from Morne till Euening? Who would trauaile and toyle with ye sweat of his browes? Yea, who would for his Kings pleasure aduenture and hassarde his life, if witte had not so won men, that they thought nothing more needfull in this world, nor any thing whereunto they were more bounden: then here to liue in their duetie, and to traine their whole life according to their calling. Therefore, whereas men are in many thinges weake by Nature,

and subiect to much infirmitie: I thinke in this one point they passe all other creatures liuing, that haue the gift of speech and reason. And among all other, I thinke him most worthie fame, and amongst all men to bee taken for halfe a **GOD**: that therein doth chiefly and aboue all other excell men, wherein men doe excell beastes. For he that is among the reasonable of al most reasonable, and among the wittie, of all most wittie, and among the eloquent, of all most eloquent: him thinke I among all men, not onely to be taken for a singuler man, but rather to be coumpted for halfe a God. For, in seeking the excellencie hereof, the soner he draweth to perfection, the nyer he commeth to God, who is the cheefe wisdomedome, and therefore called God, because he is most wise, or rather wisdomedome it self.

Now then, seing that God giueth his heauenly grace, vnto al such as call vnto him with stretched handes, and humble heart, neuer wanting to those, that want not to themselues: I purpose by his grace and especiall assistence, to set forth such precepts of eloquence, and to shewe what obseruation the wise haue vsed, in handeling of their matters: that the vnlearned by seeing the practise of others, maie haue some knowledge themselues, and learne by their neighbours deuise, what is necessarie for them selues in their owne case.

Gaulterus Haddonus D. Iuris *Ciuilis, Et Reginae Maiestatis, à* *Libellis supplicibus.*

REtoricem Logice soror, est affata sororem:

Quem didicit nuper, sermo Britannos erat.

Retorice tacuit, magno percussæ dolore:

Nam nondum nostro nouerat ore loqui.

Audijt hæc, Logices, Wilsonus forte, magister:

Qui fuerat, nostros addideratque sonos.

Retoricem mutam, verbis solatus amicis:

Seuocat, & rogitat num esse Britanna velit?

Deijciens oculos respondit velle libenter:

Sed se, qua possit, non reperire, via.

Ipsæ vias (inquit) tradam, legesque loquendi:

Quomodo perfecte verba Britanna loces.

*Liberat ille fidem, nostro sermone politur:
Retorice, nostra est vtraque facta soror.
Anglia nobilium si charus sermo sororem.
Est tibi, sermonis charus & author erit.*

¶ *Thomas Wilsonus in Anglicam
Rhetoricem suam.*

*ANglia si doceat, quod: Græcia docta: quid obstat
Quo minus ex Anglis Anglia, vera sciat.
Non (quia Greca potes, vel calles verba Latina)
Doctus es, aut sapiens: sed quia vera vides.
Aurea secreto tegitur sapientia sensu.
Abdita sensa tenes Anglus? es ergo sciens.
Sed me Rhetoricem nequeat cùm lingua polire:
Cui vacat, hoc vnum quod valet, oro velet.*

Continue on to [Book I](#).



The Arte of Rhetorique

Thomas Wilson

[Introduction](#) | [Book I](#) | [Book II](#) | [Book III](#)

Note on the e-text: this [Renascence Editions](#) text was transcribed by Judy Boss, Omaha, NE, 1998, from *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique 1560*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Ed. G. H. Mair. Content unique to this presentation is copyright © 1998 The University of Oregon and Judy Boss. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the Publisher, rbear at uoregon.edu.

The arte of Rhetorique.

What is Rhetorique.



Hetorique is an Arte to set foorth by vtterance of words, matter at large, or (as *Cicero* doth say) it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaration of the mynd, in the handling of any cause, called in contention, that may through reason largely be discussed.

¶ *The matter whereupon an Oratour must speake.*

AN Orator must be able to speake fully of al those questions, which by lawe & mans ordinance are enacted, and appointed for the vse and profite of man, such as are thought apt for the tongue to set forwarde. Nowe *Astronomie* is rather learned by demonstration, then taught by any great vtterance. *Arithmetique* smally needeth the vse of Eloquence, seeing it may be had wholly by nombring only. *Geometrie* rather asketh a good square, then a cleane flowing tongue to set out the art. Therefore an Orators profession, is to speake only of all such matters, as may largely be expounded for mans behoue, and may with much grace be set out, for all men to heare them.

Rhetorique occupied about all lawes, concerning man.

¶ *Of questions.*

Every question or demand in things, is of two sortes. Either it is an infinite question, & without end, or els it is definite, and comprehended within some ende. Questions of two sort.

Those questions are called infinite, which generally are propounded, without the comprehension of tyme, place, and persone, or any such like: that is to say, when no certaine thing is named, but onely words are generally spoken. As thus, whether it be best to marrie, or to liue single. Which is better, a courtiers life, or a Scholers life. Questions infinite.

Those questions are called definite, which set forth a matter, with the appointment and naming of place, time, and person. As thus. Whether now it be best here in Englande, for a Priest to Marrie, or to liue single. Whether it were meete for the kings Maiestie that nowe is, to marrie with a stranger, or to marrie with one of his owne Subiects. Now the definite question (as the which concerneth some one person) is most agreeing to the purpose of an Orator, considering particuler matters in the law, are euer debated betwixt certaine persons, the one affirming for his parte, and the other denying as fast againe for his parte. Questions definite, belong properly to an Orator.

Things generally spoken without all circumstaunces, are more proper vnto the *Logician*, who talketh of thinges vniuersally,

without respect of person, time, or place. And yet notwithstanding, *Tullie* doth say, that whosoeuer will talke of particuler matter must remember, that within the same also is comprehended a generall. As for example. If I shall aske this question, whether it bee lawfull for William Conquerour to inuade England, and win it by force of Armour, I must also consider this, whether it bee lawfull for any man to vsurpe power, or it bee not lawful. That if the greater cannot be borne withall, the lesse can not bee neither. And in this respect, a generall question agreeth well to an Orators profession, and ought well to bee knowne for the better furtheraunce of his matter, notwithstanding the particuler question is euer called in controuersie, and the generall only thereupon considered, to comprehend and compasse the same, as the which is more generall. Questions infinite, proper vnto Logicians.

¶ *The ende of Rhetorique.*

Three things are required of an Orator.

- { To teach. Orators bound
- { To delight. to performe
- { And to perswade. three thinges.

First therefore, an Orator must labour to tell his tale, that the hearers may well knowe what he meaneth, and vnderstand him wholly, the which he shall with ease vse, if he

vtter his minde in plaine words, such as are vsually receiued, and tell it orderly, without going about the bush. That if he doe not this, he shall neuer doe the other. For what man can be delited, or yet be perswaded with the only hearing of those thinges, which he knoweth not what they meane. The tongue is ordeined to expresse the minde, that one may vnderstand an others meaning: now what auaieth to speake, when none can tell what the speaker meaneth? Therefore *Phauorinus* the Philosopher (as *Gellius* telleth the tale) did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbs very handsomely, for vsing ouer old, and ouer straunge wordes. Sirha (quoth he) when our olde great auncesters and Graundsires were aliue, they spake plainly in their mothers tongue, and vsed olde language, such as was spoken then at the building of Roome. But you talke me such a Latine, as though you spake with them euen now, that were two or three thousand yeres agoe, and onely because you would haue no man to vnderstand what you say. Now, were it not better for thee a thousande fold, (thou foolish fellowe) in seeking to haue thy desire, to holde thy peace, and speake nothing at all? For then by that meanes, fewe should knowe what were thy meaning. But thou saiest, the olde antiquitie doth like thee best, because it is good, sober, and modest. Ah, liue man, as they did before thee, and speake thy mind now as men doe at this day. And remember that which *Cæsar* saith, beware as long as thou liuest of straunge wordes, as thou wouldest take heede and eschue great Rockes in the Sea.

Plaine words
proper vnto
an Orator.

A Philosophers
wittie saying to
a
yong man that
sought to
speake
dark language.

The next part that he hath to play, is to chere his geastes, and to make them take pleasure, with hearing of thinges

wittely deuised, and pleasauntly set foorth. Therefore euery Orator should earnestly labour to file his tongue, that his words may slide with ease, and that in his deliuerance he may have such grace, as the sound of a Lute, or any such Instrument doth giue. Then his sentences must be wel framed, and his words aptly vsed, through the whole discourse of his Oration.

Orators must
vse delitefull
wordes and
sayinges.

Thirdly, such quicknesse of witte must bee shewed, and such pleasaunt sawes so well applied, that the eares may finde much delite, whereof I will speake largely, when I shall intreate of mouing laughter. And assuredly nothing is more needfull, then to quicken these heaue loden wittes of ours,

and much to cherish these our lompish and vnweldie Natures, for except men finde delite, they will not long abide: delite them, and winne them: wearie them, and you lose them for euer. And that is the reason, that men commonly tarie the ende of a merie Play, and cannot abide the halfe hearing of a sower checking Sermon. Therefore euen these auncient Preachers, must now and then play the fooles in the pulpit, to serue the tickle eares of their fleting audience, or els they are like sometimes to preach to the bare walles, for though their

Preachers not
so diligently
heard as
common
Players.

spirite bee apt, and our will prone, yet our flesh is so heauie, and humours so ouerwhelme vs, that we cannot without refreshing, long abide to heare any one thing. Thus we see, that to delite is needfull, without the which weightie matters will not be heard at all, and therefore him cunne I thanke, that both can and will ever, mingle sweete among the sower, be he Preacher, Lawyer, yea, or Cooke either hardly, when hee dresseth a good dish of meate: now I need not to tell that scurrilitie, or ale-house iesting, would bee thought odious, or grosse mirth would be deemed madnesse: considering that euen the meane witted do knowe that alreadie, and as for other that haue no wit, they will neuer learne it, therefore God speede them. Now when these two are done, hee must perswade, and moue the affections of his hearers in such wise, that they shalbe forced to yeeld vnto his saying, whereof (because the matter is large, and may more aptly be declared, when I shall speake of Amplification) I will surcease to speake any thing thereof at this tyme.

Preachers must sometimes be mery when they speake to the people. Deliting needful. Scurrilitie odious. Affections must be moued.

¶ *By what meanes Eloquence is attained.*

First needfull it is that hee, which desireth to excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to proue an eloquent man, must naturally haue a wit, and an aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his Booke, and learne to bee well stored with knowledge, that he may be able to minister matter for al causes necessarie. The which when he hath got plentifully, he must vse much exercise, both in writing, and also in speaking. For though hee haue a wit and learning together,

yet shall they both little auaille without much practise. What maketh the Lawyer to haue such utteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundly? Practise. Yea, what maketh women goe so fast awaye with their wordes? Mary practise I warrant you. Therefore in all faculties, diligent practise, and earnest exercise, are the onely things that make men proue excellent. Many men know the art very well, and be in all points throughly grounded and acquainted with the precepts, & yet it is not their hap to proue eloquent. And the reason is, that eloquence it selfe, came not vp first by the art, but the arte rather was gathered vpon eloquence. For wisemen seeing by much obseruation and diligent practise, the compasse of diuers causes, compiled thereupon precepts and lessons, worthy to be knowne and learned of all men. Therefore before arte was inuented, eloquence was vsed, and through practise made perfect, the which in all things is a soueraigne meane, most highly to excell.

Practise maketh al things perfect.

Rhetorique first made by wise men, and not wisemen first made by Rhetorique.

Now, before we vse either to write, or speake eloquently, wee must dedicate our myndes wholly, to followe the most wise and learned men, and seeke to fashion as wel their

speache and gesturing, as their witte or endyting. The which when we earnestly mynd to

doe, we can not but in time appere somewhat like them. For if they that walke much in the Sunne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the most part Sunne burnt, it can not be but that they which wittingly and willingly trauayle to counterfect other, must needes take some colour of them, and be like vnto them in some one thing or other, according to the Prouerbe, by companying with the wise, a man shall learne wisdom.

Imitation or following the waies of wisemen, is needfull.

¶ *To what purpose this arte is set forthe.*

TO this purpose and for this vse, is the arte compiled together, by the learned and wisemen, that those which

are ignorant might iudge of the learned, and labour (when time should require) to followe their woorkes accordingly. Againe, the arte helpeth well to dispose and order matters of our owne inuention, the which wee may followe as well in speaking as in writing, for though many by nature without art, haue proued worthy men, yet is arte a surer guide then nature, considering we see as liuely by arte what we do, as though we read a thing in writing, where as Natures doings are not so open to all men. Againe, those that haue good wittes by Nature, shall better encrease them by arte, and the blunt also shall bee whetted through arte, that want Nature to helpe them forward.

Rhetorique to what purpose it serueth. Arte a surer guide then Nature.

¶ *Fiue things to be considered in an Oratour.*

ANy one that will largely handle any matter, must fasten his mynde first of all, vpon these fiue especiall pointes that followe, and learne them euery one.

- { i. Inuention of matter.
- { ii. Disposition of the same.
- { iii. Elocution.
- { iiii. Memorie.
- { v. Utteraunce.

THE finding out of apt matter, called otherwise Inuention, is a searching out of things true, or things likely, the which may reasonable set forth a matter, and make it appere probable. The places of *Logique*, giue good occasion to finde out plentifull matter. And therefore, they that will proue any cause, and seeke onely to teach thereby the trueth, must search out the places of *Logique*, and no doubt they shall finde much

Oratours must have v. things to make them perfite.

plentie. But what auaieth much treasure and apt matter, if man can not apply it to his purpose. Therefore, in the second place is mentioned, the setting or ordering of things inuented for this purpose, called in Latine *Dispositio*, the which is nothing els but an apt bestowing, and orderly placing of things, declaring where euery argument shall be set, and in what maner euery

Inuention, what it is. Disposition, what it is.

reason shalbe applied for confirmation of the purpose.

But yet what helpeth it though wee can finde good reasons, and knowe how to place them, if wee haue not apt words and picked Sentences, to commende the whole matter.

Therefore,

this point must needs followe to beautifie the cause, the which being called Elocution, is an applying of apt wordes and sentences to the matter, found out to confirme the cause. When all these are had together it auaieth little, if man haue no Memorie to containe them. The Memorie therefore must be cherished, the which is a fast holding both of matter and words couched together, to confirme any cause.

Elocution, what it is.
Memorie, what it is.

Be it now that one haue all these fower, yet if he want the fift all the other doe little profite. For though a man can finde out good matter and good wordes, though hee can handsomely set them together, and carie them very well awaie

in his minde, yet it is to no purpose if he haue no vtterance, when he should speake his minde, and shewe men what he hath to saie. Vtterance therefore, is a framing of the voyce, countenance, and gesture after a comely maner.

Pronunciation, what it is.

Thus we see, that euery one of these must goe together, to make a perfite Oratour, and that the lack of one, is a hinderance of the whole, and that as well all may be wanting as one, if wee looke to haue an absolute Oratour.

There are seuen partes in euery Oration.

- {i. The Enterance or beginning.
- {ii. The Narration.
- {iii. The Proposition.
- {iiii. The Deuision or seuerall parting of things.
- {v. The [C]onfirmation.
- {vi. The [C]onfutation.
- {vii. The Conclusion.

Orations in general consist vpon seuen partes[.]

The Entraunce or beginning is the former parte of the Oration, whereby the will of the standers by, or of the Iudge is sought for, and required to heare the matter.

Entraunce, what it is.

The Narration is a plaine and manifest pointing of the matter, and an euident setting forth of all things that belong vnto the same, with a breefe rehearsall grounded vpon some reason.

Narration.

The proposition is a pithie sentence comprehended in a small roome, the somme of the whole matter. Proposition.

The Deuision is an opening of things, wherein we agree and rest vpon, and wherein we sticke and stand in trauers, shewing what we haue to say in our owne behalfe. Deuision.

The Confirmation is a declaration of our owne reasons, with assured and constant proofes. Confirmation.

The Confutation is a dissoluing, or wying away of all such reasons as make against vs. Confutation.

The Conclusion is a clarkly gathering of the matter spoken before, and a lapping vp of it altogether. Conclusion.

Now, because in euery one of these greate heede ought to bee had, and much arte must be vsed, to content and like all parties: I purpose in the second booke to set foorthe at large euery one of these, that both we may know in all partes what to followe, and what to eschue. And first, when time shalbe to talke of any matter I would aduise euery man to consider the nature of the cause it self, that the rather he might frame his whole Oration thereafter.

¶ *Euery matter is contained in
one of these fower.*

Either it is an honest thing whereof we speake, or els it is filthie and vile, or els betwixt both: and doubtfull what

it is to bee called, or els it is some trifeling matter, that is of small weight.

Matters in
generall stand
in
fower pointes.

1 That is called an honest matter, when either we take in hande such a cause that all men would maintayne, or els gainsaie such a cause, that no man can well like. Matters honest.

2 Then doe wee holde and defend a filthie matter, when either we speake against our owne conscience in an euill matter, or els withstand an upright truth. Matters filthie.

3 The cause then is doubtfull, when the matter is halfe honest, and halfe vn honest. Matters doubtfull.

4 Such are trifling causes when there is no weight in them, as if one should phantasie to praise a goose before any other beast liuing, (as I knowe who did) or of fruite to commende Nuttes chiefly, as *Ouid* did, or the Feuer quartaine as *Phauorinus* did, or the Gnat as *Virgil* did, or the battaile of Frogges as *Homer* did, or dispraise beardedes, or commend shauen heddes.

Matters trifeling.

Good heede to be taken at the first, vpon the handling of any matter in Iudgement.

NOT onely it is necessarie to knowe what maner of cause we haue taken in hande, when we first enter vpon any matter, but also it is wisdom to consider the tyme, the place, the man for whom we speake, the man against whom we speake, the matter whereof we speake, and the Iudges before whom wee speake, the reasons that best serue to further our cause, and those reasons also that may seeme somewhat to hinder our cause, and in nowise to vse any such at all, or els warely to mitigate by protestation the euill that is in them, and alwaies to vse whatsoeuer can be saied, to win the chief hearers good willes, and to perswade them to our purpose. If the cause goe by fauour, and that reason can not so much auaille, as good will shal be able to doe: or els if mouing affections can doe more good, then bringing in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to vse that way, whereby wee may by good helpe get the ouerhand. That if myne aduersaries reasons, by mee being confuted serue better to helpe forward my cause, then myne owne reasons confirmed, can be able to doe good: I should wholly bestowe my tyme, and trauaile to weaken and make slender, all that euer he bringeth with him. But if I can with more ease proue mine own sayings, either with witnesses, or with wordes, then bee able to confute his with reason, I must labour to withdrawe mens mindes from mine aduersaries foundation, and require them wholly to harken vnto that which I haue to say, being of it selfe so iust and so reasonable, that none can rightly speake against it, & shew them that great pitie it were, for lacke of the onely hearing, that a true matter should want true dealing. Ouer & besides al these, there remaine two lessons, the which wisemen haue alwaies obserued, and therefore ought of all men assuredly to bee learned. The one is, that if any matter be laied against vs, which by reason can hardly be auoyded, or the which is so open, that none almost can deny: it were wisdom in confuting all the other reasons, to passe ouer this one, as though we saw it not, and therefore speake neuer a word of it. Or els if necessitie shall force a man to say somewhat, he may make an outward bragge, as though there were no matter in it, euer so speaking of it, as though he would stand to the triall, making men to beleue he would fight in the cause, when better it were (if necessitie so required) to run cleane awaie. And therein though a man do flie and giue place, euermore the gladder the lesse rauing there is, or stirring in this matter: yet he flieth wisely and for this ende, that being sensed otherwise, and strongly appointed, hee may take his aduersarie at the best aduantage, or at the least

Circumstances necessarie in all causes to be noted.

Fauor winning, and affections mouing when they are most necessarie.

Aduersaries reasons when they should best be confuted.

Arguments when they should chiefly be vsed.

Matters hard to auoyde should alwaies be past ouer, as though wee sawe them not at all. Good to be bold in most daunger, if otherwise

wearie him with much lingering, and make him with oft such flying, to forsake his cheefe defence.

we cannot escape.

The other lesson is, that whereas we purpose alwaies to haue the victorie, we should so speake that we may labour, rather not to hinder or hurt our cause, then to seeke meanes

to further it. And yet I speake not this, but that both these are right necessary, and euery one that will doe good, must take paines in them both, but yet notwithstanding, it is a fouler fault a great deale for an Orator, to be found hurting his owne cause, then it should turne to his rebuke, if he had not furthered his whole entent. Therefore not onely is it wisdome, to speake so much as is needefull, but also it is good reason to leaue vnspoken so much as is needelesse, the which although the wisest can doe and neede no teaching, yet these common wittes offende now and then in this behalf. Some man being stirred, shall hurt more our cause then twentie other. Taunting woordes before some men, will not bee borne at all. Sharpe rebuking of our aduersarie, or frumpes giuen before some persons, can not be suffered at all. Yea, sometymes a man must not speake all that he knoweth, for if he do, he is like to find small fauour, although he haue iust cause to speake, and may with reason declare his mynd at large. And albeit that witlesse folke, can sooner rebuke that which is fondly spoken, then redily praise that which is wisely kept close, yet the necessitie of the matter must rather be marked, then the fond iudgement of the people esteemed. What a sore saying were this: When a Lawier should take in hande a matter concerning life and death: and an other should aske how he hath sped, to heare tell that the Lawyer hath not only cast away his client, but vndoed himself also, in speaking thinges, inconsideratly, as no doubt it often happeneth that wisemen and those also that be none euill men neither, may vnwares speake thinges, which afterward they sore repent, and would call backe againe with losse of a great somme. Now what folly it is, not to remember the time, and the men. Or who will speake that which he knoweth will not be liked, if he purpose to finde fauour at their hands, before whome he speaketh, what man of reason, will praise that before the Iudges (before whom he knoweth the determination of his cause resteth) which the Iudges them selues cannot abide to heare spoken at all? Or doeth not so much hinder his owne matter, that without all curtesie or preface made, will largely speake euill of those men, whom the hearers of his cause tenderly do fauour? Or be it that there be some notable fault in thine aduersarie, with which the Iudges also are infected, were it not folly for thee to charge thine aduersarie with the same. Considering the Iudges thereby may think, thou speakest against them also, and so thou maiest perhaps lose their fauour, in seeking such defence made without all discretion. And in framing reasons to confirme the purpose, if any be spoken plainly false, or els contrarie to that which was spoken before, doeth it not much hinder a good matter? Therefore in all causes this good heed ought to be had, that alwaies we labour to do some good in furthering of our cause, or if we cannot so doe, at the least that we do no harme at

Better not to hurte
a good matter by ill
speeche then to further
it by good talke.
Warenesse in speaking,
and forbearing to speake[.]

The persone before
whom we speake must be well marked.
Time must be obserued.

al.

¶ *There are three kindes of causes or Orations,
which serue for euery matter.*

NOthing can be handled by this arte, but the same is conteined within one of these three causes. Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise of a thing or els in consulting, whether the cause be profitable, or vnprofitable: or lastly, whether the matter be right or wrong. And yet this one thing is to be learned, that in euery one of these three causes, these three seuerall endes, may euery one of them be conteined in any one of them. And therefore, he that shall haue cause to praise any one bodie, shall haue iust cause to speake of Iustice, to entreate of profite, and ioyntly to talke of one thing with an other. But because these three causes, are commonly and for the most part seuerally parted, I will speake of them one after an other, as they are set forth by wise mens iudgements, and particularly declare their properties all in order.

Orations or
causes
of iii. kinds.

The Oration demonstratiue standeth either in praise, or dispraise of some one man, or of some one thing, or of some one deed doen.

Oration
demonstratiue.

¶ *The kind Demonstratiue, wherein
cheefly it standeth.*

There are diuers things which are praised and dispraised, as men, Countries, Cities, Places, Beastes, Hilles, Riuers, Houses, Castles, deedes doen by worthy men, and pollicies euented by great Warriors, but most commonly men are praised for diuers respectes, before any of the other things are taken in hande.

Now in praysing a noble personage, and in setting foorth at large his worthinesse: *Quintillian* giueth warning, to vse this threefold order.

Noble
persones, how
they should be
praised.

{ Before this life.

To obserue things. { In his life.

{ After his death.

Before a mans life, are considered these places.

{ The Realme.

{ The Sheire.

{ The towne.

{ The Parentes.

{ The Auncesters.

IN a mans life, praise must bee parted threefolde. That is to say, into the giftes of good things of the mynde, the body, and of fortune. Now the giftes of the body & of fortune, are not praise worthy of their owne nature: but euen as they are vsed, either to or fro, so they are either praised, or dispraised. Giftes of the mind deserue the whole trompe & sound commendation aboue all other, wherein we may vse the rehearsal of vertues, as they are in order, and beginning at his infancie, tel all his doings till his last age.

¶ *The places whereof are these.*

{ The birthe, and }		{ Whether the persone be a
{ infancie. }		{ man, or a woman.
		{ The brynging vp, the
{ The childhood. }		{ nurturing, and the behauour
		{ of his life.
{ The Striptyng }		{ To what study he taketh
{ age, or Springtide. }	Whereunto	{ himself vnto, what company
	are referred	{ he useth, how he liueth.
{ The mannes }	these.	{ Prowesse doen, either
{ state. }		{ abroad, or at home.
		{ His pollicies and wittie
{ The olde age. }		{ deuises, in behoufe of the
		{ publique weale.
{ The tyme of his }		{ Things that haue happened
{ departure, or }		{ about his death.
{ death. }		

NOW to open all these places more largely, as well those that are before a mannes life, as such as are in his life, and after his death, that the Reader may further see the profite will I doe the best I can.

The house whereof a noble personage came, declares the state and natures of his auncesters, his alliance, and his kinsfolke. So that such worthie feates as they haue hertofore done, & al such honors as they haue had for such their good seruice, redounds wholly to the encrease and amplifying of his honor, that is now liuing.

The house or
auncestrie
whereof a noble
personage
commeth.

The Realme declares the nature of the people. So that some Countrey bringeth more honor with it, then an other doth. To be a French man, descending there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irish man: To bee an English man borne, is much more honor then to bee a Scot, because that by these men,

ij. The Realme.

worthie Prowesses haue beene done, and greater affaires by them attempted, then haue beene done by any other.

The Shire or Towne helpeth somewhat, towardes the encrease of honor: As it is much better to bee borne in Paris, then in Picardie: in London then in Lincolne. For that both the ayre is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth much greater, and the men for the most part more wise.

iiij. The Shire or Towne.

To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakenesse of spirit, neshnesse of body, and ficklenesse of minde.

iiij. The sexe or kinde.

Now, for the bringing vp of a noble personage, his nurse must bee considered, his play fellowes obserued, his teacher and other his seruants called in remembraunces. How euery one of these liued then, with whom they haue liued afterwards, and how they liue now.

v. Education.

By knowing what he taketh himselfe vnto, and wherein hee most delighteth, I may commend him for his learning, for his skill in the French, or in the Italian, for his knowledge in Cosmographie: for his skill in the Lawes, in the histories of all Countries, and for his gift of enditing. Againe, I may commend him for playing at weapons, for running vpon a great Horse, for charging his staffe at the Tilt, for vawting, for playing vpon Instruments, yea, and for painting, or drawing of a Plat, as in old time noble Princes much delighted therein.

vi. Inclination of nature.

Prowesse done, declare his seruice to the King, and his Countrey, either in withstanding the outward enemie, or els in aswaging the rage of his owne Countreyemen at home.

vij. Attempts worthie[.]

His wise counsaile, and good aduise giuen, sets forth the goodnesse of his wit.

viii.

At the time of his departing, his sufferaunce of all sicknesse, may much commende his worthinesse. As his strong heart, and cherefull pacience euen to the ende, cannot want great praise. The loue of all men towards him, and the lamenting generally for his lacke, helpe well most highly to set forth his honour.

ix. Time of departing this world.

After a mans death, are considered his Tombe, his Cote armour set vp, and all such honours as are vsed in Funerallles. If any one list to put these precepts in practise, he may doe as him liketh best. And surely I doe thinke, that nothing so

After departure.

much furthereth knowledge as dayly exercise, and enuring our selues to doe that in deede, which we knowe in worde. And because examples giue great

Duke of Suffolke,

light, after these precepts are set forth, I will commend two noble Gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolke, and his brother Lord Charles Duke with him.

and Lorde Charles.

¶ *An example of commending
a noble personage.*

BETTER or more wisely can none do, then they which neuer bestowe praise, but vpon those that best deserue praise, rather minding discretely what they ought to doe, then vainely deuising what they best can doe, seeking rather to praise men, such as are found worthie, then curiously finding meanes to praise matters, such as neuer were in any. For they which speake otherwise then trueth is, minde not the commendation of the person, but the setting forth of their owne learning. As *Gorgias* in *Plato*, praysing vnrighteousnesse, *Heliogabalus* Oratours commending whoredome, *Phaphorinus* the Philosopher, extolling the Feuer quartain, thought not to speake as the cause required, but would so much say as their witte would giue, not weighing the state of the cause, but minding the vaunt of their braine, looking how much could bee sayd, not passing how little should bee sayd. But I both knowing the might of Gods hande, for such as loue Fables, and the shame that in earth redoundeth to euill reporters, will not commend that in those, which neede no good praise, but will commend them that no man iustly can dispraise, nor yet any one is well able worthely to praise. Their towardnesse was such, and their giftes so great, that I know none which loue learning, but hath sorrowed the lacke of their being. And I knowe that the onely naming of them, will stirre honest hearts to speake well of them. I will speake of two bretheren that lately departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the other Lord Charles his brother, whom GOD thinking meeter for heauen, then to liue here vpon earth, tooke from vs in his anger, for the bettering of our doinges, and amendment of our euill liuing. These two Gentlemen were borne in noble Englande, both by father and mother of an high parentage. The father called Duke Charles, by Mariage beeing brother to the worthie King of famous memorie Henry the eight, was in such fauour, and did such seruice, that all England at this howre doth finde his lacke, and France yet doth feele that such a Duke there was, whom in his life time the Godly loued: the euill feared, the wise men honoured for his witte, and the simple vsed alwaies for their counsaile. Their mother of birth noble, and witte great, of nature gentle, and mercifull to the poore, and to the Godly, and especially to the learned an earnest good Patronesse, and most helping Ladie aboue all other. In their youth their father died, the eldest of them beeing not past nine yeares of age. After whose death, their mother knowing, that wealth without wit, is like a sworde in a naked mans hande, and assuredly certaine, that knowledge would confirme iudgement, prouided so for their bringing vp in all vertue and learning, that two like were not to bee had within this Realme againe. When they began both to ware somewhat in yeares, being in their primetide and spring of their age, the elder wayting on the Kings Maiestie that now is, was generally wel esteemed, and such hope was conceiued of his towardnesse, both for learning and al other things, that fewe were like vnto him in al the Court. The other keeping his booke among the Cambrige men profited (as they well knowe) both in vertue

Gorgias.

Heliogabalus

Paphorinus.

Henry Duke of

Suffolke and

Lorde Charles

his brother.

and learning, to their great admiration. For the Greeke, the Latine, and the Italian, I know he could do more, then would be thought true by my report. I leaue to speake of his skill in pleasant Instrumentes, neither will I vtter his aptnesse in Musicke, and his toward Nature, to all exercises of the body. But his elder brother in this time (besides his other giftes of the minde, which passed all other, and were almost incredible) following his fathers nature, was so delited with ryding, and runnyng in armour vpon horsebacke, and was so comely for that fact, and could dooe so well in charging his Staffe, beeing but xiiii. yeeres of age, that men of warre, euen at this howre, mone much the want of such a worthy Gentleman. Yea, the French men that first wondered at his learning, when he was there among them, and made a notable oration in Latine: were much more astonied when they sawe his comely riding, and little thought to finde these two ornaments ioyned both in one, his yeares especially being so tender, and his practise of so small tyme. Afterward comming from the Court, as one that was desirous to be among the learned, he lay in Cambridge together with his brother, where they both so profited, and so gently vsed themselues, that all Cambridge did reuerence, both him and his brother, as two Iewels sent from God. The elders nature was such, that hee thought himself best, when he was among the wisest, and yet contemned none, but thankfully vsed al, gentle in behaiour without childishnesse, stout of stomack without al pride, bold with all warenesse, and friendly with good aduisement. The yonger being not so ripe in yeres, was not so graue in looke, rather cherefull, then sad: rather quicke, then auncient: but yet if his brother were set aside, not one that went beyond him. A child, that by his owne inclination, so much yeelded to his ruler, as few by chastment haue done the like: pleasant of speech, prompt of wit, stirring by nature, hault without hate, kind without craft, liberall of heart, gentle in behaiour, forward in all things, greedie of learning, & loth to take a foile in any open assembly. They both in all attempts, sought to haue the victorie, and in exercise of wit, not only the one with the other, did oft stand in contention, but also they both would match with the best, and thought them selues most happie, when they might haue any iust occasion, to put their wittes in triall. And now when this greene fruite began to waxe ripe, and all men longed to haue a taste of such their great forwardnesse: God preuenting mans expectation, tooke them both about one howre, and in so shorte time, that first they were knowne to be dead, or any abroad could tel they were sicke. I neede not to rehearse, what both they spake, before their departure (considering, I haue seuerally written, both in Latine and in English, of the same matter) neither will I heape here so much together, as I can, because I should rather renew great sorrow to many, then doe most men any great good, who loued them so well generally, that fewe for a great space after, spake of these two Gentlemen, but they shewed teares, with the only vtterance of their wordes, and some through ouer much sorrowing, were faine to forbear speaking. GOD graunt vs all to liue, that the good men of this world, may bee alwaies loth to forsake vs, and God may still be glad to haue vs, as no doubt these two children so died, as all men should wish to liue, and so they liued both, as al should wish to dye. Seeing therefore, these two were such, both for birth, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that the like are hardly found behind them: Let vs so speak of them, that our good reporte may warne vs, to followe their godly natures, and that lastly, we may enioye that inheritance, whereunto God hath prepared them and vs (that feare him) from the beginning. Amen.

{ The Enteraunce.

The partes of an { The Narration.

Oration made in { Sometimes the confutation.

praise of a man. { The Conclusion.

IF any one shall haue iust cause, to dispraise an euill man, he shall sone doe it, if he can praise a good man. For (as *Aristotle* doth say) of contraries, there is one and the same doctrine, and therefore, hee that can doe the one, shall soone bee able to doe the other.

¶ *Of an Oration demonstratiue,
for some deede done.*

THE kind demonstratiue of some thing done, is this, when a man is commended, or dispraised, for any act committed in his life.

Oration
demonstratiue
of a deede.

¶ *The places to confirme this cause, why any one
is commended, are sixe in number.*

{ i. It is honest.

{ ii. It is possible.

The places of confirmation. { iii. Easie to be done.

{ iiiii. Hard to be done.

{ v. Possible to be done.

{ vi. Impossible to be done.

Seuen circumstaunces, which are to bee considered in diuers matters.

{ i. Who did the deede.

{ ii. What was done.

The circumstaunces. { iii. Where it was done.

{ iiiii. What helpe had he to doe it.

{ v. Wherefore he did it.

{ vi. How he did it.

{ vii. At what time he did it.

¶ *The circumstaunces in Meter.*

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:

Why, how, and when, doe many things disclose.

THEse places helpe vonderfully to set out any matter, and to amplifie it to the vttermost,

not onely in praysing, or dispraysing, but also in all other causes, where any aduisement is to bee vsed. Yet this one thing is to be learned, that it shal not be necessarie to vse them altogether, euen as they stand in order: but rather as time and place shall best require, they may be vsed in any part of the Oration, euen as it shall please him that hath the vsing of them. Againe, if any man be disposed to rebuke any offence, he may vse the places contrary vnto them, that are aboue rehearsed, and applie these circumstaunces, euen as they are, to the prooffe of his purpose.

*An example of commending King Dauid, for killing great Goliath,
gathered and made, by obseruation of circumstances.*

<p>GOD being the aucthour of mankinde, powring into him the breath of life, and framing him of clay, in such a comely wise as wee all now see, hath from the beginning, beene so carefull ouer his elect and chosen, that in al daungers, he is euer readie to assist his people, keeping them harmlesse, when they were often past all mans hope. And among all other his fatherly goodnesse, it pleased him to shewe his power to his chosen seruauant Dauid, that al might learne to knowe his might, and reckon with themselues, that though man giue the stroke, yet God it is that giueth the ouerhand. For wher as Dauid was of small stature, weake of bodie, poore of birth, and base in the sight of the worldlings, God called him first to match with an huge monster, a little bodie, against a mightie Gyaunt, an abiect Israelite, against a most valiaunt Philistine, with whom no Israelite durst encounter. These Philistines, trusting in their owne strength so much that they feared no perrill, but made an accompt, that all was theirs before hand. Now, when both these armies were in sight, the Philistines vpon an hill of the one side, and the Israelites vpon an hill of the other side, a vale beeing betwixt them both, there marched out of the Campe, a base borne Philistine, called Goliath of Geth, a man of sixe Cubites high. This Souldier, when through his bignesse and stature of his bodie, and also with great bragges, and terrible threatninges, he had wonderfully abashed the whole Armie of the Israelites, so that no man durst aduenture vpon him. God to the end he might deliuer Israell, and shew that mans helpe, with all his armour, litle auaile to get victorie, without his especiall grace: and againe, to the end he might set vp Dauid, and make him honourable among the Israelites, did then call out Dauid, the sonne of <i>Ephrateus</i>, of <i>Bethleem Iuda</i>, whose name was <i>Isaie</i>, who being but a childe in yeres, did kill out of hand, by Gods might and power, Goliath the most terrible enimie of all other, that bare hate against the children of Israell. When this mightie fellowe was slaine, about the vale of <i>Terebinthus</i>, betwixt both the Armies, the Israelites reioysed, that before quaked, and wondered at him then, whom they would scant knowe before, and no doubt this deede was not only wonderfull, but also right godly. For in battaile to kill an enimie, is thought right worthie, or to aduenture vpon a Rebell (though the successe followe not) is generally commended, yea, to put one to the worse, or to make him flie the ground, is called manly, but what shal we say of Dauid, that not onely had the better hande, not onely bet his enimie, but killed streight his enimie, yea, and not an enimie of the common stature of men, but a mightie Gyant, not a man, but a</p>	<p>Dauid commended for killing Goliath.</p> <p>Who? Dauid against Goliath.</p> <p>What? Dauid killed Goliath.</p> <p>Where? About the vale of Terebinthus.</p>
---	--

monster, yea, a deuill in heart, and a beast in bodie? Can any be compted more honest then such as seeke to saue their Countrey, by hassarding their carcasses, and shedding of their bloud? Can loue shew it self greater, then by yeelding of life, for the health of an army? It had been much, if halfe a dosen had dispatched such a terrible Giaunt, but now, when Daid without helpe, being not yet a man but a boye in yeares, slewe him hand to hand, what iust praise doth he deserue? If we praise other, that haue slaine euil men, and compt them haultie, that haue killed their matches, what shall wee say of Daid, that being wonderfully ouermatched, made his partie

Dauids
enterprise,
honest
& godly. By
what help,
& by whose,
alone and
without the
helpe of
any man liuing.

good, and got the Gole of a Monster. Let other praise *Hercules*, that thinke best of him: let *Cæsar*, *Alexander*, and *Hanniball*, bee bruted for Warriars: Daid in my iudgement,

Dauids
enterprise,
praise worthie.

both did more manly, then all the other were able, and serued his Countrey in greater daunger, then euer any one of them did. And shall we not call such a noble Captaine, a good man of warre. Deserueth not his manhooe and stout attempt, wonderfull praise? If vertue could speake, would she not sone

confesse, that Daid had her in full possession? And therefore, if well doinges, by right may chalenge worthie Brute, Daid will be knowne, and neuer can want due praise, for such an honest deede. And what man will not

Why? for the
sauegard
of his Countrey.

say, but that Daid did minde nothing els herein, but the sauegarde of his Countrey, thinking it better for himselfe to dye, and his Countrey to liue, then himselfe to liue, and his Countrey to dye. What gaine got Daid, by the death of Goliath, or what could he hope, by the death of such a Monster, but onely that the loue which he bare to the Israelites, forced him to hassarde his

owne life: thinking that if the Philistines should preuaile, the Israelites were like to perrish, euery mothers sonne of them? Therefore, hee hassarding this attempt, considered with himselfe, the sauegarde of the Israelites, the maintenaunce of Iustice, his duetie towards GOD, his obedience to his Prince, and his loue to his Countrey. And no doubt, God made

Dauids
enterprise,
profitable
to himself and
his Countrey.

this enterprise appere full easie, before Daid could haue the heart to match himselfe with such a one. For though his heart might quake, being voyde of Gods helpe, yet assuredly he wanted no stomacke, when God did set him on.

Dauids
enterprise,
appereth
easie to
himselpe.

Let Tyraunts rage, let Hell stande open, let Sathan shewe his might, if God be with vs, who can be against vs? Though this Goliah appeared so strong, that ten Dauids were not able to stande in his hande: yet tenne Goliahs were all euer weake for Daid alone. Man can not iudge, neither can reason comprehend the mightie power of God.

When Pharao with all his Armie, thought fully to destroye the children of Israell in the red Sea, did not God preserue Moses, and destroyed Pharao? What is man, and all his power that he can make, in the handes of GOD, vnto whom all creatures both in heauen and in earth, are subiect at his commaundement? Therefore, it was no masterie for Daid, beeing assisted with GOD, aswell to match with the whole

Armie, as to ouerthrow this one man. But what did the Israelites, when they sawe Dauid take vpon him such a bolde enterprise? Some sayd he was rash, other mocked him to scorne, and his brethren called him foole. For thought they, what a mad fellowe is he, being but a lad in yeares, to match with such a monster in bodie? How can it be possible otherwise, but that he shall be torne in peeces, euen at the first comming? For if the Philistine may once hit him, he is gon though he had ten mens liues. Now what should he meane, so vnegally to match himselfe, except he were wearie of his life, or els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to giue his enemies all the aduantage that could be, he came vnarmed, and whereas the Philistine had very strong Armour, both to defende himselfe, and a strong weapon to fight withall: Dauid came with a Sling onely, as though he would kill Crowes, whereat, not onely the Philistine laughed and disdained his follie, but also both the Armies thought he was but a dead man, before he gaue one stroke. And in deede, by all reason and deuse of man, there was none other way, but death with him out of hande. Dauid notwithstanding, beeing kindeled in heart, with Gods might, was strong enough for him, in his owne opinion, and forced nothing though all other were much against him. And therefore, made no more a doe, but being readie to reuenge in Gods name, such great blasphemie, as the Philistine then did vtter: marched towarde his enemye, and with casting a stone out of a Sling, he ouerthrew the Philistine at the first. The which when he had done, out with his sworde and chopt of his head, carying it with his armour, to the Campe of the Israelites: whereat the Philistines were greatly astonied, and the Israelites much praised GOD, that had giuen such grace to such a one, to compasse such a deede. And the rather this manly act, is highly to bee praised, because he subdued this huge enemye, when Saull first reigned King of Israel, and was sore assailed with the great armie of the Philistines. Let vs therefore that be now liuing, when this act or such like, come into our mindes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he is, and let vs praise God in them, by whom he hath wrought such wonders, to the strengthning of our faith, and constaunt keeping of our profession, made to him by euery one of vs in our Baptisme.

Dauids
enterprise
accompted of
his
friends hard and
impossible.

How? with
a Sling.

¶ *Examining of the circumstaunces.*

i. Who did the deede?

DAuid beeing an Israelite, did this deede, beeing the sonne of *Isaie*, of the tribe of *Iuda*, a boye in yeares. This circumstaunce was vsed, not onely in the narration, but also when I spake of the honesty and godlinesse, which Dauid vsed, when he slue Goliah.

ii. What was done?

He slue Goliah, the strongest Giaunt among the Philistines. This circumstance I vsed also, when I spake of the honestie, in killing Goliah.

iii. Where was it done?

About the vale of *Terebinthus*.

iii. What helpe had he to it?

He had no help of any man but went himself alone. And whereas, Saull offered him Harnesse, he cast it away, and trusting only in God, tooke him to his Sling, with fower or fiue small stones in his hand, the which were thought nothing in mans sight, able either to doe little good, or els nothing at all. This circumstaunce I vsed, when I spake of the easinesse and possibilitie, that was in Daudid to kill Goliah, by Gods helpe.

v. Wherefore did he it?

He aduentured his life, for the loue of his Countrey, for the maintenance of iustice, for the aduancement of Gods true glorie, and for the quietnesse of all Israel, neither seeking fame, nor yet looking for any gaine. I vsed this circumstance when I shewed what profite he sought in aduenturing this deede.

vi. How did he it?

Marie, he put a stone in his Sling, and when he had cast it at the Philistine Goliah fell downe straight. I vsed this circumstaunce, when I spake of the impossibilitie of the thing.

vii. What time did he it?

This deede was done, when Saull reigned first King ouer the Israelites, at what time the Philistines came against the Israelites. Thus by the circumstaunces of things, a right worthie cause may be plentifully enlarged.

¶ *Of the Oration demonstratiue, where things are set forth, and matter commended.*

THE kind demonstratiue of things, is a meane wherby we doe praise, or dispraise things, as Vertue, Vice, Townes, Cities, Castelles, Woodes, Waters, Hilles and Mountaines.

¶ *Places to confirme things are fower.*

{i. Things honest.

{ii. Profitable.

Places of confirmation. {iii. Easie to be done.

{iiii. Hard to be done.

MAny learned will haue recourse to the places of *Logicke*, in steede of these fower places, when they take in hand to commend any such matter. The which places if they make them serue, rather to commend the matter, then onely to teach men the trueth of it, it were wel done, and Oratour like, for seing a man wholly bestoweth his witte to play the Oratour, he should chiefly seeke to compasse that, which he entendeth, and not doe that only which he neuer minded, for by plaine teaching, the *Logician* shewes himselfe, by large amplification, and beautifying of his cause, the *Rhetorician* is alwaies knowne.

¶ *The places of Logicke are these.*

{Definition.
 {Causes.
 {Parts.
 {Effects.
 {Things adjoining.
 {Contraries.

I Doe not see otherwise, but that these places of *Logicke* are confounded with the other fower of confirmation, or rather I thinke these of *Logicke* must first bee minded, ere the other

can well be had. For what is he, that can cal a thing honest, and by reason proue it, except he first know what the thing is: the which he cannot better doe, then by defining the nature of the thing. Againe, how shall I know, whether mine attempt be easie or hard if I know not the efficient cause, or be assured how it may be done. In affirming it to bee possible, I shall not better knowe it then by searching the ende, and learning by *Logicke*, what is the finall cause of euery thing.

Logicke must
 be learned for
 confirmation of
 causes.

¶ *An example in commendation of
 Iustice, or true dealing.*

SO many as looke to liue in peaceable quietnesse, being minded rather to follow reason, then to be led by wilfull affection: desire Iustice in all things, without the which no countrey is able long to continue. Then may I be bolde to commend that, which all men wish, and fewe can haue, which all men loue, and none can want: not doubting, but as I am occupied in a good thing, so al good men will heare me with a good will. But would God I were so well able, to perswade all men to Iustice, as all men knowe the necessarie vse thereof: and then vndoubtedly, I would bee much bolder, and force some by violence, which by faire wordes cannot bee entreated. And yet what needes any perswasion for that thing, which by nature is so needfull, & by experience so profitable, that looke what we want, without Iustice we get not, looke what we haue: without Iustice wee keepe not. God graunt vs his grace so to worke in the hearts of al men, that they may aswell practise well doing in their owne life, as they would that other should followe Iustice in their life: I for my part will bestowe some labour, to set forth the goodness of vpright dealing, that all other men the rather may doe thereafter. That if through my wordes, GOD shall worke with any man, then may I thinke my selfe in happie case, and reioyce much in the trauaile of my witte. And how can it be otherwise, but that all men shalbe forced inwardly to

Iustice
 commended.

allow that, which in outwarde act many doe not followe: seeing God powred first this lawe of nature, into mans heart, and graunted it as a meane, whereby wee might knowe his will, and (as I might saye) talke with him, grounding still his doinges vpon this point, that man should doe as he would bee done vnto, the which is nothing els, but to liue vprightly, without any will to hurt his neighbour.

Iustice
 naturally in
 euery one of vs.

And therefore, hauing this light of Gods will opened vnto vs, through his mere goodnesse, we ought euermore, to referre all our actions vnto this ende, both in giuing iudgement, and deuising Lawes

necessarie for mans life. And hereupon it is, that when men desire the Lawe, for triall of a matter, they meane nothing els but to haue Iustice, the which Iustice is a vertue that yeeldeth to euery man his owne: to the euer liuing God loue aboute all things: to the King obedience: to the inferiour good counsaile: to the poore man, mercy: to the hatefull and wicked, sufferaunce: to it self, trueth: and to all men, perfite peace and charitie. Now, what can be more saied, in praise of this vertue, or what thing can be like praised? Are not all things in good case, when all men haue their owne? And what other thing doth Iustice, but seeketh meanes to content all parties? Then how greatly are they to be praised, that meane truely in al their doinges, not onely doe no harme to any, but seeke meanes to helpe al. The Sunne is not so wonderfull to the world (saith *Aristotle*) as the iust dealing of

a gouernour, is marueilous to all men. No, the earth yeeldeth no more gaine to all creatures, then doth the Iustice of a Magistrate, to his whole Realme. For by a Lawe, we liue, and take the fruites of the earth, but where no Lawe is, nor Iustice vsed: there nothing can bee had, though all thinges be at hand: for in hauing the thing, we shall lacke the vse, and liuing in great plentie, wee shall stande in great neede. The meane therefore, that maketh men to enioye their owne, is Iustice, the which being once taken away, all other thinges are lost with it, neither can any one saue that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therefore, if wrong doing should be borne withall, and not rather punished by death, what man could liue in rest? Who could bee sure either of his life, or of his liuing one whole day together? Now,

because euery man desireth the preservation of himselfe, euery man should in like case desire the sauegard of his neighbour. For if I should wholly minde myne owne ease, and followe gaine without respect, to the hinderaunce of myne euen Christian: why should not other vse the same libertie, and so euery man for himselfe, and the Deuill for vs al, catch that catch may? The which custome if all men followed, the earth would some be voyd, for want of men one would be so greedy to eate vp an other. For in seeking to liue, wee would lose our liues, and in gaping after goodes, wee should soone goe naked. Therefore, to repress this rage, and with wholesome deuises to traine men in an order, GOD hath lightened man with knowledge, that in all thinges he may see what is right, and what is wrong, and vpon good aduisement deale iustly with all men. God hath created all thinges for mans vse, and ordeined man, for mans sake, that one man might helpe an other. For though some one haue giftes more plentifully then the common sorte, yet no man can liue alone, without helpe of other. Therefore wee should striue one to helpe an other by iust dealing, some this way, and some that way, as euery one

shal haue neede, and as we shalbe alwaies best able, wherein the lawe of nature is fulfilled, and Gods commaundement followed. Wee loue them here in earth, that giue vs faire wordes, and wee can bee content, to speake well of them, that speake well of vs? and shall we not loue them, and take them also for honest men, which are contented from time to time, to yeeld euery man his owne, and rather

Iustice what it is, and how largely it extendeth.

Aristotle.

Wrong dealing deserueth death.

Iustice necessarie for all men.

From the lesse to the greater.

would dye then consent to euill doing: If one be gentle in outward behauiour, we like him well, and shall we not esteeme him that is vpright in his outward liuing? And like as wee desire, that other should bee to vs, ought not wee to bee likewise, affected towards them? Euen among brute Beastes, nature hath appointed a lawe, and shall wee men liue without a lawe? The Storke being not able to feede her self for age, is fed of her young ones, wherein is declared a naturall loue, and shall wee so liue that one shall not loue an other? Man should be vnto man as a God, & shal man be vnto man as a deuil? Hath God created vs, and made vs to his owne likenesse, enduing vs with all the riches of the earth, that wee might bee obedient to his will, and shall wee neither loue his, nor like his? How can we say that we loue God, if there be no charitie in vs? Doe I loue him, whose minde I will not followe, although it be right honest? If you loue me (sayth Christ) followe my Commaundements. Christes will is such, that wee should loue God aboue all things, and our neighbour as our self. Then if we doe not iustice (wherein loue doth consist) we do neither loue man, nor yet loue God. The Wiseman saith: The beginning of a good life, is to doe Iustice. Yea, the blessing of the Lord, is vpon the head of the iust. Heauen is theirs (saith Daud) that doe iustly from time to time. What els then shall we doe, that haue any hope of the generall resurrection, but doe the will of God, and liue iustly all the daies of our life? Let euery man, but consider with himselfe, what ease he shall finde thereby, and I doubt not, but euery one deeply waying the same, will in heart confesse, that Iustice maketh plentie, & that no man could long hold his own if lawes were not made, to restraime mans will. We trauaile now, Winter and Sommer, we watch and take thought, for maintenaunce of wife and children, assuredly purposing (that though God shall take vs immediatly) to leaue honestly for our familie. Now, to what ende were all our gathering together, if iust dealing were set a side, if Lawes bare no rule, if that the wicked list, that they may, and what they may, that they can, and what they can, that they dare, & what they dare, the same they doe, & whatsoever they doe, no man of power is agreed therewith? What maketh wicked men (which els would not) acknowledge the King as their soueraigne Lord, but the power of a law, & the practise of Iustice for euill doers? Could a Prince maintaine his state royall, if law and right had not prouided, that euery man should haue his owne? Would seruaunts obeye their maisters, the sonne his father, the Tenaunt his Landlord, the Citezein his Maior or Sherief if orders were not set, & iust dealing appointed for all states of men? Therefore, the true meaning folke in all ages giue themselues some to this occupation, and some to that, seking therin nothing els but to maintain a poore life, and to kepe themselues true men, both to GOD and the world. What maketh men to performe their bargaines, to stand to their promises, and yeeld their debtes, but an order of a law grounded vpon Iustice? Where right beareth rule, there craft is compted vice. The liar is much hated, where trueth is well esteemed. The wicked theeues are hanged, where good men are regarded. None can hold vp their heads, or dare shewe their faces, in a well ruled

Young Storkes.

Vnnaturalnesse
in
man towards
God.

Ihon xiiii.

Math. xix.

Mark. x.

Prouer. xvi.

Prouer. iiii.

Psal. xcvi.

Profite of
Iustice.Sauegard had
by Iustice.
Gradation.The necessitie
of Iustice.Where iustice is
executed, vice
is

common weale, that are not thought honest, or at the least haue some honest way to liue. The Egipcians therefore, hauing a worthy and a wel gouerned commonweale, prouided that none should liue idly, but that euery one monthly should giue an accompt,

exiled.

how he spent his time, and had his name registred in a booke for the same purpose. But Lord, if this law were vsed in England, how many would come behind hand with their reckonings at the audite day. I feare me their doings would be such, that it would be long ere they got their quietus est. Therefore the worse is our state, the lesse that this euill is looked vnto. And surely, if in other thinges wee should bee as negligent, this Realme could not long stand. But thanks be to God, wee hang them a pace, that offend a lawe, and therefore, wee put it to their choyce, whether they wilbe idle, and so fall to stealing or no? they knowe their reward, goe to it when they wil. But if therewithal some good order were taken, for education of youth, and setting loyterers on worke (as thanks be to God, the Citie is most godly bent that way) all would sone be well, without all doubt. The wise and discrete persons in al ages, sought all meanes possible, to haue an order in all thinges, and loued by Iustice to direct all their doinges, whereby appeareth both an apt will in such men, and a naturall stirring by Gods power, to make all men

Egipcians, what order

they vsed to banish

idlenesse.

good. Therefore if we do not well, we must blame our selues, that lack a will, & do not call to God for grace. For though it appere hard to do wel, because no man can get perfection, without continuance: yet assuredly to an humble mind that calleth to God, & to a willing heart that faine would do his best, nothing can be hard. God hath set al things to sale for labor, & keepeth open shop come who wil. Therefore in all ages, whereas we see the fewest good we must well thinke, the most did lacke good will to aske, or seeke for the same. Lord what loue had that worthie Prince *Seleucus* to maintaine Iustice, and to haue good lawes kept, of whom such a wonderfull thing is written. For whereas he established most wholesome lawes, for sauegard of the *Locrensians*, and his owne sonne thereupon taken in adultery, should lose both his eyes, according to the lawe then made, and yet notwithstanding, the whole Citie thought, to remit the necessitie of his punishment, for the honour of his father, *Seleucus* would none of that in any wise. Yet at last, through importunitie being ouercome, he caused first one of his own eyes to be pluckt out, and next after, one of his sonnes eyes, leauing onely the vse of sight, to himselfe and his sonne. Thus through equitie of the law, he vsed the due meane of chastisement, shewing himselfe by a wonderfull temperature, both a mercifull father, and a iust law maker. Now happie are they that thus obserue a Lawe, thinking losse of bodie, lesse hurt to the man, then sparing of punishment, meete for the soule. For GOD will not faile them, that haue such a desire to followe his will, but for his promise sake, he will rewarde them for euer. And now, seing that Iustice naturally is giuen to al men, without the which he could not liue, being warned also by GOD, alwaies to doe vprightly, perceiuing againe the commodities, that redounde vnto vs, by liuing vnder a Lawe, and the sauegarde, wherein we stand, hauing Iustice to assist vs: I trust that not onely all men, will commend Iustice in worde, but also will liue iustly in deede, the which that we may doe: God graunt vs of his grace. Amen.

Iustice, easie to be obserued if will be not wanting.

Valer. li. vi.

¶ *An Oration deliberatiue.*

AN Oration deliberatiue, is a meane, whereby we doe perswade, or
 dissuade, entreate, or rebuke, exhort, or dehort, commend, or comforte any
 man. In this kind of Oration, wee doe not purpose wholly to praise any
 bodie, nor yet to determine any matter in controuersie, but the whole compasse of this
 cause is, either to aduise our neighbour to that thing, which wee thinke most needefull for
 him, or els to call him backe from that follie, which hindereth much his estimation. As for
 example, if I would counsaile my friend to trauaile beyond the Seas, for knowledge of the
 tongues, and experience in forraigne Countries: I might resort to this kinde of Oration, and
 finde matter to confirme my cause plentifully. And the reasons, which are commonly vsed
 to enlarge such matters, are these that followe.

Oration
 deliberatiue.

{ The thing is honest.	{ Saufe.
{ Profitable.	{ Easie.
{ Pleasaunt.	{ Hard.
{ Lawfull and meete.	
{ Praise worthie.	
{ Necessarie.	

NOW in speaking of honestie, I may by deuision of the vertues make a large
 walke. Againe, looke what lawes, what customes, what worthie deedes, or
 sayinges haue been vsed heretofore, all these might serue well for the confirmation of this
 matter, lastly where honestie is called in to establish a cause: there is nature and GOD
 himselfe present, from

Honestie
 comprehendeth
 all vertues.

whom commeth all goodnesse. In the seconde place, where I spake of
 profite, this is to be learned, that vnder the same is comprehended the
 getting of gaine, and the eschuing of harme. Againe, concerning profite
 (which also beareth the name of goodnesse) it partly perteineth to the bodie,
 as beautie, strength, and health, partly to the minde, as the encrease of witte,
 the getting of experience, and heaping together of much learning: and partly
 to fortune (as Philosophers take it) whereby both wealth, honour, and
 friends are gotten. Thus he that deuideth profite cannot want matter. Thirdly,
 in declaring it is pleasant, I might heape together
 the varietie of pleasures, which come by trauaile, first the sweetnesse of the
 tongue, the wholesomnes of the ayre in other Countries, the goodly wittes of
 the Gentlemen, the straunge and auncient buildings, the wonderfull
 Monuments, the great learned Clarkes in al faculties, with diuers otherlike, & almost
 infinite pleasures.

Profite how
 largely it
 extendeth.
 Profite beareth
 the name of
 goodnesse,
 which is three
 folded.

Pleasures,
 largely
 set out.

The easinesse of trauaile, may thus be perswaded, if we shewe that free
 passage is by wholesome lawes appointed, for al straungers and way fairers.
 And seeing this life is none other thing but a trauell, and we as Pilgrimes,

Easinesse of
 trauaile.

wander from place to place, much fondnesse it were to thinke that hard, which nature hath made easie, yea, and pleasaunt also. None are more healthfull, none more lustie, none more merrie, none more strong of bodie, then such as haue trauailed Countries.

Mary vnto them, that had rather sleepe al day, then wake one houre (chosing for any labor, slothfull idlenesse) thinking this life to be none other, but a continuall resting place, vnto such pardie, it shall seeme painefull to abide any labour. To learne *Logicke*, to learne the Law, to some it seemeth so hard, that nothing can enter into their heades: and the reason is, that they want a will, and an earnest minde, to doe their endeuour.

Trauaile vnto whom it is hard.

For vnto a willing heart, nothing can be hard, lay lode on such a mans back and his good heart, may soner make his backe to ake, then his good will can graunt to yeeld, and refuse the weight. And now where the sweete hath his sower ioyned with him, it shalbe wisdomes to speake somewhat of it, to mitigate the sowernesse thereof, as much as may be possible.

Good will makes great burdeines light.

That is lawfull and praise worthie, which Lawes doe graunt, good men doe allowe, experience commendeth, and men in all ages haue most vsed.

Lawefull.

A thing is necessarie two maner of waies. First, when either wee must doe some one thing, or els doe worse. As if one should threaten a woman, to kill her if she would not lye with him, wherein appeareth a forcible necessitie.

Necessary two waies taken.

As touching trauaile we might say, either a man must bee ignoraunt of many good thinges, and want great experience, or els he must trauaile. Now to be ignoraunt, is a great shame, therefore to trauaile is most needfull, if we will auoyde shame. The other kind of necessitie is, when wee perswade men to beare those thinges patiently, when wee perswade men to beare those crosses patiently, which God doth send vs, considering, will we, or nill we, needes must we abide them.

¶ *To aduise one, to studie the lawes of England.*

AGaine, when we see our frend enclined to any kind of learning, we must counsaile him to take that way still, and by reason perswade him, that it were the meetest way for him to doe his Countrie most good. As if he giue his minde to the lawes of the Realme, and finde an aptnesse therunto, we may aduise him, to continue in his good entent, and by reason perswade him, that it were most meete for him so to do. And first we might shewe him that the studie is honest and godly, considering it onely foloweth Iustice, and is grounded wholly vpon naturall reason. Wherein we might take a large scope, if we should fully speake of all thinges, that are comprehended vnder honestie. For he that will knowe what honestie is, must haue an vnderstanding, of all the vertues together. And because the knowledge of them is most necessarie, I will briefly set them forth. There are fower especiall and chief vertues, vnder whom all other are comprehended.

Lawes of England.

Vertues especiall & chief, fower in number.

{Prudence, or wisdomes.

{Iustice.

{Manhood.

{Temperaunce.

PRudence, or wisdom (for I will here take them both for one) is a vertue that is occupied euermore in searching out the trueth. Now, we all loue knowledge, and haue a desire to passe other therin, and think it shame to be ignoraunt: and by studying the lawe, the trueth is gotten out, by knowing the trueth, wisdom is attained. Wherefore, in perswading one to studie the lawe, you may shewe him, that he shall get wisdom thereby. Vnder this vertue are comprehended.

Prudence,
what it is.

{Memorie.

{Vnderstanding.

{Foresight.

THE memorie, calleth to accompt those things, that were done heretofore, and by a former remembraunce getteth an after wit, and learneth to auoyde deceipt.

Partes of
Prudence.

Vnderstanding, seeth thinges presently done, and perceiueeth what is in them, weighing and debating them, vntill his minde be fully contented.

Foresight, is a gathering by coniectures, what shall happen, and an euident perceiuing of thinges to come, before they doe come.

Iustice.

Iustice is a vertue, gathered by long space, giuing euery one his owne, minding in all thinges, the common profite of our Countrey, whereunto man is most bound and oweth his full obedience.

Iustice, what it
is.

Now, Nature first taught man, to take this way, and would euery one so to doe vnto an other, as he would be doen vnto himselfe. For whereas Raine watereth al in like, the Sunne shineth indifferently ouer all, the fruite of the earth encreaseeth equally. God warneth vs to bestowe our good will after the same sorte, doing as duetie bindeth vs, and as necessitie shall best require. Yea, God graunteth his giftes diuersly among men, because hee would man should knowe and feelee, that man is borne for man, and that one hath neede of an other. And therefore though nature hath not stirred some, yet through the experience that man hath, concerning his commoditie:

many haue turned the lawe of nature into an ordinarie custome, and followed the same as though they were bound to it by a law. Afterward, the wisdom of Princes, and the feare of Gods threate, which was vttered by his worde, forced men by a lawe, both to allowe thinges confirmed by nature, and to beare with old

Nature, what it
is.

custome, or els they should not onely suffer in body temporall punishment, but also lose their soules for euer. Nature is a right that phantasie hath not framed, but God hath graffed and giuen man power thereunto, whereof these are deriued.

{ Religion, and acknowledging of God.

{ Naturall loue to our children, and other.

{ Thankfulnesse to all men.

{ Stoutnesse, both to withstand and reuenge.

{ Reuerence to the superiour.

{ Assured and constaunt trueth in things.

REligion, is an humble worshipping of GOD, acknowledging him to be the creatour of Creatures, and the onely giuer of all good things. Religion.

Naturall loue, is an inward good will, that we beare to our parents, wife, children, or any other that be nigh of kinne vnto vs, stirred thereunto not onely by our flesh, thinking that like as we would loue our selues, so wee should loue them, but also by a likenesse of minde: and therefore generally we loue all, because all be like vnto vs, but yet we loue them most, that both in bodie and mynd be most like vnto vs. And hereby it commeth, that often we are liberall and bestowe our goodes vpon the needie, remembring that they are all one flesh with vs, and should not want when we haue it, without our great rebuke and token of our most vnkind dealing. Naturall loue.

Thankfulnesse is a requiting of loue, for loue, and will, for will, shewing to our freendes, the like goodnesse that we finde in them: yea, striuing to passe them in kindnesse, losing neither time nor tide to doe them good. Thankfulnessse.

Stoutnesse to withstand and reuenge euil, is then vsed when either we are like to haue harme, & doe withstand it, or els when we haue suffered euill for the trueth sake, and thereupon doe reuenge it, or rather punish the euill, which is in the man. Stoutnesse.

Reuerence, is an humblenesse in outward behauour, when we doe our duetie to them, that are our betters, or vnto such as are called to serue the King in some greate vocation. Reuerence.

Assured and constant trueth is, when we do beleeeue that those things, which are, or haue bene, or hereafter are about to be, can not otherwise be, by any meanes possible. Assured and constant trueth.

That is right by custome, which long time hath confirmed, being partly grounded vpon nature, & partly vpon reason, as where wee are taught by Right by custome.

nature, to knowe the euer liuing God, and to worship him in spirite, we turning natures light, into blind custome, without Gods will, haue vsed at length
 to beleue, that he was really with vs here in earth, and worshipped him not
 in spirite, but in Copes, in Candlesticks, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers,
 in Crosses, in Banners, in shauen Crownes, and long Gownes, and many
 good morowes els, deuised only by the phantasie of man, without the
 expresse will of God. The which childish toyes, time hath so long confirmed, that the
 trueth is scant able to trie them out, our hearts be so hard, and our wits be so far to seeke.
 Again, where we see by nature, that euery one should deale truely, custome encreaseth
 natures wil, & maketh by auncient demeane things to be iustly obserued, which nature
 hath appointed.

Custome with
 our
 natures ground
 vngodly.

{Bargaining.

As {Commons, or equalitie.

{Iudgement giuen.

BArgaining is, when two haue agreed for the sale of some one thing, the one will make his fellowe to stand to the bargaine though it be to his neighbours vndoing, resting vpon this point, that a bargaine is a bargaine, and must stande without all exception, although nature requireth to haue things doen by conscience, and would that bargaining should be builded vpon iustice, whereby an vpright dealing, and a charitable loue, is vttered amongst all men.

Commons or equalitie, is when the people by long time haue a ground, or
 any such thing among them, the which some of them will keep still for
 custome sake, and not suffer it to be fenced, and so turned to pasture, though they might
 gaine ten times the value: but such stubbornesse in keeping of commons for custome sake,
 is not standing with Iustice, because it is holden against al right.

Commons.

Iudgement giuen, is when a matter is confirmed by a Parliament, or a Lawe,
 determined by a Iudge, vnto the which many hedstrong men will stand to
 dye for it, without sufferance of any alteration, not remembring the circumstance of
 things, and that time altereth good actes.

Iudgement
 giuen.

That is right by a law, when the trueth is vttered in writing, and
 commaunded to be kept, euen as it is set forth vnto them.

Right by Lawe.

¶ *Fortitude or manhood.*

FOrtitude, is a considerate hassarding vpon daunger, and a willing heart to
 take paines, in behalfe of the right. Now, when can stoutnesse be better
 vsed, then in a iust maintenaunce of the Lawe, and constaunt trying of the trueth: Of this
 vertue, there are fower branches.

Manhood.

{Honourableness.

{Stoutnesse.

{ Sufferance.

{ Continuance.

HONorableness is a noble ordering of weightie matters, with a lustie heart, and a liberall vsing of his wealth, to encrease of honour. Honorableness.

Stoutnesse, is an assured trust in himselfe, when he mindeth the compasse of most weightie matters, and a couragious defending of his cause. Stoutnesse.

Sufferaunce, is a willing and a long bearing of trouble and taking of paines: for the maintenaunce of vertue, and the wealth of his Countrey. Sufferance.

Continuance, is a stedfast and constaunt abiding, in a purposed and well aduised matter, not yeelding to any man in quarell of the right. Continuance.

¶ *Temperaunce.*

TEmperance, is a measuring of affections according to the will of reason, and a subduing of lust vnto the Square of honestie. Yea, and what one thing doth soone mitigate the immoderate passions of our nature, then the perfect knowledge of right & wrong, & the iust execution appointed by a law, for asswaging the wilfull? Of this vertue there are three partes. Temperance.

{ Sobrietie.

{ Gentlenesse.

{ Modestie.

Sobrietie, is a brideling by discretion, the wilfulnesse of desire. Sobrietie.

Gentlenesse, is a caulming of heate, when we begin to rage, and a lowly behaiour in al our bodie. Gentlenesse.

Modestie, is an honest shamefastnesse, whereby we keepe a constant looke, & appere sober in all our outward doings. Now, euen as we should desire the vse of al these vertues, so should we eschue not only the contraries hereunto, but also auoid al such euils, as by any meanes do withdrawe vs from well doing. Modestie.

¶ *It is profitable.*

AFTer we haue perswaded our freend, that the lawe is honest, drawing our arguments from the heape of vertues, wee must goe further with hym, and bryng him in good beleeeue that it is very gainfull. For many one seeke not the knowledge of learning for y^e goodnes sake, but rather take paines for the gaine, which they see doeth arise by it. Take away the hope of lucre, and you shall see fewe take any Hope of reward
maketh men
take paines.

paines: no not in the Vineyard of the Lorde. For although none should followe any trade of life for the gaine sake, but euen as he seeth it is most necessarie, for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and not passe in what estimation things are had in this worlde: yet because we are all so weake of witte in our tender yeres, that we can not weigh with our selues what is best, and our bodie so nesh, that it loketh euer to be cherished, we take that which is moste gainefull for vs, and forsake that altogether, which wee ought most to followe. So, that for lacke of honest meanes, and for want of good order: the best way is not vsed, neither is Gods honour in our first yeeres remembred. I had rather (sayde one) make my child a Cobler, then a Preacher, a Tankerd bearer, then a Scholer. For what shal my sonne seeke for learning, when hee shall neuer get thereby any liuing? Set my sonne to that, whereby he may get somewhat? Doe ye not see, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the Church what thei can? I feare me one day, they wil pluck doune Church and all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seeke onely to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to Hell? A patrone of a Benefice, will haue a poore yngrame soule, to beare the name of a Parson, for twentie marke or ten pound: and the patrone him self, will take vp for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learning decaied, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded. The old Romaines not yet knowing Christ, and yet being led by a reuerent feare towards God made this lawe.

Sacrum sacroue commendatum qui clepserit, rapseritue, paricida est.

He that shall closely steale, or forcible take awaie that thing which is holy, or giuen to the holy place, is a murderer of his countrey. But what haue I said? I haue a greater matter in hande, then whereof I was aware, my penne hath runne ouer farre, when my leasure serueth not, nor yet my witte is able to talke this case in such wise, as it should bee, and as the largenesse thereof requireth. Therefore, to my Lawyer againe, whom I doubt not to perswade, but that he shal haue the Deuill and al, if he learne a pace, and doe as some haue doen before him. Therefore, I will shewe how largely this profite extendeth, that I may haue him the soner take this matter in hande. The law therefore, not onely bringeth much gaine with it, but also aduanceth men, both to worship, renowne, and honour. All men shall seeke his fauour for his learning sake, the best shall like his company for his calling: and his wealth with his skill shall be such, that none shal be able to work him any wrong. Some consider profite, by these circumstances following.

The Romaines
lawes
for Church
dignities.

{ To whom.

{ When.

{ Where.

{ Wherefore.

NEther can I vse a better order, then these circumstaunces minister vnto mee. To whom therefore is the Law profitable? Marie, to them that be best learned, that haue readie wittes, and will take paines. When is the law profitable? Assuredly, both now and euermore, but especially in this age, where all men goe together by the eares, for this matter, and that matter. Such alteration hath beene heretofore, that hereafter needes must ensue much alteration. And where is al

Circumstances
in
obseruing
profite.

this a doe? Euen in little England, or in Westminster hall, where neuer yet wanted businesse, nor yet euer shal. Wherefore is the Law profitable? vndoubtedly, because no man could hold his owne, if there were not an order to staie vs, and a Lawe to restraine vs. And I praie you, who getteth the money? The Lawiers no doubt. And were not Land sometimes cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a Law? Do not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for lopping of a Tree, spendes all that euer they haue, an other for a Gose that graseth vpon his ground, tries the lawe so hard, that he proues himself a Gander. Now, when men be so mad, is it not easie to get money among them? Undoubtedly, the Lawier neuer dieth a begger. And no maruaile. For an C. begges for him, and makes awaie all that they haue, to get that of him, the which, the oftener he bestoweth, the more still he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies, aswel by encrease of learning, as by storing his purse with money, whereas the other get a warme Sunne oftentimes, and a flappe with a Foxe taile, for all that euer they haue spent. And why would they? Tush if it were to doe againe, they would doe it: therefore, the Lawyer can neuer want liuing till the earth want men and all be voyde.

Folly in many
that
go to the Lawe.

Lawyers, neuer
dye beggers.

¶ *The Lawe easie to many,
and hard to some.*

I Doubt not, but my Lawyer is perswaded that the Lawe is profitable, now must I beare him in hand that it is an easie matter to become a Lawier. The which, if I shall bee able to proue. I doubt not, but he will proue a good Lawyer, and that right shortly: the Lawe is grounded vpon reason. And what hardnesse is it for a man by a reason, to finde out reason. That can not be straunge vnto him, the ground whereof is graffed in his breast. What, though the Lawe be in a straunge tongue, the wordes may bee gotte without any paine, when the matter it self is compast with ease. Tush, a little Lawe will make a greate shewe, and therefore, though it bee much to become excellent, yet it is easie to get a taste. And surely for getting of money, a little will doe asmuch good oftentimes, as a great deale. There is not a word in the Law, but it is a grote in the Lawiers purse. I haue knowne diuers, that by familiar talking and mouting together, haue come to right good learning, without any great booke skill, or much beating of their braine, by any close studie or secret musing in their Chamber. But where some saie the Lawe is very hard, and discourage yong men from the studie thereof, it is to bee vnderstande of such as will take no paines at al, nor yet mind the knowledge thereof. For what is not hard to man, when he wanteth will to doe his best. As good sleepe, and say it is hard: as wake and take no paines.

{ Godlie.

The Lawe. { Iuste.

{ Necessarie.

{ Pleasaunt.

WHAT needeth mee, to proue the Lawe to be Godly, iust, or necessarie, seeing it is grounded vpon Gods will, and all Lawes are made for the maintenaunce of Iustice. If we

wil not beleue that it is necessarie, let vs haue Rebels againe to disturbe the Realme. Our nature is so fonde, that we knowe not the necessitie of a thing, till wee finde some lacke of the same. Bowes are not esteemed, as they haue beene among vs Englishmen, but if we were once well beaten by our enemies, we should soone knowe the want, and with feeling the smart, lament much our folly. Take away the

Law, and take away our liues, for nothing maintaineth our wealth, our health, and the sauegard of our bodies, but the Law of a Realme, whereby the wicked are condemned, and the Godly are defended.

Lawes
maintaine
life.

¶ *An Epistle to perswade a yong Gentleman to mariage,
deuised by Erasmus, in the behalfe of his freend.*

ALbeit, you are wise enough of your selfe, through that singulare wisdom of yours (most louing Cosine) and litle needes the aduise of other, yet either for that olde freendshippe, which hath bene betwixt vs, and continued with our age, euen from our Cradles, or for such your great good turnes, shewed at all times towards me, or els for that fast kinred and aliaunce, which is betwixt vs: I thought my self thus much to owe vnto you, if I would be such a one in deed, as you euer haue taken mee, that is to say, a man both freendly and thankfull, to tell you freely (whatsoever I iudged to appertaine either to the sauegard or worship of you, or any of yours) and willingly to warne you of the same. Wee are better seen oftentimes in other mens matters, then we are in our owne. I haue felt often your aduise in mine owne affaires, and I haue found it to be fortunate vnto me, as it was frendly. Now, if you will likewise in your owne matters, follow my counsaile. I trust it shall so come to passe, that neither I shall repent me, for that I haue giuen you counsaile, not yet you shall forethinke your selfe, that you haue obeyed and followed mine aduise.

There was at supper with me the twelue day of Aprill, when I laie in the Countrie, *Antonius Baldus*, a man (as you knowe) that most earnestly tendereth your welfare, and one that hath been alwaies of great acquaintance, and familiaritie with your sonne in Lawe: a heauie feast wee had, and full of much mourning. He tolde me greatly to both our heauinesse, that your mother that most Godly woman, was departed this life, and your sister being ouercome with sorowe and heauinesse, had made her self a Nunne, so that in you only remaineth the hope of issue, and maintenance of your stocke. Whereupon your freends with one consent, haue offered you in Mariage, a Gentlewoman of a good house, and much wealth, faire of bodie, very well brought vp, and such a one as loueth you with all her heart. But you (either for your late sorowes, which you haue in fresh remembraunce, or els for religion sake) haue so purposed to liue a single life, that neither can you for loue of your stock, neither for desire of Issue, nor yet for any entreatie of your freendes can make, either by praying, or by weeping: be brought to change your minde. And yet notwithstanding all this (if you will followe my counsaile) you shall be of an other minde, and leauing to liue single, whiche both is barraine, and smally agreeing with the state of mans Nature, you shal giue your selfe wholly to most holy Wedlocke. And for this parte, I will neither wish, that the loue of your freends (which els ought to ouercome

your nature) nor yet mine authoritie that I haue ouer you, should doe me any good at all, to compasse this my request, if I shall not proue vnto you by most plaine reasons, that it will be both much more honest, more profitable, and also most pleasant for you to marrie, then to liue otherwise. Yea, what will you say if I proue it also, to be necessary for you at this tyme to marrie. And first of all, if honestie may moue you in this matter (the which among all good men, ought to bee of much weight) what is more honest then Matrimonie, the which Christ himselfe did make honest, when not onely hee, vouchsaued to bee at the Mariage with

his mother, but also did consecrate the Mariage feast, with the first miracle, that euer hee did vpon earth? What is more holy then Matrimonie, which the Creatour of all things did institute, did fasten and make holy, and nature it selfe did establish? What is more prayse worthie, then that thing, the which, whosoever shall dispraise, is condemned straight for an Heretique? Matrimonie, is euen as honourable, as the name of an Heretique is thought shamefull. What is more right or meete, then to giue that vnto the posteritie, the which we haue receiued of our auncesters? What is more inconsiderate, then vnder the desire of holinesse, to eschue that as vnholie, which God himself, the fountaine and father of all holinesse, would haue to be compted is most holy? What is more vnmanly then that man should goe against the lawes of mankind? What is more vnthankfull, then to denie that vnto younglings, the which (if thou haddest not receiued of thine elders) thou couldest not haue bene the man liuing, able to haue denied it vnto them. That if you would knowe, who was the first founder of Mariage, you shall vnderstande, that it came not vp by Licurgus, nor yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon: but it was first ordeined and instituted, by the cheefe founder of all things, commended by the same, made honourable, and made holy by the same. For, at the first when he made man of the earth, he did perceiue that his life should be miserable and vnsauerie, except he ioyned Eue as mate vnto

Praise worthy
to marrie.

Right and meete
to marrie.

Mariage first
made by God.

him. Whereupon he did not make the wife vpon the same clay, whereof he made man: but he made her of Adams Ribbes, to the end we might plainly vnderstande, that nothing ought to be more deare vnto vs then our wife, nothing more nigh vnto vs, nothing surer ioyned, and (as a man would saie) faster glewed together. The self same God, after the generall flood being reconciled to mankinde, is said to proclaime this law first of all, not that men should liue single, but that they should encrease, bee multiplied and fill the earth. But howe I pray you could this thing bee, sauing by Mariage and lawfull comming together? And first least we should alledge here, either the libertie of Moses lawe, or els the necessitie of that tyme: what other meaning els, hath that common and

After man was
made,
the woman was
ioyned
vnto him.
Matrimonie
renewed
after the flood.

commendable report of Christ in the Gospell, for this cause (saieth he) shall man leaue father and mother, and cleaue to his wife. And what is more holy then the reuerence and loue due vnto parents? And yet the trueth promised in Matrimonie, is preferred before it, and by whose meanes? Marie by God himself, at what time? Forsooth not only among the Iewes, but also among the Christians.

Natures worke,
allowed by
Gods
worde.

Men forsake father and mother, and takes themselues wholly to their wiues. The sonne being past twentie yeeres, is free and at libertie. Yea, the sonne being abdicated be commeth no sonne. But it is death onely that parteth married folke, if yet death doth parte them. Nowe, if the other Sacraments (whereunto the Church of Christ chiefly leaneth) be reuerently vsed, who doeth not see, that this Sacrament, should haue the most reuerence of all, the which was instituted of God, and that first and before all other. As for the other, they were instituted vpon earth, this was ordeined in Paradise: the other were giuen for a remedie, this was appointed for the felowship of felicitie: the other were applied to mans nature, after the fal this only was giuen, when man was in most perfite state. If we coumt those Lawes good, that mortall men haue enacted, shall not the lawe of Matrimonie bee most holy, which wee haue receiued of him, by whom we haue receiued life, the which Lawe was then together enacted, when man was first created? And lastly, to strengthen this Lawe, with an example and deede doen, Christ being a yong man (as the storie reporteth) was called to Mariage, and came thether willingly with his mother, and not only was he there present, but also he did honest the feast with a wonderfull maruaile, beginning first in none other place, to worke his wonders and to doe his miracles. Why then I praie you (will one saie) how happeneth it, that Christ forbare Mariage? As though there are not many things in Christ, at the which we ought rather to maruaile, then seeke to follow. He was borne, and had no father, he came into this world, without his mothers painfull trauaile, he came out of the graue when it was closed vp, what is not in him aboue nature? Let these things be proper vnto him. Let vs that liue within the bounds of nature, reuerence those things that are aboue nature, and followe such things as are within our reache, such as wee are able to compasse. But yet (you say) hee would bee borne of a virgin: of a virgin (I graunt) but yet of a married virgin. A virgin being a mother did moste become God, and being married, she shewed what was best for vs to do. Virginitie did become her, who being vndefiled brought him forth by heauenly inspiration, that was vndefiled. And yet Ioseph being her housbande, doeth commend vnto vs the lawe of chast Wedlock. Yea, how could he better set out the societie in Wedlocke, than that willing to declare the secrete societie of his Diuine nature, with the bodie and soule of man which is wonderfull, euen to the heauenly Angels, and to shewe his vnspeakable and euer abiding loue toward his church: He doth call himself the Bridegrome, and her the bride. Greate is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saieth Paule) betwixt Christ and his Church. If there had been vnder heauen, any holier yoke, if there had bene any more religious couenaunt, then is Matrimonie, without doubt the example thereof had bene vsed. But what like thing to you reade in all scripture of the single life? The Apostle S. Paule in the thirteene Chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrues, calleth Matrimonie honorable among all men, and the bed vndefiled, & yet the single life is not so much as once named in the same place. Nay, they are not borne withall that liue single, except they make some recompence, with doing some great thing. For els, if a man following the law of Nature, doe labour to get children, he is euer to be preferred before him, that liueth still vnmarried, for none other end, but because he would bee out of trouble, and liue more free. We doe reade, that such as are in very deede chast of their body, and liue a virgines life, haue bene praised: but the single life was neuer praised of it selfe.

Mariage
beautified
by a miracle.

Mariage
honourable.

Now, againe the law of Moses, accursed the barrennesse of married folk: and we doe reade that some were excommunicated, for the same purpose, and banished from the Altar. And wherfore I praie you? Marie

sir, because that they like vnprofitable persons, and liuing onely to themselves, did not encrease the worlde with any issue. In Deuteronomi, it was the cheefest token of Gods blessinges vnto the Israelites, that none should be barren among them, neither man, nor yet woman. And Lia is thought to be out of Gods fauour because she could not bring forth children. Lia. Yea, and the Psalme of Daud. 128. it is coumpted on of the cheefest partes of blisse, to be a fruitfull woman. Thy wife (saieth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull like a Vine. And thy children like the branches of Oliues, round about thy table. Then if the law doe condemne, and vtterly disalowe barren Matrimonie, it hath alwaies muche more condemned the single life of Batchlars. If the fault of nature hath not escaped blame, the will of man can neuer want rebuke. If they are accursed that would haue children, and can get none, what deserue they which neuer trauaile to escape barrennes? The Hebrues had such a reuerence to married folke, that he which had married a wife, the same yeere should not be forced to goe on warfare. A Citie is like to fal to ruine, except there be watchmen to defend it with armor. But assured destruction must here nedes folow, except men through the benefite of mariage supplie issue, the which through mortalitie, doe from time to time decaie.

Deut. vi.

Lia.

Hebrues law for married folke.

Ouer and besides this, the Romaines did laie a penaltie vpon their backe, that liued a single life, yea, they would not suffer them to beare any office in the Commonweale. But they that had encreased the world with issue, had a rewarde by common assent, as men that did deserue well of their countrey. The olde foren lawes did appoint penalties for such as liued single, the which although, they were qualified by *Constancius* the Emperour, in the fauour of Christes Religion: yet these lawes doe declare, how little it is for the common weales aduancement, that either a Citie should be lesned for loue of sole life, or els that the Countrey should be filled full of Bastards. And besides this, the Emperour *Augustus*, being a sore punisher of euill behauiour, examined a soldiour because he did not marie his wife, according to the lawes, the which soldiour had hardly escaped iudgement, if he had not got three children by her. And in this point doe the lawes of the Emperours, seeme fauourable to married folke, that they abrogate such vowes, as were proclaimed to be kept, and brought in by *Miscella*, and would that after the penaltie were remitted, such couenaunts being made against all right and conscience, should also be taken of none effect, and as voyde in the lawe. Ouer and besides this, *Vlpianus* doth declare, that the matter of Dowries was euermore, and in al places the chiefest aboue all other, the which should neuer haue been so, except there came to the Common weale, some especiall profite by Mariage. Mariage hath euer beene reuerenced, but fruitfulnessse of body, hath been much more, for so soone as one got the name of a father, there discended not onely vnto him inheritaunce of land, but all bequestes, and

Plutarchus in the life of Cato.

Augustus Cæsar.

Miscella.

Vlpianus.

goods of such his freendes, as dyed intestate. The which thing appeareth plainly, by the *Satyre* Poet.

Iuuenall.

*Through me thou art made, an heire to haue lande,
Thou hast all bequestes one with an other:
All goodes and cattell are come to thy hande,
Yea goodes intestate, thou shalt haue sure.*

Now he that hath three children, was more fauoured, for he was exempted from all outwarde ambassages. Againe, hee that had fiue children, was discharged & free from all personall office, as to haue the gouernaunce, or patronage of young Gentlemen, the which in those daies was a greate charge, and full of paines, without any profite at al. He that had thirtene children, was free by the Emperour Iulianus lawe, not onely from being a man of armes, or a Captaine ouer horsemen: but also from all other offices in the common weale. And the wise founders of al lawes, giue good reason why such fauour was shewed to married folke. For what is more blesseful then to liue euer? Now, where as nature hath denied this, Matrimonie doeth giue it by a certaine sleight, so much as may be. Who doth not desire to bee bruted, and liue through fame among men hereafter? Now, there is no building of Pillers, no erecting of Arches, no blasing of Armes, that doth more set forth a mans name, then doth the encrease of children. *Albinus* obtined his purpose of the Emperour *Adrian*, for none other desert of his, but that he had begot an house full of children. And therefore the Emperour (to the hinderance of his treasure) suffered the children to enter wholly vpon their fathers

possession, for asmuch as he knewe well, that his Realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Againe, all other Lawes are neither agreeing for all Countries, not yet vsed at all time. *Licurgus* made a lawe, y^t they which married not, should be kept in Sommer from the sight of stage Plaies, and other wonderfull shewes, and in Winter, they should go naked about the Market place, and accursing themselues, they should confesse openly that they had iustly deserued such punishment, because they did not liue according to the Lawes. And without any more adoe, will yee knowe how much our olde auncesters heretofore esteemed Matrimonie? Weigh well, and consider the punishment for breaking of wedlock. The Greekes heretofore thought it meete, to punish the breach of Matrimonie with battaile, that continued ten yeres. Yea, moreouer not onely by the Romaine Lawe, but also by the Hebrues and straungers, aduouterers persons were punished with death. If a theefe paid fower times the value of that which he tooke awaie, he was deliuered: but an aduouterers offence, was punished with

Licurgus law
against
vnmarried folke.

Punishments
appointed
for breaking of
Wedlock.
The Grecians
reuengement
for aduoutry.

y^e sword. Among the Hebrues, the people stoned the aduouterers to death with their owne handes, because they had broken that, without which the worlde could not continue. And yet they thought not this sore Law sufficient enough, but graunted further to run him through without Lawe, that was taken in aduoutrie, as who should say, they graunted that to the greefe of married folke, the which

The Hebrues
stoned
aduouterers.

they would hardly

graunt to him, that stood in his owne defence for saufegard of his life, as though he offended more hainously that tooke a mans wife, then hee did that tooke away a mans life. Assuredly Wedlocke must needes seeme to be a most holy thing, considering, that being once broken, it must needes bee purged with mans bloud, the reuenger whereof, is not forced to abide, either Lawe or Iudge, the which libertie is not graunted any, to vse vpon hym that hath killed, either his father or his mother. But what doe wee with these Lawes written? This is the law of nature, not written in the Tables of Brasse, but firmly printed in our mindes, the which Lawe, whosoeuer doth not obeye, he is not worthie to be called a man, much lesse shall he be compted a Citezen. For,

Lawfull for the
maried man
among the
Hebrues, to kill
the aduouerer.

if to liue well (as the Stoikes wittely doe dispute) is to followe the course of nature, what thing is so agreeing with nature, as Matrimonie? For there is nothing so naturall, not onely vnto mankind, but also vnto all other liuing creatures, as it is for euery one of them, to keepe their owne kind from decaie, and through increase of issue, to make their whole kinde immortall. The which thing (all men knowe) can neuer be doen without Wedlocke, and carnall copulation. It were a foule thing that brute beastes should obeye the Lawe of nature, and men like Giauntes should fight against Nature. Whose worke, if we would narrowly looke vpon, we shall perceiue that in al things here vpon earth, she would there should be a certaine spice of Mariage.

Matrimonie
naturall.

I will not speake now of Trees, wherein (as *Plinie* most certainly writeth) there is found Mariage, with some manifest difference of both kindes, that except the houseband Tree,

doe leane with his boughes, euen as though he should desire copulation vpon the women Trees, growing round about him: They would els altogether waxe barraine. The same *Plinie* also doeth reporte, that certaine Authours doe thinke there is both Male, and Female, in all things that the earth yeeldeth.

Mariage among
trees.

I will not speake of precious Stones, wherein the same Authour affirmeth, and yet not he onely neither, that there is bothe Male, and Female among them. And I pray you, hath not GOD so knitte all things together with certaine linkes, that one euer seemeth to haue neede of an other? What say you of the Skie or Firmament, that is euer stirring

Mariage among
precious stones.

with continuall moouing? Doth it not plaie the part of a houseband, while it puffeth vp the earth, the mother of all things, and maketh it fruitfull, with casting seede (as a man would say) vpon it. But I thinke it ouer tedious, to runne ouer all things. And to what end are these things spoken? Mary sir, because we might vnderstande, that through Mariage, all things are and doe still continue, and with out the same, all things doe decay and come to naught. The olde auncient

Mariage
betwene the
firmament and
the earth.

and most wise Poets doe feigne (who had euer a desire vnder the colour of fables, to set forth precepts of Philosophie) that the Giauntes, which had Snakes feete, and were borne of the earth, builded great hilles that mounted

The fable of
Giauntes
that fought
against

vp to heauen, minding thereby to bee at vtter defiance with God, and all his Angels. And what meaneth this fable? Marie, it sheweth vnto vs, that certaine fierce and sauage men, such as were vnknowne, could not abide wedlock for any worlds good, and therefore they were striken doune hedlong with lidghtning, that is to say: they were vtterly destroyed, when they sought to eschue that, whereby the weale and saufegard of all mankind, onely doth consist. Nature.

Now againe, the same Poets doe declare that Orpheus the Musition and Minstrell, did stirre and make soft with his pleasaunt melodie, the most harde Rockes and stones. And what is their meaning herein? Assuredly nothing els, but that a wise and well spoken man, did call backe harde harted men, such as liued abrode like beastes from open whoredom, & brought them to liue after the most holy lawes of Matrimonie. Thus we see plainly, that such a one as hath no mind of mariage, seemeth to be no man but rather a stone, an enemie to nature, a rebell to God himselfe, seeking through his owne folly, his last ende and destruction. Orpheus.

Well, let vs goe on still (seeing we are fallen into fables, that are not fables altogether) when the same Orpheus, in the middes of Hell, forced Pluto himselfe and all the Deuils there, to graunt him leaue, to cary away his wife Euridice what other thing doe we thinke, that the Poets meant, but onely to set forth vnto vs, the loue in wedlocke, the which euen among the Deuilles, was coumpted good and godly. The most wicked can not chose but allow mariage.

And this also makes well for the purpose, that in olde tyme they made *Iupiter Gamelius*, the God of Marriage, and *Iuno Lucina*, Lady Midwife, to helpe such women as laboured in childbed, being fondly deceiued, and superstitiously erring in naming of the Gods: and yet not missing the trueth, in declaring that Matrimony is an holy thing, and meete for the worthinesse therof, that the Gods in heauen should haue care ouer it. Among diuers Countries and diuers men, there haue beene diuers lawes and Customes vsed. Yet was there neuer any Countrey so sauage, none so farre from al humanitie, where the name of Wedlocke was not coumpted holie, and

had in great reuerence. This the *Thracian*, this the *Sarmate*, this the *Indian*, this the *Grecian*, this the *Latine*, yea, this the *Britaine* that dwelleth in the furthest part of all the world, or if there be any that dwell beyond them? All Nations euer esteemed Mariage. Marie, because that thing must needes be common to all, which the common mother vnto all, hath graffed in vs all, and hath so throughly graffed the same in vs, that not only Stockdoues and Pignons, but also the most wilde beastes, haue a Naturall feeling of this thing. For the Lions are gentle against the Lionesse. The Tygers fight for safegarde of their young whelpes. The Asse runnes through the hot fire (which is made to keepe her away) for safegarde of her issue. And this they call the lawe of Nature, the which as it is of most strength & force, so it spreadeth abroad most largely. Therefore, as he is coumpted no good Gardener, that being content with thinges present, doth diligently proyne his olde

Trees, and hath no regarde either to ympe or graffe yong Settes: because the selfe same Orchard (though it bee neuer so well trimmed) must needes decay in time, & all the Trees dye within fewe yeares: so he is not to be coumpted halfe a diligent Citizein, that beeing content with the present multitude, hath no regarde to encrease the number. Therefore, there is no one man, that euer hath been coumpted a worthie Citezein, who hath not laboured to get children, and sought to bring them vp in godlinesse.

Among the *Hebrues* and the *Persians*, he was most commended that had most wiues, as though the Countrey were most beholding to him, that encrease the same with the greatest number of children. Doe you seeke to be coumpted more holy then Abraham himselfe? Well, he should neuer haue beene coumpted the Father of many Nations, and that through Gods furtheraunce, if he had forborne the companie of his wife. Do you looke to be reckened more deuout then Iacob. He doubted nothing to raunsome Rachell from her great bondage. Will you bee taken for wiser then Salomon? And yet I pray you, what a number of wiues kept he in one house? Will you bee coumpted more chast then *Socrates*, who is reported to beare at home with *Zantippe*, that very shrowe, and yet not so much therefore (as he is wont to iest, according to his olde maner) because he might learne pacience at home, but also because he might not seeme to come behinde with his duetie, in doing the will of Nature. For he being a man, such a one (as *Appollo* iudged him by his Oracle to bee wise) did well perceiue that he was got for this cause, borne for this cause, and therefore bounde to yeeld so much vnto Nature. For, if the olde auncient Philosophers have said well, if our Diuines haue proued the thing not without reason, if it be vsed euery where, for a common Prouerbe, and almost in euery mans mouth, that neither GOD, nor yet Nature, did euer make any thing in vaine. Why did he giue vs such members, how happeneth wee haue such lust, and such power to get issue, if the single life and none other, bee altogether praise worthie? If one should bestowe vpon you a very good thing: as a Bowe, a Coate, or a Sworde, all men would thinke you were not worthie to haue the thing, if either you could not, or you would not vse it and occupie it. And whereas all other thinges, are ordeined vpon such great considerations, it is not like that Nature slipt, or forgot her selfe when she made this one thing. And now here will some say, that this foule and filthie desire and stirring vnto lust, came neuer in by Nature, but through sinne: for whose wordes I passe not a strawe, seeing their sayinges are as false as God is true. For I pray you was not Matrimonie instituted (whose woorke cannot bee done without these members) before there was no sinne. And againe, whence haue all other Beastes their prouocations? Of Nature, or of sinne? A man would thinke they had them of Nature. But shall I tell you at a worde, wee make that filthie by our owne immagination, which of the owne Nature is good and godlie. Or els if wee will examine matter (not according to the opinion of men, but waigh them as they are of their owne Nature) how chaunceth it, that we thinke it lesse filthie to eate, to chewe, to disgest, to emptie the bodie, and to sleepe, then it is to vse carnall Copulation, such as is lawfull and permitted. Now sir (you may say) wee must followe vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dish. As though any thing can bee called vertue, that is contrary vnto Nature. Assuredly there is nothing that can bee perfectly gotte,

The Hebrues
and Persians
had a number
of wiues.
Abraham.

Iacob.
Salomon.
Socrates.

either through labour, or through learning, if man grounde not his doinges altogether vpon Nature.

But you will liue an Apostles life, such as some of them did that liued single: and exhorted other to the same kinde of life. Tush, let them followe the Apostles that are Apostles in deede, whose office seeing it is both to teach, and bring vp the people in Gods doctrine: they are not able to discharge their dueties, both to their flocke, and to their wife and familie: although it is well knowne, that some of the Apostles had wiues. But be it that Bishoppes liue single, or graunt we them to haue no wiues. What, doe ye followe the profession of the Apostles, beeing one that is farthest in life from their vocation: being both a Temporal man, and one that liueth of your owne. They had this Pardon graunted them to be cleane voyd from Mariage, to the end they might bee at leasure, to get vnto Christ a more plentifull number of his children. Let this be the order of Priestes and Monkes, who belike haue entred into Religion and rule of the *Essens* (such as among the Iewes lothed Mariage) but your calling is an other way. Nay, but (you will say) Christ himself hath coumpted them blessed, which haue gelded themselues for the kingdome of God. Sir, I am content to admit the auctoritie, but thus I expound the meaning. First, I thinke that this doctrine of Christ, did chiefly belong vnto that time, when it behoued them chiefly to be voyde of all cares and businesse of this world. They were faine to trauaile into all places, for the persecutors were euer readie to lay hands on them. But now the world is so, that a man can find in no place, the vprightnesse of behaiour lesse strained, then among married folke.

Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes, set forth their order neuer so much, let them boast and bragge their bellies full, of their Ceremonies and Church seruice, wherein they chiefly passe all other: yet is Wedlocke (beeing well and truely kept) a most holy kinde of life. Againe, would to God they were gelded in very deede, whatsoever they bee that colour their naughtie liuing, with such a ioylie name of gelding, liuing in much more filthie lust, vnder the cloake and pretence of Chastitie. Neither can I reporte for very shame, into how filthie offences they doe often fall, that will not vse that remeadie, which Nature hath graunted vnto man. And last of all, where doe you reade, that euer Christ commaunded any man to liue single, and yet he doth openly forbid diuorcement.

Then he doth not worst of all (in my iudgement) for the Common weale of mankinde, that graunted libertie vnto Priestes: yea, and Monkes also (if neede bee) to marrie, and to take them to their wiues, namely, seing there is such an

vnreasonable number euery where, among whom I pray you, how many bee Priestes there that liue chast. How much better were it, to turne their Concubines into mariage. wiues, that whereas they haue them now to their great shame, with an vnquiet conscience, they might haue the other openly with good reporte, and get children, and also bring them vp godlie, of whom they themselues, not onely might not be ashamed, but also might be compted honest men for them. And I thinke the Bishops officers would haue procured this

matter long agoe, if they had not found great gaines by Priestes Lemmans, then they were like to haue by Priestes wiues.

But virginitie forsooth is an heauenly thing, it is an Angels life. I answer: Virginitie.
Wedlocke is a manly thing, such as is meete for man. And I talke now as man vnto man. I graunt you, that virginitie is a thing praise worthie, but so farre I am content to speake in praise of it, if it bee not so praised, as though the iust should altogether followe it. For if men commonly should begin to like it, what thing could be inuented more perilous to a common weale then virginitie? Now, bee it that other deserue great praise for their maidenhead, you notwithstanding cannot want great rebuke, seeing it lieth in your handes to keepe that house from decay, wherof your lineally descended, and to continue still the name of your auncesters, who deserue most worthely to bee knowne for euer. And last of all, he deserueth as much praise as they which keepe their maidenhood: that keepe himselfe true to his wife, & marieth rather for encrease of children, then to satisfie his lust. For if a brother be commaunded to stirre vp seede to his brother that dieth without issue, will you suffer y^e hope of al your stocke to decay: namely, seeing there is none other of your name and stocke but your self alone, to continue the posteritie. I know well enough, that the auncient Fathers haue set foorth in great volumes the praise of virginitie,
among whom *Hierome* doth so take on, and praiseth it so much aboute the Hieromes praise
Starres, that he fell in maner to depraue Matrimonie, and therefore was vpon Virginitie.
required of godlie Bishops, to call backe his words that he had spoken. But let vs beare with such heate for that time sake, I would wish now, that they which exhort young folke euery where, and without respect (such as yet knowe not themselues) to liue a single life, and to professe virginitie: that they would bestowe the same labor in setting forth the discription of chast and pure wedlocke. And yet those bodies that are in such great loue with virginitie, are well contented that men should fight against the Turkes, which in number are infinitely greater then we are. And now if these men thinke right in this behalfe, it must needes be thought right, good, and godly, to labour earnestly for children getting, and to substitute youth from time to time for the maintenance of warre. Except peraduenture they thinke that Gunnes, Billes, Pikes, and Nauies should be provided for battaill, and that men stand in no steede at all with them. They also allowe it wel, that we should kill miscreant and Heathen Parents, that the rather their children not knowing of it, might bee Baptized and made Christians. Now if this bee right and lawfull, how much more gentlesse were it to haue children baptized, being born in lawfull mariage. There is no Nation so sauage, nor yet so hard harted within the whole worlde, but the same abhorreth murdering of Inphants, and new borne babes. Kings also and head rulers, doe likewise punish most streightly, all such as seeke meanes to be deliuered before their time, or vse Phisicke to waxe barraine, and neuer to beare Children. What is the reason? Marie they coumpt it small difference betwixt him that killeth the childe, so sone as it beginneth to quicken: & the other that seeketh all meanes possible, neuer to haue any childe at all. The self same thing that either withereth and drieth awaie in the bodie, or els putrifieth within thee, and so hurteth greatly thy health, yea, that selfe same which falleth from thee

in thy sleepe, would haue beene a man, if thou thy selfe haddest beene a man. The Hebrewes abhorre that man, and wish him Gods curse, that (being commaunded to marrie with the wife of his dead brother) did cast his Hebrewes. seede vpon the grounde, least any issue should be had, and he was euer thought vnworthie to liue here vpon earth, that would not suffer that childe to liue, which was quicke in the mothers wombe. But I praie you, how little doe they swarue from this offence, which binde them selues to liue barraine all the daies of their life? Doe they not seeme to kill as many men as were like to haue beene borne, if they had bestowed their endeouours to haue got children? Now I pray you, if a man had lande that were very fat and fertile, and suffered the same for lacke of manning, for euer to waxe barraine, should he not, or were he not worthie to be punished by the Lawes, considering it is for the common weales behoue, that euery man should well and truely husband his own. If that man be punished, who little heedeth the maintenaunce of his Tillage, the which although it bee neuer so well mannered, yet it yeeldeth nothing els but Wheate, Barley, Beanes, and Peason: what punishment is he worthie to suffer, that refuseth to Plowe that land which being Tilled, yeeldeth children. And for plowing lande it is nothing els, but painfull toying from time to time: but in getting children there is a pleasure, which being ordeined as a readie rewarde for paines taking, asketh a short trauaile for all the Tillage. Therefore if the working of Nature, if honestie, if vertue, if inward zeale, if godlinesse, if duetie maie moue you, why can you not abide that which God hath ordeined, Nature hath established, reason doth counsaile, Gods worde and mans worde doe commende, all Lawes doe commende, the consent of all Nations doth allowe, whereunto also the example of all good men doth exhort you. That if euery honest man should desire many thinges that are most painfull for none other cause, but only for that they are honest, no doubt but Matrimony ought aboue all other, most of all to be desired, as the which wee may doubt, whether it haue more honestie in it, or bring more delight and pleasure with it. For what can be more pleasant then to liue with her, with whom not onely you shall be ioyned in fellowship of faithfulnessse, and most heartie good will, but also you shall be coupled together most assuredly, with the company of both your bodies: If we count that great pleasure, which we receiue of the good will of our friends and acquaintance, how pleasant a thing is it about all other to haue one, with whom you may breake the bottome of your heart, with whom you may talke as freely as with your self, into whose trust you may safely commit your self, such a one as thinketh all your goodes to bee her charge. Now what an heauenly blisse (trowe you) is the companie of man and wife together, seeing that in all the world there can nothing bee found, either of greater weight & worthines, or els of more strength and assurance. For with friends we ioyne onely with them in good wil, and faithfulnessse of mind, but with a wife we are matched together, both in heart and mind, in body and soule, sealed together with the bond & league of an holy sacrament, and parting all the goods we haue indifferently betwixt vs. Againe, when other are matched together in friendship, doe we not see what dissembling they vse, what falshod they practise, & what deceitful parts they play? Yea, euen those whom we thinke to be most assured friends: as Swalowes flie away when Sommer is past, so they hide their heads when fortune gins to faile. And oft times when wee get a new frend, we straight forsake our old. We heare tel of very few that haue continued friends euen till their last end: whereas the faithfulnessse of a wife is not

stained with deceit, nor dusked with any dissembling, nor yet parted with any charge of the world, but disseuered at last by death only, no not by death neither. She forsakes and sets light by father & mother, sister & brother for your sake, and for your loue only. She only passeth vpon you, yea, she desires to dye with you. Haue you any worldly substaunce? You haue one that wil maintaine it, you haue one wil encrease it. Haue you none? You haue a wife that will get it. If you liue in prosperitie, your ioye is doubled: if the world goe not with you, you haue a wife to put you in good comfort, to be at your commaundement, and readie to serue your desire, and to wish that such euill as hath happened vnto you, might chaunce vnto her selfe. And doe you thinke that any pleasure in all the world is to bee compared, with such a goodly fellowship and famelier liuing together? If you keepe home, your wife is at hand to keepe your companie, the rather that you might feele no wearines of liuing al alone: if you ride forth, you haue a wife to bid you farewell with a kisse, longing much for you beeing from home, and glad to bid you welcome home at your next returne. A sweete mate in your youth, thankfull comfort in your age. Euery societie or companying together is delightfull, & wished for by Nature of al men, for asmuch as Nature hath ordeined vs to be sociable, friendly, & louing together. Now how can this fellowship of man and wife be otherwise then most pleasaunt, where all things are common together betwixt them both. Now I thinke he is most worthie to bee despised aboue all other, that is borne as a man would say for himself, that liueth to himself, that seeketh for himself, that spareth for himself, maketh cost onely vpon himselfe, that loueth no man, and no man loueth him. Would not a man thinke that such a monster, were meete to be cast out of all mens companie (with *Tymon* that careth for no man) into the

middest of the Sea. Neither doe I here vtter vnto you these pleasures of the body, the which whereas Nature hath made to bee most pleasant vnto man, yet these great witted men rather hide them and dissemble them (I cannot tell how) then vtterly contemne them. And yet what is he that is so sower of witte, and so drouping of braine (I will not say) blockheaded, or insensate, that is not mooued with such pleasure: namely, if hee may haue his desire without offence: either of God or man, and without hinderance of his estimation. Truly I would take such a one not to be a man, but rather bee a stone. Although this pleasure of the body, is the least part of all those good things that are in wedlocke. But be it that you passe not vpon this pleasure, and thinke it vnworthie for man to vse it, although in deede wee deserue not the name of man without it, but coumpt it among the least and vttermost profites that Wedlocke hath. Now I pray you, what can bee more hartely desired then chast loue, what can bee more holie, what can bee more honest? And among all these pleasures, you get vnto you a ioyly sort of kinsfolk, in whom you may take much delite. You haue other parents, other bretherne, sisterne, and nephewes. Nature in deed can giue you but one father, and one mother: by Mariage you get vnto you an other father, and an other mother, who cannot chuse but loue you with all their hearts, as the which haue put into your handes, their owne flesh and blood. Now againe, what a ioye shall this be vnto you, when your most faire wife shall make you a Father, in bringing forth a faire Childe vnto you, where you shall haue a pretie little boye, running vp and downe your house, such a one as shall expresse your looke, and your wiues looke, such a one as shall call you dad with his sweete lipsing

Tymon a deadly
hater of all
companie.

wordes. Now last of all, when you are thus lincked in Loue, the same shall bee so fastned and bounde together, as though it were with an Adamant stone, that Death it selfe can neuer bee able to vndoe it. Thrise happie are they (quoth *Horace*) yea, more then thrise happie are they, whom these sure bands doe holde: neither though they are by euill reporters full oft set asunder, shall Loue bee vnlosed betwixt them two, till Death them both depart. You haue them that shall comfort you in your latter daies, that shall close vp your eyes when God shall call you, that shall burie you, and fulfill all thinges belonging to your Funerall, by whom you shall seeme to bee newe borne. For so long as they shall liue, you will neuer bee thought dead your selfe. The goodes and lands that you haue got, goe not to other heires then to your owne. So that vnto such as haue fulfilled all thinges, that belong vnto mans life, Death it selfe cannot seeme better. Old age commeth vpon vs al, will we, or nill we, and this way Nature prouided for vs, that we should waxe yong again in our children & nephewes. For what man can be greeued that he is old, when he seeth his owne countenance, which he had being a childe, to appeare liuely in his sonne? Death is ordained for all mankind, & yet by this meanes only, Nature by her prouidence, mindeth vnto vs a certain immortalitie, while she increaseth one thing vpon an other, euen as a yong graffe buddeth out, when the old Tree is cut doune. Neither can he seeme to dye, that when God calleth him, leaueth a yong childe behind him. But I know well enough, what you say to your self al this while of my long talke. Mariage is an happie thing, if all thinges hap well, what if one haue a curst wife? What if she be light? What if his children bee vngracious? Thus I see you remember all such men, as by Mariage haue beene vndone. Well, goe to it, tell as many as you can, and spare not: you shall finde all these were the faults of the persons, and not the

faultes of Marriage. For beleue me, none haue euill wiues, but such as are euill men. And as for you sir, you may chuse a good wife if you list. But what if she bee crooked and mard altogether, for lacke of good ordering. A good honest wife, may be made an euill woman by a naughtie husband, and an euill wife hath beene made a good woman, by an honest man. Wee crye out of wiues vntruely, and accuse them without cause. There is no man (if you will beleue me) that euer had an euill wife, but through his owne default. Now againe, an honest Father, bringeth forth honest children, like vnto himselfe. Although euen these children, howsoeuer they are borne, commonly become such men, as their education and bringing vp is. And as for Ielousie, you shall not neede to feare that fault at all. For none bee troubled with such a disease but those only that are foolish Louers. Chast, godlie, and lawfull loue, neuer knewe what Ielousie ment. What meane you to call to your minde, and remember such sore Tragedies, and dolefull dealinges, as haue beene betwixt man and wife. Such a woman beeing naught of her bodie, hath caused her husband to lose his head: an other haue poysoned her good man, the third with her churlish dealing (which her husband could not beare) hath beene his vtter

vndoing, and brought him to his ende. But I pray you sir, why doe you not think vpon *Cornelia*, wife vnto *Tiberius Graccus*? Why doe ye not minde that most worthie wife, or that most vnworthie man *Alcestes*? Why remember ye not *Iulia Pompeies* wife, or *Porcia Brutus* wife? And why not

Euill wiues
happen
to euil men
only.

Ielousie
vnknowne
to wisemen.

Cornelia.

Artemesia, a woman most worthie euer to bee remembered? Why not *Hipsicratea*, wife vnto *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*? Why doe you not call to remembraunce, the gentle nature of *Tertia Aemilia*? Why doe ye not consider the faithfulness of *Turia*? Why commeth not *Lucretia* and *Lentula* to your remembraunce? And why not *Arria*? Why not a thousand other, whose chastitie of life, and faithfulness towards their husbands, could not bee chaunged, no not by death. A good woman (you will say) is a rare bird, and hard to bee found in all the world. Well then sir, imagine your selfe worthie to haue a rare wife, such as fewe man haue. A good woman (saith the wiseman) is a good portion. Be you bold to hope for such a one, as is worthie your maners. The chiefest point standeth in this, what maner of woman you chuse, how you vse her, how you order your selfe towards her.

Alcestes' Wife.
Iulia.
Porcia.
Artemesia.
Hipsicratea.
Tertia Aemilia.
Turia. Lucretia.
Lentula. Arria.

But libertie (you will say) is much more pleasaunt: for whosoeuer is married, weareth fetters vpon his legges, or rather carieth a clog, the which he can neuer shake of, till Death part their yoke. To this I aunswer, I cannot see what pleasure a man shall haue, to liue alone. For if libertie bee delightfull, I would thinke you should get a mate vnto you, with whom you should part stakes, and make her priuie of all your ioyes. Neither can I see any thing more free, then is the seruitude of these two, where the one is so much beholding and bound to the other, that neither of them both would be lose though they might. You are bound vnto him, whom you receiue into your friendship: but in Marriage neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is taken away from them. Yet once againe you are sore afraied, least when your children are taken away by death, you fall to mourning for want of issue. Well sir, if you feare lack of issue, you must marie a wife for y^e self same purpose, the which only shalbe a meane, that you shal not want issue. But what doe you search so diligently, nay so carefully, all the incommodities of Matrimonie, as though single life had neuer any incommoditie ioyned with it at all. As though there were any kinde of life in al the world, that is not subiect to al euils that may happen. He must needes goe out of this world, that lookes to liue without feeling of any greefe. And in comparison of that life, which the Saincts of God shall haue in heauen, this life of man is to bee coumpted a death, and not a life. But if you consider things within the compasse of mankinde, there is nothing either more safe, more quiet, more pleasaunt, more to be desired, or more happie then is the married mans life. How many doe you see, that hauing once felt the sweetness of Wedlocke, doth not desire eftsones to enter into the same? My friend *Mauricius*, whom you knowe to be a very wiseman, did not he the next Moneth after his wife died (whom he loued dearely) get him straight a newe wife? Not that he was impacient of his lust, and could not forbear any longer, but hee saied plainly, it was no life for him to be without a wife, which should bee with him as his yokefellowe, and companion in all things. And is not this the fourth wife that our friend *Iouius* hath married? And yet he so loued the other when they were on liue, that none was able to comfort him in his heauinesse: And now he hastened so much (when one was dead) to fill vp and supplie the voyde rounge of his Chamber, as though he had loued the other very little. But what doe we talke so much of the honestie and pleasure herein, seeing that not onely profite doth aduise vs, but also neede doth earnestly force vs to seeke

Prouer. x.

Necessitie
enforceth

marriage. Let it bee forbidden that man and woman shall not come together, Mariage.
 and within fewe yeares all mankinde must needes decay for euer. When
Xerxes King of the *Persians*, beheld from an high place that
 great Armie of his, such as almost was incredible: Some saied he could not Xerxes.
 forbear weeping, considering of so many thousands, there was not one like
 to bee aliue within seuentie yeares after. Now, why should not wee consider the same of
 all mankinde, which he ment only of his armie. Take away mariage, and how many shall
 remaine after a hundred yeares, of so many Realmes, Countries, Kingdomes, Cities, & all
 other assemblies that be of men throughout the whole world? On now, praise we a Gods
 name, the single life about the Rocke, the which is like for euer to vndoe all mankinde.
 What Plague, what infection can either Heauen or Hell, sende more harmefull vnto
 mankinde? What greater euil is to be feared by any flood? What could bee looked for more
 sorowfull, although the flame of *Phaeton* should set the world on fire againe? And yet by
 such sore tempestes, many thinges haue beene saued harmelesse, but by the single life of
 man, there can be nothing left at al. We see what a sort of diseases, what diuersitie of
 mishappes doe night and day lye in wait, to lessen the small number of mankind. How
 many doth the Plague destroye, how many doe the Seas swallowe, how many doth Battaile
 snatch vp? For I will not speake of the daylie dying that is in all places. Death taketh her
 flight euery where rounde about, she runneth ouer them, she catcheth them vp, she
 hasteneth as much as she can possible to destroye all mankinde: and now doe we so highly
 commend single life, and eschue Mariage? Except happelie we like the profession of the
Essens (of whom *Iosephus* speaketh, that they will neither haue wife nor seruauntes) or
 the *Dolopolitans*, called otherwise the rascalles and slaues of Cities, the Essens hated
 which companie of them is alwaie encreased, & continued by a sort of mariage.
 vagabond peasants that continue, and bee from time to time still together. Iosephus 18.
 Doe wee looke that some *Iupiter* should giue vs that same gift, the which he Cap. lib. 12.
 is reported to haue giuen vnto Bees, that he should haue issue without
 procreation, and gather with our mouthes out of the flowers, the seede of our posteritie? Or
 els doe wee desire, that like as the Poets feine *Minerua*, to be borne out of *Iupiters* head: in
 like sort there should children leape out of our heads? Or last of all doe wee looke,
 according as the old Fables haue bene, that men should be borne out of the earth, out of
 Rockes, out of stocks, stones, and old Trees. Many things breed out of the earth, without
 mans labour at all. Young shrubbes growe and shoute vp, vnder the shadowe of their
 graunsire Trees. But Nature would haue man to vse his owne waye of encreasing issue,
 that through labour of both the Husbände and wife, mankinde might still bee kept from
 destruction. But I promise you, if all men tooke after you, and still forbear to marie: I
 cannot see but that these things which you wonder at, and esteeme so much, could not
 haue beene at all. Doe you yet esteeme this single life so greatly? Or doe wee praise so
 much virginie about all other? Why man, there will bee neither single men, nor Virgines
 aliue, if men leaue to marrie, and minde not procreation. Why doe you then preferre
 virginie so much, why set it you so hye, if it bee the vndoing of all the whole world? It
 hath beene much commended, but it was for that time, and in fewe. God would haue men
 to see, as though it were a patterne, or rather a picture of the heauenly habitation, where
 neither any man shall be married, nor yet any shall giue theirs to Marriage. But when

things bee giuen for example a fewe may suffice, a number were to no purpose. For euen as all groundes, though they be very fruitfull, are not therefore turned into tillage for mans vse and commoditie, but part lieth fallowe, and is neuer mannered, part is kept & cherished to like the eye, and for mans pleasure: And yet in all the plentie of things, where so great store of Land is, Nature suffereth very little to waxe barren: but now if none should be tilled, & Plowmen went to play, who seeth not but that we should all starue, and bee faine shortly to eate Acornes: euen so it is praise worthie, if a fewe liue single, but if all should seeke to liue single, so many as be in this world, it were too great an inconuenience. Now againe, be it that other deserue worthy praise that seeke to liue a virgins life, yet it must nedes be a great fault in you. Other shalbe thought to seke a purenesse of life, you shalbe coumpted a *Parricide*, or a murtherer of your stocke, that whereas you may by honest Mariage, encrease your posteritie: you suffer it to decay for euer through your wilfull single life. A man may hauing an house full of children, commend one to God to liue a virgin all his life. The plowman offereth to God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole Crop altogether: but you sir, must remember that there is none left alieue of all your stocke, but your self alone. And now it mattereth nothing whether you kill, or refuse to saue that creature, which you onely might saue and that with ease. But you will followe the example of your sister, and liue single as she doth. And yet me thinketh you should chiefly, euen for this selfe same cause bee afraied to liue single. For whereas there was hope of issue heretofore in you both, now you see there is no hope left but in you only. Bee it that your sister may bee borne withall, because she is a woman, and because of her yeares: for she being but a gerle, and ouercome with sorrowe for losse of her Mother, tooke the wrong way, she cast her selfe doune headlong & became a Nunne, at the earnest sute either of foolish women, or els of doltish Monkes: but you beeing much elder, must euermore remember that you are a man: She would nedes dye together with her auncesters, you must labour that your auncesters shall not dye at all.

Your Sister

would not doe her duetie, but shrinke away: thinke you now with your self, that you haue two offices to discharge. The daughters of Loth neuer stucke at the matter, to haue adoe with their dronken Father, thinking it better with wicked Whoredome and Incest, to prouide for their posteritie, then to suffer their stocke to dye for euer. And will not you with honest, godlie, and chast Marriage (which shall bee without trouble, and turne to your great pleasure) haue a regarde to your posteritie, most like els for euer to decay? Therefore, let them on Gods name, followe the purpose of chast *Hippolitus*, let them liue a single life that either can be married men, and yet can get no children, or els such whose stocke may bee continued, by meanes of other their kinsfolke, or at the least whose kindered is such, that it were better for the Common weale they were all dead, then any of that name should be a liue, or els such men as the euerliuing God of his most especiall goodnesse hath chosen out of the whole world, to execute some heauenly office, whereof there is a marueilous small number. But where as you, according to

the report of a Phisitian, that neither is vnlearned, nor yet is any lyar, are like to haue many children hereafter, seeing also you are a man of great Lands and Reuenues by your auncesters, the house where of you came being both right

Daughters
of Loth.

The conclusion.

honorable, and right auncient, so that you could not suffer it to perish, without your great offence, & great harme to the Common weale. Againe, seeing you are of lustie yeares, and very comely for your personage, and may haue a Maide to your wife, such a one as none of your Countrey hath knowne any, to be more absolute for all thinges, comming of as noble a house as any of them, a chast one, a sober one, a godly one, an excellent faire one, hauing with her a wonderfull dowrie: seeing also your friendes desire you, your kinsfolke weepe to win you, your Cousins and Aliaunce are earnest in hande with you, your Countrey calles and cries vpon you: the ashes of your auncesters from their graues make heartie sute vnto you, do you yet holde backe: doe you still minde a single life? If a thing were asked you that were not halfe honest, or the which you could not well compasse, yet at the instaunce of your friends, or for the loue of your kinsfolke, you would be ouercome, and yeeld to their requests: then how much more reasonable were it, that the weeping teares of our friends, the heartie good wil of your Countrey, the deare loue of your elders might win that thing at your hands, vnto the which both the law of God and man doth exhort you. Nature pricketh you forward, reason leadeth you, honestie allureth you, so many commodities cal you, and last of al, necessitie it self doth constraene you. But here an ende of all reasoning. For I trust you haue now, and a good while agoe changed your mynd through mine aduise, and take your self to better counsaile.

¶ *Of Exhortation.*

THE places of exhorting, and dehorting are the same which wee vse in Exhorting.
perswading, and disswading, sauing that hee which vseth perswasion,
seeketh by arguments to compasse his deuise: he that labours to exhort, doth stirre
affection.

Erasmus sheweth these to bee most especiall places, that doe pertaine vnto exhortations.

- { Praise or commendation.
- { Expectation of all men.
- { Hope of victorie.
- { Hope of renowne.
- { Feare of shame.
- { Greatnesse of reward.
- { Rehearsall of examples in all ages, and
especially of things lately done.

PRaising is either of the man, or of some deede done. Wee shall exhort men Praying a
to doe the thing, if wee shewe them that it is a worthie attempt, a godly deede.
enterprise, and such as fewe men hetherto haue aduentured. In praising a man, wee shall
exhort him to goe forward, considering it agreeth with
his wonted manhood, and that hetherto he hath not slacked to hazard boldly Praying a man,

vpon the best and worthiest deedes, requiring him to make his ende
 aunswerable to his most worthie beginnings, that he may ende with honor,
 which hath so long continued in such renowme. For it were a foule shame to
 lose honour through follie, which haue bene got through vertue, and to appeare most
 slacke in keeping it, then he seemed carefull at the first to attaine it.

the rather to
 encourage him.

Againe, whose name is renowned, his doinges from time to time, will be thought more
 wonderfull, and greater promises will men make vnto themselues of such mens
 aduentures, in any common affaires, then of others whose vertues are not yet knowen. A
 notable Master of Fence, is marueilous to behold, & men looke earnestly to see him do
 some wonder: how much more will they looke, when they heare tel, that a noble Captaine
 and an aduenturous prince, shall take vpon him the defence and sauegard of his Countrey,
 against the raging attemptes of his enemies? Therefore

a noble man cannot but goe forward with most earnest will, seeing all men
 haue such hope in him, and coumpt him to be their onely comfort, their
 fortresse and defence. And the rather to encourage such right worthie, we
 may put them in good hope to compasse their attempt, if we shewe them
 that God is an assured guide vnto al those, that in an honest quarell aduenture themselues,
 and shew their manly stomack. Sathan himselfe the greatest aduersary that man hath,
 yeldeth like a captiue when God doth take our part, much soner shal al other be subiect
 vnto him, & crie *Peccavi*, for if God be with him, what mattereth who be against him?

Expectation of
 all
 men. Hope of
 victorie.

Now, when victorie is got, what honour doth ensue? Here openeth a large
 field to speak of renoume, fame and endlesse honour. In al ages the
 worthiest men, haue alwaies aduentured their carcasses, for the sauegard of
 their countrey, thinking it better to die with honor, then to liue with shame.
 Again, y^e ruine of our realme should put vs to more shame, then the losse of
 our bodies should turn vs to smart. For our honestie being stained, y^e paine
 is endles, but our bodies being gored, either the wound may sone be healed,
 or els our paine being sone ended, the glory endureth for euer.

Fame foloweth
 worthie
 factes. Shame
 foloweth
 fearefulnesse,
 when
 manhood is
 thought
 needfull.

Lastly, he that helpeth the needie, defendeth his poore neighbours, and in
 the fauour of his Countrey bestoweth his life: will not God besides all these,
 place hym where he shall liue for euer, especially, seeing he hath done all
 these enterprises in faithe and for Christes sake?

Heauen the
 reward of
 hault Captaines.

Now in al ages, to reckon such as haue been right Soueraine and victorious, what name got
 the worthie *Scipio*, that withstood the rage of *Haniball*? What brute hath *Cæsar*, for his
 most worthie Conquestes? What triumph of glory doth sound in al mens eares, vpon the
 onely naming of mightie *Alexander*, and his father King Philip? And now to come home,
 what head can expresse the renowned Henrie the fifth King of Englande of that name,
 after the Conquest? What witte can set out the wonderfull wisdome of Henrie the

seuenth, and his great foresight to espie mischiefe like to ensue, and his politike deuises to escape daungers, to subdue Rebelles, and to maintaine peace?

¶ *Of mouing pittie, and stirring men to shewe mercie.*

Likewise, we may exhorte men to take pitie of the fatherlesse, the widowe, & the oppressed innocent, if we set before their eyes, the lamentable afflictions, the tyrannous wrongs, and the miserable calamities, which these poore wretches doe sustaine. For if flesh and bloud moue vs to loue our children, our wiues, and our kinsfolke: much more should the spirite of God, and Christes goodnesse towards man, stirre vs to loue our neighbours most intierly. These exhortations the preachers of God may most aptly vse, when they open his Gospel to the people, & haue iust cause to speake of such matters.

Mouing of
pittie.

¶ *Of Commending.*

IN commending a man, wee vse this report of his wit, honestie, faithfull seruice, painfull labour, and carefull nature to doe his Maisters will, or any such like, as in the Epistles of *Tullie*, there are examples infinite.

The maner of
commending.

¶ *Of Comforting.*

NOw after all these, the weake would be comforted, and the sorowfull would be cherished, that their grief might be asswaged, and the passions of man brought vnder the obedience of reason. The vse hereof is great aswell in priuate troubles, as in comen miseris. As in losse of goods, in lacke of freendes, in sicknesse, in darth, and in death. In all which losses, the wise vse so to comfort the weake, that they giue them not iust cause euen at the first, to refuse all comforte. And therefore, they vse two waies of cherishing the troubled mindes. The one is, when we shewe that in some cases, and for some causes, either they should not lament at all, or els be sorie very little: the other is when we graunt that they haue iust cause to be sad, and therefore we are sad also in their behalfe, and would remedie the mater if it could be, and thus entering into felowship of sorowe, we seeke by a little and litle to mitigate their greefe. For all extreme heauinesse, and vehement sorowes can not abide comfort, but rather seeke a mourner that would take parte with them. Therefore, much warinesse ought to be vsed, when we happen vpon such exceeding sorowfulnessse, least we rather purchase hatred, then asswage grieffe.

The maner of
comforting.

Comforting two
waies vsed.

Those harmes should be moderatly borne, which must needes happen to euery one, that haue chaunced to any one. As Death, which spareth none, neither King nor Keisar, neither poore nor riche. Therefore, to be impacient for the losse of our frends, is to fall out with God, because he made vs men and not Angels. But the Godly (I trust) will alwaies remit the order of things, to the will of God, and force their passions to obeie necessitie. When God lately visited this

Realme with the Sweating disease, and receiued the two worthie Gentlemen, Sweating
 Henry Duke of Suffolk, and his brother Lord Charles: I seeing my Ladies disease.
 Grace, their mother, taking their death most greuously, could not otherwise for the duetie
 which I then did, and euer shall owe vnto her, but comfort her in that her heauinesse, the
 which vndoubtedly at that tyme much weakened her bodie. And because it may serue for
 an example of comfort, I haue bene bolde to set it foorth, as it foloweth hereafter.

¶ *An example of comfort.*

THOUGH mine enterprise may bee thought foolish, and my doinges very slender, in busying
 my braine to teache the expert, to giue counsaile to other, when I lacke it my selfe, and
 whereas more neede were for me to be taught of other, to take vpon mee to teache my
 betters, yet duetie binding me to doe my best, and among a number, though I can doe least,
 yet good will setting me forth with the formost: I can not chuse but write what I am able,
 and speake what I can possible, for the better comforting of your Grace, in this your great
 heauinesse, and sore visitation sent from GOD, as a warning to vs all. The Phisition then
 deserueth most thankes, when he practiseth his knowledge in time of necessitie, and then
 trauaileth most painefully, when hee feeleth his Pacient to bee in most daunger. The
 souldiour at that time, and at no time so much, is thought most trustie when hee sheweth at
 a neede his faithfull heart, and in time of extreme daunger doth vse, & bestow his most
 earnest labour. In the wealth of this worlde, what valiaunt man can want assistance? What
 mightie Prince can misse any helpe to compasse his desire? Who lacketh men, that lacketh
 no money? But when God striketh the mightie with his strong hande, and displaceth those
 that were highly placed: what one man doeth once looke backe, for the better easement of
 his deare brother, and Godly comforting his euen Christen, in the chiefe of all his sorowe.
 All men commonly more reioyce in the Sunne rising, then they doe in the Sunne setting.
 The hope of lucre and expectation of priuate gaine, maketh many one to beare out a
 countenance of fauour, whose heart is inwardly fretted with dedly rancour. But such
 frendes euen as prosperitie doeth get them, so aduersitie doth trie them. God is the
 searcher of euery mans thought, vnto whose iudgement, I deferre the assuraunce of my
 good will.

And though I can doe little, and therefore deserue as little thanke, as I loke for praise
 (which is none at all) yet will I endeouour earnestly at all times, as well for mine owne
 discharge, to declare my duetie, as at this present to say somewhat, for the better easement
 of your Grace in this your

heauines. The passions of the minde haue diuers effectes, and therefore Passions work
 worke straungely, according to their properties. For, like as ioye comforteth diuersly.
 the heart, nourisheth bloud, and quickeneth the whole bodie: So heauinesse
 and care hinder digestion, ingender euill humours, waste the principall partes, and with
 time consume the whole bodie. For the better knowledge therof, & for a liuely sight of the
 same, we neede not to seeke farre for any example, but euen to come straight vnto your
 Grase, whose bodie as I vnderstand credibly, and partly see my selfe, is sore appeared

within short time, your minde so troubled, and your hart so heauie, that you hate in a maner all light, you like not the sight of any thing, that might bee your comfort, but altogether stricken in a dumpe, you seeke to be solitarie, detesting all ioy, and delighting in sorrowe, wish with harte (if it were Gods will) to make your last ende. In which your heauinesse, as I desire to be a comforter of your Grace, so I can not blame your naturall sorowe, if that now after declaration of the same, you would moderate all your grieffe hereafter, and call backe your pensiuenesse, to the prescript order of reason.

And first, for the better remedie of euery disease, and troubled passions, it is best to knowe the principall cause and chiefe occasion of the same. Your Grace had two sonnes, how noble, howe wittie, how learned, and how Godly, many thousands better knowe it, then any one is able well to tell it. GOD at his pleasure hath taken them both to his mercie, and placed them with him, which were surely ouer good to tarie here with vs. They both died as your Grace knoweth very yong, which by course of Nature and by mans estimation, might haue liued much longer. They both were together in one house, lodged in two seuerall Chambers, and almost at one time both sickened, and both departed. They died both Dukes, both well learned, both wise, and both right Godly. They both gaue straunge tokens of death to come. The Elder sitting at Supper and very merie, sayd sodainly to that right honest Matrone, and Godly Gentlewoman, that most faithfull and long assured seruauant of yours, whose life God graunt long to continue: O Lorde, where shall we suppe to morowe at night, whereupon she being troubled, and yet saying comfortably, I trust my Lorde, either here, or els where at some of your freends houses: Nay (quoth he) we shal neuer Suppe together againe in this worlde be you well assured, and with that, seeing the Gentlewoman discomfited, turned it vnto mirth, and passed the rest of his Supper with much ioye, and the same night after twelue of the Clocke, being the fowerteene of Iulie sickned, and so was taken the next morning, about seauen of the clocke, to the mercie of God, in the yere of our Lorde, a thousande fiue hundred fiftie and one. When the eldest was gone, the younger would not tarie, but tolde before (hauing no knowledge thereof by any bodie liuing) of his brothers death, to the greate wondering of all that were there, declaring what it was to lose so deare a freend, but comforting himselfe in that passion, said: well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter for I will goe straight after him, and so did within the space of halfe an hower, as your Grace can best tell which was there present. Nowe I renewe these wordes to your Graces knowledge, that you might the more stedfastly consider their time, to be then appointed of GOD, to forsake this euill worlde, and to liue with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob in the kingdome of Heauen. But wherefore did GOD take two such awaie, and at that time? Surely, to tell the principall cause, wee may by all

likenesse affirme, that they were taken away from vs for our wretched	The cause why
sinnes, and most vile naughtinesse of life, that thereby wee being warned,	God
might be as ready for God, as they now presently were, and amend our liues	taketh away the
in time, whom God will call, what time wee know not. Then as I can see, we	most worthiest.
haue small cause to lament the lacke of them, which are in such blessed state, but rather to	

amend our owne liuing, to forthinke vs of our offences, and to wish of God to purge our hearts from all filthines and vngodly dealing, that we may be (as they now be) blessed with God for euer. Notwithstanding, the workes of God are vnsearchable, without the compasse of mans braine, precisely to comprehend the very cause, sauing that this perswasion ought surely to bee grounded in vs, euermore to thinke that God is offended with sinne, and that hee punisheth offences, to the third and fowerth generation, of all them that breake his commaundements, beeing iust in all his workes, and doing all things for the best. And therefore, when God plagueth in such sorte, I would wish that our faith might alwaies be staied, vpon the admiration of Gods glorie through out all his doings, in whom is none euill, neither yet was there euer any guile found. And I doubt not, but your Grace is thus affected, and vnfaignedly confessing your owne offences, taketh this scourge to come from God, as a iust punishment of sinne for the amendement, not onely of your owne selfe, but also for the amendement of al other in generall. The lamentable voyce of the poore (which is the mouth of God) throughout the whole realme declares full well, the wickednesse of this life, and shewes plainly that this euill is more generally felt, then any man is able by worde, or by writing at full to set forth.

When God therefore, that is Lorde, not onely of the riche but also of the poore, seeth his ground spoyled from the wholesome profite of many, to the vaine pleasure of a fewe, and the yearth made priuate, to suffice the lust of vnsaciable couetousnesse, and that those which be his true members, can not liue for the intollerable oppression, the sore enhausing, and the most wicked grasing of those throughout the whole Realme, which otherwise might well liue with the onely value and somme of their landes, and yerely reuenues: he striketh in his anger the innocentes and tender younglings to plague vs with the lacke of them, whose innocencie, and Godlinesse of life, might haue been a iust example for vs, to amende our most euill doings. In which wonderfull worke of GOD, when hee receiued these two most noble impes, and his children elected to the euerlasting Kingdome, I can not but magnifie his most glorious name, from time to time, that hath so graciously preserued these two worthy Gentlemen, from the daunger of further euill, and most vile wretchednesse most like right shortly to ensue, except we all repent, and forethinke vs of our former euill liuing. And yet I speake not this as though I knewe any crime to bee more in you, then in any other: But I tel it to the shame of al those vniuersally within this Realme, that are giltie of such offences, whose inward consciences condemne their owne doings, and their open deedes beare witnesse against their euill nature. For it is not one house that shall feele the fall of these two Princes, neither hath God taken them for one priuate persons offences: but for the wickednesse of the whole Realme, which is like to feele the smarte, except God be mercifull vnto vs.

But now that they be gone, though the flesh be fraile, weake, and tender, and must needs smart, being wounded or cut: yet I doubt not but your grace, lacking two such portions of your owne flesh, and hauing them (as a man would say) cut away from your owne body, will suffer the smart with a good stomacke, and remember that sorowe is but an euill remedy to heale a sore. For if your hand were

detrenched, or your bodie maymed with some sodaine stroke, what profite were it for you to weepe vpon your wound, and when the harme is done, to lament stil the sore? Seing that with weeping it will not be lesse, & may yet through weeping ful sone be made more. For the sore is increased, when sorowe is added, and the paine is made double, which before was but single.

Where
necessitie
ruleth, sorowe
is
needelesse.

A constaunt Christian should beare all miserie, and with pacience abide the force of necessitie, shewing with sufferaunce the strength of his faith, and especially when the change is from euill to good, from woe to weale, what folly is it to sorrowe that, for the which they ioye that are departed? They haue taken now their rest, that liued here in trauaile: They haue forsaken their bodies, wherin they were bound to receiue the spirit, whereby they are free. They haue chosen for sicknesse, health: for earth, heauen: for life transitorie, life immortall: and for man, God: then the which, what can they haue more? Or how is it possible they can be better? Vndoubtedly if euer they were happie, they are now most happie: if euer they were well, they are now in best case, being deliuered from this present euill worlde, and exempted from Sathan, to liue for euer with Christe our Sauour.

Then what meane wee, that not onely lament the want of other, but also desire to tarie here our selues, hoping for a short vaine, and therewith a painefull pleasure, and refusing to enioye that continuall perfect, and heauenly enheritaunce, the which so sone shall happen vnto us, as Nature dissolueth this earthly body. Trueth it is, we are more fleshly then spirituall, soner feeling the ache of our body, then the greefe of our soule: more studious with care to be healthfull in carkasse, then seeking with praier, to bee pure in spirite. And therefore, if our freendes bee stained with sinne, we doe not or we will not espie their sore, we coumpt them faultlesse, when they are most wicked, neither seking the redresse of their euill doing, nor yet once amending the faultes of our owne liuing.

But when our freend departeth this world, and then forsaketh vs, when sinne forsaketh him: we begin to shewe our fleshly natures, wee weepe and we waile, and with long sorrowe without discretion, declare our want of Gods grace, and all goodnesse. Whereas we see that as some be borne,

some doe die also, men, women and children, and not one hower certaine to vs of all our life, yet we neuer mourne, we neuer weepe, neither marking the death of such as we knowe, nor regarding the euill life of those whom we loue. But when such depart as were either nighest of our kinred, or els most our freendes, we then lament without all comfort, not the sinnes of their soules, but the change of their bodies, leauing to doe that which we should, and doing that only which we should not doe at all. Wherein not onely wee declare much want of faith, but also wee shewe greate lacke of witte. For as the other are gone before, either to heauen or els to Hell: so shall our freends and kinsfolke folowe after. We are all made of one mettall, and ordeined to dye so many as liue. Therefore what folly is it in vs, or rather what fleshly madnesse immoderately to wayle their death, whom GOD hath ordeined to make their ende, except we lament the lacke of our owne liuing? For euen as

The folly of
such
as sorrow the
want
of their
freendes.

well we might at their first birthe bewaile their natiuitie, considering they must needes die, because they are borne to liue. And whatsoeuer hath a beginning, the same hath also an ending, and the ende is not at our will, which desire continuaunce of life, but at his will which gaue the beginning of life. Now then seeing GOD hath ordeined all to dye, according to his appointed will, what meane they that would haue theirs to liue? Shall God alter his first purpose, for the onely satisfying of our foolish pleasure? And where GOD hath minded that the whole worlde shall decaie, shall any man desire that any one house may stande? In my minde, there can be no greater comfort to any one liuing for the lacke of his freend, then to thinke that this happened to him, which all other either haue felt, or els shall feele hereafter: And that God the rather made Death common to all, that the vniuersall Plague and egalnesse to all, might abate the fiercenesse of death, and comfort vs in the crueltie of the same, considering no one man hath an ende, but that all shall haue the like, and die we must euery mothers sonne of vs at one time or other. But you will say: my children might haue liued longer, they died young. Sure it is by mans estimation they might haue liued longer, but had it bene best for them thinke you, to haue continued still in this wretched worlde, where Vice beareth rule, and Vertue is subdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not obserued, his word abused, and his Prophetes that preach the iudgement of God, almost euery where contemned? If your children were a liue, and by the aduise of some wicked person, were brought to a Brothell house, where entising Harlots liued, and so were in daunger to commit that foule sinne of whoredome, and so led from one wickednesse to another: I am assured, your grace would call them backe with labour, and would with exhortations induce them to the feare of God, and vtter detestation of all sinne, as you haue ful often heretofore done, rather fearing euill to come, then knowing any open fault to be in either of them. Now then seeing God hath done the same for you himselfe, that you would haue done for them if they had liued, that is, in deliuering them both from this present euill worlde, which I coumpt none other then a Brothell house, and a life of all naughtinesse: you ought to thanke God highly, that he hath taken awaie your two sonnes, euen in their youth, being innocentes both for their liuing, and of such expectation for their towardnesse, that almost it were not possible for them hereafter, to satisfie the hope in their age, which al men presently had conceiued of their youth. It is thought and in deede it is no lesse then a great point of happinesse, to dye happely. Now, when could your two noble Gentlemen haue died better, then when they were at the best, most Godly in many things, offending in fewe, beloued of the honest, and hated of none (if euer they were hated) but of such as hate the best. As in deede, noble vertue neuer wanted cankard enuie to followe her. And considering that this life is so wretched, that the best are euer most hated, and the vilest alwaies most esteemed, and your two Sonnes of the other side, being in that state of honestie, and trained in that path of godlinesse (as I am able to be a liuely witnesse, none hath bene like these many yeres, or at the least, none better brought vp) what thinke you of God, did he enuie them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto them both, when he tooke them both from vs. Assuredly, whom God loueth best, those he taketh sonest, according to the saying of Salomon: The righteous man (meaning Enoch, and other

Death common
to all.

Euill to liue
among the euill.

To die happely,
is great
happinesse.

the chosen of God) is sodainly taken away, to the intent, that wickednesse should not alter his vnderstanding, and that hypocrisie should not begile his soule. For the craftie bewitching of lyes, make good things darke: the vnstedfastnesse also, and wickednesse of voluptuous desire, turne aside the vnderstanding of the simple. And though the righteous was sone gone, yet fulfilled he much time, for his soule pleased God, and therefore hasted he to take him awaie from among the wicked. Yea, the good men of God in all ages, haue euer had an earnest desire to be dissolued. My soule (quoth Dauid) hath an earnest desire to enter into the courtes of the Lord. Yea, like as the Hart desireth the water brookes, so longeth my soule after thee O God. My soule is a thirst for God: yea, euen for the liuing God, when shall I come to appeare before the presence of God? Paule & the Apostles wished and longed for the day of the Lord, & thought euery day a thousand yere, till their soules were parted from their bodies. Then what should we waile them, which are in that place where we al should wish to be, and seeke so to liue, that we might be ready, when it shall please God of his goodnesse to cal vs to his mercy. Let us be sicke for our own sinnes that liue here on earth, and reioyce in their most happie passage, that are gone to heauen. Thei haue not left vs, but gone before vs to inherite with Christ, their kingdom prepared. And what should this greue your grace that thei are gone before, considering our whole life is nothing els but the right waie to death. Should it trouble any one, y^t his frend is come to his iourneis end? Our life is nothing els, but a continuall trauaile, & death obtaineth rest after all our labor. Among men that trauaile by the hye waie, he is best at ease (in my minde) that sonest cometh to his iourneis end. Therefore, if your grace loued your children (as I am well assured you did) you must reioyce in their rest, and giue God hartie thanks, that they are come so sone to their iourneis ende. Mary, if it were so that man might escape the daunger of death, & liue euer, it were an other matter: but because we must al die, either first or last, & nothing so sure in this life, as we are al sure to die at length, & nothing more vncertaine vnto man, then the certaine time of euery mans latter time, what forceth when we die, either this daie or to morowe, either this yere or the next, sauing that I thinke them most happie that dye sonest, and Death frendly to none so much, as to them whom she taketh sonest. At the time of an Execution done, for greuous offences, what mattereth who die first, when a dosen are condemned together by a Lawe, considering they must all die one and other. I saie still, happie are they that are sonest ridde out of this world, and the soner gone, the soner blessed. The *Thracians* lament greatly at the birth of their children, and reioyce much at the buriall of their bodies, being well assured that this world is nothing els but miserie, and the world to come ioye for euer. Nowe againe the childe now borne, partly declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his time with wayling, and first sheweth teares, before he can iudge the cause of his woe. If we beleue the promises of God, if wee hope for the generall resurrection, and constantly affirme that God is iust in all his workes: we can not but ioyfully say with the iust man Iob. The Lorde gaue them, the Lorde hath

Wised. iiiii.

Psal. lxxxiiiij.

Psalme .xliij.

Life, the right
way to death.
Death
purchaseth
rest.

Death more
frendly,
the soner it
commeth.

Thracians.

Children by
weeping,
declare our wo.

taken them againe, as it pleased God so may it be, and blessed be the name of the Lord for now & euer. God dealeth wrongfully with no man, but extendeth his mercie most plentifully ouer all mankind. God gaue you two children, as the like I haue not knowden, happie are you most gracious Ladie that euer you bare them. God lent you them two for a time, and tooke them two againe at his time, you haue no wrong done you, that he hath taken them: but you haue receiued a wonderfull benefite that euer you had them. He is very vniust that boroweth and will not paie againe but at his pleasure. He forgetteth much his duetie, that boroweth a Iewell of the Kings Maiestie, and will not restore it with good will, when it shall please his Grace to cal for it. He is vnworthie hereafter to borowe, that will rather grudge because he hath it no longer, then once giue thanks because he hath had the vse of it so long. He is ouer couetous, that coumpteth not gainefull the time of his borowing: but iudgeth it losse to restore things againe. He is vnthankfull that thinkes hee hath wrong done, when his pleasure is shortned, and takes the ende of his delight to be extreme euill. He loseth the greatest part of his ioye in this worlde, that thinketh there is no pleasure but of thinges present: that can not comfort himselfe with pleasure past, and iudge them to be most assured, considering the memorie of them once had, can neuer decaie. His ioyes bee ouer straight, that bee comprehended within the compasse of his sight, and thinketh nothing comfortable, but that which is euer before his eyes. All pleasure, which man hath in this worlde, is very shorte, and sone goeth it waie, the remembrance lasteth euer and is much more assured, then is the presence or liuely sight of any thing. And thus your Grace may euer reioyce, that you had two such, which liued so verteously, and dyed so Godly, and though their bodies bee absent from your sight, yet the remembraunce of their vertues, shall neuer decaie from your mind. God lendeth life to all, and lendeth at his pleasure for a time. To this man he graunteth a long life, to this a short space, to some one, a daie, to some a yere, to some a moneth. Now, when GOD taketh, what man should be offended, considering he that gaue freely, may boldly take his owne when he will, and doe no man wrong. The Kings Maiestie giueth one .x. li. an other .xl. li. an other .lx. li. shal he be greeued that receiued but, x. li. and not rather giue thanks, that he receiued so much? Is that man happier that dieth in the latter ende of the moneth, then hee is that dyed in the beginning of the same moneth? Doeth distaunce of time, and long tarying from God, make men more happie when they come to God? By space of passage we differ much, and one liueth longer than an other, but by death at the last we all are matched, and none the happier that liueth the longer: but rather most happie is he that died the sonest, and departed best in the faith of Christ. Thinke therefore your selfe most happie, that you had two such, and giue God hartie thanks that it pleased him so soone to take two such. Necessitie is lawlesse, and that which is by God appointed, no man can alter. Reioyce we, or weepe we, dye we shall, how soone no man can tell. Yea, we are all our life time warned before, that death is at hande, and that when we goe to bed, we are not assured to rise the next day in the morning, no, not to liue one hower longer. And yet to see our folly, we would assigne God his tyme, according to our sacietie, and not content our selues with his doings, according to his appointment. And euer wee saie when any die yong, he might haue liued longer, it was pitie he died so sone. As though forsoth, he were not better with

Iob.

Lent goods
mustrestored at the
owners will.

God, then he can be with man. Therefore, whereas for a time your Grace much bewailed their lacke, not onely absenting your selfe from all companie, but also refusing all kind of comforte, almost dead with heauinesse, your bodie being so worne with sorrowe, that the long continuance of the same, is much like to shorten your daies: I will desire your Grace for Gods loue, to referre your wil to God's will, and whereas hetherto nature hath taught you, to weepe the lacke of your naturall children, let reason teach you hereafter to wyepe awaie the teares, and let not phantasie encrease that, which nature hath commaunded moderatly to vse. To be sory for the lack of our dearest, we are taught by nature, to be ouercome with sorow, it commeth of our owne fonde opinion, and great folly it is, with natural sorowe to encrease al sorowe, and with a little sicknesse, to purchase readie death. The sorowes of brute beastes are sharpe, and yet they are but short. The Cowe lacking her Caulf, leaueth lowing within three or fower daies at the farthest. Birds of the Aire, perceyuing their young

ones taken from their neast, chitter for a while in Trees there about, and straight after they flye abroad and make no more adoe. The Dow lacking her Faune: the Hind her Calfe, braie no longer time after their losse, but seing their lacke to be without remedy, they cease their sorow within short space. Man onely among all other, ceaseth not to fauour his sorowe, and lamenteth not onely so much as nature willeth him, but also so much as his owne affection moueth him. And yet all folke doe not so, but such as are subiect to passions, and furthest from fortitude of mind, as women commonly rather than men, rude people rather than

Godly folke: the vnlearned soner than the learned, foolish folke soner than wise men, children, rather than yong men. Whereupon we may well gather, that immoderate sorowe, is not naturall (for that which is naturall, is euer like in all) but through follie mainteined, encreased by weakenesse, and for lack of reason made altogether intollerable. Then I doubt not, but your Grace wil rather ende your sorowe by reason: then that sorowe should ende you through follie, and whereas by nature, you are a weake woman in bodie, you will shewe your selfe by reason, a strong man in heart: rather endyng your greefe by Godly aduertisements, and by the iust consideration of Gods wonderfull doings: then that time and space,

should weare awaie your sorrowes, which in deede suffer none, continually to abide in any one, but rather rid them of life, or els ease them of grieffe. The foole, the vngodly, the weake harted haue this remedie, your medicen must be more heauenly, if you doe (as you professe) referre al to Gods pleasure, and say in your praier. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. Those whom God loueth, those he chasteneth, and happie is that bodie, whom God scourgeth for his amendment. The man that dyeth in the faieth of Christ is blessed, and the chastened seruaunt if he doe repent and amend his life, shalbe blessed. Wee knowe not what we doe when we bewaile the death of our dearest, for in death is altogether al happinesse, and before death not one is happie. The miseries in this world declare small felicitie to be in the same. Therefore, many men being ouerwhelmed with much woe and wretched wickednesse, haue wished and praied to God for an ende of this life, and thought this worlde to be a let, to the heauenly perfection, the which blisse all they shall attaine hereafter that hope well here, and with a

The nature of
brute beastes.

Immoderat
sorowe,
not naturall.

Time, a
remedie for
fooles to take
awaie
their sorowe.
Math. vi.
Iohn. v.

The greate
miserie of

liuely faith declare their assuraunce. Your Graces two sonnes in their life were so Godly, that their death was their aduantage: for, by death they liued, because in life thei were dead. They died in faith, not wearie of this world, nor wishing for death, as ouer loden with sinne: but paciently taking the crosse departed with ioy. At whose dying, your grace may learne an example of pacience and all thanks giuing, that God of his goodnesse, hath so graciously taken these your two children to his fauourable mercie. God punished partly to trie your constancie, wherein I wish that your grace may now bee as well willing to forsake them, as euer you were willing to haue them. But such is the infirmitie of our flesh, that we hate good comfort in wordes, when that cause of our comfort in deede (as we take it) is gone. And me thinkes I heare you crie notwithstanding al my words: alacke my children are gone. But what though they are gone? God hath called, and nature hath obeyed. Yea, you crie still my children are dead: Marie therefore they liued, and blessed is their ende whose life is so Godly. Woe worth they are dead they are ded. It is no new thing, thei are neither the first that died, not yet the last that shall die. Many went before, and all shal folow after. They liued together, they loued together, & now they are made their ende both together. Alas they died that were the fruite of myne owne body, leauing me comfortles, vnhappie woman that I am. You doe well, to call them the fruite of your bodie, and yet you nothing the more vnhappie neither. For is the tree vnhappie, from which the Apples fall? Or is the earth accursed, that bringeth forth greene grasse, which hereafter notwithstanding doth wither. Death taketh no order of yeres, but when the time is appointed, be it earely or late, daie or night, away we must. But I praie you, what loue hath your Grace. They dyed, that shoulde haue died, yea, they that could liue no longer. But you wished them longer life. Yea, [b]ut God made you no such promise, and meete it were not, that he should be led by you, but you rather should bee led by him. Your children died and that right Godly, what would you haue more? All good mothers desire that their children may dye Gods seruauntes, the which your Grace hath most assuredly obtained. Now againe, mans nature altereth, and hardly tarieth vertue long in one place, without much circumspection, and youth may sone be corrupted. But you will say. These were good and Godly brought vp, and therefore, most like to proue Godly hereafter if they had liued still. Well, though such things perhaps had not chaunced, yet such things might haue chaunced, and although they happen not to al, yet do they hap to many: and though they had not chaunced to your children, yet we knew not that before: and more wisdom it had bene, to feare the worst with good aduisement, then euer to hope, and looke still for the best, without all mistrusting. For such is the nature of man and his corrupt race, that euermore the one followeth soner then the other. *Commodus* was a vertuous childe, and had good bringing vp, and yet he died a most wicked man. *Nero* wanted no good counsaile, and such a Master he had, as neuer any had the better, and yet what one aliue was worse then he? But now death hath assured your Grace, that you may warrant your selfe of their godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, things might haue chaunced otherwise. In wishing longer life, we wish often times longer woe, longer trouble, longer folly in this world, and weigh all things well, you shall perceiue we haue

this worlde,
makes
wearinesse of
life.

Impacience
without
comfort.

Trees, not
cursed,
because Apples
fall
from them.

Commodus.
Nero.

small ioye, to wish longer life. This imagination of longer life, when the life standeth not by the number of yeres, but by the appointed will of God, maketh our folly so much to appeare, and our teares so continually to fall from our cheekes. For if we thought (as wee should doe in deed) that euery day rising, may be the end of euery man liuing, and that there is no difference with GOD, betwixt one day and an hundreth yeares, wee might beare all sorrowes a great deale the better. Therefore it were most wisdom for vs all, and a great part of perfection, to make euery day an euen reckening of our life, and talke so with God euery howre, that we may be of euen boord with him, through fulnesse of faith, and readie to goe the next howre following at his commaundement, and to take alwaies his sending in good part. The Lorde is at hand. We knowe not when he will come (at midnight, at Cock crowe, or at noone daies) to take either vs, or any of ours. Therefore, the rather that we may be armed, let vs follow the examples of other godly men, and lay their doings before your eyes. And among al other, I know none so meete for your Graces comfort, as the wise & godly behauour of good King Daud. Who when he was enformed that his sonne was sicke, praied to God hartely for his amendement, wept, fasted, and with much lamentation declared great heauinesse. But when word came of his sonnes departure, hee left his mourning, he called for water, and willed meate to be set before him, that he might eat. Whereupon, when his men marueiled why he did so, considering he tooke it so greeuously before, when his child was but sicke, and now being dead tooke no thought at all, he made this answeere vnto them: so long as my childe liued I fasted, and watered my plants for my yong boye, and I saied to my self, who can tel but that God perhappes will giue me him, and that my childe shall liue: but now seing he is dead, to what ende should I fast? Can I call him againe any more? Nay, I shall rather goe vnto him, he shall neuer come againe vnto me. And with that Daud comforted his wife Bethsabe, the which example, as I trust your Grace hath read for your comfort, so I hope you will also followe it for your health, and be as strong in pacience as euer Daud was. The historie it selfe shal much delight your grace, being read as it lieth in the booke, better then my bare touching of it can doe a great deale. The which I doubt not, but your Grace will often reade and comfort your self, as Daud did his sorrowfull wife. Iob losing his children and all that he had, forgat not to praise God in his extreame pouretie. *Tobias* lacking his eye sight, in spirit praised God, and with open mouth confessed his holy name, to be magnified throughout the whole earth. *Paule* the Apostle of God, reproceth them as worthie blame, which mourne & lament the losse of their dearest. I would not brethren (quoth he) that you should bee ignoraunt concerning them which be fallen on sleepe, that you sorrowe not as other doe, which haue no hope. If we beleue that Iesus dyed and rose again, euen so they also which sleep by Iesus, wil God bring againe with him. Then your grace either with leauing sorowe, must shewe your self faithfull, or els with yeelding to your woe, declare your self to be without hope. But I trust your grace being planted in Christ, will shewe with sufferance the fruite of your faith, and comfort your self with the wordes of Christ, I am the resurrection & the life, he that beleueth on me, yea, though he were dead, yet should hee liue, and whosoeuer liueth and beleueth in me shall neuer dye. We reade of

ii. Reg. xii.

Daud.

Iob.

Tobias.

i. Thessa. iiiii.

Iohn.

xi.

those that had no knowledge of God, and yet they bare in good worth the disease of their children. *Anaxagoras* hearing tell, that

his sonne was dead: no maruel (quoth he) I knowe well I begot a mortall Anaxagoras.
bodie. *Pericles* chief ruler of *Athens*, hearing tel that his two sonnes being of Pericles.

wonderfull towardnesse, within fower daies were both dead, neuer greatly
changed countenance for the matter, that any one could perceiue, nor yet forbare to goe
abroade, but according to his wonted custome, did his duetie in the Counsaile house in
debating matters of weight, concerning the state of the

common peoples weale. But because your grace is a woman, I will shewe Cornelia.
you an example of a noble woman, in whom appered wonderfull pacience.

Cornelia a worthy Lady in *Rome*, being comforted for the losse of her two children
Tiberius, and *Caius Gracchus*, both valiaunt Gentlemen, although both not the most
honest men, which died not in their beds, but violently were slaine in ciuill battaile, their
bodies lying naked and vnburied, when one among other said: oh vnhappie woman, that
euer thou shouldest see this day. Nay (quoth she) I will neuer thinke my selfe otherwise
then most happie, that euer I brought forth these two *Gracchions*. If this noble Ladie could
thinke her self happie, being mother to these two valiaunt Gentlemen, and yet both
Rebelles, & therefore iustly slaine: how much more may your Grace thinke your self most
happie, that euer you brought forth two such *Brandons*, not onely by naturall birth, but
also by most godly education in such sort, that the like two haue not beene for their
towardnesse vniuersally. Whose death, the generall voyce of all men, declares how much
it was lamented. So

that, whereas you might euer haue feared some daungerous end, now are Bibulus.
you assured, that thei both made a most godly ende, the which thing is the
full perfection of a Christian life. I read of one *Bibulus*, that hearing of his two children to
die in one day, lamented the lack of them both for that one day, and mourned no more.

And what could a man doe lesse, then for two children to lament but one day, and yet in
my minde he lamented enough, and euen so much as was reason for him to doe: whose
doinges if al Christians would followe, in my iudgement they should not onely fulfill
Natures rule, but also please God highly. *Horatius Puluillus* being high

Priest at Roome, when he was occupied about the dedication of the Temple, Horatius
to the great God *Iupiter*, in the Capitolie, holding a post in his hand, & heard Puluillus.

as he was vttering the solemne wordes, that his sonne was dead euen at the
same present: he did neuer plucke his hand from the post, least he should trouble such a
solemnitie, neither yet turned his countenance from that publique Religion, to his priuate
sorowe, least he should seeme rather to doe the office of a Father, then the Paulus Emilius.

duetie of an high Minister. *Paulus Emilius*, after his most noble victorie had
of King *Perse*, desired of God that after such a triumph, there were any harme like to
happen to the *Romaines*, the same might fall vpon his owne house. Whereupon, when God
had taken his two children from him, immediatly after he thanked God, for graunting him
his bound. For in so doing he was a meane, that the people rather lamented *Paulus Emilius*
lacke, then that *Paulus* or any bewailed any misfortune that the *Romaines* had. Examples
be

innumerable of those which vsed like moderation, in subduing their affections, as

Zenophon, Quintus Martius, Iulius Cæsar, Tiberius Cæsar, Emperors both of *Roome*. But what seeke I for misfortunate men (if any such be misfortunate) seeing it is an harder matter and a greater peece of worke to finde out happie men. Let vs looke round about, euen at home, and we shall finde enough subiect to this misfortune: for who liueth that hath not lost? Therefore I would wish your grace euen now, to come in againe with God, and although he bee angrie, yet shewe you your selfe most obedient to his will, considering he is Lord ouer Kinges, Emperours, and ouer all that bee, both in heauen and in earth, and spareth none whom he listeth to take, and no doubt he will take all at the last. His Darte goeth dayly, neither is any Dart cast in vaine, which is sent amongst a whole Armie, standing thicke together. Neither can you iustly lament that they liued no longer, for they liued long enough, that haue liued well enough. You must measure your children by their vertues, not by their yeares. For (as the Wiseman saith) a mans wisdom is the greye heares, and an vndefiled life is the

Quintus
Martius.
Iulius Cæsar.
Tiberius Cæsar.

old age. Happie is that mother that hath had godlie children, and not she that hath had long liuing children. For, if felicitie should stand by length of time, some Tree were more happie then any man, for it liueth longer, and so like wise brute beastes, as the Stagge, who liueth (as *Plinie* doth say)

Sapi. iv.

two hundred yeres and more. If wee would but consider what man is, wee should haue small hope to liue, and little cause to put any great assuraunce in this life. Let vs see him what he is: Is his bodie any thing els, but a lump of earth, made together in such forme as we doe see? A fraile vessel, a weake carion subiect to miserie, cast doune with euery light disease, a man to day, to morowe none. A flowre that this day is fresh, to morowe withereth. Good Lord doe wee not see, that euen those things which nourish vs, doe rotte and dye, as hearbes, birds, beastes, water, and al other, without the which we cannot liue. And how can we liue euer, that are sustained with dead things? Therefore, when any one doth dye, why doe wee not thinke, that this may chauce to euery one, which now hath chaunced to any one. We bee now as those that stand in battaile ray. Not one man is sure of himself before an other, but al are in daunger in like maner to death. That your children dyed before other that were of riper yeres, we may iudge that their ripenesse for vertue, and al other gifts of nature were brought euen to perfection, whereby Death the soner approached, for nothing long lasteth that is sone excellent. God gaue your grace two most excellent children: God neuer giueth for any long time, those that bee right excellent. Their natures were heauenly, and therefore more meet for God then man.

Trees liue
longer
then men.
The Stag how
long
he liueth.
Man what he is
concerning his
bodie.

Among fruite we see some apples are sone ripe, and fal from the Tree in the midst of Sommer, other be still greene and tary til Winter, and hereupon are commonly called Winter fruite: euen so it is with man, some die yong some die old, and some die in their middle age. Your sonnes were euen two such alreadie, as some hereafter may be with long continuance of time. They had that in their youth for the gifts of nature, which all men would require of them both scarcely in their age. Therefore being both now ripe, they were most readie for God. There was a childe in *Roome* of a mans quantitie, for face, legges, and other parts of the body, whereupon wise

Ripe things last
not long.

men iudged he would not be long liuing. How could your grace thinke, that when you saw auncient wisdome in the one, and most pragnant wit in the other, marueilous sobrietie in the elder, & most laudable gentlenesse in the yonger, them both most studious in learning, most forward in al feates, aswel of the body as of the mind, being two such and so excellent, that they were like long to continue with you. God neuer suffereth such excellent and rare Iewels long to inherite the earth. Whatsoeuer is nie perfection, the same is most nye falling. Vertue being once absolute, cannot long be seene with these our fleshly eyes, neither can that tary the latter ende with other, that was ripe it selfe first of al, and before other. Fire goeth out the soner, the clearer that it burneth: & that light lasteth longest, that is made of most course matter. In greene wood we may see, that where as the fuell is not most apt for burning, yet the fire lasteth longer, then if it were nourished with like quantitie of drye wood. Euen so in the nature of man, the minde being ripe, the body decaieth straight, and life goeth away being once brought to perfection. Neither can there be any greater token of short life, then full ripenesse of natural wit: the which is to the body, as the heate of the Sunne is to things earthly. Therefore iudge right honorable Ladie, that euen now they both died, when they both were most readie for God, neither thinke that they died ouer sone because they liued no longer. They died both Gods seruaunts, and therefore they dyed well and in good time. God hath set their time, and taken them at his time, blessed children as they bee, to reigne with him in the kingdome of his Father, prepared for them from the beginning. Vnto whose will I wish, and I trust your Grace doth wholie referre your will, thanking him as hartely for that he hath taken them, as you euer thanked him for that he euer lent you them. I knowe the wicked wordes of some vngodly folke haue much disquieted your grace, notwithstanding, GOD being Iudge of your naturall loue towards your children, and al your faithful friends and seruaunts, bearing earnest witnessse with your Grace of the same: their vngodly talke the more lightly it is to be esteemed, the more vngodly that it is. Nay, your grace may reioyce rather, that whereas you haue done well, you here euill, according to the words of Christ. Blessed are you when men speake all euill thinges against you. And againe, consider GOD is Math. v. not led by the reporte of men, to iudge his creatures, but perswaded by the true knowledge of euery mans conscience to take them for his seruaunts, and furthermore, the harme is theirs which speake so lewdly, and the blisse theirs which beare it so patiently. For looke what measure they vse to other, with the same they shall bee measured againe. And as they iudge, so shall they be iudged. Be your Grace therefore strong in aduersitie, and pray for them that speake amisse of you, rendring good for euill, and with charitable dealing, shewe your selfe long suffering, so shal you heape coales on their heads. The boystrous Sea, trieth the good Mariner, and sharpe vexation declareth the true Christian. Where battaile hath not bene before, there was neuer any victorie obtained. You then beeing thus assailed, shewe your selfe rather stoute to withstand, then weake to giue ouer: rather cleauing to good, then yeelding to euill. For if God be with you, what forceth who be against you. For when all friends faile, God neuer faileth them that put their trust in him, and with an vnfaigned heart call to him for grace. Thus doing, I assure your Grace God will be pleased, and the godly will much praise your wisdome, though the world full wickedly say their pleasure. I pray God your grace may please the godlie, and with your vertuous behaiour

Pacience praise
worthy in
aduersitie.

in this your widowhood, winne their commendation to the glorie of God, the reioysing of your friends, and the comfort of your soule. *Amen.*

Thus, the rather to make precepts plaine, I haue added examples at large, both for counsaile giuing and for comforting. And most needfull it were in such kinde of Orations, to bee most occupied, considering the vse hereof appeareth full oft in all parts of our life, and confusedly is vsed among all other matters. For in praising a worthie man, we shall haue iust cause to speake of al his vertues, of thinges profitable in this life, and of pleasures in generall. Likewise in trauersing a cause before a Iudge, we can not want the aide of perswasion and good counsaile, concerning wealth, health, life, and estimation, the helpe whereof is partly borrowed of this place. But whereas I haue set forth at large, the places of confirmation, concerning counsaile in diuers causes: it is not thought, that either they should all bee vsed in number as they are, or in order as they stande: but that any one may vse them, and order them as he shall thinke best, according as the time, place, and person shall most of all require.

¶ *Of an Oration iudiciall.*

THE whole burdein of weightie matters, and the earnest triall of all controuersies, rest onely vpon Iudgement. Therefore, when matters concerning land, goodes, or life, or any such thing of like weight are called in question, wee must euer haue recourse to this kinde of Oration, and after iust examining of our cause by the places thereof, looke for iudgement according to the lawe.

¶ *Oration iudiciall what it is.*

ORation Iudiciall, is an earnest debating in open assemblie, of some weightie matter before a Iudge, where the complainant commenseth his action, and the defendant thereupon aunswereth at his perill, to all such thinges as are laied to his charge.

¶ *Of the foundation, or rather the principall point in euery debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the state, or constitution of the cause.*

NOt onely it is needefull in causes of iudgement, to consider the scope whereunto we must leauell our reasons, and direct our inuention: but also we ought in euery cause to haue a respect vnto some one espesiall point and chiefe article: that the rather the whole drift of our doinges, may seeme to agree with our first deuised purpose. For by this meanes our iudgement shalbe framed to speake with discretion, and the ignoraunt shall learne to perceiue with profite, whatsoever is said for his instruction. But they that take vpon them to talke in open audience, and make not their accompt before, what they will speake after: shall neither be well liked for their inuention, nor allowed for their wit, nor esteemed for their learning. For what other thing doe they, that boult out their wordes in such sort, and without all aduisement vtter out matter: but shew themselues to play as yong boyes or scarre Crowes doe, which shot in the open and plaine fieldes at all aduentures hittie missie. The

learned therefore, and such as loue to be coumpted clerkes of vnderstanding, and men of good circumspection and iudgement, do warely scan what they chiefly minde to speake, and by definition seeke what that is, whereunto they purpose to direct their whole doinges. For by such aduised warenesse, and good eye casting: they shall alwaies bee able both to knowe what to say, and to speake what they ought. As for example, if I shal haue occasion to speake in open audience, of the obedience due to our soueraigne King, I ought first to learne what is obedience, and after knowledge attained, to direct my reasons to the onely prooffe of this purpose, and wholie to seeke confirmation of the same, and not turne my tale to talke of Robin Hood, and to shew what a goodly Archer was he, or to speake wonders of the man in the Moone, such as are most needlesse, and farthest from the

Definition of a thing must first be knowen ere we speake our minde at large.

purpose. For then the hearer looking to be taught his obedience, and hearing in the meane season mad tales of Archerie, and great meruailes of the man in the Moone: being halfe astonied at his so great straying, will perhappes say to himselfe: now whether the deuill wilt thou, come in man againe for very shame, and tell me no bytales, such as are to no purpose, but shew me that which thou didest promise, both to teach and perswade at thy first entrie. Assuredly such fond fellowes there haue bene, yea euen among Preachers, that talking of faith, they haue fetcht their full race from the xii. signes in the Zodiake. An other talking of the generall resurrection, hath made a large matter of our blessed Ladie, praying her to bee so gentle, so curteous, and so kinde, that it were better a thousand fold, to make sute to her alone, then to Christ her sonne. And what needed (I pray you) any such rehearsall being both vngodly, and nothing at all to the purpose. For what maketh the praise of our Ladie, to the confirmation of the generall doome? Would not a man thinke him mad, that hauing an earnest errande from London to Douer, would take it the next way to ride first into Northfolke, next into Essex, and last into Kent? And yet assuredly, many an vnlearned and witlesse man, hath straid in his talke much farther a great deale, yea truely as farre as hence to Roome gates. Therefore wise are they that followe *Plinies* aduise, who would that all men both in writing, and speaking at large vpon any matter, should

Rouing without reason.

euer haue an eye to the chiefe title, and principall ground of their whole entent, neuer swaruing from their purpose, but rather bringing all things together, to confirme their cause so much as they can possible. Yea, the wise and expert men will aske of themselues, how hangeth this to the purpose? To what end do ye speake it? What maketh this for confirmation of my cause? And so by oft questioning, either chide their owne follie if they speake amisse, or els be assured they speake to good purpose.

Plinies counsaile for handling of causes.

A state therefore generally, is the chiefe ground of a matter, and the principall point whereunto both he that speaketh should referre his whole wit, and they that heare should chiefly marke. A Preacher taketh in hande to shewe what

prayer is, and how needfull for man to call vpon God: now he should euer

A state generally,

remember this his matter, applying his reasons whollie and fullie to this end, what it is. that the hearers may both knowe the nature of prayer, and the needfulnesse of prayer. The which when he hath done, his promise is fulfilled, his time well bestowed, and the hearers well instructed.

¶ *A state of constitution, what it is in matters of iudgement.*

IN all other causes the state is gathered without contention, and seuerally handled vpon good aduisement, as he shal think best that professeth to speake. But in matters criminall, where iudgement is required: there are two persons at the least, which must through contrarietie stand and rest vpon some issue. As for example. A seruing man is apprehended by a Lawyer for Felonie, vpon suspition. The Lawyer saith to the seruing man: thou hast done this Robberie. Nay (saith he) I haue not done it. Vpon this conflict and matching together ariseth this State, whether this seruing man hath done this Robberie, or no? Vpon which point the Lawyer must stand, and seeke to proue it to the vttermost of his power.

A state thereof in matters of Iudgement, is that thing which doth arise vpon the first demaund, and denial made betwixt men, whereof the one part is the accuser, and the other part the person, or persons accused. It is called a State, because wee doe stande and rest vpon some one point, the which must wholie and only be proued of the one side, and denied of the

other. I cannot better terme it in English, then by the name of an issue, the which not onely ariseth vpon much debating, and long trauers vsed, whereupon all matters are saied to come to an issue: but also els where an issue is said to be then, and so often, as both parties stand vpon one point, the which doth as well happen at the first beginning, before any probations are vsed, as it doth at the latter ending, after the matter hath at large bene discussed.

State in
iudgement,
what it is.
State, why it
is so called.

¶ *The deuision of States, or issues.*

NOW that wee knowe what an Issue is, it is next most needefull, to shewe how many there are in number. The wisest and best learned haue agreed vpon three onely and no lesse, the which are these following.

- {i. Coniecturall.
- The state. {ii. Legall.
- {iii. Iuridiciall.

AND for the more plaine vnderstanding of these darke wordes, these three questions following, expounde their meaning altogether.

- {i. Whether the thing be, or no.

{ii. What it is.

{iii. What maner of thing it is.

IN the first wee consider vpon the rehearsall of a matter, whether any such thing bee, or no. As if one should bee accused of murther, good it were to knowe, whether any murther were committed at all, or no, if it bee not perfectly knowne before: and after to goe further, and examine whether such a man that is accused, haue done the deede, or no.

In the second place we doubt not vpon the thing done, but we stand in doubt what to call it. Sometimes a man is accused of Felony, and yet he proueth his offence to be but a trespasse, whereupon he escapeth the daunger of death. An other beeing accused for killing a man, confesseth his fault to bee manslaughter, and denieth it vtterly to bee any murther, whereupon hee maketh friends to purchase his pardon. Now the Lawyers by their learning, must iudge the doubt of this debate, and tell what name he deserueth to haue, that hath thus offended.

In the third place not onely the deed is confessed, but the maner of doing is defended. And if one were accused for killing a man, to confesse the deede, and also to stande in it that hee might iustly so doe, because he did it in his owne defence: whereupon ariseth this question, whether his doing be right or wrong. And to make these matters more plaine, I will adde an example for euery state seuerally.

Of the state coniecturall.

The Assertion.

Thou hast killed this man.

The Answer.

I haue not killed him.

The State or Issue.

Whether he hath killed this man, or no. Thus we see vpon the auouching and deniall, the matter standeth vpon an Issue.

Of the state Legall.

The Assertion.

Thou hast committed treason in this fact.

The Answer.

I denye it to be Treason.

The State or Issue.

Whether his offence done may be called treason, or no. Here is denyed that any such thing is in the deede done, as is by word reported, and said to be.

¶ *Of the state Iuridicial.*

The Assertion.

Thou hast killed this man.

Answer.

I graunt it, but I haue done it lawfully, because I killed him in mine owne defence.

Whether a man may kill one in his owne defence, or no, and whether this man did so, or no.

¶ *The Oration coniecturall, what it is.*

THE Oration coniecturall is when matters bee examined, and tried out by suspitions gathered, and some likelihood of thing appearing. A Souldier is accused for killing a Farmer. The Souldier denyeth it vtterly, and saith he did not kill him. Hereupon riseth the question, whether the Souldier killed the Farmer or no, who is wel known to be slaine. Now to proue this question, we must haue such places of confirmation, as hereafter do followe.

¶ *Places of confirmation, to proue things by coniecture.*

{i. Will to doe euill.

{ii. Power to doe euill.

IN the will must be considered the qualitie of the man, whether hee were like to doe such a deede, or no, and what should moue him to attempt such an enterprise: whether he did the murther vppon any displeasure before conceiued, or of sodaine anger, or els for that he looked by his death to receiue some commoditie, either land, or office, money, or money worth, or any other gainefull thing. i.

Some are knowne to want no will to kil a man, because they haue bene flesht heretofore, passing as little vpon the death of a man, as a Butcher doth passe for killing of an Oxe, being heretofore either accused before a Iudge of manslaughter, or els quit by some generall Pardon. Now, when the names of such men are knowen, they make wise men euer hereafter to haue them in suspition. ii.

The Countrey where the man was borne, declares sometime his natural inclinasion, as if he were borne or brought vp among the Tinsdale and Riddesdale men, he may the soner be suspected. iii.

Of what trade he is, by what occupation he liueth. iiiii.

Whether he be a Gamester, an Alehouse haunter, or a companion among Ruffians. v.

Of what wealth he is, and how he came by that which he hath, if he haue any. vi.

What apparell he weareth, or whether he loueth to goe gaie, or no. vii.

Of what nature he is, whether he be hastie, headie, or readie to picke quarrelles. viii.

What shiftes he hath made from time to time. ix.

What moueth him to doe such a hainous deede. x.

¶ *Places of confirmation, to proue whether he had power to doe such a deede, or no.*

THE ground where the man was slaine, whether it was in the Hye way, in a Wood, or betweene two Hilles, or els where nigh vnto a hedge or secrete place. i.

The tyme, whether it was earely in the morning, or late at night. ii.

Whether he was there about that time, or no. iii.

Whether he ranne away after the deede was done, or had any blood about him, or trembled, or staggerd, or was contrary in telling of his tale, and how he kept his countenance. iiii.

Hope to keepe his deede secrete, by reason of the place, time, and secrete maner of doing. v.

Witnesses examined of his being, either in this or that place. vi.

By comparing of the strength of the Murtherer, with the other mans weakenesse, Armour with nakednesse, and stoutnesse with simplicitie. vii.

His confession. viii.

¶ *An example of an Oration iudiciall, to proue by coniectures, the knowledge of a notable and most hainous offence, committed by a Souldier.*

AS Nature hath euer abhorred Murder, and God in all ages most terribly hath plagued bloodshedding, so I trust your wisedomes (most worthie Iudges) will speedely seeke the execution of this most hatefull sinne. And where as God reuealeth to the sight of men, the knowledge of such offences by diuers likelihoods, & probable coniectures: I doubt not, but you being called of God to heare such causes, will doe herein as reason shal require, and as this detestable offence shal moue you, vpon rehearsall of the matter. The man that is wel

knowne to be slaine, was a worthie Farmer, a good housekeeper, a wealthie Husbandman, one that trauailed much in this worlde, meaning vprightly in all his doinges, and therefore beloued among al men, & lamented of many when his death was knowne. This Souldier beeing desperate in his doinges, and liuing by spoyle all his life time, came newly from the Warres, whose handes hath bene lately bathed in blood, and now he keepeth this Countrey (where this Farmer was slaine) and hath beene here for the space of one whole Moneth together, and by all likelihoodes, he hath slaine this honest Farmer. For such men flesht villaines, make small acoumpt for killing any one, and doe it they will without any mercie, when they maye see their time. Yea, this wretch is bruted for his beastly demeanour, and knowne of long time to be a strong thief. Neither had he escaped the daunger of the lawe, if the Kings free Pardon had not preuented the execution. His name declares his naughtie nature, and his wicked liuing hath made him famous. For who is he that hearing of N. (the notable offenders name, might here bee rehearsed) doth not thinke by and by, that hee were like to doe such a deede? Neither is he onely knowne vniuersally to bee naught, but his soyle also (where he was borne) giueth him to bee an euill man: considering he was bredde and brought vp among a denne of Theeues, among the men of Tinsdale & Riddesdale, where pillage is good purchase, and murthering is coumpted manhood. Occupation hath he none, nor yet any other honest meanes, whereby to maintaine himselfe: and yet he liueth most sumptuously. No greater gamester in a whole Countrey, no such ryotor, a notable whoremonger, a leaude Royster among Ruffians, a notable waister, to day full of money, within seuen night after not worth a groate. There is no man that seeth him, but will take him for his Apparell to be a gentleman. He hath his chaunge of suites, yea, he spareth not to goe in his Silkes and Veluet. A great quareller and fray maker, glad when he may be at defiance with one or other, he made such shiftes for money ere now, that I maruaile how he hath liued till this day. And now being at a lowe ebbe, and loth to seeme base in his estate, thought to aduenture vpon this Farmer, and either to winne the Saddle, or els to lose the Horse. And thus beeing so farre forward, wanting no will to attempt this wicked deede, he sought by all meanes possible, conuenient oportunitie to compasse his desire. And wayting vnder a Wood side, nigh vnto the high way, about sixe a clocke at night, hee set vppon this Farmer, at what time he was comming homeward. For it appeareth not onely by his owne confession, that hee was there aboute the selfe same time, where this man was slaine: but also there bee men that sawe him ride in great haste, about the selfe same time. And because God would haue this murder to be knowne, looke I pray you, what bloud he carieth about him, to beare witnessse against him of his most wicked deede. Againe, his owne confession doth plainly goe against him, for he is in so many tales, that he cannot tell what to say. And often his colour chaungeth, his bodie shaketh, and his tongue foultereth within his mouth. And such men as hee bringeth in to beare witnessse with him, that he was at such a place at the self same howre, when the Farmer was slaine: they will not bee sworne for the very hower, but they say he was at such a place within two howres after. Now Lord, doth not this matter seeme most plaine vnto al men, especially seeing this deede was done at such a time, and in such a place, that if the Deuill had not beene his good Lord, the matter had neuer come to light. And who will not say, that this caytife had little cause to feare, but rather power enough to doe his wicked fact, seeing he is so sturdie and so strong, and the other so weake and vnweldie: yea,

seeing this vilaine was armed, and the other man naked. Doubt you not (worthie Iudges) seeing such notes of his former life, to declare his inward nature, and perceiuing such coniectures lawfully gathered vpon iust suspition: but that this wretched souldier hath slaine this worthy Farmer. And therefore, I appeale for Iustice vnto your wisdomes, for the death of this innocent man, whose blood before God asketh iust auengement. I doubt not but you remember the wordes of Salamon, who saith: It is as great sinne to forgiue the wicked, as it is euill to condemne the innocent: and as I call vnfeinedly for rightfull Iudgement, so I hope assuredly for iust execution.

The person accused beeing innocent of the crime that is laied to his charge, may vse the selfe same places for his owne defence, the which his accuser vsed to proue him giltie.

¶ *The interpretation of a lawe, otherwise called a state legall.*

IN boulting out the true meaning of a Lawe, wee must vse to search out the nature of the same, by defyning some one word, or comparing one Lawe with an other, iudging vpon good triall, what is right, and what is wrong.

The parts.

- {i. Definition.
- {ii. Contrary Lawes.
- {iii. Lawes made and the end of the lawmaker.
- {iiii. Ambiguitie, or doubtfulnessse.
- {v. Probation by things like.
- {vi. Challenging or refusing.

¶ *Definition what is it.*

THEN we vse to define a matter, when we cannot agree vpon the nature of some worde, the which wee learne to knowe by asking the question, what it is. As for example. Where one is apprehended for killing a man, we lay murder to his charge: whereupon the accused person, when he graunteth the killing, & yet denieth it to be murder: we must streight after haue recourse to the definition, and aske what is murder, by defining whereof, and comparing the nature of the word with his deede done, wee shall sone knowe whether he committed murder, or manslaughter.

¶ *Contrary Lawes.*

IT often happeneth, that lawes seeme to haue a certain repugnancie, whereof among many riseth much contention, whereas if both the lawes were well weighed and considered, according to their circumstances, they would appeare nothing contrary in matter, though in words they seeme to dissent. Christ giueth warning, and chargeth his Disciples in the x. of Math. that they preach not the glad tidinges of his comming into the worlde, to the Gentiles, but to the Iewes onely, vnto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his

resurrection, we doe reade in the last of Mattheue, that he commaunded his disciples to go into all the whole world, and preach the glad tidings of his passion, and raunsome, paied for all creatures liuing. Now, though these two lawes seeme contrary, yet it is nothing so. For, if the Iewes would haue receiued Christ, and acknowledged him their Sauour, vndoubtedly, they had beene the onely Children of God, vnto whom, the promise and couenaunt was made from the beginning. But because they refused their Sauour, and crucified the Lord of glorie: Christ made the lawe generall, and called all men to life that would repent, promising saluation to all such, as beleued and were Baptised. So that the particuler lawe being now abrogated, must needes giue place to the superiour.

¶ *Fower lessons to be obserued, where contrary Lawes are called in question.*

- {i. The inferior law, must giue place to the superior.
- {ii. The lawe generall, must yeeld to the speciall.
- {iii. Mans law, to Gods law.
- {iiii. An olde law, to a new law.

There be lawes vttered by Christes owne mouth, the which if they bee taken according as they are spoken, seeme to containe great absurditie in them. And therefore, the minde of the lawe maker, must rather bee obserued, then the bare words taken only as they are spoken. Christ saith

in the fifth of Mattheue. If thy right eye be an offence to thee, plucke him out, and cast him away from thee. If one giue thee a blow of thy right cheeke, turne to him again thy left cheke. There be some Eunuches, that haue gelded themselues from the kingdome of Heauen. Goe and sell all that thou haste, and giue it to the poore. He that doth not take vp his crosse and followe me, is not worthy of mee. In all which sentences, there is no such meaning, as the bare words vttered seeme to yeeld. Plucking out of the eye, declares an auoyding of all euill occasions. Receiuing a blowe vpon the left cheeke, commendes vnto vs modestie, and pacience in aduersitie. Gelding, signifieth a subduing of our affections, and taming the foule lust of pleasure, vnto the wil of reason. Goe and sell all: declares we should be liberall, and glad to parte with our goodes to the poore and needie. Bearing the crosse betokeneth sufferance of all sorowes and miseries in this worlde. Now, to proue that the will of the law maker, is none other then I haue said: I may vse the testimonies of other places in the Scripture, and compare them with these sentences, and so iudge by iust examination, and diligent search the true meaning of the law maker.

¶ *Ambiguitie.*

Sometymes a doubt is made vpon some worde or sentence, when it signifieth diuers things, or may diuersly bee taken, whereupon full oft ariseth much contention. The Lawiers lacke no cases, to fill this part full of examples. For rather

then faile, they will make doubttes oftentimes, where no doubt should be at Lawiers. all. Is his Lease long enough (quoth one:) yea sir, it is very long said a poore Housbandman. Then (quoth he) let me alone with it, I will finde a hole in it I warrant thee. In all this talke I except alwaies the good Lawiers, and I may wel spare them, for they are but a fewe.

¶ *Probation by things like.*

WHen there is no certaine Law by expresse words, vttered for some heinous offender: we may iudge the offence worthy death, by rehersall of some other Law, that soundeth much that waye. As thus. The Ciuill Lawe appointeth, that he shall be put in a Sacke, and cast in the Sea, that killeth his father: well, then he that killeth his mother, should by all reason in like sort bee ordered. It is lawfull to haue a Magistrate, therefore it is lawfull to pleade matters before an officer. And thus, though, the last cannot be proued by expresse words, yet the same is found lawfull by rehearsall of the first.

¶ *Challenging or refusing.*

WE vse this order, when we remoue our sutes from one Court to an other, as if a man should appele from the Common place, to the Chauncerie. Or if one should bee called by a wrong name, not to aunswere vnto it. Or if one refuse to aunswere in the Spirituall Courte, and appele to the Lord Chauncellour.

¶ *The Oration of right or wrong, called otherwise the state Iuridiciall.*

AFTER a deede is well knowen to be done, by some one person, we goe to the next and searche whether it be right or wrong. And that is, when the maner of doing is examined, and the matter tried through reasoning, and much debating, whether it be wrongfully doen, or otherwise.

¶ *The Diuision.*

THIS state of right or wrong, is two waies deuided, whereof the one is, when the matter by the owne nature, is defended to be right, without any further seeking, called of the *Rhetoricians*, the state absolute.

The other (vsing little force or strength, to maintaine the matter) is, when outwarde helpe is sought, and by-wayes vsed to purchase fauour, called otherwise the state assumptiue.

Places of Confirmation for the first kinde, are vij.

- { i. Nature it selfe.
- { ii. Gods Law, and mans Law.
- { iii. Custome.
- { iiiii. Equitie.
- { v. True dealing.

{vi. Auncient examples.

{vii. Couenautes and deedes autentique.

TVllie in his most worthy Oration, made in behalfe of *Milo*, declares that *Milo* slue *Clodius* most lawfully, whom *Clodius* sought to haue slaine most wickedly. For (quoth *Tullie*) if nature haue graffed this in man, if Lawe haue confirmed it, if necessitie haue taught it, if custome haue kept it, if equitie haue maintained it, if true dealing hath allowed it, if all common weales haue vsed it, if deedes auncient haue sealed this vp, that euery creature liuing should fence it selfe against outward violence: no man can thinke that *Milo* hath done wrong, in killing of *Clodius*, except you think, that when men meete with theeues, either they must be slaine of them, or els condemned of you.

¶ *Places of confirmation for the second kinde, are iij.*

{ Graunting of the fault committed.

{ Blaming euill companie for it.

{ Comparing the fault, and declaring that either they

{ must haue done that, or els haue done worse.

{ Shifting it from vs, and shewing that we did it

{ vppon commaundement.

CONFessing of the fault, is when the excuseth persone graunteth his crime, and craueth pardon thereupon, leauing to aske Iustice, and leaning wholly vnto mercie.

Confessing
what it is.

¶ *Confession of the fault vsed
two maner of waies.*

THE first is, when one accuseth himselfe, that he did it not willingly, but vnwares, and by chance.

The diuision.

The seconde is, when he asketh pardon for the faulte done, considering his seruice to the Commonweale, and his worthy deedes heretofore done, promising amendment of his former euill deed: the which words would not be vsed before a Iudge, but before a King, or Generall of an Armie. For the Iudges must giue sentence according to the Lawe: the King may forgiue, as authour of the Lawe, and hauing power in his hande, may doe as he shall thinke best.

Blaming other for the fault done, is when we saie, that the accused person, would neuer haue done such a deede, if other against whom also, this accusation is intended, had not bene euill men, and giuen iust cause of such a wicked deede.

Blaming other,
how
it is saied.

Comparing the fault is when we saie, that by slaying an euill man, we haue done a good deede, cutting away the corrupt and rotten member, for preseruatiō of the whole body. Or thus: some set a whole toune on fire, because their enemies should haue none aduauntage by it. The *Saguntines*, being tributarie to the Romaines, slue their owne children, burnt their goods, and fired their bodies, because they would not subiect to that cruel *Hanniball*, and lose their allegiaunce, due to the Romaines.

Comparing the fault.

Saguntines.

Shifting it from vs, is when wee say that if other had not set vs on, we would neuer haue attempted such an enterprise. As often times the Souldiour saieth, his Captaines bidding was his enforcement: the seruaunt thinketh his maisters commaundement, to be a sufficient defence for his discharge.

Shifting the fault from vs.

Continue on to [Book II](#).



Renascence Editions

Return to
[Renascence Editions](#)

The Arte of Rhetorique

Thomas Wilson

[Introduction](#) | [Book I](#) | [Book II](#) | [Book III](#)

Note on the e-text: this [Renascence Editions](#) text was transcribed by Judy Boss, Omaha, NE, 1998, from *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique 1560*. Ed. G. H. Mair. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Content unique to this presentation is copyright © 1998 The University of Oregon and Judy Boss. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the Publisher, rbear at uoregon.edu.

¶ *The second Booke.*



Now that I haue hetherto set forth, what *Rhetorique* is, whereunto euery Oratour is most bounde, what the causes bee, both in their nature and also by number, that comprehende euery matter, and what places serue to confirme euery cause: I think it is most meete, after the knowledge of all these, to frame an Oration accordingly, and to shewe at large, by partes of euery Oration (but specially such as are vsed in Iudgement) that vnto euery cause, apt partes may euermore be added. For euery matter hath a diuers beginning, neither al controuersies or matters of weight, should alwaies after one sort be rehearsed, nor like reasons vsed, nor one kinde of mouing affections, occupied before all men, in euery matter. And therefore, whereas I haue briefly spoken of them before, I will nowe largely declare them, and shewe the vse of them in euery matter, that cometh in debate, and is needefull through reason to be discussed.

¶ *An entraunce, two waies deuided.*

The first is called a plaine beginning, when the hearer is made apt to giue good eare out of hande, to that which shall followe.

A beginning
what it is.

The second is a priuie twining, or close creeping in, to win fauour with much circumstance, called insinuation.

Insinuation

For in all matters that man takes in hand, this consideration ought first to be had, that we

first diligently expend the cause, before we go through with it, that we may be assured whether it be lawfull or otherwise. And not onely this, but also we must aduisedly marke the men, before whom we speake, the men against whom we speake, and al the circumstances which belong vnto the matter. If the matter be honest, godly, and such as of right ought to be well liked, we may vse an open beginning, and wil the hearers to reioyce, and so go through with our parte. If the cause bee lothsome, or such as will not be well borne with all, but needeth much helpe and fauour of the hearers: it shalbe the speakers part priuely to get fauour, & by humble talk to win their good wils. First, requiring them to giue him the hearing, and next, not streightly to giue iudgement, but with mercie to mitigate all rigour of the Lawe. Or in a complaint made, which the counsell shall greuously stomake, to exaggerate it the more, if we see iust cause to sit it forward. And whereas many often tymes are susspect to speake things of malice, or for hope of gaine, or els for a set purpose, as who should say, this I can doe: the wisest will euer more cleare themselues from all such offences, and neuer giue any token so much as in them lieth, of any light suspition.

In accusing any person, it is beast to heape all his faultes together, and whereas any thing seemeth to make for him, to extenuate the same to the vttermost. In defending any person, it is wisdom to rehearse all his vertues first and foremost, and with asmuch arte as may be, to wipe away such faultes as were laied to his charge. And before all things, this would be well marked, that whensoever we shal largely talke of any matter, we alwaies so inuent and finde out our first enteraunce in the cause, that the same be for euer taken euen from the nature and bowelles thereof, that all things which shal first be spoken, may seeme to agree with the matter, and not made as a shippe mans hose to serue for euery legge.

Now, whereas any long talke is vsed, the beginning thereof is either taken of the matter self, or els of the persons that are there present, or els of them against whom the action is intended. And because the winning of victorie resteth in three pointes. First, in apt teaching the hearers what the matter is, next in getting them to giue good eare, and thirdly in winning their fauor: We shall make them vnderstande the matter easely, if first of all we begin to expounde it plainly and in briefe words, setting out the meaning, make them harken to their sayings. And by no meanes better shall the standers by knowe what we say, and carie awaie that which they heare, then if at the first we couch together, the whole course of our tale in as small roome as we can, either by defining the nature and substaunce of our matter, or els by diuiding it in an apt order, so that neither the hearers be troubled, with confounding of matter, and heaping one thing in an others necke, nor yet their memorie dulled with ouerthwart rehearsall, and disorderly telling of our tale. Wee shall make the people attentiu, and glad to heare vs, if we wil promise them to speake of weightie matters, of wholsome doctrine, such as they haue heretofore wanted: yea, if we promise to tell them things concerning either their owne profit, or the aduancement of their countrie, no doubt we shal haue them diligent hearers. Or els if they like not to heare weightie affaires,

Three things most meete for euery Oratour. To make the hearers to vnderstand the matter.

To make hearers attentiu.

we may promise them strange newes, and perswade them we will make them laugh, and think you not that they will rather heare a foolish tale, then a wise & wholesome counsaile: *Demosthenes* therefore, seing at a time the fondnesse of the people to be such, that he could not

obtaine of them, to heare him speake his minde in an earnest cause, concerning the wealth of his Countrey, required them to tarie, and he would tel them a tale of *Robin Hood*. Whereat they al staid, and longed to know what that should be. He began streght to tell them, of one that had sold his Asse to another man, wherevpon they both went forth to the next Market toun, hauing with them the said Asse. And the weather being somewhat hot, the first owner which had now sold his asse, went to that side the Asse which kept him best from the heate. The other being now the owner & in full possession, would not suffer that, but required him to giue place, and suffer him to take the best commodity of his own Asse that he could haue, whereat the other answered and said: nay by saint Marie sir, you serue me not so, I sold you the Asse, but I solde you not the shadowe of the Asse, & therefore pick you hence. When the people heard this, they laughed apace, and likt it very well. Whervpon *Demosthenes* hauing won them together by this mery toye, rebuked their folly, that were so slack to heare good things, and so redy to here a tale of a Tub, and thus hauing them attentiu, perswaded with them to heare him in matters of great importance, the which otherwise he could neuer haue done, if he had not taken this way with him.

Demosthenes
tale
of the Asses
shadow.

We shall get the good willes of our hearers fower maner of

waies, either beginning to speake of our selues, or els of our aduersaries, or els of the people and companie present, or last of all, if we begin of the matter it selfe, and so goe through with it. Wee shall get fauour for our owne sakes, if we shal modestly set forth our bounden dueties, and declare our seruice done, without al suspition of vaunting, either to the common weale, as in seruing either in the warres abroad, or els in bearing some office at home, concerning the tranquility of our countrie: or in helping our friends, kinsfolkes, and poore neighbours, to declare our goodnesse done heretofore towards them: and lastly, if wee shewe without all ostentation, aswell our good willes towards the Iudges there, as also pleasures done for them in tymes past to the vttermost of our power. And if any thing seeme to let our cause by any misreport, or euill behaiour of our partes heretofore: best it were in most humble wise to seeke fauour, and sleightly to auoyd all such offences laied to our charge.

To get the
hearers good
will.

We shall get fauour by speaking of our aduersaries, if wee shall make such reporte of them, that the hearers shall either hate to heare them, or vtterly enuie them, or els altogether despise them. We shall sone make our aduersaries to bee lothed, if wee shewe and set forth some naughtie deede of theirs, and declare how cruelly, how vily, and how maliciously they haue vsed other men heretofore.

We shall make them to be enuied, if we report vnto the Iudges that they beare themselues

hault, and stout vpon their wealthie freendes, and oppresse poore men by might, not regarding their honestie, but seeking alwaies by hooke and crooke, to robbe poore men of their Farmes, Leases, and money. And by the way, declare some one thing that they haue done, which honest eares would scant abide to heare.

We shall make them to bee set naught by, if we declare what luskes they are, how vnthrifely they liue, how they doe nothing from day to day, but eate, drinke, and sleepe, rather seeking to liue like beastes, then minding to liue like men, either in profiting their countrey, or in tendering their owne commoditie, as by right they ought to doe.

We shall get good will, by speaking of the Iudges and hearers: if wee shall commend their worthie doings, and prayse their iust dealing, and faithfull execution of the Lawe, and tell them in what estimation the whole countrey hath them, for their vpright iudging and determining of matters, and therefore in this cause needes must it be, that they must answere their former doings, and iudge so of this matter, as al good men haue opinion they will doe.

We shall finde fauour by speaking of the matter, if in handling our owne cause, we commende it accordingly, and dispraise the attempt of our aduersary, extenuating all his chiefe purposes, so much as shall be necessarie.

Now resteth for me to speake of the other parte of Enterance into an Oration, which is called a close, or priuie getting of fauour when the cause is dangerous, and cannot easily be heard without displeasure.

A priuie beginning, or creeping in, otherwise called Insinuation, must then, Insinuation. and not els be vsed, when the Iudge is greeued with vs, and our cause hated of the hearers.

The cause selfe oftentimes is not liked for three diuers causes, if either the matter selfe be vn honest, and not meete to be vttered before an audience, or els if the Iudge himself by a former tale be perswaded to take parte against vs, or last if at that time we are forced to speake, when the Iudge is weried with hearing of other. For the Iudge himselfe being weried by hearing, will bee much more greeued if any thing be spoken either ouermuch, or els against his liking. Yea who seeth not that a weried man wil some mislike a right good matter? If the matter be so hainous that it can not be heard without offence, (as if I should take a mans parte, who were generally hated) wisdomere were to let him goe, and take some other whom all men liked: or if the cause were thought not honest, to take some other in steede thereof which were better liked, till they were better prepared to heare the other: so that euermore nothing should be spoken at the first, but that which might please the Iudge, and not to be acknowne once to thinke of that, which yet we minde most of all to perswade. Therefore, when the hearers are some what calmed, we may enter by little and little into the matter, and say that those things, which our aduersary doth mislike in the

person accused, we also doe mislike the same. And when the hearers are thus wonne, wee may say that all which was saide nothing toucheth vs, and that we minde to speake nothing at al against our aduersaries, neither this way nor that way. Neither were it wisdome openly to speake against them, which are generally well esteemed and taken for honest men. And yet it were not amisse for the furtherance of our owne causes, closely to speake our phantasie, and so, streight to aulter their hearts. Yea, and to tel the Iudges the like in a like matter, that such and such iudgement hath been giuen: And therefore at this time, considering the same case, and the same necessitie, like iudgement is looked for. But if the aduersarie haue so tolde his tale, that the Iudge is wholly bent to giue sentence with hym, and that it is well knowne, vnto what reasons the iudge moste leaned, and was perswaded: we may first promise to weaken that, which the aduersarie hath made most strong for himself, and confute that parte, which the hearers did most esteeme, and best of all like. Or els we may take aduantage, of some part of our aduersaries tale, and talke of that first, which he spake last: or els begin so, as though wee doubted what were best first to speake, or to what part it were most reason, first of all to answeere, wondering and taking God to witnesse, at the strangenesse of his reporte, and confirmation of his cause. For when the standers by, perceiue that the answerer (whome the aduersaries thought in their minde, was wholly abashed) feareth so little the obiections of his aduersarie, and is readie to answeere *Ad omnia Quare*, with a bolde countenance: They will thinke that they themselues, rather gaue rash credite, and were ouerlight in beleeuing the first tale: then that he, which now answereth in his owne cause, speaketh without ground, or presumeth vpon a stomack to speake for himselfe, without iust consideration.

But if the time be so spent, and the tale so long in telling, that all men be almost weryed to heare any more: then we must make promise at the first to be very short, and to lappe vp our matter in fewe words.

And if time may so serue, it were good when men be weryed to make them somewhat mery, and to begin with some pleasaunt tale, or take an occasion to iest wittely, vppon some thing then presently done.

Mirth making
good
at the
beginning.

Or if the time will not serue for pleasaunt tales, it were good to tell some straunge thing, some terrible wonder, that

they all may quake at the onely hearing of the same. For, like as when a mans stomack is full, and can brooke no more meate, hee may stirre his appetite, either by some Tart sawce, or els quicken it somewhat by some sweete dish: Euen so when the audience is weryed with weightie affaires, some strange wonders may call vp their spirites, or els some merie tale may cheare their heauie lookes.

Straunge things
sometime
needfull to be
tolde
at the first.

And assuredly, it is no small cunning to moue the hearts of men, either to mirth, or sadnesse: for he that hath such skill, shall not lightly faile of his purpose, what soeuer

matter he taketh in hande.

Thus haue I taught what an enterance is, and how it should be vsed. Notwithstanding, I thinke it not amisse, often to rehearse this one point, that euermore the beginning be not ouermuch laboured, nor curiously made, but rather apt to the purpose, seeming vpon present occasion, euermore to take place, and so to bee deuised, as though wee speake altogether, without any great studie, framing rather our tale to good reason, then our tongue to vaine painting of the matter.

In all which discourse, whereas I haue framed all the lessons and euery enterance properly, to serue for pleading at the barre: yet assuredly, many of them may well helpe those: that preache Gods trueth, & exhort men in open assemblies to vpright dealing. Enteraunces apt to the purpose.

And no doubt, many of them haue much neede to knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale may hang together, whereas oftentimes they beginne as much from the matter, as it is betwixt Douer and Barwike, wherent some take pitie, and many for wearinesse can scant abide their beginning, it is

so long or they speake anything to the purpose. Therefore, the learned Clarkes of this our time, haue thought it good, that all Preachers should take their beginning, vpon the occasion of such matter, as is there written, Enteraunces apt for Preachers. declaring why and wherefore, and vpon what consideration such wordes were in those dayes so spoken, that the reason giuen of such talke then vttered, might serue well to beginne their Sermon. Or els to gather some seuerall sentence at the first, which briefly comprehendeth the whole matter following, or els to beginne with some apt similitude, example, or wittie saying. Or lastly, to declare what went before, and so to shewe that which followeth after. Yea, sometymes to beginne lamentable, with an vnfaigned bewayling of sinne, and a terrible declaring of Gods threatens: Sometimes, to take occasion of a matter newly done, or of the companie there present, so that all waies the beginning be aunswerable to the matter following.

¶ *Of Narration.*

AFTER the preface and first Enterance, the matter must be opened, and euery thing liuely tolde, that the hearers

may fully perceiue what we goe about, nowe in reporting an act done, or vttering the state of a controuersie, we must vse these lessons, wherof the first is to be short, the next to bee plaine, and the third is to speake likely, and with reason, that the hearers may remember, vnderstand, and beleeeue the rather, such things as shall be saied. Narration. i. Briefe. ii. Plaine. iii. Probable.

And first whereas we should be short in telling the matter as it lieth, the best is to speake no more than needes wee must, not rauing it from the bottome, or telling bytales such as

rude

people full oft doe, nor yet touching euery pointe, but telling the whole in a grosse somme. And where as many matters shall neither harme vs, nor yet doe vs good being brought in, and reported by vs: it were well done not to medle with them at all, nor yet wise to tell one thing, or report that which is odious to be tolde againe. Notwithstanding this one thing would be wel considered, that in seking to be short we be not obscure. And therefore to make our matter plaine, that all may vnderstand it, the best were first and formost to tell euery thing in order so much as is needful, obseruing both the time, the place, the maner of doing, and the circumstances thereunto belonging. Wherein good heed would be had that nothing be doubtfully spoken, which may haue a double meaning, nor yet any thing vttered that may make asmuch against vs as with vs, but that all our wordes runne to confirme wholly our matter. And surely if the matter be not so plainly told that all may vnderstand it, wee shall doe little good in the rest of our report. For in other partes of the Oration if we be somewhat darke, it is lesse harme, wee may bee more plaine in an other place. But if the Narration, or substauce of the tale be not well perceiued, the whole Oration besides is darkned altogether. For to what ende should we goe about to proue that, which the hearers knowe not what it is? Neither can we haue any libertie to tell our tale againe after we haue once tolde it, but must streight goe foorth and confirme that which we haue saied, how soeuer it is. Therefore the reporting of our tale, may some appere plain if we first expresse our minde in plaine words, and not seeke these roperipe termes, which betraie rather a foole, then commende a wise man: and againe, if we orderly obserue circumstaunces, and tell one thing after an other, from time to time, not tumbling one tale in anothers necke, telling halfe a tale, and so leauing it rawe, hacking and hemming, as though our wittes and our senses were a woll gathering. Neither should we suffer our tongue, to run before our witte, but with much warenesse, set foorth our matter, and speake our minde euermore with iudgement.

Breuitie, how it might be vsed.

Plainesse, how it might be vsed.

We shall make our sayings appeare likely, and probable: if we speake directly as the cause requireth, if we shewe the verie purpose of all the deuise, and frame our inuention, according as we shall thinke them most willing to allowe it, that haue the hearing of it.

Probabilities how it maie be vsed.

The Narration reported in matters of iudgement, shall seem to stand with reason, if we make our talk to agree with the place, time, thing, and person, if wee shall shewe that whatsoever wee say, the same by all likelihoodes is true, if our coniectures, tokens, reasons, and arguments bee such, that neither in them, there appere any fabling, nor yet that any thing was spoken, which might of right otherwise be taken,

and that we not onely speake this, but that diuers other of good credite will stand with vs in defence of the same, all which reporting may some be liked, and the tale so tolde, may be thought very reasonable. Yea, wee shall make

Narration in iudgement.

our doings seeme reasonable, if we frame our worke to natures will, and seeke none other meanes but such onely, as the honest and wise haue euer vsed and allowed, bringing in and blaming the euill alwayes, for such faultes chiefly, wherevnto they most of all are like to be subiect, as to accuse a spende all, of theft: a whoremonger, of adulterie: a rash quarreller, of manslaughter: and so of other. Sometimes it is good and profitable, to bee merie and pleasaunt, in reporting a matter, against some maner of man, and in some cause. For, neither against all men that offende, nor yet against all matters, should the wittie alwaies vse iesting. And now, for those that shall tel their minde, in the other kindes of Oratorie, as in the kinde Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, in exhorting or perswading: the learned haue thought meet that they must also call the whole somme of their matter to one point, that the rather the hearers may better perceiue, whereat they leuell all their reasons. As if a Clarke doe take in hande to declare Gods heft, he will after his enteraunce, tell what thing is chiefly purposed in that place, and next after, shew other things annexed therevnto, whereby not only the hearers may get great learning, and take much profite of his doctrine: but he himselfe may knowe the better what to say, what order to vse, and when to make an ende.

Narration in
praying
and counsell
giuing.

Preachers what
order they vse.

Some do vse after the litterall sense, to gather a misticall vnderstanding, and to expounde the sayings spirituallly, making their Narration altogether of things heauenly. Some rehearsing a text particularly spoken, applie the same generally vnto al states, enlarging the Narration most Godly, by comparing words long agoe spoken, with things and matters that are presently done. Notwithstanding, the auncient fathers, because they did onely expounde the Scriptures for the most parte, made no artificiall Narration, but vsed to followe such order, as the plaine text gaue them. So that if euery sentence were plainly opened to the hearers, they went not much farther, sauing that when any word gaue them occasion to speake of some vice, they would largely say their minde in that behalf: as *Chrisostome* and *Basile* haue done with other.

The ware marking, and heedy obseruation of time, place, and person, may teach all men (that be not past teaching) how to frame their Narration in all controuersies, that are called in question, and therefore, when present occasion shall giue good instruction, what need more lessons? And especially, feeling Nature teacheth what is comely, and what is not comely for all tymes.

Yea, what tell I now of such lessons, seeing GOD hath raised such worthy Preachers in this our tyme, that their Godly and learned doings, may be a most iust example for all other to followe: aswell for their liuing, as for their learning: I feare me, the precepts be more in number, then will be well kept, or followed this yere.

¶ *Of Deuision.*

AFTER our tale is tolde, and the hearers haue well learned what we meane, the next is to reporte wherein the aduersarie and wee can not agree, and what it is, wherein wee doe

agree. And then to parte out such principall pointes, whereof we purpose fully to debate, and laie them out to be knowen: that the hearers may plainly see, what wee will say, and perceiue at a worde the substaunce of our meaning. Now,

Tullie would not haue a deuision to be made, of, or aboute three partes at the moste, nor yet lesse then three neither, if neede so require. For if we haue three chiefe groundes, wherevpon to rest, applying all our arguments therevnto, we shall both haue matter enough to speake of, the hearers shall with ease vnderstande our meaning, and the whole Oration shall sone bee at an ende. Notwithstanding, this lesson must not so curiously bee kept, as though it were sinne to make the deuision of fower, or fiue partes: but it was spoken for this end, that the deuision should be made of as fewe as may be possible, that men may the better carie it away, and the reporter with more ease, may remember what he hath to saie.

Deuision of
three
partes at the
most.

Now in praising, or dispraising, in perswading, or disswading, deuisions must also be vsed. As if one would enueigh against those women, that will not giue their owne children sucke, he might vse this deuision. Where as women commonly put their children forth to nursing, I will proue, that it is both against the lawe of Nature, and also against Gods holy wil: againe I wil shewe that it is harmefull, both for the childes bodie, and also for his witte: lastly I will proue that the mother selfe, falleth into much sicknesse thereby.

Women
rebuked that
nurse not their
owne
children.

First, Nature giueth milke to the woman, for none other ende but that she should bestow it vpon her childe. And we see beastes feede their yongones, and why should not Women? GOD also commaunded all women, to bring vp their children.

Againe, the childrens bodies shall be so affected, as the milke is which they receiue. Now, if the Nurse bee of an euill complexion, or haue some hid disease, the childe sucking of her breast, must needes take parte with her. And if that be true, which the learned doe say, that the temperature of the minde followes the constitution of the bodie, needes must it be, that if the Nurse be of a naughtie nature, the childe must take thereafter. But if it be, the Nurse be of a good complexion, of an honest behaiour (whereas contrariwise, Maidens that haue made a scape, are commonly called to be Nurses) yet can it not be, but that the mothers milke should be much more naturall for the childe, then the milke of a stranger. As by experience, let a man bee long vsed to one kinde of drinke, if the same man change his ayre, and his drinke, he is like to mislike it. Lastly, for the mothers, howe are they troubled with sore breastes, besides other diseases that happen through plentie of milke, the which Phisitions can tell, and women full oft haue felt.

Likewise in speaking of fasting, I might vse this diuision. First, it is Godly to faste, because the spirite is more free, and apter for a good worke. Againe, it is wholesome, because thereby euill humours are wasted, and many diseases either clerely put away, or much abated of their tirannie. Lastly, it is profitable, because men spend lesse money, the lesse banqueting that they vse. Therefore, if men loue eitheir to be wise, Godly, healthful, or wealthie, let them vse fasting and forbearre excesse.

Now vpon a deuision, there might also be made a subdeuision, as where I say it is Godly to fast, I might deuide Godlinesse into the hearing of Gods worde, into praying deuoutly, and charitable dealing with all the worlde.

Againe, speaking of health, I might say that the whole body is not onely more lustie with moderate fasting, but also more apt for all assaies. The learned man studieth better when he fasteth, then when he is full. The counselor heareth causes with lesse pain being emptie, then he shalbe able after a full gorge.

Againe, whereas the fiue senses bring vs to the knowledge of many things: the more apt that euery one is, the more pleasure they bring euer with them. The eyes see more clerely, the eares heare more quickly, the tongue rowleth more roundly, and tasteth things better, our feeling is more perfite: and the nose smeleth euill sauours the soner.

Philosophie is deuided, into the knowledge of things naturall, things morall, and into that arte, which by reason findeth out the trueth, commonly called *Logique*. Now, of these three parts of Philosophie, I might make other three subdiuisions, and largely set them out. But these may suffice for this time.

¶ *Of Propositions.*

QUintilian willeth, that straight and immediatly after the Narration, there should also be vsed such sentences as might be full of pith, and containe in them the substaunce of much matter, the rather that the hearers may be stirred vpon the only report of some sentencious saying, or weightie text in the Lawe. As in speaking largely against extortion, one might after his reasons applied to the purpose, bring in a pithie and sentencious proposition: as thus. Those hands are euill that scratch out the eyes: and what other doe they that by force robbe their Christian brethren: Woe bee to that Realme, where might out goeth right. Or thus. When rage doth rule, and reason doth want, what good man can hope to liue long in rest. Also an act of a Realme, may well serue to make a proposition. As thus. The Law is plaine: that man shall die as an offender, whatsoeuer he be that breaketh vp an other mans house, and seeketh by spoyle to vndoe his neighbour. Now here is no man that doubteth, but that thou hast done this deede, therefore what needes any more, but that thou must suffer according to the law? In

deuiding a matter, Propositions are vsed and orderly applied for the better setting forth of the cause. As if I should speake of thankfulness, I might first shew what is thankfulness, next how needfull it is, and last how commendable and profitable it is vniuersally? Thankfulness is a kinde of remembring good will shewed, and an earnest desire to requite the same. Without thankfulness no man would doe for an other. The brute beastes haue these properties, and therefore man cannot want them, without his great rebuke. Some propositions are plaine spoken, without any cause or reason added thereunto. As thus, I haue charged this man with Felonie, as you haue heard, but he denieth it, therefore iudge you it I pray you. Sometimes a cause added, after the aledging of a

Philosophie
deuided.

Thankfulness,
what it is.

Deuision of

proposition. As thus: I haue accused this man of felonie, because he tooke my purse by the hie way side, and therefore I call for Iustice. Thus propositions might be gathered, next and immediatly after the rehearsall of any cause, and beautifie much the matter, beeing either alledged with the cause annexed, or els being plainely spoken, without giuing any reason at all.

¶ *Of Confirmation of matters in iudgement.*

WHen we haue declared the chiefe points, whereunto we purpose to referre all our reasons, wee must heape matter, and finde out arguments to confirme the same to the vttermost of our power, making first the strongest reasons that wee can, and next after, gathering all the probable causes together, that being in one heape, they may seeme strong and of great weight. And whatsoeuer the aduersarie hath said against vs, to answeere therevnto as time and place may best serue. That if his reasons bee light, and more good may bee done in confuting his, then in confirming our owne: it were best of all to set vpon him, and put away by Art, all that he hath fondly saied without wit. For prouing the matter, and searching out the substance or nature of the cause, the places of *Logique* must helpe to set it forward. But when the person shall bee touched, and not the matter, wee must seeke els where, and gather these places together.

Causes of
confirmation
two waies vsed.

- {i. The name.
- {ii. The maner of liuing.
- {iii. Of what house he is, of what Countrey, and of
{ what yeares.
- {iiii. The wealth of the man.
- {v. His behauour or daiely enuring with things.
- {vi. What nature he hath.
- {vii. Wherevnto he is most giuen.
- {viii. What he purposeth from time to time.
- {ix. What he hath done heretofore.
- {x. What hath befallne vnto him heretofore.
- {xi. What hee hath confessed, or what hee hath to
{ say for himselfe.

IN well examining of all these matters much may bee saied, and great likelihoodes may bee gathered either to or fro, the which places I vsed heretofore, when I spake of matters in Iudgement against the accused Souldier. Now in trying the troth, by reasons gathered of the matter: wee must first marke what was done at that time by the suspected person, when such and such offences were committed. Yea, what he did before this act was done. Again, the time must be marked, the place, the maner of doing, and what heart he bare him. As the oportunitie of doing, and the power he had to doe this deede. The which all set together

shall either acquit him, or finde him gilty. These arguments serue to confirme a matter in iudgement, for any hainous offence. But in the other causes which are occupied, either in praising, or dispraising, in perswading, or disswading, the places of confirmation be such as are before rehearsed, as when we commende a thing, to proue it thus.

{Honest. }
 {Profitable. }
 {Easie. } to be done.
 {Necessarie. }

ANd so of other in like maner, or els to vse in steed of these the places of *Logique*. Therefore when wee goe about to confirme any cause, wee maie gather these groundes about rehearsed, and euen as the case requireth, so frame our

reasons. In confuting of causes the like may be had, as wee vsed to proue: if we take the contrary of the same. For as thinges are alledged, so they may be wrested, and as houses are builded, so they be ouerthrowne. What though many coniectures bee gathered, and diuers matters framed to ouerthrowe the defendand: yet wit may finde out bywaies to escape, and such shiftes may be made, either in auoiding the daunger by plaine deniall, or els by obiections, and rebounding againe of reasons made, that small harme shall turne to the accused person, though the presumptions of his offences be great, and bee thought by good reason to be faultie. The places of *Logique* as I saied, cannot bee spared for the confirmation of any cause. For who is he that in confirming a matter, will not knowe the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it, what is agreeing thereunto, what likenesse there is betwixt that and the other thinges, what examples may bee vsed, what is contrary, and what can be said against it. Therefore I wish that euery man should desire, & seeke to haue his *Logique* perfit, before he looke to profite in *Rhetorique*, considering the ground and confirmation of causes, is for the most part gathered out of *Logique*.

Confutation.

Places of
Logique
most needfull.

¶ *The Conclusion.*

A Conclusion, is the handsomely lapping vp together, and briefe heaping of all that which was saied before, stirring the hearers by large vtterance, and plentifull gathering of good matter, either the one way or the other.

Conclusion,
what it is.

There are two parts of a conclusion, the one resteth in gathering together briefly, all such arguments as were before rehearsed, reporting the somme of them in as fewe wordes as can bee, and yet after such a sorte, that much varietie bee

vsed, both when the rehearsall is made, as also after the matter is fullie reported. For if the repetition should be naked, and only set forth in plaine words without any change of speech, or shift of *Rhetorique*, neither should

Conclusion of
two sorts.

the hearers take pleasure, nor yet the matter take effect. Therefore, when the Orator shall touch any place, which may giue iust cause to make an exclamation, and stirre the hearers to bee sorie, to bee glad, or to bee offended: it is necessarie to vse Art to the vttermost. Or when he shall come to the repeating of an hainous act, and the maner thereof: hee may set the Iudges on fire, and heate them earnestly against the wicked offender. Thus in repeating, Art may be vsed, and next with the onely rehearsal, matters may bee handsomely gathered vp together. The other part of a conclusion, resteth either in augmenting and vehemently enlarging that, which before was in fewe wordes spoken to set the Iudge or hearers in a heate: or els to mittigate, & asswage displeasure conceiued with much lamenting of the matter, and moouing them thereby the rather to shewe mercie. Amplification is of two sorts, whereof I will speake more at large in the next chapter. The one resteth in wordes, the other in matter. Such wordes must be vsed as bee of great weight, wherein either is some Metaphore, or els some large vnderstanding is conteined. Yea, wordes that fill the mouth and haue a sound with them, set forth a matter very well. And sometimes wordes twice spoken, make the matter appeare greater.

Againe, when we first speake our minde in lowe wordes, and after vse weightier, the fault likewise seemeth the greater. As when one had killed a Gentleman, thus might an other amplifie his minde. For one slaue to strike an other, were worthie of punishment, but what deserueth that wretch, which not onely striketh a man, but striketh a Gentleman, and not onely striketh a Gentleman, but cowardly killeth a Gentleman, not giuing him one wound, but giuing him twentie. To kill any man in such sort deserueth death, but what say you of him, that not onely killeth him so, but also hangeth him most spitefully vpon a Tree. And yet not content with that, but scourgeth him and mangleth him when he is dead, & last of al maketh a iest of his most naughtie deede, leauing a writing there about the dead mans necke. Now then, seeing his crueltie is such, that the onely killing can not content his deuilish deede, and most deadly malice: I aske it for Gods loue, and in the way of Iustice, that this wicked deuill may suffer worthie death, and be punished to the example of al other. Amplifying of the matter consisteth in heaping and enlarging of those places, which serueth for confirmation of a matter. As the definition, the cause, the consequent, the contrary, the example, and such other.

Againe, amplification may bee vsed when wee make the lawe to speake, the dead person to make his complaint, the Countrey to crye out of such a deede. As if some worthie man were cast away, to make the Countrey say thus: if England could speake, would she not make such and such complaintes? If the walles of such a citie or towne had a tongue, would they not talke thus and thus? And to be short, al such things should bee vsed, to make the cause seeme great, which concerne God, or Common weale, or the Lawe of Nature. For if any of these three bee hindered, wee haue a large fielde to walke in. In praising or dispraising, wee must exaggerate those places towards the ende, which make men wonder at the straungenesse of any thing. In perswading or disswading the rehearsall of commodities, and heaping of examples together increase much the matter. It were a great labour to tell all the commodities, and all the properties which belong vnto the

conclusion. For such art may be used in this behalfe, that though the cause be very euill, yet a wittie man may get the ouerhand, if he be cunning in his facultie.

The *Athenians* therefore did straightly forbid by a Lawe, to vse any conclusion of the cause, or any enterance of the matter to winne fauour. *Cicero* did herein so excell, that lightly he got the victorie in all matters that euer he tooke in hand. Therefore as iust praise ariseth by this part, so I doubt not but the wittiest wil take most paines in this behalfe, and the honest for euer will vse the defence of most honest matters. Weapons may be abused for murther, and yet weapons are onely ordeined for safeguard.

Athenians
forbad
conclusions.

¶ *Of the figure Amplification.*

AMong all the figures of *Rhetorique*, there is no one that so much helpeth forward an Oration, and beautifieth the same with such delightfull ornaments, as doth amplification. For if either wee purpose to make our tale appeare vehement, to seeme pleasant, or to be well storied with copie: needes must it be that here we seeke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And now because none shal better be able to amplifie any matter, then those which best can praise, or most dispraise any thing here vpon earth, I thinke it needfull first of all, to gather such thinges together which helpe best this way. Therefore in praising or dispraising, wee must be well stored euer with such good sentences, as are often vsed in this our life, the which thorowe arte beeing increased, helpe much to perswasion. As for example, where it is saied (gentle behauiour winneth good will, and clerely quencheth hatred) I might in commending a noble Gentleman for his lowlinesse, declare at large how commendable and how profitable a thing gentle behauiour is, and of the other side, how hatefull and how harmefull a proude disdainfull man is, and how beastly a nature he hath, that being but a man, thinketh himselfe better then any other man is, & also ouer good to haue a match or fellowe in this life. As thus, if lowlinesse and charitie maintaine life, what a beast is he that through

Amplification.

hated will purchase death? If God warneth vs to loue one an other, and learne of him to be gentle, because he was gentle and humble in heart: How cruell are they that dare withstande his Commaundement? If the Subiect rebell against his King, wee crye with one voyce, hang him, hang him, and shall we not think him worthie the vilest death of all, that being a creature, contemneth his Creatour, being a mortall man, neglecteth his heauenly maker, beeing a vilde moule of Clay, setteth light by so mightie a GOD, and euer liuing King? Beastes and birdes without reason loue one an other, they shroude and they flocke together, and shall men endued with such giftes, hate his euen Christian, and eschue companie? When Sheepe doe stray, or Cattell do striue one against an other, there are Dogges readie to call them in: yea, they will bite them (as it hath beene full often seene) if two fight together: and shall man want reason, to barke against his lewde affections, or at the least shall he haue none to checke him for his faultes, and force him to forgiue?

Lowlinesse.

Likewise if you would rebuke one that giueth eare to backbiters and

Backbiting

slaunders, you must declare what a great mischief an euill tongue is, what a poyson it is, yea, what a murder to take a mans good name from him. We coumpt him worthie death, that poysoneth a mans bodie, and shall not he suffer the like paine, that poysoneth a mans honestie, and seeketh to obscure and darken his estimation? Men be wel excepted among the wise, not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Now take away the thing whereby men are commended: and what are men other then brute beastes? For beastes doe nothing against Nature, but he that goeth against honestie, the same man fighteth against Nature, which would that all men should liue well. When a man is killed secretly, we aske iudgement for the offendour, and shal they escape without iudgement, that couertly murther a mans soule? That separate him from God, that iudge him to Hell, whose life hath euer been most heauenly? When our purse is picked, we make straight search for it againe, and imprison the offender, and shall we not seeke recouerie of our good name, when euill tongues haue stained it? If our fame be more prise, then is either Golde or groates, what meane wee to bee so carelesse in keeping the one, and so carefull in keeping the other? Fond is his purpose, that being in the Raine, casteth his garment in a bush, and standeth naked himself, for sauing the glosse of his gay coate. And yet what other thing doe they, that esteeme the losse of money for great lack, & compt not the losse of their honestie for any want at all? Thus we see, that from vertue, and vice, such amplifications may be made, and no doubt he that can praise, or dispraise any thing plentifully, is able most copiously to exaggerate any matter.

Againe, sentences gathered or heaped together, commende

much the matter. As if one should say, Reuengement belongeth to GOD alone, and thereby exhort men to pacience. He might bring in these sentences with him, and giue great cause of much matter. No man is hurt but of himselfe, that is to say: aduersitie or wrong suffering is no harme to him that hath a constant heart, and liues vpright in all his doings.

Sentences gathered to helpe amplification. Reuengement forbidden.

He is more harmed that doth wrong, then he that hath suffered wrong.

He is the stouter that contemneth, then he that committeth wrong.

Yea, he gaineth not a little, that had rather suffer much losse, then trie his right by contention.

Gaine got by fraude, is harme and no gaine.

There is no greater victorie, then for man to rule his affections.

It is a greater matter to ouercome anger, then to winne a fortresse or tower.

There is no greater token of a noble heart, then to contemne wrong.

He that requiteth euill for euill, through hatred of an euill man, is made euill himself, and therefore worthie to be hated.

He that contemneth his enemy in battaile, is counted a good man of warre, and a wise.

He that requiteth good for euill, is an Angell of God.

He that mindeth reuengement, is at the next doore to man slaughter.

God is moued with nothing soner to forgiue vs our offences, then if we for his sake, forgiue one an other.

The requiting of iniuries, hath no ende.

Strife is best ended through pacience.

Anger is a madnesse, differing from it in this point only, that anger is short and tarieth not long, madnesse abideth still.

It is a follie to suffer the fome of a horse, or the striking of his foote, and not abide any thing that a foole doth, or a naughtie disposed fellowe speaketh.

No man trusteth a dronkard: and yet seeing the dronkenesse of rage, and madnesse of anger, are much more daungerous then surfetting with Wine: he doth foolishly that trusteth his owne wit any thing, when he is in a rage.

Good deedes should alwaies bee remembred, wrong doing should sone be forgiuen, and sone be forgotten.

Againe for liberalitie, these sentences might serue.

Liberalitie
commended

It is the propertie of God, to helpe man.

with heapes of
sentences.

He hath receiued a good turne by giuing, that hath bestowed his liberalitie vpon a worthie man.

He giueth twice, that giueth sone and cherefully.

God loueth the glad giuer.

It is a point of liberalitie, sometime to lose a good turne.

Hee that giueth to him that euill vse it, giueth no good thing but an euill thing.

Nothing is more safe laied vp, then is that which is bestowed vpon good folke.

Be not afraied to sowe good fruite.

Nothing is better giuen to Christ, then is that which is giuen to the poore.

No one man is borne for himselfe.

He is vnworthie to haue, that hath onely for himselfe.

The third kind of amplification, is when we gather such sentences as are commonly spoken, or els vse to speake of such things as are notable in this life. Of the first, these

may bee examples. In lamenting the miserie of Wardships, I might say, it is not for nought, so commonly saied: I will handle you like a Warde. She is a steppe mother to me, that is to say, she is not a naturall mother: who is worse shod then the Shoemakers wife? That is to say: Gentlemens children full oft are kept but meanly. Trot sire, and trot damme, how should the Fole amble, that is, when both father and mother were nought, it is not like that the childe will proue good, without an especiall grace of God.

Prouerbes
alledged
help
amplification.

Likerish of tongue, light of taile: That is, he or she that will fare daintely, will oft liue full wantonlie. Sone ripe, sone rotten. Honour chaungeth maners. Enough is as good as a feast. It is an euill Cooke, that cannot licke his owne fingers. I will soner trust mine eye, then mine eare. But what neede I heape all these together, seeing Heywooddes Prouerbes are in Print, where plenty are to be had: whose paines in that behalf, are worthie immortall praise.

Things notable in this life are those, the which chaunce to fewe: As this: To see a man of an hundred yeares of age.

A yong childe as sober, as a man of fiftie yeares. A woman that hath had twentie and fower children. A man once worth three or fower thousand pound, now not worth a groate. A young man fairer then a woman. A woman that hath had seuen or eight husbands. A man able to drawe a yarde in his Bowe, besides the feathers. A man merie now, and dead within halfe an hower after. There is none of all these, but serue much to make our talke appeare vehement, and encrease the weight of communication. As for example. If one would perswade an olde man to contemne the vanities of this world, he might vse the examples

Things
notable or
straunge,
help forward
amplification.

of sodaine death, and shewe that children haue died in their mothers lappe, some in their Cradle, some striplinges, some elder, and that not one among a thousand commeth to three score yeares. Or bee it that some liue an hundred yeares, beyond the which, not one in this last age passeth. What is there in this life, for the which any man should desire to liue long, seeing that old age bringeth this onely commoditie with it, that by long liuing we see many things that wee would not see, and that many a man hath shortened his life, for wearinesse of this wretched worlde. Or what though some pleasures are to be had in this life, what are they all to the pleasures of the life to come? Likewise in speaking of euill happe, I might bring him in that was once worth three thousand pounde, and is not now worth three groates, and perswade men either to set light by riches, or els to comfort them, and perswade them not to take thought, seeing great harme happened to other heretofore, and time may come when God will send better. These sentences aboue rehearsed, being largely amplified, encrease much any such kinde of matter.

¶ *What is Amplification[?]*

AMplification is a figure in *Rhetorique*, which consisteth most in augmenting, and diminishing of any matter, and that diuers waies.

¶ *The deuision of amplification.*

AMplification and diminishing, either is taken out of the substances in thinges, or els of wordes. Out of the substances and matter affections are deruied: out of wordes such kindes of amplifications as I will now shewe, and partly haue shewed before, when I spake of the conclusion, or lapping vp of any matter.

The first kinde of amplification is, when by changing a word, in augmenting wee vse a greater, but in diminishing, wee vse a lesse. Of the first this may bee an example. When I see one sore beaten, to say he is slaine: to call a naughtie fellowe theefe, or hangman, when he is not knowne to be any such. To call a woman that hath made a scape, a common Harlot: to call an Alehouse haunter a dronkard: to call one that is troubled with Choler and often angrie, a mad man: to call a pleasaunt Gentleman, a rayling Iester: to call a couetous man a Deuill.

Or the latter, these examples shalbe: when one hath sore beaten his fellow, for the same man to say, that he hath scant touched him. When one hath sore wounded an other, to say he hurt him but a little: when one is sore sicke, to bee said

he is a little crased. In like maner also, when wee giue vices the names of Diminution. vertues: as when I call him that is a cruell or mercilesse man, somewhat sore in iudgement. When I call a naturall foole, a plaine simple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a faire spoken man: a glutton, a good fellowe at his Table: a spendall, a liberall Gentleman: A snudge or pinch penie, a good husband, a thriftie man.

Now in all these kindes, where wordes are amplified they seeme much greater, if by

correction the sentence be vttered, and greater wordes compared with them, for whom they are vttered. In the which kinde of speech, we shall seeme as though we went vp by stayers, not only to the toppe of

a thing, but also about the top. There is an example here of in the seventh Correction.
 action that *Tullie* made against *Verres*. It is an offence, to binde a Citezein of Roome with chaines, it is an hainous deede to whip him: it is worse then manslaughter to kill him, what shall I call it to hang him vp vpon a Gibbet? If one would commend the auctoritie, which he alledgeth, he might say thus. These wordes are no fables vttered among men, but an assured trueth left vnto vs by writing, and yet not by any common writing, but by such as all the world hath confirmed and agreed vpon, that it is autentique and canonicall: neither are they the words of one that is the common sort, but they are the wordes of a Doctor in the Church of God, and yet not the wordes of a Deuine, or Doctor of the common sort, but of an Apostle: and yet not one that is the worst, but of Paule that is the best of all other: and yet not Paules, but rather the words of the holy Ghost, speaking by the mouth of Paule. He that loueth to enlarge by this kinde, must marke well the circumstaunces of thinges, and heaping them altogether, hee shall with ease espie how one thing riseth about an other. And because the vse hereof extendeth largely, I will largely vse examples. As thus. If a Gentleman & an officer of the Kings, being ouercharged at Supper with ouer much drinke, and surfetting with gorge vpon gorge, should vomite the next day in the Parliament house: I might enueigh thus: O shamefull deede, not onely in sight to be lothed, but also odious of all men to be heard. If thou haddest done this deede at thine house, being at Supper with thy wife and children, who would not haue thought it a filthie deed? But now for thee to doe it in the Parliament house, among so many Gentlemen, and such, yea, the best in all England, beeing both an Officer of the Kings, and a man of much auctoritie, and there to cast out gobbettes (where belching were thought great shame) yea and such gobbets as none could abide the smell, and to fill the whole house with euill fauour, and thy whole bosome with much filthines, what an abhominable shame is it about all other? It had beene a foule deede of it selfe, to vomite where no such gentlemen were: yea, where no gentlemen were: yea where no English men were: yea, where no men were: yea, where no companie were at all: or it had beene euill, if he had borne no maner of office, or had beene no publique officer, or had not bene the Kings officer: but being not onely an officer, but a publique officer, and that the Kings officer: yea, and such a Kings, and doing such a deede: I cannot tell in the world, what to say to him. Diuers examples may bee inuented like vnto this. As thus, against an hedd Officer in a Noble mans house, I might enueigh thus. Now Lord, what a man is he, he was not ashamed being a Gentleman, yea, a man of good yeares, and much auctoritie, and the hedd Officer of a Dukes house, to play at Dice in an Alehouse with boyes, bawdes and verlets. It had beene a great fault to play at so vile a game among such vile persons, being not Gentleman, being no officer, being not of such yeares: but being both a man of faire Lands, of an auncient house, of great auctoritie, an Officer of a Duke, yea, and to such a Duke, and a man of such yeares, that his white heares should warne him to auoyd al such follie, to play at such a game with such Roysters and such verlets, yea, and that in such an house as none comes thither but Theeues, Bawdes, and Ruffians: now before God, I

cannot speake shame enough on him.

There is an other kinde of Amplification, when vnto the hiest there is added some thing higher then it is. As thus. There is no better Preacher among them all, except *Hugh Latimer*, the Father of al Preachers. There is no better Latine man within England, except *Gualter Haddon* the Lawyer. Againe, we amplifie a matter not ascending by degrees, but speaking that thing onely, then the which no greater thing can be spoken. As thus. Thou hast killed thine owne Mother, what shall I say more, thou hast killed thine owne Mother. Thou hast deceiued thy Soueraigne Lorde and King, what shall I say more, thou hast deceiued thy Soueraigne Lord and King.

Sometime we amplifie by comparing, and take our ground vpon the weakest and least, the which if they seeme great, then must that needes appeare great, which wee would amplifie and increase. As *Tullie* against *Catiline*. My seruants in good soth, if they feared me in such sort, as all the Citizens doe feare thee: I would thinke it best for me to forsake my house. Thus by vsing the least first, this sentence is increased, fewe seruants are compared with all the Citizens, bondmen are compared with free men: *Tullie* their Maister, is compared with *Catiline* the Traytour, which was neither Lorde nor ruler ouer the Citizeins: and *Tullies* house is compared with the Citie.

By comparing of examples, we vse also to encrease our matter. As thus. Did the Maior of London thrust through Iacke Strawe, being but a verlet rebell, and onely disquieting the Citie: and shal the King suffer Captaine Kete to liue in Englands ground, and enioye the fruites of the Realme, being a most tyrannous Traytour, and such a Rebell as sought to ouerthrowe the whole Realme.

Here is Iacke Strawe compared with Captain Kete, the Citie of London with the whole Realme, the Maior with the King. So that if he which is a priuate person, and hath no power of death, might punish with death the disquieting of a Citie: the King himselfe hauing all power in his hand, maie iustly punish him, that seeketh to ouerthrowe his whole Realme.

The places of *Logique* helpe oft for Amplification. As where men haue a wrong opinion, and thinke Theft a greater fault than slaunder, one might proue the contrarie, as well by circumstaunces, as by arguments. And first he might shewe that slaunder is Theft, and euery slaunderer is a Theefe. For

as well the slaunderer as the Theefe, doe take away an other mans possession against the owners will. After that he might shewe, that a slaunderer is worse then any Theefe, because a good name is better then all the goodes in the world, and that the losse of money may be recouered, but the losse of a mans good name, cannot bee called backe againe, and a Theefe may restore that againe, which he hath taken away, but a slaunderer cannot giue a man his good name	Slaunder a greater offence then Theft.
--	--

again, which he hath taken from him. Again, he that stealeth goodes or cattell, robbes onely but one man, but an euill tongued man infecteth all their mindes: vnto whose eares this report shall come.

Besides this, there are Lawes and remedies to subdue Theeues: but there is no lawe against an euill tongue. Again, al such hainous offences, are euer the more greuously punished, the more closely and more craftely they are committed. As it is thought a greater fault to kill one with poyson, then to kill him with the sworde, and a more hainous offence to commit murther, then to commit manslaughter: wee may gather an argument also from the instrument or maner of doing. As a theefe hath done this offence with his hande, a slauderer hath done it with his tongue. Again, by the iudgement of all men, enchauntment is a notable euil: but they that infect a Prince or King with wicked counsail, are not they more wicked enchaunters, considering they doe as much, as if one should poyson a Conduite head, or a Riuer, from whence all men fetch their water. And yet they doe more, for it is a greater fault to poyson the minde, then the bodie. Thus by the places and circumstaunces, great matters might be made.

By contraries set together, things oftentimes appeare greater. As if one should set Lukes Veluet against Geane Veluet, the Lukes will appeare better, and the Geane will seeme worsen. Or set a faire woman against a foule, and she shal seeme much the fairer, and the other much the fouler. According whereunto there is a saying in *Logique: Contraria inter se opposita magis elucescunt*. That is to say. Contraries being set the one against the other, appeare more euiden. Therefore, if any one be disposed to set forth chastitie, he may bring in of the contrary part whoredome, and shewe what a foule offence it is to liue so vncleanly, and then the deformitie of whoredome, shall much set forth chastitie: or if one bee disposed to perswade his fellowe to learning and knowledge, he may shewe of the contrarie, what a naked wretch man is: yea, how much a man is no man, and the life no life, when learning once wanteth. The like helpe we maie haue by comparing like examples together, either of creatures liuing or of thinges not liuing: as in

speaking of constancie, to shewe the Sunne, who euer keepeth one course: Storkes.
 in speaking of inconstancie, to shewe the Moone which keepeth no certaine course. Again, in young Storkes, we may take an example of loue towards their damme, for when she is old, and not able for her crooked bill to picke meate, the yong ones feede her. In yong Vipers
 there is a contrary example (for as *Plinie* saith) they eate out their dammes wombe, and so come forth. In Hennes there is a care to bring vp their Chickens: in Egles the contrary, which cast out their Egges, if they haue any moe then three: and all because they would not be troubled with bringing vp of many.

There is also a notable kinde of amplification, when we would extenuate and make lesse great faultes, which before wee did largely increase: to the ende that other faultes might seeme the greatest aboue all other. As if one had robbed his Maister, thrust his fellowe

through the arme, accompanied with Harlots, kept the Tauerne till he had bene as dronke as a Ratte. To say after a large Inuectiue, against all these offences. You haue heard a whole Court role of Ribaudrie, and yet all these are but flea bitings, in respect and comparison of that, which I shal now shew you. Who doth not looke for marueilous great matter, and a most hainous offence, when these faultes that are thought most greeuous, are coumpted but flea bytings, in respect and comparison of that, which he mindeth to rehearse? In like maner one might exhort the people to godlinesse, and whereas he hath set forth all the commodities that followe the same, as in shewing a quiet conscience, not giltie of any great fault, the libertie of the Spirite, the peace which we haue with GOD, the fellowship with all the elect, for the seruaunt of Sathan, to bee the sonne of God, the comfort of the soule, the greatnesse whereof no man is able to conceiue: to say at length, and what can be greater, what can be more excellent, or more blisfull? And yet al these are small matters, if they be compared with the blessed inheritaunce of the euer liuing God, prepared for all those that liue godly here vpon earth, fastning their whole trust vpon Christ aboue, which both is able, and will saue all those, that call vnto him with faith. We doe encrease our cause by reasoning the matter, and casting our accoumpt, when either by things that followe, or by thinges that goe before, or els by such things as are annexed with the matter, wee giue sentence how great the thing is. By thinges going before, I iudge when I see an enuious or hastie man, fight with an other as hastie, that there is like to bee bloudshed. As who should say, can enuious or hastie men match together, but that they must needes trie the matter with bloudshedding. Assuredly it cannot be otherwise, but that blood must appease their rage. Likewise, seing two wise men earnestly talking together, I cannot otherwise iudge, but that their talke must needes bee wittie, and concerne some weightie matter. For to what ende should wise men ioyne, or wherefore should they laie their heddes together, if it were not for some earnest cause? What a shame is it for a strong man, of much health, and great manhood, to be ouercome with a cuppe of drinke. From thinges ioyned with the cause, thus. A woman hauing her housband emprisoned, and in daunger of death, sodainly stept before the King and craued his pardon. Bold was that woman, which durst aduenture to kneele before a King, whose housband had so greeuously offended. Though women by nature are fearefull, yet in her appeared a manly stomacke, and a good bolde harte, yea, euen in greatest daunger. By thinges that followe, thus. All England lament the death of Duke Henry, and Duke Charles, two noble brethren of the house of Suffolk. Then may we well iudge that these two Gentlemen, were wonderfully beloued, when they both were so lamented.

There is a kinde of amplifying, when in speaking of two that fought together, we praise him much that had the worse, because we would the other to haue more praise. Considering for a man to beate a boye, it were no praise, but for a tall man to match with an other, that were as tall as him self: that were somewhat worth. Therefore, I would haue the Scottes well praised, whom the Englishmen haue so often vanquished. He that praiseth much the strong holde of Boleine, must needes thereby praise King Henry the eight of Englande, who by Martiall power wonne it, and kept it all his life tyme. Or thus: such a one keepes a marueilous good house, for the worst boye in his house, drinckes one and the same drinke with his Maister: and all one bread, yea, euery one hath his meate in siluer,

Chamber vessels, and all are of siluer. Wee iudge by Apparell, by Armour, or by harnesse, what a man is of stature or bignesse. We iudge by occasion the goodnes of men, as when they might haue done harme, they would not: when they might haue slaine, they sought rather to saue. From the place were one is, encrease may be gathered. As thus. Being euen in the Court he was neuer moued to gaming: being at Rome, he hated Harlots, where there is by report, so great plentie as there are starres in the Element.

From the time thus, hee must needes bee well learned in the lawes of our Realme, that hath bene a student this thirtie Winter.

From the age: assuredly, he is like to be good, for being but a childe he was euer most Godly.

From the state of life: no doubt but he is honest, for being but a seruaunt, he liued so vprightly, as none could iustly blame his life.

From the hardnesse of a thing. That which is almost onely proper to Angels, must needes be hard for man: therefore, Chastitie is a rare gift, and hard for man to keepe.

From the straightnesse of a thing. Eloquence must needes be a wonderfull thing, when so fewe haue attained it.

Likewise, notable aduentures done by a fewe, are more praise worthie, then such as haue bene done by a great number. Therefore, the battaile of Muskelborowe, against the Scottes, where so fewe Englishmen were slaine, and so many Scottes dispatched: must needes be more praise worthie, then if the number of Englishmen had bene greater.

Vehemencie of words, full often helpe the matter forwardes when more is gathered by cogitation, then if the thing had bene spoken in plaine wordes. When we heare one saie, such a man swelled, seeing a thing against his minde, we gather that he was then more then halfe angry. Againe, when we heare one say, such a woman spittes fire, we gather straight that she is a deuill. The Preacher thundered in the Pulpit, belike then he was meetely hotte. But concerning all such speches, the knowledge of a Metaphore, shall bring men to much knowledge, whereof I wil speake hereafter among the figures: and therefore, I surcease to speake of it in this place.

We encrease our cause, by heaping of words and sentences together, touching many reasons into one corner, which before were scattered abroad, to the intent that our talke might appere more vehement. As when by many coniectures and greate presumptions, we gather that one is an offendour,

heaping them all into one plumpe, which before were sparpled abroad, and Amplification

therefore did but little good. As thus: to proue by coniectures, a murder committed, I might thus say, against a suspected person. My Lordes, doe not weye my wordes and sentences seuerally, but consider them altogether. If the accused person here, shal receiue profite by this other mans death, if his life heretofore hath euer been euill, his nature couetous, his wealth most slender, and that this dead mans goods could turne to no mans auaille so much, as vnto this accused person, and that no man could so easily dispatch hym, and that this man could by no better meanes compasse his desire, and that nothing hath beene vnattempted, which might further his naughtie purpose, and nothing done, that was thought needlesse, and seeing a meete place, was chiefly sought for, and occasion serued very well, and the tyme was most apt for such an attempt, and many meanes heretofore deuised to compasse this offence, and great hope both to keepe it close, and also to dispatche it, and besides that, seeing this man was seene alone, a little before in the same place where this other man was slaine, and that this mans voyce which did slaie hym was heard a little before in the same place, where this other man was slain, and seeing it is well knowne that this man came home late the same night, and the next day after being examined, did answere confusedly, fearefully, and as though he were amased, and seeing all these things are partly shewed by witnesses, partly by good reason, partly by his owne confession, and partly by the reporte that commonly goeth of hym, which by like is not spoken without some ground: It shall be your partes, worthy Iudges, weying all these things together, to giue certaine iudgement of him for his offence, and not to thinke it a matter of suspition. For it might haue been, that three or fower of these coniectures beeing proued, might giue but only a cause of suspition, but whereas al these together are plainly proued by him, it can not be otherwise but that he hath offended.

It is an excellent kinde of amplifying, when things encreased, and things diminished, are both sette together, that the one may the rather beautifie the other. As if, when Gods goodnesse towards vs, were largely amplified, wee did straight extenuate our vnthankfulnesse towards him againe. As thus: Seing God hath made man a creature vnto his owne likenesse, seeing he hath giuen him life, and the spirite of vnderstanding, endewing hym with his manifold graces, & redeming him, not with vile money, but with his owne precious body, suffering death, and blouddshedding vpon the Crosse, the rather that man might liue for euer: what an vnthankfull part is it, yea, what an hainous thing it is for man so oft to offende, so oft to wallowe in such his wickednesse, and euermore for Gods louing kindnesse, to shewe himselfe of all other creatures most vnkinde.

Likewise, contraries being rehearsed, and the euill immediatly vttered after the good, make much for encrease. As many men now a daies for Sobrietie, follow Gluttonie: for Chastitie, take Lecherie: for trueth, like falshood: for gentlenesse, seeke crueltye: for Iustice, vse wrong dealing: for Heauen, Hel: for God, the Deuill: to whom they will without peraduenture, if Gods grace be not greater.

¶ *Of mouing affections.*

BEcause the beautie of amplifying, standeth most in apt mouing of affections: It is

needfull to speake somewhat in this behalfe, that the better it may be knowen what they are, and howe it may bee vsed. Affections therefore (called Passions) are none other thing, but a stirring or forsing of the minde, either to desire, or els to detest and loth any thing, more vehemently then by nature we are commonly wont to doe.

We desire those things, we loue them, and like them earnestly, that appeare in our iudgement to be godly: wee hate and abhorre those things that seeme naught, vngodly, or harmefull vnto vs. Neither onely are wee moued with those things, which wee thinke either hurtfull, or profitable for our selues, but also we reioyce, we be sorie, or wee pittie an other mans happe.

Affections
mouing.

And euermore there are two things, which mooue vs either this waie, or that waie. The matter selfe which doth happen, or is like to happen: and the person also whom the matter doth concerne. As for example: If a wicked wretch haue his desertes, we are all glad to heare it, but if an innocent should be cast awaie, we thinke much of it, and in stomacke repine against wrong iudgement. If an euill man finde much fauour, we enuie his good hap, yea, it greeueth vs, that any one such, should haue such fauour shewed: and not onely doe we hate the euill that are come to any wealth, but also we enuie commonly all such as come to any preferment, especially, if either they haue bene as poore men as we are, or els came of a meaner house then we haue done. Noe one man would haue any to be better then himself, and euery one enhableth his owne gooddes, to deserue like dignitie with the best. And where as some haue gotte before, starting sodainly from an inch to an ell, we spare not to say, that flatterie made them speed, and though they haue much goodes, yet are they clere voyde of all goodnesse, and therefore much good may it do them, we would not come by goodes in such sort, to winne all the worlde. For the deuill and they (say wee) shall part stakes with them one day. And thus we can neuer be content to giue our neighbour a good worde. Yea, though they haue serued right well, and deserued a greater reward, wee must needes finde some fault with them to lessen their praises, and say that though their desertes be greate, yet their natures are nought: none so proude, though fewe bee so hardie, none so enuious, though fewe so faithful: none so couetous though fewe so liberall: none so gluttonous, though fewe keepe such an house. And thus, though we graunt them one thing, yet we will take an other thing as fast againe from them.

Such a man is an excellent fellow (saith one) he can speake the tongues well, he plaies of Instruments, fewe men better, he feigneth to the Lute, marueilous sweetely, he endites excellently, but for all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, he wil be dronke once a day, he loues women well,

he will spend Gods Coope if he had it, he will not tary long in one place, and he is somewhat large of his tongue. That if these faultes were not, surely he were an excellent fellowe. Euen as one should saie: if it were not for lying and stealing, there were not an honest man then such a one is, that perchaunce hath some one good qualitie to set him forward. These buttes be too broade, and these barres be ouer bigge, for looke what is giuen to one by commending, the same is straight taken away

With praying,
dispraying
vsed.

by butting. Therefore, such are not to be liked that giue a man a shoulder of Mutton, and breake his head with the Spittle when they haue done. And yet, this is many a mans nature, especially, where enuie hath any grounded dwelling place, whose propertie is alwaies to speake nothing of other, without reproach and slauder.

In mouing affections, and stirring the Iudges to be greeued, the waight of the matter must be set forth, as though they sawe it plaine before their eyes, the report must be such, and

the offence made so hainous, that the like hath not bene seen heretofore, and all the circumstance must thus be heaped together: The naughtinesse of his nature that did the deede, the cruell ordering, the wicked dealing, and malicious handling, the tyme, the place, the maner of his doing, and the wickednesse of his will to haue done more. The man that sustained the wrong, how litle he deserued, how well hee was esteemed among his neighbours, how small cause he gaue him, how great lack men haue of him. Now, if this be not reformed, no good man shall liue saufe, the wicked will ouerflow all the world, and best it were for saufegard to be nought also, and so take part with them, for no good man shall go quiet for them if there be not speedie redresse found, and this fault punished to the example of all other.

Description of an euill and wicked offence done.

Quintilian coucheth together in these fewe wordes, the full heape of such an hainous matter, by gathering it vp after this sorte.

- {i. What is done.
- {ii. By whom.
- {iii. Against whom.
- {iiij. Vpon what mind.
- {v. At what time.
- {vj. In what place.
- {vij. After what sorte.
- {viij. How much he would haue done.

IF one be beaten blacke and blewe, we take it greeuously: But if one be slaine, wee are much more troubled. Againe, if a slaue or ruffine shall doe such a deede, we are displeased: but if an officer, a Preacher, or an hed Gentleman should vse any slauerie, we are much more greeued. Yea, for if a very notable euill man commit such an horrible offence, wee thinke him worthie to haue the lesse fauour. If a sturdie fellow be stroken, wee are not so much disquieted, as if a childe, a woman, an aged man, a good man, or a chiefe officer, should be euil vsed. If the offence be committed vpon a prepensed minde, and wilfully, wee make much more a doe, then if it were done by chauncedly. If it be done

What is done.
By whom.
Against whom.
Vpon what minde.

vpon an holy daie, or els vpon the day of Assise, or vpon the daie of a Kings Coronation, or about such a solempne time, or if it be done in the night, rather then at noone daies, we make the matter greater, then if it had bene done at an other time. In the Court if one strike a man, it is thought greater, then if he should strike him in the open streate. The maner of doing also, doth much moue the pacience of men,

as if one should cowardly kill one, and strike him sodainely, he were worthie greater blame, then if hee should manfully set vpon him: or if one kill his fellowe secretly with a Gunne, he were worthie more hatred, then if he with a sworde, or if he wounded him sore, or cruelly manged him, we crie out much more then if he had barely killed him. And last of all, if his will had bene to haue done much more then he did: we encrease our anger against his rage much more, then euer wee would els haue done.

At what time.

In what place.

After what sorte.

How much he wold.

¶ *Of mouing pitie.*

NOW in mouing pitie, and stirring men to mercie, the wrong done, must first be plainly tolde: or if the Iudges haue sustained the like extremitie, the best were to wil them, to remember their owne state, how they haue bene abused in like maner, what wrongs they haue suffered by wicked doers: that by hearing their owne, they may the better harken to others.

Againe, whereas all other miseries that befall vnto man, are greeuous to the eare, there is nothing more hainous, then to heare that the most honest men are sonest ouerthrowen, by them that are most wicked, and vertue put to flight through the only might of vice. That if the like hath not happened vnto the hearers of this cause, yet it were meete to shewe them that the like may happen, and so require them to giue iudgement in this cause, as they would do in their owne, and remember that harme may chaunce to euery one, that perhappes chaunceth to any one. And no doubt euery man remembring himselfe, and his owne case, will looke well about him and giue iudgement according to right.

Neither can any good bee done at all, when wee haue sayd all that euer we can, except we bring the same affections in our own harte, the which we would the Iudges should beare towards our owne matter. For how can he be greeued with the reporte of any hainous act, either in stomaking the naughtinesse of the deede, or in bewayling the miserable misfortune of the thing, or in fearing much, the like euill hereafter: except the Oratour himselfe vtter such passions outwardly, and from his heart fetch his complaints in such sorte, that the matter may appeare, both more greeuous to the eare, and therewith so hainous, that it requires earnestly a speedie reformation? There is no substaunce of it selfe, that wil take fire, except ye put fire to it. Likewise, no mans nature is so apt, straight to be heated, except the Oratour himselfe, be on fire, and bring his heate with him. It is a common saying, nothing kindleth soner than fire. And therefore a

He that will stirre affections to other, must first be moued himselfe.

Heate, causeth heate.

fierie stomacke causeth euermore a fierie tongue. And he that is heated with zeale and godlinesse, shall set other on fire with like affection. No one man can better enueigh against vice, then he can do which hateth vice with all his heart. Againe, nothing moisteth soner then water. Therefore, a weeping eye causeth much moisture, and prouoketh teares. Neither is it any maruaile, for such

men, both in their countenance, tongue, eyes, gesture, and in all their bodie els, declare an outward grieffe, and with wordes so vehemently and vnfeinedly sets it forward, that they will force a man to be sory with them, and take part with their teares euen against his wil. Notwithstanding when such affections are moued, it were good not to stand long in them. For though a vehement talke may mooue teares, yet no arte can long holde them. For as *Cicero* doth say, nothing drieth soner then teares, especially when we lament an other mans cause, and be sorie with him for his sake.

A weeping eye
prouoketh
moysture.

But now that I haue taught men to be sorie, I will attempt againe to make them merie, and shewe what learned men saie, concerning laughter, in deliting the hearers, when tyme and place shall best require.

¶ *Of deliting the hearers, and stirring
them to laughter.*

COnsidering the dulnesse of mans Nature, that neither it can be attentiu to heare, nor yet stirred to like or alow any tale long told, except it be refreashed, or finde some sweete delite: the learned haue by witte and labour, deuised much varietie. Therefore, sometimes in telling a waigtie

matter, they bring in some heauie tale, and moue them to be right sorie, whereby the hearers are more attentiu. But after when they are wearied, either with tediousnesse of the matter, or heauinesse of the report: some pleasaunt matter is inuented, both to quicken them againe, and also to keepe them from sacietie. But surely fewe there be that haue this gift, in due time to cheare men. Neither can any do it, whom Nature hath not framed, and giuen an aptnesse thereunto.

Laughter
mouing.

Some mans countenance wil make pastime, though he speake neuer a worde. Yea, a foolish worde vttered by an apt man, or a gesture straungely vsed by some pleasaunt bodie, settes men full oft vpon a laughter. And whereas some thinke it a trifle to haue this gift, and so easie, that euery varlet or common iesture, is able to matche with the best: yet it appeareth that they which vtterly can be pleasaunt, and when time serueth can giue a merie aunswere, or vse a nipping taunt, shall be able to abashe a right worthie man, and make him at his wittes ende, through the sodaine quicke, and vnlooked frumpe giuen. I haue knowne some so hitte of the thumbes, that they could not tell in the world, whether it were best to fight, chide, or to goe their way. And no maruaile: for where the iest is aptly applied, the hearers laugh immediatly, and who would gladly bee laughed to scorne? Some can pretely by a worde spoken, take occasion to be right merie.

Other can iest at large, and tell a rounde tale pleasauntly, though they haue none occasion at that time giuen. But assuredly, that mirth is more worthe, which is moued by a worde newly spoken, then if a long tale should pleasauntly be tolde. For as much, as both it cometh vnlooked for, and also declares a quicknesse of witte, worthie commendation. There are fiue thinges which *Tullie* noteth, concerning pleasaunt talke.

- {i. What it is to delite the hearers.
- {ii. Whereof it cometh.
- {iii. Weether an Orator may moue laughter.
- {iiii. How largely he may goe, and what measure hee
{ must vse.
- {v. What are the kindes of sporting, or mouing to
{ laughter.

NOW to tell you in plaine words, what laughter is, how it stirreth and occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenance, & sodainly brasteth out that we cannot keepe it in: let some mery man on Gods name take this matter in hand: for it passeth my cunning, & I think euen thei that can best moue laughter, would rather laugh merily when such a question is put forth, then giue answeare earnestly, what, & how laughter is in deed.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that maketh vs mery (which is the second obseruation) is the fondnes, the filthines, the deformitie, and all such euill behaiour, as we see to be in other. For we laugh alwaies at those things, which either onely or chiefly touch handsomely, and wittely, some especiall fault, or fond behaiour in some one body, or some one thing. Somtimes we iest at a mans bodie, that is not well proportioned, and laugh at his countenance, if either it be not comely by nature, or els he through folly can not well see it. For if his talke be fond, a mery man can want no matter to hitte him home, ye may bee assured. Some iest is made, when it toucheth no man at all, neither the demaunder, neither the standers by, nor yet any other, and yet deliteth as much the hearers, as any the other can doe. Now when we would abashe a man, for some words that he hath spoken, and can take none aduantage of his person, or making of his bodie, we either doulth him at the first, and make him beleue, that he is no wiser then a Goose: or els we confute wholly his sayings with some pleasaunt iest, or els we extenuate and diminish his doings

by some pretie meanes, or els we cast the like in his dish, and with some other deuise, dash hym out of countenance: or last of all, we laugh him to scorne out right, and sometimes speake almost neuer a word, but onely in continuance, shewe our selues pleasaunt. But howsoeuer we make sporte, either the delite is vttered by countenance, or by pointing to some thing, or shewed at large by some tale, or els occasion taken by some word spoken.

Mirth how
many
waies it is
moued.

The third question is, whether it standeth with an Oratours profession, to delite the hearers with pleasaunt reportes, and wittie sayings, or no. Assuredly it behoueth a man that must

talke much, euermore to haue regarde to his audience, and not onely to speake so much as is needfull, but also to speake no longer then they bee willing to heare. Euen in this our tyme, some offende much in tediousnesse, whose part it were to comfort all men with cherefulnessse. Yea, the Preachers of God mind so much edifying of soules, that they often forget we haue any bodies. And therefore, some doe not so much good with telling the trueth, as they doe harme with dulling the hearers, being so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes they can not tel when to make an end. *Plato* therefore the father of learning, and the Well of all wisdom, when he heard *Antisthenes* make such a long Oration, that hee starke wearied al his hearers, phy for shame man (quoth he) doest thou not knowe, that the measuring of an Oration standeth not in the speaker, but in the hearers. But some perhaps wil saie vnto me, *Facite quantum in vobis est*, to whom I aunswere, *estote prudentes*. And now because our senses be such, that in hearing a right wholesome matter, we either fall a sleepe when we shoulde most harken, or els are wearied with still hearing one thing, without any change, and think that the best part of his tale, resteth in making an ende: the wittie and learned haue vsed delitefull sayings, and quicke sentences, euer among their waightie causes, considering that not onely good will is got thereby (for what is he that loueth not mirth?) but also men wonder at such a head, as hath mens hartes at his commaundement, being able to make them merie when he list, and that by one word speaking, either in aunswering some thing spoken before, or els oftentimes in giuing the onset, being not prouoked thereunto. Againe, we see that men are full oft abashed, and put out of countenance by such taunting meanes, and those that haue so done are coumpted to be fine men, and pleasaunt fellowes, such as fewe dare set foote with them.

Preachers.

Platoes saying
to Antisthenes.1. Peter 5.
Math. 10.

Thus knowing that to moue sporte, is lawfull for an Orator, or any one that shall talke in any open assembly: good it were to knowe what compasse hee should keepe, that should thus bee merie. For feare he take too much ground,

and goe beyond his boundes. Therefore, no such should be taunted, or iested withall, that either are notable euill liuers, and hainous offenders: or els are pitifull catifes, and wretched beggers. For euery one thinketh it a better and a meeter deede, to punish naughtie packes then to scoffe at their euil demeanour: and as for wretched soules or poore bodies, none can beare to haue them mocked, but thinke rather that thei should be pitied, except they foolishly vaunt them selues. Againe, none such should be made any laughing stockes, that either are honest of behaiour: or els are generally wel beloued. As for other, we may be bolde to talke with them, and make such game and pastime, as their good wits shal giue good cause. But yet this one thing, we had neede euer to take with vs, that in all our iesting we keepe a meane, wherein not onely it is meet to auoyd all grosse bourding, and alehouse iesting, but also to eschue all foolish

Iesting when it
should be
spared.

talke, and Ruffine maners, such as no honest eares can once abide, nor yet any wittie man can like well or allowe.

¶ *The deuision of pleasaunt be[h]auiour.*

PLEasauntnesse, either appeareth in telling a rounde tale, or els in taking occasion of some one worde. The matter is tolde pleasantly, when some mans nature (whereof the tale is tolde) is to set forth his countenaunce so counterfeited, and all his iesture so resembled, that the hearers might iudge the thing, to be then liuely done, euen as though he were there, whereof the tale was tolde. Some can so liuely set foorth an other mans nature, and with such grace report a tale: that few shall be able to forbear laughter, which knowe both parties, though they would the contrary neuer so faine. Nowe in counterfeiting after this sorte, if such moderation be not vsed, that the hearer may iudge more by himsefe, then the pleasaunt disposed man is willing fully to set foorth: it will not be well liked. For, he that exceedeth and telleth all: yea, more then is needefull, without all respect or consideration had: the same shalbe taken for a common iester, such as knowe not how to make an ende, when they once begin, being better acquainted with bible bable, then knowing the fruite of wisdomes lore.

Mirth making,
two waies vsed.

Pleasantnesse in a saying, is stirred by the quicke altering of some one worde, or of some one sentence. But euen as in reporting a tale, or counterfeiting a man, to much is euer naught: So scurrilitie or (to speake in olde plaine English) knauerie in iesting would not be vsed, where honestie is esteemed. Therefore, though there be some witte in a pretie deuised iest: yet we ought to take heede that we touche not those, whom we would be most loth to offende. And yet some had as leue lose their life, as not bestowe their conceiued iest, and oftentimes they haue as they desire. But shall I saie of such wilfull men, as a Spanyard spake of an earnest Gospeller, that for words spoken against an Ecclesiasticall lawe, suffered death in Smithfielde? *Ah miser, non potui tacere et uiuere?* Ah wretch that hee was, could hee not liue and hold his peace.

Pleasantnesse
in a saying.

Againe, to iest when occasion is giuen, or when the iest

may touch all men: it is thought to be against all good maner. Therefore, the consideration of time, and moderation of pastime, and seldome vsing of drie mockes, euen when neede most requireth, make a difference, and shew a seuerall vnderstanding betwixt a common iester, and a pleasaunt wiseman.

Difference
betwixt a
common iester,
and
a pleasant
wiseman.

Now the time requireth, to shewe what kindes there are of mouing laughter, and making the heart to be merie: Notwithstanding, this would first be learned, that out of diuers pleasaunt speeches, auncient sayings also may be gathered. As for example, we may by one worde, both praise a faithfull seruaunt, and if he be naught, we may also iest of him, and praise him. According to that merie saying of *Nero*, vpon his man that was light fingred. I haue one at home (quoth he) among all other, to whome there is no coffer lockt,

nor doore shut in all my house, meaning that he was a picklocke, and a false verlet, and yet these wordes might haue been spoken of a faithfull seruaunt.

We shall delite the hearers, when they looke for one answere, and we make them a cleane contrary, as though we would not seeme to vnderstand what they would haue. As one *Pontidius* being sore greeued, that an other man had committed Adulterie, came to a friend of his, and said sadly. Ah Lord, what thinke you sir of him, that was taken in bed of late with an other mans wife? Marie (quoth the other) I thinke him to be a very sluggard. *Pontidius*, hearing him saie so, was abashed at the straungenesse of his aunswere, and looking for no such thing, was driuen to laugh at his owne error, although before he was much greeued, with the Adulterers most wicked deede.

Pleasant
answers made
contrarie to our
looking delite
vs much.

One being sore greeued with the euill behaiour of a certaine Gentleman, spake his pleasure largely against him, wherevpon an other merie man, dissembling to take his parte, sayde, he was an honest man then so. Yea (quoth the other) what one thing hath he, whereby to proue himself honest at all? Marie (quoth the man) he hath the Kings Pardon, and what saie you to that?

When is it best to dine (quoth one to Diogenes) Marie (quoth he) for a rich man when he list: for a poore man when he can.

Diogenes.

A noble man, that whilome kept a chappell, being disposed to serue God, went to his closet deuoutly, and made him self redy to praie, whervpon one came doune in hast, and said to the chaunter, you must begin sir. The chaunter being a mery man, aunswere thus as though he were angrie. Begin quoth he, I wil begin with none except they begin with me. And so made the whole quire that then was redy for singing to fall straight a laughing. The which is al one, for sing we, or laugh we, what maketh matter so we be mery.

An Abbat in Italy, being grosse of his body, and vnweldy to beholde, walking out of Florence for his pleasure, and hauyng farther trauailde towards the Euening, then he thought himself well able to returne, before the gates of the Citie were shut: met a countrey man comming from thence, and because it was somewhat late, asked him if he might get in at the Gates: the Housbandman, seeing this fatte Abbat looking for a readie aunswere, and lothe to lose any time for feare hee should bee kept out, sayde pleasauntly to the deuout religious fat Priest: Sir, be not afraid, for a Carte loden with Haie, may easely get in at any Gate in Florence, and therefore you neede not to doubt, although you were as bigge againe, whereas the Abbats meaning was, if hee might come in tyme before the Gates were lockt.

A frend of mine, and a good fellowe, more honest then wealthie, yea, and more pleasant then thriftie, hauing need of a nagge for his iourney that he had in hande, and being in the countrey, minded to goe to Partnaie faire in Lincolnshire, not farre from the place where

he then laie, and meeting by the way one of his acquaintaunce, told him his arrande, and asked him how horses went at the Faire. The other aunswered merely and saide, some trotte sir, and some amble, as farre as I can see. If their paces be altered, I praie you tell me at our next meeting. And so rid away as fast as his horse could cary him, without saying any worde more, whereat he there being alone, fel a laughing hartely to him self, & looked after a good while, vntill the other was out of sight.

A Gentleman hauing heard a Sermon at Paules, and being come home, was asked what the preacher said. The Gentleman answered he would first heare what his man could saie, who then waited vpon him, with his hatte and cloake, and calling his man to him, sayd, nowe sir, what haue you brought from the Sermon. Forsothe good Maister, sayd the seruaunt your cloake and your hatte. A honest true dealing seruaunt out of doubt, plaine as a packsaddle, hauing a better soule to God, though his witte was simple, then those haue, that vnder the colour of hearing, giue them selues to priuie picking, and so bring other mens purses home in their bosomes, in the steade of other mens Sermons.

In the time of Pope *Iulie* the seconde, or *Alexander* the sixt, I doe not well remember (but either of them both may serue well for this purpose being both warriers, as what Pope is not) it so hapened that a Cardinall of Spaine, hauing charge vnder the Pope of an Armie, and seing it necessarie, to trie the fortune of battaile, against the enemies of the Popes holinesse, valiantly encouraged those soldiours, to shew themselues like men, assuring to them that would hassarde their liues, in that conflict, not onely to haue full pardone of their sinnes, but also that they should that morning, goe dine with GOD and his Angelles in Heauen. And when he had thus saied, he withdrew himselfe from the battaile. Vnto whom a Soldiour said that was nigh at hand. Right reuerend Father, how happeneth your Grace, doeth not withsaue to tarie with vs, that you might also goe dine this morning with God and his Angels. Holde thy peace knaue (quoth the Cardinall) I haue no list to eate now, it is to earely for mee, my stomacke is not yet come to me.

Wordes doubtfully spoken, giue often iust occasion of much laughter. Ah (quoth a certaine man) doe you see yonder fellowe, and doe you knowe him? Yea (quoth the other) I know him very well. I shall tell you sir (saied the Gentleman) there is not a man of greater vnderstanding within this Citie then he is. Tush it is not so (quoth he) No? (said the other) marke well the bought of his legge, and you shall see his vnderstanding worthie to be compared with the best and greatest of them all.

Sometimes it is wel liked, when by the chaunging of a letter, or taking away some part of a word, or adding sometimes a sillable, we make an other meaning. As one saied, that meant full vnhappely, enueighing against those that held of Christes spiritual being in the sacrament: some (quoth he) will haue a Trope to be in these words: This is my body: but surely I would wish the T. were taken away, & that they had for their labour which is left behind.

Chaunging of a letter,
or altering part of
a word, or
adding a
sillable.

A Gentleman, being handfasted to a Gentlewoman, and sure to her, as he thought: afterwards lost her, being made faster to an other man, then euer she was to him. Wherevpon he tooke great displeasure, and sought by law to win her. Notwithstanding, she had carnally beene acquainted with the other Gentleman. A noble man being earnestly desired of him, that had first lost her, to helpe him to her againe: I maruaile (quoth the noble man) what you meane to bee so earnest to recouer her, whom an other man haue already couered. If I were in your case, she should goe for me, and he should haue her, that hath thus before hand seased vpon her. The Gentleman discouraged vpon this answere, departed with an vnquieted minde, and thought notwithstanding, to be euen with the woman, if he could tell possibly how or which way.

What cary you maister Parson (quoth a Gentleman) to a Priest that had his woman on Horsback behind him, haue you got your Male behind you? No sir (quoth the Priest) it is my Female.

The interpretation of a worde, doth oft declare a witte. As when one hath done a robberie, some will saie, it is pitie he was a handsome man, to the which an other made answere, you say trueth sir, for he hath made these shiftes by his hands, and got his liuing with light fingering, and therefore, being handsome as you say he is, I would God he were handsomely hanged.

Interpretation
of a word.

Sometimes it is delitefull, when a mans word is taken, and not his meaning. As when one had saied to an other (whose help he must needes haue) I am sorie sir to put you to paines: the other aunswered, I will ease you sir of that sorrow, for I will take no such paines for you at all.

Wordes taken,
and
not the
meaning.

The turning of a worde, and denying that wherewith we are charged, and aunswering a much worse, doth often mooue the hearer. There was one *Bassus*, as *Quintilian* doth tel, which seeing a Ladie called *Domitia*, to bee very nigh her selfe, spake his pleasure of her. Whervpon she being greeued, charged him with these wordes, that hee should say shee was such a pinch penie, as would sell her olde shooes for money, whervpon he aunswered: no forsooth Madame, quoth he, I saied not so, but these were my wordes: I sayd you bought olde Shooes, such as you could get best cheape for money.

An answere
from
euill to worse.

Snudging
wittely
rebuked.

The Hollanders wordes are worthie rehearsall, who being a poore man, as *Erasmus* telleth the tale, had a Cowe or two going in the Commons, whervpon it happened that an Oxe of a rich mans, who then was Maior of the Towne, had gored the poore mans Cowe, and almost killed her. The poore man being in this case halfe vndone, thought notwithstanding

by a wittie deuise, to get right iudgement of maister Maior, for the losse of his Cowe, if he got nothing els, and therefore thus he framed his tale. Sir, so

A wittie
deuised tale

it is that my Cowe hath gored and almost killed your Oxe. What hath she, to get right
 quoth he, by Sainct Marie thou shalt pay for him then. Nay, quoth the poore iudgement.
 man, I crie you mercie, your Oxe hath gored my Cowe. Ah, quoth the Maior, that is an
 other matter, we will talke of that hereafter at more leasure.

These wordes were spoken of purpose, but now you shal heare what an olde woman spake
 of simplicitie. In the doting world when stockes were Saincts, and dumme walles spake,
 this old grandame was deuoutly kneeling vpon her knees, before the Image of our Lady.
 Wherevpon a merie fellowe asked her what she ment to crouch and kneele there.

Marie, quoth the olde mother, I praie to our Ladie, that she maie praie to her A beldames
 Sonne for me: with that he laughed at her ignoraunce. Whervpon she blinde
 thinking that her wordes were spoken amisse, corrected her owne saying in aunswere.
 this wise. Nay (quoth she) I pray to Christ in heauen, that he will pray for me to this good
 Ladie here.

Wordes rehearsed contrarie to that which was spoken, and (as a man would Words
 say) ouerthwartly aunswered, doe much abash the opponent, and delite the ouerthwartly
 hearers. As when *Sergius Galba* being sicke, and therefore keeping his house, answered.
 had appointed certaine of his freendes, to heare a matter of one *Libo Scribonius*, Tribune
 of the people, a man much noted for his naughtie and vnclene life: this *Libo* saied to him
 in this wise. Good Lord, when shall we see you sir abroad out of your Parlour. Marie
 (quoth he) when thou keepest thy selfe out of an other mans Chamber, meaning that he
 was ouer familiar with an other mans wife. Thus we see how and in what maner pleasaunt
 sawes are gathered and vsed, vpon the occasion of diuers wordes spoken.

Alphonsus King of Naples, had a Iester in his Court, who made a booke, and kept a
 reckening of all follies, especially such as he thought to bee follies, of all those Gentlemen
 and others that waited in the Court, wherat the King tooke great pleasure oftentimes. And
 so it happened that the King hauing a More in his house, sent the same man into Leuant,
 with three or fower thousand pound in his purse to buye horses in *Affrica*. The Iester
 seeing this act, did put it in his Booke of remembraunce for a plaine follie. Now it
 happened that within a little while after, the King asked this Iester for his booke, because
 he had not sene it of a long time before. And in reading vpon his booke, where he found
 many mery mad toyes, he hit at length vpon himself & the Moore, vnto whom he had
 giuen three thousand pounce, to buye horses for him in Barbarie. Whervpon the King
 somewhat chaunged in colour, asked him in his anger, why he had put him in his booke
 after that sort. I haue put you in my booke (quoth the Iester) because you haue plaid the
 very foole, to giue the bestowing of so much money to a straunger, whom you shal neuer
 see againe. And what if he come againe (quoth the King) and bring the horses with him,
 haue I then plaid the foole? Well (quoth the Iester) so sone as he is come, I will then put
 out your name out of my booke, and put his name in your place. For then I must needs
 take him to be a more foole then you are a great deale. But till he come, you shall be in my

booke, God willing.

*Pleasaunt sport made, by rehearsing of a
whole matter.*

THE nature and whole course of a matter, beeing largely set out with a comely behauiour, doth much delite the hearers, and giueth good cause of great pastime. This difference is betwene a iest in a word, and a iest vttered in a long tale. That which is still delitefull, with what wordes soeuer you tell it, is contained in the substance or nature of a long tale: that which loseth his grace by alteration of a worde, is contained in the nature of a worde. They that can liuely tell pleasaunt tales, and merie deedes done, and set them out aswell with iesture, as with voyce, leauing nothing behind, that may serue for beautifying of their matter: are most meete for this purpose, whereof assuredly there are but fewe. And whatsoeuer he is, that can aptly tell his tale, and with countenance, voyce, and iesture so temper his report, that the hearers may stil take delite: him compt I man worthie to be highly esteemed. For vndoubtedly no man can doe any such thing, except they haue a great mother wit, & by experience confirme such their comelinesse, wherevpon by nature they were most apt. Many a man readeth histories, heareth Fables, seeth worthie acts done, euen in this our age, but few can set them out accordingly, and tell them liuely, as the matter self requireth to be tolde. The kindes of deliting in this sort are diuers: whereof I will set forth many, as hereafter they shall followe.

Difference
betwixt a
iest in a worde,
and
a iest in a long
tale.

¶ *Sport moued by telling of old tales.*

IF there bee any olde tale or straunge historie, well and wittely applied to some man liuing, all men loue to heare it of life. As if one were called *Arthur*, some good fellowe that were well acquainted with King *Arthures* booke, and the Knights of the round Table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a neede would dub him Knight of the round Table, or els proue him to be one of his kinne, or els (which were much) proue him to be *Arthur* himselfe. And so likewise of other names, merie companions would make mad pastime.

Oftentimes the deformitie of a mans bodie, giueth matter enough to bee right merie, or els a Picture in shape like an other man, will make some to laugh right hartely. One being griued with an other man, saied in his anger, I will set thee out in thy colours, I will shewe what thou art. The other being therewith much chafed, shewe quoth he, what thou canst: with that hee shewed him, pointing with his finger, a man with a bottle Nose, blobbe cheeked, and as red as a Butchers bowle, euen as like the other man, as any one in al the world could be. I neede not to say that he was angrie. An other good fellowe being merily disposed, called his acquaintance vnto him and saied: Come hether I saie, and I will shewe thee as very a loute, as euer thou sawest in all thy life before: with that he offered him at his comming, a steele Glasse to looke in. But surely I thinke he looked a wrie, for if I had bene in his case, I would haue told him that I espied a much greater loute, before I sawe the Glasse.

Deformitie of
bodie
mooueth mirth.

In augmenting or diminishing without all reason, wee giue good cause of much pastime. As *Diogenes* seeing a pretie towne, hauing a great paire of gates at the comming in: Take heede quoth he, you men of this towne, least your towne run out of your gates. That was a meruailous bigge gate I trowe, or els a wonderfull little towne, where such passage should be made. Augmenting or diminishing.

A Frier disposed to tell misteries, opened to the people that the soule of man was so little, that a leuen thousand might dance vpon the naile of his thumbe. One meruailing much at that, I pray you maister Frier quoth hee, where shall the Pyper stande then, when such a number shall keepe so small a roume.

Mirth is mooued, when vpon a trifle or a word spoken, an vnknowne matter and weightie affaire is opened. As if one should finde fault with some mans sumptuous building, or other such thing, which had found much fauour at the same mans hande: an other might say, well sir, he that builded this house, saued your worshippe from hanging when the time was. A necessarie note for him, thankfully to remember the builder of that house, and not slaunderously to speake euill of him. Opening a weightie or vnknowne thing.

It is a pleasaunt dissembling, when we speake one thing merily and thinke an other earnestly: or els when wee praise that which otherwise deserueth dispraise, to the shaming of those that are taken not to be most honest. Dissembling.

As in speaking of one that is well knowne to bee naught, to say among all men that are seen too, there is one that lacketh his reward. He is the diligentest fellowe in his calling of all other, he hath trauailed in behalfe of his countrey, he hath watched day and night to further his Commonweale, and to aduance the dignitie thereof, and shal he goe emptie home? Who stood by it at such a field, who plaid the man and cried, stoppe the theefe, when such a man was robbed? Who seeth good rule kept in such a place? Can any here charge him with bawdrie? Which of you al dare say, or can say that euer you sawe him dronken, if then these be true, ought not such to be seen too: and rewarded accordingly? For praising the vnworthy, I remember once that our worthie *Latimer*, did set out the Deuill for his diligence wonderfully, and preferred him for that purpose, before all the Bishops in England. And no doubt, the wicked be more busie and stirring, then the children of light be in their generation.

What talke you of such a man (saith an other) there is not an honeste man ye may bee assured. For if a man had neede of one, he is readie at a pinch, his bodie sweates for honestie, if you come to him in a hot Sommers day, you shall see his honestie in such sort to reeke, that it would pitie any Christian soule liuing. He hath more honestie with him then he needes, and therefore both is able and will lende, where it pleaseth him best. Beware of him aboute all men that euer you knewe. He hath no fellowe, there is none such. I thinke he will not liue long, he is so honest a man, the more pitie that such good fellowes

should know what death meaneth. But it maketh no matter when he is gone, al the world will speake of him, his name shal neuer dye, he is so wel knowne vniuersally.

Thus wee may mockingly speake well of him, when there is not a noughtier fellowe within al England againe, and euen as well set out his noughtinesse this way, as though wee had in very deede vttered al his naughtie conditions plainly, and without iesting. Among all that euer were pleasaunt in this kinde of delite, *Socrates* beareth the name, and may worthely challenge praise. Sir Thomas More with vs here in England, had an excellent gift, not onely in this kinde, but also in all other pleasant delites, whose witte euen at this hower, is a wonder to all the worlde, and shall bee vndoubtedly euen vnto the worldes ende. Vnto this kinde of dissembling, is next adioyning a manner of speech, when we giue an honest name to an euill deede. As when I would call one accordingly, that is of a naughtie behaiour, to say: Ah sirrha, you are a Marchaunt in deed: where as I think a Marchaunts name is honest. Some old fellowes, when they thinke one to bee an Heretique, they will say he is a Gospeller. Some newe fellowes when they thinke one a Papist, they will call him streight a Catholique, and bee euen with him at the lands end. Contrariwise, some will giue an euil name to a good thing: As a Father louing his Sonne tenderlie, and hauing no cause to bee grieued with him, will sometimes say to him: Come hether sir knaue: and the Mother merelie being disposed, will say to her sweete Sonne: Ah you little horesonne, will you serue me so. Where as I thinke some women that oft say so, will sweare vpon a booke they are none such, and almost I had saied, I dare sweare for some of them my selfe, if God had not forbidden me to sweare at all.

This kinde also is pretie, when wee gather an other thing by a mans tale, then he would gladlie wee should gather. When *Liuius Salinator* a Romaine Captaine, had kept the Castell of *Tarentum*, losing the Towne to *Hanniball* his enemye,

and that *Maximus* therevpon had laied siege to the same Toune, and got it againe by the sword: Then *Salinator* which thus kept the Castell, desired him to remember, that through his meanes he got the Towne. Why should I not (quoth he) think so: for if you had neuer lost it, I had neuer got it.

Q. Fabius
Maximus.

To dissemble sometimes, as though wee vnderstood not what one meant, declareth an apt wit, and much deliteth such as heare it. *Diogenes* was asked on a time, what Wine he loued best to drinke. Marie (quoth he) an other mans

Wine: meaning that he loued that drinke best that cost him least. The same *Diogenes* likewise was asked what one should giue him, to let him haue a blowe at his head. Marie a Helmet, quoth he.

Diogenes.

One *Octavius* a *Libian* borne (as witnesseth *Macrobius*) saied vnto *Tullie*, when he spake his minde vpon a matter. Sir, I heare you not, I pray you speake louder. No? (quoth *Tullie*) that is a meruaile to me, for as I doe remember, your eares are well bored through,

meaning that he was nailed vpon a Pillorie, or els had holes made in his eares, which might serue (as *Tullie* iested) to receiue open aire.

An other being sore offended vpon some cause with a fellowe, who had lost his eares for good cause, saied in his heate. I will handle thee like a knaue, seest thou now. And heaping wordes vpon words, would gladly belike that the partie should haue caried them away, and well remembred them, and therefore saied fumously vnto him, doest thou heare me? Vpon that, one that stood by, said to this angrie Gentleman, I doubt sir, that this Pillorie fellowe doth not heare you at all. For as you remember he lost his eares of late, and how can he heare that hath no eares at all. With that the Gentlemans anger was altered to mirth and laughter, and so they all departed.

When *Mettellus* tooke Muster, and required *Cæsar* to bee there, not abyding that he should be absent, though his eyes griued him, and said: what man do you see nothing at al? Yes Mary (quoth *Cæsar*) as euil as I see, I can see a Lordship of yours (the which was fower or fiue miles from Rome) declaring that his building was ouer sumptuous, and so houghe withall (much aboue his degree) that a blind man might almost see it. Now in those daies ouer costly buildings was generally hated, because men sought by such meanes to get fame, & beare rule in the Commonweale.

The like also is of one *Nasica*, who when he came to the Poet *Ennius*, and asked at the gates if *Ennius* were at home, the mayd of the house being so commaunded by her maister, made answere that he was not within. And when he perceiued, that she so saied by her maisters commaundement, he went straight his way, and saied no more.

Now shortly after when *Ennius* came to *Nasica*, and called for him at the doore, *Nasica* cried out a loude, and saied: Sirrha, I am not at home? What man (quoth *Ennius*) I heare thee speake. Doe not I knowe thy voyce? Then (quoth *Nasica*.) Ah shamelesse man that thou art, when I sought thee at thy home, I did beleuee thy maide, when she saied thou wast not at home, and wilt not thou beleuee me, when I tell thee mine owne self, that I am not at home?

Ennius
pleasaunt
aunswere to
Nasica.

It is a pleasaunt hearing, when one is mocked with the fame that he bringeth. As when one *Q. Opimius* hauing an euill name for his light behaiour, had saied to a pleasaunt man, *Egilius* that seemed to be wanton of liuing, and yet was not so: Ah my sweet darling *Egilia*, when wilt thou come to my house sweete wench, with thy rocke and thy spindell? I dare not in good faith (quoth she) my mother hath forbidden me, to come in any suspected house, where euill rule is kept.

A man mocked
with
the fame he
bringeth.

An Eeremite in Italie, professing a meruailous straight life, and eschewing the Citie dwelt in a Desert, where he made him self a Caue, wrought by his owne hands with Spade and Shouell, and couering the same with boughes and earth, lay there in his Couch or Cabine liuing in contemplation, as one that vtterly had forsaken the worlde, wherevpon he came in

great credite with the people, and especially with the women of that Towne, as by Nature women are more apt to beleue, and readier giuen to Superstition then men are. Afterwards it appeared that this Eremites holinesse was altogether counterfeite, and he founde a very lewde man. For it was knowne and well proued, that he had the companie of diuers Gentlewomen of that Citie, & therefore being examined openly, and greeuously rebuked, he confessed that he had the vse of diuers Ladies there. Wherevpon a Register that tooke the note of al their names, being much greeued with his filthie behaiour, especially because he had vsed so many said thus. Ah thou vile man. Is there any other with whom thou hast bene acquainted? Say on beast and shame the Deuill. The poore Eremite beeing wonderfully rebuked of euery bodie, and meruailous sorie of such his folies priuely committed, and openly knowne. Saied to the Register in this wise. Sir, seeing I am charged to say the trueth, and that the holie mother Church willeth me to leaue nothing vnrehearsed, that the rather vppon my plaine confession, I may the sooner haue obsolution: In good faith maister Register (quoth he) I doe not remember any other sauing your wife onely, who was the first and the last that euer I haue touched, since I made my graue, and therefore if it please you to put her into your booke also, you may boldly doe it. For surely she was very louing to me. With that the Register in a great heate stode vp, and casting his pen out of his hand, would haue bene at the Eremite rather then his life. The people laughed hartely, to see the Register that was so hastie before, to charge the simple Eremite with his wanton follies, to bee in such sort touched with his wiues default. And many then there (as young men bee in such cases forward) would in any wise, that the Register should haue written his wiues name in his owne booke, *ad æternam rei memoriam*.

Those Iestes are bitter which haue a hid vnderstanding in them, wherof also a man may gather much more then is spoken. A homely fellowe made his wofull lamentation to *Diogenes* in most pitifull sort, because his wife had hanged

her selfe vppon a Figtree, hoping to finde some comfort at his hande. But *Diogenes* hearing this straunge deede: for the loue of God (quoth he) giue me some slippes of that tree, that I might set them in some Orchard. The fruite liked him wel, and belike he thought that such slippes, would haue bene as good to dispatch noughtie women, as Lime twigges are thought meete to catch wild birds withal.

Diogenes
doggish
aunswere
in despite of
women.

An Archdeacon beeing nothing so wise as he was wealthie, nor yet so learned as he was worshipfull, asked a yong man once whether he had a good witte or no. Yea Marie sir (quoth he) your witte is good enough, if you keepe it still and vse it not, for euery thing as you knowe, is the worse for the wearing. Thou saiest euen troth (quoth he) for that is the matter that I neuer vsed preaching: for it is nothing but a wasting of witte, and a spending of winde. And yet if I would preach, I thinke I could doe as well as the best of them. Yea sir (quoth he) but yet I would ye should not proue it, for feare a straying your self too much: why? Doest thou feare that (quoth he) nay thou maiest be assured, I will neuer

preach so long as I liue, God being my good Lord. There are ouer many Heretiques, for good meaning men to speake any thing now adaies. You say euen troth (quoth the yong man) and so went forth: but to tell all, I had neede to haue time of an other world, or at the least to haue breath of an other bodie.

An vnlearned Oratour made an Oration on a time, thinking that he had with his well doing delited much al men, and moued them to mercie and pittie, and therefore sitting downe, he asked one *Catulus* if he had not moued the hearers to mercie. Yes Marie, quoth he, and that too great mercie and pitie both, for I think there is none here so hard harted, but thought your Oration very miserable, and therefore needfull to be greatly pitied.

Churlish aunsweres like the hearers sometimes very well. When the father was cast in iudgement, the Sonne seeing him weepe: why weepe you Father? (quoth he) To whom his father aunswered. What? Shall I sing I pray thee, seeing by Lawe I am condemned to dye. *Socrates* likewise beeing mooued of his wife, because he should dye an innocent and guiltlesse in the law: Why for shame woman (quoth he) wilt thou haue me to dye giltie & deseruing. When one had falne into a ditch, an other pitying his fall, asked him and saied: Alas how got you into that pit? Why Gods mother, quoth the other, doest thou aske me how I got in, nay tell me rather in the mischiefe, how I shall get out.

There is an other contrarie vnto this kinde, when a man suffereth wrong, and giueth no sharpe answeere at all. As when *Cato* was stroken of one that caried a Chest: some say a long poule: when the other saied after he had hit him. Take heede sir I pray you: why (quoth *Cato*) doest thou carie any thing els.

Follie and lacke of naturall wit, or els want of honestie, giue good matter of mirth oftentimes. When *Scipio* beeing *Pretor* had appointed vnto a certaine *Sicilian*, one to be his Lawier that was of a good house, and had an euill wit, little better than half a foole: I pray you (quoth the *Sicilian* to *Scipio*) appoint this Lawyer for mine aduersarie, and let me haue none at all hardly.

In speaking against an euill man, and wishing somewhat therupon, a iest may seeme delitefull. When an euill man had accused many persons, and none tooke any harme by him, but rather were acquitted from time to time, and taken the sooner for honest men. Now would to Christes passion,

quoth a naughtie fellowe, that he were mine accuser, for then should I bee taken for an honest man also through his accusation. *Demonedes* hauing crooked feete, lost on a time both his shooes, wherevpon he made his prayer to GOD, that his shooes might serue his feete, that had stolne them away. A shrewde wish for him that had the shooes, and better neuer weare shooes, then steale them so dearly. Wishing.

Things gathered by coniecture, to seeme otherwise then they are, delite Coniectures.

much the eares being wel applied together. One was charged for robbing a Church, and almost evidently proued to be an offender in that behalf, the said man to saue himself harmelesse, reasoned thus: Why, quoth he, how should this be, I neuer robbed house, nor yet was euer faultie in any offence besides, how then should I presume to rob a Church? I haue loued the Church more then any other, and will louers of the Church robbe the Church? I haue giuen to the Church, how happeneth that I am charged to take from the Church, hauing euer so good minde to Church dignitie? Assure your selues they passe litle of the Church that would aduenture to rob the Church. They are no Churchmen, they are maisterlesse men, or rather S. Nicolas Clarkes that lacke liuing, and going in Procession takes the Church to bee an Hospitall for way fairers, or a pray for poore and needie beggers: but I am no such man.

Things wanting, make good pastime beeing aptly vsed. Alacke, alacke, if such a one had somewhat to take to, and were not past grace: he would doe well enough without all doubt: I warrant him: He wants nothing saieth an other of a couetous man, but one thing, he hath neuer enough. Things wanting.

Such a man hath no fault but one, and if that were amended, all were well: what is that? (quoth an other) In good faith he is naught.

To giue a familiare aduise in the way of pastime, deliteth much the hearers. When an vnlearned Lawyer had been hoarse and almost lost his voyce with ouerlong speaking, one *Granius* gaue him counsell to drinke sweet wine colde, so sone as he came home. Why, quoth he, I shall lose my voce if I do so. Marie, quoth he, better do so then vndo thy client, and lose his matter altogether. Familiar aduise giuing.

But among all other kindes of delite, there is none that so much comforteth and gladdeth the hearer, as a thing spoken contrary to the expectation of other. *Augustus* Emperour of *Rome*, seeing a handsome young man there, which was much like vnto himselfe in countenance, asked him if euer his mother was in Roome, as though he had been his bastard. No forsooth (quoth he) but my father hath beene here very often: with that the Emperour was abashed, as though the Emperours own mother had beene an euill woman of her bodie. Things spoken contrarie to expectation.

When an vnlearned Phisition (as England lacketh none such) had come to *Pausanias* a noble Gentleman, and asked him if he were not troubled much with sicknesse. No sir (quoth he) I am not troubled at all, I thanke GOD, because I vse not thy counsaile. Why doe ye accuse me (quoth the Phisition) that neuer tried me? Marie (quoth *Pausanias*) if I had once tried thee, I should neuer haue accused thee, for then had I beene dead, and in my graue many daies agone.

An English Phisition ryding by the way: and seeing a great companie of men gathered together, sent his man to know what the matter was, whervpon his man vnderstanding that

one there was appointed to suffer for killing a man: came riding backe in al post haste, and cried to his maister, long before he came at him: get you hence sir, get you hence for Gods loue. What meanest thou (quoth his maister.) Mary (quoth the seruaunt) yonder man shall dye for killing of one man, and you I dare saie, haue killed a hundred men in your daies: get you hence therefore for Gods loue if you loue your self.

An Italian hauing a sute here in England, to the Archbishop of Yorke that then was, and comming to Yorke Towne at that time, when one of the Prebendaries there brake his bread, as they terme it, and therevpon made a solemne long dinner, the which perhaps began at aleuen, and continued wel nye fower in the afternoone, at the which dinner this Bishop was: It so fortunated that as they were set, the Italian knockt at the gate vnto whom the Porter perceiuing his errand, aunswered, that my Lord Bishop was at dinner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixt xii. and one, the Porter answered they were yet at diner, he came againe at two of the clocke, the Porter told him they had not half dined: he came at three a clock, vnto whom the Porter in a heate answered neuer a worde, but churlishly did shut the gates vpon him. Whereupon others told the Italian, that there was no speaking with my Lord, almost al that day, for the solemne dinner sake. The Italian Gentleman, wondering much at such long sitting, and greatly greeued, because hee could not then speake with the Bishops grace, departed straight towards London, and leauing the dispatch of his matters with a deare freend of his, tooke his iourney towards Italie. Three yeares after it happened that an English man came to *Rome*, with whom the Italian by chaunce falling acquainted, asked him if he knewe the Bishop of Yorke. The Englishman saied, he knew him right well. I pray you tell me (quoth the Italian) hath the Bishop yet dined? The English man much meruailing at his question, could not tel what to say. The Italian vp and tolde him all, as I haue saied before, whereat they both laughed hartely.

Examples be innumerable that serue for this purpose.

<p>A man may by hearing a loude lye, pretelie mocke the lye by reporting a greater lye. When one being of a lowe degree, and his father of meane wealth, had vaunted much of the good house that his father kept: of two Beefes spent weekly, and halfe a score tunne of wine dranke in a yere, an other good fellowe hearing him lye so shamefully: in deede (quoth he) Beeffe is so plentifull at my maister your fathers house, that an Oxe in one day is nothing, and as for Wine, Beggers that come to the doore, are serued by whole gallands. And as I remember your father hath a spring of Wine in the middest of his Court, God continue his good house keeping.</p>	<p>A lye mocked with a lye.</p>
--	---------------------------------

<p>Oftentimes wee may graunt to an other, the same that they will not graunt to vs. When a base borne fellow, whose parents were not honest, had charged <i>Lelius</i> that he did not liue according to his auncesters: yea, but thou doest liue, quoth <i>Lelius</i>, according to thy elders.</p>	<p>Graunting to other the same, that they will not graunt to vs.</p>
--	--

One being a gentleman in birth, and vnthriftie in conditions, called an other man in

reproach begger and slaue. In deede sir, quoth the poore man, you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye will dye one.

Better bee borne a begger, then dye a begger.

An other likewise called *Diogenes* varlet and caitife, to whom *Diogenes* aunswered in this wise. In deed such a one haue I bene as thou art now, but such a one as I now am, shalt thou neuer be.

Salust being a Gentleman borne, and a man of much wealth, and yet rather by birth Noble: then by true dealing honest, enueighed much the estimation which *Tullie* had among all men, and saied to him before his face: Thou art no Gentleman borne, and therefore not meete to beare office in this commonweale: In deed (quoth *Tullie*) my nobilitie beginnes in me, and thine doth end in thee. Meaning thereby that though *Salust* were borne noble, yet he were like to die wretched, whereas *Tullie* being borne both poore and bace, was like to dye with honour, because of his vertue, wherein chiefly consisteth Nobilitie.

There is a pleasaunt kinde of dissembling, when two meetes

together, and the one cannot well abide the other: and yet they both outwardly striue to vse pleasaunt behaiour, and to shewe much courtesie, yea, to contend on both parts, which should passe other in vsing of faire wordes, and making of liuely countenaunces: seeking by dissembling, the one to deceiue the other.

Pleasaunt dissembling in outward behaiour.

When we see a notable lye vtterde, wee checke the offendour openly with a pleasaunt mocke. As when one *Vibius Curius* did speake much of his yeares, and made himself to be much yonger then he was (quoth *Tullie*) why then maister *Vibius*, as farre as I can gather by my reckening, when you and I declamed together last, you were not then borne by all likelihood, if that be true which you say.

Checking a lyer with an open mocke.

When *Fabia Dolobella* saied to the same *Tullie*, that she was but thirtie yeares of age: As women by their good willes would neuer be old: I thinke so (quoth *Tullie*) for I haue heard you say no lesse, twentie yeares agoe.

A Souldier that thought his estimation, stode most in the vertue of his hand Gunne, made a meruailous bragge of it, and saied he was able to shoote leauell a great deale farther, then any one there would beleue him to say trueth: whereupon he called his man to beare witness of the same, and

asked him whether it were so or no. In deede, quoth his man, you say trueth, but then you must remember sir, you had the winde with you when you shott so farre. Belike he thought, there would neuer come such a Winde againe.

¶ *Of disposition and apt ordering
of things.*

I Haue trauailed hetherto in teaching the right way, to finde meete matter for euery cause, vsing Arte as my slender witte could best yeeld. And now, next and immediatly after inuention, I thinke meete to speake of framing, and placing an Oration in order, that the matter beeing aptly setled and couched together: might better please the hearers, & with more ease be learned of al men. And the rather I am earnest in this behalfe, because I knowe that al things stande by order, and without order nothing can be. For by an order we are borne, by an order we liue, and by an order we make our ende. By an order and rule as head, and other obey as members. By an order Realmes stande, and Lawes take force. Yea, by an order the whole worke of Nature, and the perfite state of all the Elements haue their appointed course. By an order wee deuise, wee learne and frame our doings to good purpose. By an order the Carpenter hath his squire, his Rule, and his Plomet. The Taylour his Metyard and his Measure: The Mason his Former, and his Plaine, and euery one according to his calling, frameth things thereafter. For though matter be had, and that in great plentie: yet all is to no purpose, if an order be not vsed. As for example. What auaieth Stone, if Masons doe not worke it? What good doth cloath, if Taylours take no measure, or doe not cut it out? Though Timber bee had for making a Ship, and all other things necessarie, yet the Ship shal neuer be perfite, till workmen beginne to set to their hands, and ioyne it together. In what a comely order hath God made man, whose shape is not thought perfite, if any part be altered? Yea, all folke would take him for a Monster, whose feete should occupie the place of his handes. An armie neuer getteth victorie that is not in araiie, and set in good order of battaile. So an Oration hath little force with it, and doth smally profite, which is vtterd without all order. And needes must he wander, that knowes not howe to goe, neither can hee otherwise chuse but stumble: that groping in the darke, cannot tell where he is: yea, he must needes both leaue much vnspoken, repeate often things spoken before not knowing what, nor where to speake best: that giues himselfe rather to take the chauce of fortune, then to follow the right waie of aduised counsaile. What should a man doe with a weapon, that knoweth not how to vse it? What though one haue mountaines of golde, what auaieth him to haue such heapes, if he cannot tell how to bestowe them? It is not enough to haue learning, but it is all to vse learning. Therefore, because this part of bestowing matter, and placing it in good order is so necessarie. I wil shewe what the learned haue saied in this behalfe, so much as I shall thinke it needfull.

Order of what
sort it is.

¶: *Disposition what it is.*

Disposition as *Tullie* doth define it: is a certaine bestowing of things, and an apt declaring what is meete for euery part, as time and place doe best require.

¶ *Diuding of disposition.*

There are two kindes of disposing, and placing of matter. The one is, when we followe the appointed rule of *Rhetorique*, the which Nature doth almost teach vs: The other is wholie

fashioned by the discretion of him that makes the Oration.

Rhetorique doth teach vs, and Nature also leadeth vs thereunto, first to speake somewhat before we open our matter, after that to tell the cause of our entent, setting forth the matter plainly that all may vnderstande it, then to proue our owne cause by good reason, and to confute all such thinges, as are contrarie to our purpose: last of all, to gather the whole in a somme, concluding the matter briefly, and so to make an ende. Now to place those reasons, which should both serue to confirme, and to confute, and to tell in what part of the Oration, it were best to vse this reason and that reason, that the rather we might proue, teach and perswade: a right wiseman had neede to take this matter in hande. For euen as the time, the place, the iudge, and the matter it self shall giue cause: so must a wise bodie take his aduantage. Sometimes it shall bee expedient to vse no preface at all, or els when the matter is well knowne, it will bee good to leaue the matter vntold, and straight to seeke the confirmation, vsing some strong reason for the same purpose. Yea, sometimes it may doe good, to neglect the naturall order, and beginne first to proue the cause, and afterward to tell it better then it was tolde before.

Rhetorique,
what it
teacheth for
ordering
of things.

If the Iudge or the hearers, shalbe wearied with other reportes before, it is best to go to the matter, and proue it out of hande, with as briefe reasons and as strong as can be gathered possible. And in prouing of our matters we

had neede euermore, rather to weye our reasons, then to number them, and thinke not that then we shall doe beste when we haue the strongest. And first of all the strongest should be vsed, and the other placed in the midst of the oration, the which being heaped together will make a good mustar. And yet this also would be learned, whereas we vsed the best reasons at the first, wee should also reserue some that were like good for the latter end: that the hearers might haue them fresh in their remembrance, when they should giue iudgement. The slender reasons that can do lesse good, and yet not at al (for some may better be omitted) would be placed in the midst (as I said) that both they might be lesse marked, or being heaped there together they might doe more good, especially when both weightie reasons went before, and weightie reasons also folowed after. Now a wiseman that hath good experience in these affaires, and is able to make himself a *Rhetorique* for euery matter, will not be bound to any precise rules, nor keepe any one order, but such onely as by reason he shall thinke best to vse, being master ouer arte, rather then arte should be maister ouer him, rather making arte by wit, then confounding wit by arte. And vndoubtedly euen in so dooing he shall doe right well, and content the hearers accordingly. For what mattereth whether we followe our booke or no, if wee followe wit and appoint our selfe an order, such as may declare the trueth more plainly? Yea, some that bee vnlearned, and yet haue right good wittes: will deuise with themselues without any booke learning, that they will say, and how much they will saie, appointing their order, and parting it into three or fower partes or more if neede be, such as they shall thinke especiall points, and most meete to bee touched. Whose

Arguments
how they
should be
digested.

doings as I can well like, and much commend them for the same: so I would thinke them much more able to doe much better: If they either by learning followed a paterne, or els knewe the precepts which lead vs to right order. Rules were therefore giuen, and by much obseruation gathered together, that those which could not see Arte hid in an other mans doings, should yet see the rules open, all in an order set together: and thereby iudge the rather of their doings, and by earnest imitation, seeke to resemble such their inuention. I can not denie, but that a right wise man vnlearned, shall doe more good by his Naturall witte, then twentie of these common wittes that want Nature to helpe Arte. And I knowe that rules were made first by wisemen, and not wisemen made by rules. For these precepts serue onely to helpe our neede, such as by Nature haue not such plentifull giftes. And as for other vnto whom Nature is more fauourable, they are rather put the sooner in remembrance, that such lessons are then so taught as though they neuer knewe them, or els neuer would vse them. And therefore a certain learned man and of much excellencie, being asked what was such a figure, and such a trope in *Rhetorique*: I can not tell (quoth he) but I am assured, if you looke in the booke of mine Orations, you shal not faile but find them. So that though he knewe not the name of such, and such figures, yet the Nature of them was so familiare to his knowledge, that he had the vse of them when soeuer he had neede. Now though this man could well thus doe, being of such notable vnderstanding, yet it were folly that I should followe his waie, which want so good a wit. And I thinke euen he him selfe should not haue lost by it neither, if he had seen that in a glasse, which he often vsed to doe without knowledge. Man is forgetfull, and there is none so wise but counsaill may doe him good. Yea, he shall doe much better that knoweth what arte other men haue vsed, what inuention they haue followed, what order they haue kept, and how they haue beste doen in euery parte. If he

The vse of
Arte.

like not theirs, he may vse his owne, and yet none doth so euill (I thinke) but some good may be got by him.

The wise therefore will not refuse to heare:
and the ignoraunt for want had
neede to seeke a will.

The ende of the second booke.

Continue on to [Book III](#).



The Arte of Rhetorique

Thomas Wilson

[Introduction](#) | [Book I](#) | [Book II](#) | [Book III](#)

Note on the e-text: this [Renascence Editions](#) text was transcribed by Judy Boss, Omaha, NE, 1998, from *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique 1560*. Ed. G. H. Mair. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Content unique to this presentation is copyright © 1998 The University of Oregon and Judy Boss. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the Publisher, rbear at uoregon.edu.

¶ *The third Booke*

¶ *Of apt chusing and framing of words and sentences together, called Elocution.*



AND now we are come to that part of *Rhetorique*, the which aboue all other is most beautifull, wherby not onely words are aptly vsed, but also sentences are in right order framed. For whereas Inuention helpeth to finde matter, and Disposition serueth to place arguments: Elocution getteth words to set forth inuention, and with such beautie commendeth the matter, that reason semeth to be clad in Purple, walking afore both bare and naked. Therefore *Tullie* saieth well, to finde out reason and aptly to frame it, is the part of a wiseman, but to commende it by wordes and with gorgious talke to tell our conceipt, that is onely proper to an Oratour. Many are wise, but fewe haue the gift to set forth their wisdome. Many can tel their mind in English, but fewe can vse meete termes and apt order: such as all men should haue, and wisemen will vse: such as needes must bee had when matters should be vtterd. Now then what is he at

whom al men wonder, and stand in a mase at the vewe of his wit: whose doings are best esteemed? Whom we doe most reuerence, and compt half a God among men? Euen such a one assuredly that can plainly, distinctly, plentifully and aptly, vtter both words and matter, and his talke can vse such composition,

Eloquent men
most esteemed.

that he may appere to keepe an vniformitie, and (as I might saie) a number in the vttering of his sentence. Now an eloquent man being smally learned can much more good in perswading by shift of wordes, and meete placing of matter: then a great learned clarke shalbe able with great store of learning, wanting words to set forth his meaning. Wherefore I much meruaile that so many seke the onely knowledge of things, without any mind to commend or set forth their intendement: seing none can knowe either what thei are, or what they haue without the gift of vtterance. Yea bring them to speak their minde, and enter in talke with such as are said to be learned, and you shal finde in them such lacke of vttrance, that if you iudge them by their tongue, and expressing of their minde: you must needes say they haue no learning. Wherin me thinkes they do like some rich snudges hauing great wealth, goe with their hose out at heeles, their shoes out at toes, and their coates out at both

elbowes. For who can tell if such men are woorth a groate, when their apparell is so homely, and all their behaiour so base? I can call them by none other name but slouens, that may haue good geare, and neither can nor yet wil once weare it clenly. What is a good thing to a man, if he neither know the vse of it, nor yet (though he knowe it) is able at all to vse it? If we think it comelinesse and honestie to set forth the bodie with handsome apparel, and thinke them worthy to haue money, that both can and will vse it accordingly: I can not otherwise see but that this part deserueth praise, which standeth wholly in setting foorth matter, by apt wordes and sentences together, and beautifeth the tongue with great change of colours, and varietie of figures.

Barbarous
Clarkes, no
better then
slouens.

¶ *Fower partes belonging to Elocution.*

- {i. Plainnesse.
- {ii. Aptnesse.
- {iii. Composition.
- {iiii. Exornation.

AMong all other lessons this should first be learned, that wee neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seeking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer-carelesse vsing our speche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliuie, thei were not able to tell what they say: and yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeiting the Kings English. Some farre iourneyed gentlem[e]n at their returne home, like as they loue to goe in forraine apparell, so thei wil powder their talke with ouerseas language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter. An other chops in with English Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that professeth to vtter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre

Plainnesse,
what it is.

fetched colours of straunge antiquitie. The Lawyer will store his stomacke with the prating of Pedlers. The Auditor in making his accompt and reckening, cometh in with *sise sould*, and *cater denere*, for vi.s. iiii.d. The fine courtier wil talke nothing but *Chaucer*. The misticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkenesse, especially, when none can tell what they doe say. The vnlearned or foolish phantasticall, that smelles but of learning (such fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil so Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely they speake by some reuelation. I know them that thinke *Rhetorique* to stande wholie vpon darke wordes, and hee that can catche an ynke horne terme by the taile, him they coumpt to be a fine Englisheman, and a good *Rhetorician*. And the rather to set out this foly, I will adde such a letter as William Sommer himsefe, could not make a better for that purpose. Some will thinke and sweare it too, that there was neuer any such thing written: well, I will not force any man to beleue it, but I will say thus much, and abide by it too, the like haue been made heretofore, and praised about the Moone.

A letter deuised by a Lincolneshire man, for a voyde benefice, to a gentleman that then waited vpon the Lorde Chauncellour, for the time being.

Pondering, expending, and reuoluting with my selfe, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacity for mundaine affaires: I cannot but celebrate, & extol your magnificent dexteritie about all other. For how could you haue adepted

such illustrate prerogatiue, and dominicall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnant. Now therefore being accersited to such splendente renoume, and dignitie spendiduous: I doubt not but you will adiuuate such poore adnichilate orphanes, as whilome ware condisciples with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolneshire. Among whom I being a Scholasticall panion, obestate your sublimitie, to extoll mine infirmitie. There is a Sacerdotall dignitie in my natiue Countrey contiguate to me, where I now contemplate: which your worshipfull benignitie could sone impetrate for mee, if it would like you to extend your sedules, and collaude me in them to the right honourable lord Chaunceller, or rather Archgrammacion of Englande. You know my literature, you knowe the pastorall promotion, I obtestate your clemencie, to inuigilate thus much for me, according to my confidence, and as you knowe my condigne merites for such a compendious liuing. But now I relinquish to fatigate your intelligence, with any more friuolous verbotie, and therefore he that rules the climates, be euermore your beautreur, your fortresse, and your bulwarke. *Amen*.

An ynkehorne
terme.

Dated at my Dome, or rather Mansion place in Lincolneshire, the penulte of the moneth Sextile. *Anno Millimo, quillimo, trillimo. Per me Ioannes Octo.*

What wiseman reading this Letter, will not take him for a very Caulf that made it in good

earnest, and thought by his inke pot termes to get a good Parsonage. Doeth wit rest in straunge wordes, or els standeth it in wholsome matter, and apt declaring of a mans minde? Doe wee not speake because we would haue other to vnderstande vs, or is not the tongue giuen for this ende, that one might know what an other meaneth? And what vnlearned man can tel, what half this letter signifieth? Therefore, either we must make a difference of English, and say some is learned English and other some is rude English, or the one is court talke, the other is countrey speech, or els we must of necessitie banish all such *Rhetorique*, and vse altogether one maner of language. When I was in Cambridge, and student in the kings College, there came a man out of the toune with a pint of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the prouost of that house, that lately came from the court. And because he would bestow his present like a clarke, dwelling among the scholers: he made humblie his three curtesies and sayd in this maner. Cha good euen my good Lord, and well might your Lordship vare, vnderstanding that your Lordshippe was come, and knowing that you are a worshipfull Pilate, and keepes abominable house: I thought it my duetie to come incantiuante, and bring you a pottell of wine, the which I besech your Lordship take in good worth. Here the simple man, being desirous to amend his mothers tongue, shewing himselfe not to bee the wisest man that euer spake with tongue.

An other good fellowe of the countrey, being an Officer and Maior of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauing iust occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, said after this wise in a great heate. Thou yngrame and vacation knaue, if I take thee any more within the Circumcision of my dampnation: I will so corrupt thee, that all other vacation knaues shall take ilsample by thee.

Roperipe
chiding.

An other standing in much neede of money, and desirous to haue some helpe, at a gentlemans hande, made his complainte in this wise. I pray you sir be so good vnto me, as forbear this halfe yeres rent. For so help me God and halidome, we are so taken on with contrary Bishops, with reuiues, and with Southsides to the King, that all our money is cleane gone. These words he spake for Contribution, Releef, and Subsidie. And thus we see that poore simple men are much troubled, and talke oftentimes they knowe not what for lacke of wit, and want of Latine and French, whereof many of our strange wordes full often are deriued. Those therefore that will eschue this folly, and acquaint themselues with the best kind of speech, must seeke from time to time such wordes as are commonly receiued, and such as properly may expresse in plaine maner, the whole conceipt of their minde. And looke what wordes we best vnderstande, and knowe what they meane: the same should soonest be spoken, and first applied to the vtterance of our purpose.

Now whereas wordes be receiued, aswell Greeke as Latine, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because we would enrich the language: it is well doen to vse them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation, when all other are agreed to followe the same waie. There is no man agreeued when he heareth (Letters Patentes) and yet Patentes is Latine, and signifieth open to all men. The

Communion is a fellowship, or a comming together, rather Latin then English: the kings prerogatiue declareth his power roiall aboue al other, and yet I know no man greued for these termes, being vused in their place, nor yet any one suspected for affectation, when such generall wordes are spoken. The folie is espied, when either we will vse such wordes as fewe men doe vse, or vse them out of place, when an other might serue much better.

Therefore to auoide such folly, we may learne of that most excellent Oratour *Tullie*, who in his third booke, where he speaketh of a perfect Oratour, declareth vnder the name of *Crassus*, that for the choise of words fower things should chefly be obserued. First that such words as we vse, should be proper vnto the tongue wherein wee speake, againe, that they bee plaine for all men to perceiue: thirdly, that they be apt and meete, most properly to sette out the matter. Fourthly, that words translated from one signification to an other (called of the Grecians *Tropes*) be vused to beautifie the sentence, as precious stones are set in a ring to commend the gold.

¶ *Aptnesse what it is.*

SUch are thought apt wordes, that properly agree vnto that thing which they signifie, and plainly expresse the nature of the same. Therefore they that haue regard of their estimation do warely speake, and with choise vtter woordes most apt for their purpose. In waightie causes graue wordes are thought most needful, that the greatnesse of the matter may the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewise of other like order must be taken. Albeit some not onely doe not obserue this kind of aptnesse, but also they doe fal into much fondnes, by vsing words out of place, and applying them to diuers matters without all discretion. As thus. An ignorant fellowe comming to a gentlemans place, and seeing a great flocke of shepe in his pasture, said to the owner of them, nowe by my trueth sir, here is as goodly an audience of sheepe as euer I saw in my life. Who will not take this fellowe meeter to talke with sheepe, then speake among men?

An other likewise seeing an house faire builded, said to his fellow thus: good lord what a handsome phrase of building is this? Thus are good words euill vused, when they are not wel applied and spoken to good purpose. Therefore I wish that such vntowarde speaking, may giue vs a good lesson to vse our tongue warely, that our wordes and matter may still agree together.

¶ *Of Composition.*

WHen wee haue learned vsuall and accustomable words to set forth our meaning, we ought to ioyne them together in apt order, that the Eare maie delite in hearing the harmonie. I knowe some Englishmen that in this point haue such a gift in the English, as fewe Latine hath the like, and therefore delite the wise and learned so much with their pleasaunt composition: that many reioyce when they may heare

Composition

such, and thinke much learning is got when they may talke with them. what it is.

Composition therefore is an apt ioyning together of wordes in such order, that neither the eare shall espie any ierre, nor yet any man shalbe dulled with ouerlong drawing out of a sentence, nor yet much confounded with mingling of causes such as are needlesse, being heaped together without reason, and vsed without number. For by such meanes the hearers will be forced to forget full ofte, what was sayd first, before the sentence bee halfe ended: or els be blinded with confounding of many things together. Some againe will be so short, and in such wise curtall their sentences, that Faultes in they had neede to make a commentary immediatly of their meaning, or els composition. the most that heare them shalbe forced to keepe counsaill.

Some will speake Oracles, that a man can not tell which way to take them, some will bee so fine and so poetically withall, that to their seeming there shall not stande one haire a misse, and yet euery body els shall thinke them meeter for a Ladies chamber, then for an earnest matter in any open assemblie.

Some will roue so much and bable so farre without order, that a man would thinke they had a greate loue to heare them selues speake.

Some repeate one worde so often, that if such wordes could be eaten, and chopt in so oft as they are vttered out, they would choke the widest throte in al England. As thus. If a man knew what a mans life were, no man for any mans sake woulde kill any man, but one man would rather helpe an other man, considering man is borne for man to helpe man, and not to hate man. What man would not be choked, if he chopt al these men at once into his mouth, and neuer dronke after it? Some vse ouermuch repetition of some one letter, as pitifull pouertie praieth for a penie, but puffed presumption passeth not a point, pampering his panch with pestilent pleasure, procuring his passeport to poste it to hell pit, there to be punished with paines perpetuall. Some will so set their words, that they must be faine to gape after euery word spoken, ending one word with a vowell, and beginning the next with an other, which vndoubtedly maketh the talke to seeme most vnpleasaunt. As thus. Equitie assuredly euery iniurie auoideth. Some will set the Cart before the horse, as thus. My mother and my father are both at home, as though the good man of the house did weare no breches, or that the graie Mare were the better Horse. And what though it often so happeneth (God wot the more pittie) yet in speaking at the least, let vs keepe a naturall order, and set the man before the woman for maners sake.

An other comming home in haste, after a long iourney, saieth to his man: Come hether sir knaue, helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praiue you sir, giue him leaue first to plucke of your spurres, ere he meddle with your bootes, or els your man is like to haue a madde plucking. Who is so foolish as to say, the Counsaile and the King, but rather the King and his Counsaile, the Father and the Sonne, and not contrary. And so likewise in all other, as they are in degree first euermore to set them formost.

The wise therefore talking of diuers worthie men together, will first name the worthiest, and keepe a decent order in reporting of their tale. Some end their sentences all alike, making their talke rather to appeare rimed Meeter, then to seeme plaine speeche, the which as it much deliteth being measurably vsed, so it much offendeth when no meane is regarded. I heard a preacher deliting much in this kind of composition, who vsed so often to ende his sentences with wordes like vnto that which went before, that in my iudgement there was not a dosen sentences in his whole sermon, but they ended all in Rime for the most parte. Some not best disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he might vse some pleasant melody, and so the people might take pleasure diuers waies, and dance if they list. Certes there is a meane, and no reason to vse any one thing at al time, seing nothing deliteth (be it neuer so good) that is alwaies vsed.

Quintilian likeneth the colours of *Rhetorique* to a mans eye sight. And now (quoth he) I would not haue all the bodie to be full of eyes, or nothing but eyes: for then the other partes should wante their due place and proportion. Some ouerthwartly sette their wordes, placing some one a mile from his fellowes, not contented with a plaine and easie composition, but seeke to set wordes they can not tell how, and therefore one not liking to bee called, and by print published Doctour of Phisicke, would needes bee named a Phisicke Doctour, wherein appeared a wonderful composition (as he thought) strange vndoubtedly, but whether wise or no, let the learned sit in iudgement vpon that matter.

An other. As I rose in a Morning (quoth one) I met a Carte full of stones emptie. Belike the man was fasting, when the Cart was full, and yet wee see that through straunge composition, his sentence appeareth darke.

Some will tell one thing twentie times, nowe in, nowe out, and when a man would thinke they had almost ended, they are ready to beginne againe as fresh as euer they were. Such vaine repetitions declare both want of witte, and lacke of learning. Some are so homely in all their doings, and so grosse for their inuention, that they vse altogether one maner of trade, and seeke no varietie to eschue tediousnesse.

Some burden their talke with needlesse copie, and will seeme plentifull when they should be short. An other is so curious and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the world what to speake. Euery sentence seemeth common, and euery worde generally vsed, is thought to be foolish in his wise iudgement. Some vse so many interpositions, both in their talke and in their writing, that they make their sayings as darke as hell. Thus when faltes be knowne they may bee auoyded: and vertue the sooner may take place, when vice is foreseen and eschued as euill.

¶ *Of Exornation.*

WHen wee haue learned apte wordes, and vsuall phrases to set foorth our meaning, and can orderly place them without offence to the Eare, wee may boldly commende and beautifie our talke with diuers goodly colours, and delitefull translations, that our speech

may seeme as bright and precious, as a rich stone is faire and orient.

Exornation, is a gorgious beautifying of the tongue with borrowed wordes, and change of sentence or speech with much varietie. First therefore (as *Tullie* saith) an oration is made to seme right excellent by the kind selfe, by the colour and iuice of speech. There are three maner of stiles or inditings, the great or mightie kinde, when we vse great wordes, or vehement figures.

Exornation.
Three maner of
stiles
or enditings.

The small kinde, when wee moderate our heate by meaner wordes, and vse not the most stirring sentences.

The lawe kinde, when we vse no *Metaphores* nor translated words, nor yet vse any amplifications, but goe plainly to worke, and speake altogether in common wordes. Now in al these three kindes, the Oration is much commended, and appereth notable when wee keepe vs still to that stile which we first professed, and vse such wordes as seeme for that kinde of writing most conuenient. Yea, if we minde to encrease or diminish: to be in a heate, or to vse moderation. To speake pleasauntly or grauely: To be sharpe or soft: to talke lordly, or to speake finely: to waxe auncient or familiare (which are all comprehended vnder one of the other three: we must euer make our wordes apt and agreeable to that kinde of stile which we first began to vse. For as Frenche hoodes doe not become Lords: so Parliament robes are vnfitting for Ladies. Comelinesse therefore must euer be vsed, and all things obserued, that are most meete for euery cause, if we looke by attemptes to haue our desire.

There is an other kind of Exornation, that is not egally sparpled throughout the whole Oration, but is so disseuered and parted as starres stande in the Firmament, or flowers in a garden, or pretie deuised antiques in a cloth of Arras.

Exornation by
colours
of Rhetorique.

¶ *What a figure is.*

A Figure is a certaine kinde, either of sentence, Oration, or worde, vsed after some newe or straunge wise, much vnlike to that which men commonly vse to speake.

¶ *The deuision of figures.*

There are three kindes of figures, the one is, when the nature of wordes is chaunged from one signification to an other, called a *Trope*, of the Grecians: The other serueth for words when they are not chaunged by nature, but only altered by speaking, called of the Grecians *Scheme*. The third is, when by diuersitie of inuention, a sentence is many wayes spoken, and also matters are amplified by heaping examples, by dilating arguments, by comparing of things together, by similitudes, by contraries, and by diuers other like, called by *Tullie* Exornation of sentences, or colours of *Rhetorike*.

By all which figures euery Oration may be much beautified, and without the same, not one

can attaine to be coumpted an Oratour, though his learning otherwise be neuer so great.

Of the first vse of Tropes.

WHen learned and wisemen gan first to inlarge their tongue, and sought with great vtterance of speech to commende causes: They founde full oft much want of words to set out their meaning. And therefore remembring thinges of like nature vnto those whereof they speake: they vsed such wordes to expresse their mynde, as were most like vnto other. As for example. If I should speake against some notable Pharisey. I might vse translation of wordes in this wise: Yonder man is of a crooked iudgement, his wittes are cloudie, he liueth in deepe darknesse dusked altogether with blinde ignorance, and drowned in the raging sea of bottomlesse Superstition. Thus is the ignorant set out by calling him crooked, cloudie, darke, blinde, and drounde in Superstition. All which wordes are not proper vnto ignorance, but borrowed of other things that are of like nature vnto ignorance. For the vnskillfull man hath his witte set out of order, as a mans bodie is set out of ioynt, and thereupon it may be sayd to be crooked. Likewise hee may bee called Cloudie, for as the Cloudes keepe the Sonne shining from vs, so doth his ignoraunce keepe him blindfolde from the true understanding of thinges. And as when the eyes are out, no man can see any thing: So when parfite iudgement is wanting, the troth can not be knowne. And so likewise of all other. Thus as necessitie hath forced vs to borowe wordes translated: So hath time and practize made them to seeme most pleasaunt, and therefore they are much the rather vsed. Yea when a thing full ofte can not bee exprest by an apt and meete worde, wee doe perceiue (when it is spoken by a worde translated) that the likenesse of that thing, which appeareth in an other word much lighteneth that, which we would most gladly haue perceiued.

Tropes how
they were
first founded.

And not onely doe men vse translation of words (called *Tropes*) for neede sake, when they can not finde other: but also when they may haue most apt words at hand, yet will they of a purpose vse translated wordes. And the reason is this. Men coumpt it a point of witte, to passe ouer such words as are at hand, and to vse such as are farre fetcht and translated: or els it is because the hearer is ledde by cogitation vppon rehearsall of a Metaphore, and thinketh more by remembraunce of a worde translated, then is there expressly spoken: or els because the whole matter seemeth by a similitude to be opened: or laste of all, because euery translation is commonly, and for the most part referred to the senses of the bodie, and especially to the sense of seeing, which is the sharpest and quickest about all other. For when I shall say that an angrie man fometh at the mouth, I am brought in remembrance by this translation to remember a Bore, that in fighting vseth much foming, the which is a foule and lothly sight. And I cause other to thinke that he brake pacience wonderfully, when I set out his rage comparable to a bores foming.

An other being offended with checkes giuen will say, I maruaile sir what you meane to be euer snarling at mee, wherein is declared a brutishnesse, considering he speaketh byting wordes, and much without reason, and as vncomly as a dog doth, when he snarreth, the

which wee see is nothing seemely. There is nothing in all the worlde, but the same may haue the name of some other worde, the which by some similitude is like vnto it. Notwithstanding, there ought much warenesse to be vsed in chosing of words translated, that the same be not vnlike that thing whervnto it is applied, nor yet that the translation bee vncomely, or such as may giue occasion of any vncleane meaning.

¶ *A Trope.*

A Trope is an alteration of a worde or sentence, from the proper signification, to that which is not proper.

Trope what it is.

¶ *The deuision of Tropes.*

Tropes are either of a worde, or a long continued speche or sentence.

Diuisiion of Tropes.

¶ *Tropes of a worde are these.*

- { A Metaphore or translation of wordes.
- { A word making.
- { Intellection.
- { Abusion.
- { Transmutation of a worde.
- { Transumption.
- { Chaunge of name.
- { Circumlocution.

Tropes of a long continued speche or sentences, are these.

- { An Allegorie, or inuersion of wordes.
- { Mounting.
- { Resembling of things.
- { Similitude.
- { Example.

¶ *What is a Metaphore?*

A Metaphore is an alteration of a worde, from the proper and naturall meaning, to that which is not proper, and yet agreeth thereunto by some likenesse, that appereth to be in it.

Metaphors.

An Oration is wouderfully enriched, when apte *Metaphors* are got, and applied to the matter. Neither can any one perswade effectuously, and winne men by weight of his Oration, without the helpe of wordes altered and translated.

¶ *The diuersitie of translations.*

FIRST we alter a word from that which is in the mind, to that which is in the bodie. As when wee perceiue one that hath begiled vs, we vse to say. Ah sirrha, I am gladde I haue smelled you out. Beeing greeued with a matter, wee say commonly wee cannot digest it. The lawier receiuing money more then needeth oftentimes, will say to his Client without any translation: I feele you wel, when the poore man thinketh that he doeth well vnderstande his cause, and will helpe hym to some good ende. For so commonly we say when we knowe a mans minde in any thing. This kinde of mutation is much vsed, when we talke earnestly of any matter.

¶ *From the creature without reason, to that which hath reason.*

THE second kinde of translation is, when we goe from the creature without reason, to that which hath reason, or contrary from that which hath reason, to that which hath no reason. As if I should saie, such an vnreasonable brauler did nothing els but barke like a dog, or like a Fox. Women are said to chatter, churles to grunt, boyes to whine, & yongmen to yel. Contrariwise we call a foxe false, a Lion proude, and a dog flattryng.

¶ *From the liuing, to that which hath no life.*

FROM the liuing to the not liuing, wee vse many translations. As thus. You shall pray for all men, dispersed throughout the face of the earth. The arme of a Tree. The side of a bancke. The land crieth for vengeaunce. From the liuing to the not liuing. Hatred buddeth among malicious men, his wordes flow out of his mouth. I haue a whole world of businesse.

In obseruing the worke of Nature in all seuerall substances wee may finde translations at will, then the which nothing is more profitable for any one, that mindeth by his vtterance to stirre the hartes of men, either one waie or other.

A woorde making called of the Grecians *Onomatopoiia*, is when wee make wordes of our owne minde, such as bee deriued from the nature of things. Wordes making.

As to call one Patche or Coulson, whom we see to doe a thing foolishly, because these two in their tyme were notable fooles. Or when one is lustie, to say Taratauntara, declaring thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delitefull and stirring: or when one would seme galant, to crie hoigh, whereby also is declared courage. Boyes being greeued will say some one to another: sir, I will cap you, if you vse mee thus, and withhold that from me which is mine owne: meaning that he will take his cap from him. Again, when we see one gaie and gallaunt, we vse to say, he courtes it. Quoth one that reasoneth in Diuinitie with his fellowe, I like well to reason, but I cannot chappe these textes in Scripture, if I should dye for it: meaning that he could not tell in what Chapter thinges were contained, although he knewe full well, that there were such sayinges.

Intellection.

INtellection, called of the Grecians, *Synedoche*, is a Trope, when we gather Intellection. or iudge the whole by the part, or part by the whole. As thus: The King is come to London, meaning therby that other also be come with him. The French man is good to keepe a Fort, or to skirmish on Horsbacke, whereby we declare the French men generally. By the whole, the part thus. All Cambridge sorrowed for the death of *Bucer*, meaning the most part. All England reioyceth that Pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrie for euer abolished: and yet all England is not glad but the most part.

The like phrases are in the Scripture, as when the *Magians* came to *Hierusalem*, and asked where hee was that was borne King of the Jewes. *Herode* start vp being greatly troubled, and all the Citie of *Hierusalem* with him, and yet all the Citie was not troubled, but the most part. By the signe wee vnderstand the thing signified: as by an Iuie garland, we iudge there is wine to sel. By the signe of a Beare, Bull, Lyon, or any such, we take any house to be an Inne. By eating bread at the Communion, we remember Christes death, and by faith receiue him spiritually.

Abusion.

ABusion, called of the Grecians *Catechresis*, is when for a certaine proper Abusion. worde, we vse that which is most nigh vnto it: as in calling some water, a Fish Pond, though there be no Fish in it at all. Or els when wee say, there is long talke, and small matter. Which are spoken vnproperly, for wee cannot measure, either talke, or matter by length, or breadth.

Transmutation of a worde.

TRansmutation helpeth much for varietie, the which is, when a word hath a Transmutation. proper signification of the owne, and being referred to an other thing, hath an other meaning: the Grecians call it *Metonymia*, the which is diuers waies vsed. When we vse the author of a thing, for the thing self. As thus: Put vpon you the Lord Jesus Christ, that is to say, be in liuing such a i. one as he was. The Pope is banished England, that is to say, all his ii. Superstition and Hipocrisie, either is or should bee gone to the Deuill, by the Kings expresse will and commaundement. Againe, when that which doth contene, is vsed for that which is contained. As thus. I haue dronke an Hoggeshead this weeke: Heauen may reioyce, and Hell may lament, when olde men are not couetous. Contrariwise, when the thing contained, is vsed for the thing conteyning. As iii. thus. I pray you come to me, that is to say, come to my house. Fowerthly, when by the efficient cause, the effect is streight gathered therevpon. As thus. The Sunne is vp, that is to say, it is day. This fellowe is good with a long Bowe, that is iiiii. to say, he shooteth well.

Transumption.

TRansumption is, when by degrees wee goe to that, which is to be shewed. As thus. Such a one lieth in a dark Dungeon: now in speaking of darkenesse, we vnderstand closenesse,

by closenesse, we gather blacknesse, & by blacknesse, we iudge deepnesse.

Chaunge of name.

CHaunge of name, is when for the proper name, some name of an Office, or *Antonomasia*. other calling is vsed. As thus: The Prophet of God saith: Blessed are they, whose sinnes bee not imputed vnto them, meaning *Dauid*. The Poet saieth: It is a vertue to eschue vice: wherein I vnderstand *Horace*.

Circumlocution.

Circumlocution is a large description, either to set forth a thing more *Periphrasis*. gorgeously, or els to hide it, if the eares can not beare the open speaking: or when with fewe words, we cannot open our meaning to speake it more largely. Of the first thus. The valiaunt courage of mightie *Scipio*, subdued the force of *Carthage* and *Numantia*. Henry the fifth, the most puissaunt King of England, with seuen thousand men, tooke the French King prisoner with al the flower of nobilitie in Fraunce. Of the second. When *Saule* was easing himself vpon the ground, *Dauid* tooke a peece of his garment, tooke his weapon that lay by him, and might haue slaine him. Such a one defiled his bodie with such an euill woman. For the third part, the large Commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus Englished: are sufficient to shewe the vse thereof.

¶ *What is an Allegorie.*

AN Allegorie is none other thing, but a Metaphore, vsed throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speaking against a wicked offendour, I might say thus. Oh Lord, his nature was so euill, and his witte so wickedly bent, that he meant to bouge the ship, where he himselfe failed: meaning that he purposed the destruction of his owne Countrey. It is euill putting strong Wine into weake vesselles, that is to say, it is euill trusting some women with weightie matters. The English Prouerbes gathered by Iohn Heywood, helpe well in this behalfe, the which commonly are nothing els but Allegories, and darke deuised sentences. Now for the other fower figures, because I minde hereafter to speake more largely of them, and *Quintilian* thinketh them more meete to be placed among the figures of Exornation, I will not trouble the Reader with double inculcation, and twice telling of one tale.

¶ *Of Schemes, called otherwise sentences
of a worde and sentence.*

I Might tary long time, in declaring the nature of diuers Schemes, which are *Scheme what* wordes or sentences altered, either by speaking, or writing, contrarie to the *it is.* vulgare custome of our speech, without chaunging their nature at al: but because I knowe the vse of the figures in worde, is not so great in this our tongue, I will runne them ouer, with as much hast as I can.

The deuision of Schemes.

STraunge vsing of any worde or sentence, contrary to our daiely wont, is either when we

adde or take away a sillable, or a worde, or encrease a sentence by chaunge of speech, contrary to the common maner of speaking.

Figures of a worde.

THose be called figures of a word, when we change a word and speake it contrary to our vulgare, and dayly speech. Of the which sort, there are sixe in number.

- {i. Addition at the first.
- {ii. Abstraction from the first.
- {iii. Interlacing in the midst.
- {iiii. Cutting from the midst.
- {v. Adding at the ende.
- {vi. Cutting from the ende.

OF Addition. As thus: He did all to berattle him. Wherin appeareth that a sillable is added to this word (rattle). Here is good nale to sell, for good ale. *Prosthesis.*

Of Abstraction from the first, thus. As I romed all alone, I gan to thinke of matters great. In which sentence (gan) is vsed, for began. *Apheresis.*

Interlacing in the midst. As Relligion, for Religion. *Epenthesis.*

Cutting from the midst. Idolatrie, for Idololatrie. *Syncope.*

Adding at the end. Hasten your businesse, for Hast your businesse. *Proparalepsis.*

Cutting from the ende. A faire maie, for maide. *Apocope.*

Thus these figures are shortly set out, and as for the other Schemes, which are vttered in whole sentences, and expressed by varietie of speech: I will set them forth at large among the colours and ornaments of Elocution, that followe.

¶ *Of colours and ornaments, to commend and set forth an Oration.*

NOW, when we are able to frame a sentence handsomely together, obseruing number, and keeping composition, such as shall like best the eare, and doe knowe the vse of Tropes, and can apply them to our purpose: then the ornaments are necessarie in an Oration, and sentences would bee

furnished with most beautifull figures. Therefore, to the end that they may be knowne, such as most commend and beautifie an Oration: I will set them forth here in such wise, as I shall best be able, following the order which *Tullie* hath vsed in his Booke, made of a perfect Oratour. *Colours of Rhetorique.*

¶ *Resting vpon a poinct.*

WHen wee are earnest in a matter, and feele the weight of our cause, we rest *Commoration.* vpon some reason, which serueth best for our purpose. Wherein this figure appeareth most, and helpeth much to set forth our matter. For if we stil kepe vs to our strongest hold, and make offer recourse thither, though we be driuen through bytalke to goe from it now and then: we shall force them at length, either to auoyd our strong defence, or els to yeeld into our hands.

¶ *An euident, or plaine setting forth of a thing, as though it were presently done.*

THIS figure is called a discription, or an euident declaration of a thing, as *Illustriu explanatio.* though we saw it euen now done. An example: If our enemies shall inuade, and by treason winne the victorie, we shal all dye euery mothers sonne of vs, and our Citie shalbe destroyed sticke and stone. I see our children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiues caried away, the father forced to kil his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, the sonne his father, the sucking child slaine in the mothers bosome, one standing to the knees in an others bloud, Churches spoyled, *Description of courage, after a battaile.* houses pluckt downe, and al set in fire round about vs, euery one cursing the day of their birth, children crying, women wayling, and olde men passing for very thought, and euery one thinking himselfe most happie that is rid out of this world, such will the crueltie bee of our enemies, and with such horrible hatred will they seeke to dispatch vs. Thus, where I might haue said we shall all be destroyed, and say no more, I haue by description set the euill foorth at large. It much auayleth to vse this figure in diuers matters, the which whosoeuer can doe, with any excellent gift, vndoubtedly he shal much delite the hearers. The circumstaunces well considered in euery cause, giue much matter, for the plaine opening of the thing. Also similitudes, examples, comparisons, from one thing to an other, apt translations, and heaping of Allegories, and all such figures as serue for amplifying, doe much commend the liuely setting forth of any matter. The miseries of the Courtiers life, might well bee described by this kind of figure. The commoditie of learning, the pleasure of Plowmen, and the care that a King hath. And not onely are matters set out by description, but men *Diuersitie of natures.* are painted out in their colours, yea, buildings are set foorth, Kingdomes and Realmes are portured, places and times are described. The Englishman for feeding and chaunging for apparell. The Dutchman for drinking. The Frenchman for pride and inconstance. The Spanyard for nimblenes of body, and much disdain: the Italian for great wit and policie: the Scots for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.

Many people are described by their degree, as a man of good yeares, is coumpted sober, wise, and circumspect: a young man wilde and carelesse: a woman babling, inconstaunt, and readie to beleue all that is tolde her.

By vocation of life, a Souldier is coumpted a great bragger, and a vaunter of himself: A

Scholar simple: A Russet coate, sad, and sometimes craftie: a Courtier, flattering: a Citizen, gentle.

In describing of persons, there ought alwaies a comelnesse to bee vsed, so that nothing be spoken, which may bee thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might cal him gentle, milde of Nature, led by perswasion, and readie to forgiue, carelesse for wealth, suspecting none, mercifull to all, fearefull in aduersitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortune. Againe, for Richard the third, I might bring him in, cruel of heart, ambitious by nature, enuious of mind, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge, and fearfull to lose his high estate, trustie to none, liberall for a purpose, casting still the worst, and hoping euer the best. By this figure also wee imagine a talke, for some one to speake, and according to his person, we frame the Oration. As if one should bring in noble Henrie the eight, of most famous memorie to enueigh against Rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. What if Henry the eight were a liue, and sawe such Rebellion in this Realme, would not he say thus, and thus? Yea, me thinkes I heare him speake euen now. And so set forth such wordes, as we would haue him to say.

Description
of persons.

Sometimes it is good to make GOD, the Countrey, or some one Townte to speake, and looke what we would say in our owne person, to frame the whole tale to them. Such varietie doth much good to auoyde tediousnesse, for he that speaketh

all in one sort, though he speake thinges neuer so wittely, shall sone wearie his hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoyd sacietie, and cause delight: to refresh with pleasure, and quicken with grace the dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke on a white wall an hower together, where no workmanship is at all? Or who will eate still one kinde of meate, and neuer desire change? Certes as the mouth is daintie: so the witte is tickle, and will sone loth an vnsauery thing.

The vse of
figures.

¶ *A stop, or halfe telling of the tale.*

A Stop is when we breake off our tale, before we haue told it. As thus. Thou that art a young man of such towarnesse, hauing such friendes, to play me such a part, well I will say no more, GOD amende all that is amisse. Or thus. Doth it become thee to bee, shall I tell all: Nay, I will not for very shame.

Precisio.

A close vnderstanding.

A close vnderstanding is, when more may bee gathered, then is openly expressed. A naughtie fellowe that vsed much robbetrie, founde himselfe griued, that the great Oratour *Demosthenes* spent so much Oyle, whereby he watched from time to time, in compassing matters for the Commonweale: In deede (quoth *Demosthenes*) darke nights are best for thy purpose: Meaning that he was a great Robber in the night.

*Significatio
plus ad
intelligendum
quam dixeris.*

Demosthenes.

One also being set in a heate, because an other had contraried him for the choise of meates, was much more greued when he gaue him this taunt. You may boldly (quoth he) speake for fish eating, for my maister your father, hath many a time and oft, wipte his nose vpon his sleeue: meaning that his father was a Fishmonger.

Short sentences.

Then short clauses or sentences are vsed, when wee speake at a word part of our mind, and next after speake as briefly againe, vsing to make almost euery worde a perfect sentence. As thus. The man is sore wounded, I feare me he will dye. The Phisitions mistrust him: the partie is fled, none pursueth: God sende vs good lucke.

*Distincte
conclisa
breuitas.*

Abating, or lessening of a thing.

WE make our doinges appeare lesse, when with wordes we extenuate and lessen the same. As when one had giuen his fellowe a sound blowe, being rebuked for the same, said he scant touched him. Likewise, when two haue fought together, to say, that the one had his legge prickt with a sworde, when perchance he had a great wounde.

Extenuatio.

Wittie iesting.

MAny pleasaunt Gentlemen, are well practised in merie conceived iests, & haue both such grace and delite therein, that they are wonderfull to behold, and better were it to be sharply chid of diuers other, then pleasauntly taunted by any of them. When a Gentleman of great Lands and small wit, had talked largely at a supper, and spake words scant worth the hearing, an other being much griued with his folly, said to him: Sir, I haue taken you for a plaine meaning Gentleman, but I knowe now, there is not a more deceptfull body in all England: with that, other being griued with the yong Gentlemans folly, boldly began to excuse him for deceit, and therefore said he was to blame to charge him with that fault, considering his nature was simple, and fewe can say that euer he was craftie. Well (quoth the other) I must needes say he is deceptful, for I took him heretofore for a sober wittie yong man, but now I perciue he is a foolish babling fellow, and therefore I am sure he hath deceiued me, like a false crafty child as he is: with that they al laughed, and the Gentleman was much abashed. But as touching sharpe taunts, I haue largely declared them in place, wher I treated of laughter.

Illusio.

¶ *Digression, or swaruing from the matter.*

WE swarue sometimes from the matter, vpon iust considerations, making the same to serue for our purpose, as well as if we had kept the matter still. As in making an inuectiue against Rebelles, and largely setting out the filth of their offences, I might declare by the way of digression, what a noble countrey England is, how great commodities it hath, what traffique here is vsed, and how much more neede other Realmes haue of vs, then we haue neede of them. Or when I shall giue euidence, or rather declame against an hainous murtherer, I may digresse from the offence done, and

*Digressio ab re
non longa.*

enter in praise of the dead man, declaring his vertues in most ample wise, that the offence done may be thought so much the greater, the more honest he was, that hath thus bene slaine. Notwithstanding, this would bee learned, that (when we make any such digression) the same may well agree to the purpose, and bee so set out that it confounde not the cause, or darken the sence of the matter deuised.

Proposition.

PRoposition is a short rehearsall of that, whereof wee minde to speake. I will tell you (quoth one) there is none hath a worse name then this fellow, none hath bene so often in trouble, he may be faultlesse, but I can hardly beleue it, there are enow that will testifie of his naughtinesse, and auouch his euill demeanour to be such that the like hath not bene heard heretofore.

Propositio quid sit dicturus.

¶ *An ouer passage to an other matter.*

WHen we goe from one matter to an other, we vse this kind of phrase. I haue tolde you the cause of all this euill, now I will tell you a remedie for the same. You haue heard of iustification by faith only, now you shal heare of the dignitie of works, and how necessary they are for euey Christian body.

Seiunctio ab eo quod dictum est.

¶ *Of comming againe to the matter.*

WHen we haue made a digression, wee may declare our returne, and shew that whereas we haue roued a litle, wee will now keepe vs within our boundes. In this kinde of digression, it is wisdome not to wander ouer farre, for feare we shall wearie the hearers, before we come to the matter againe. I knewe a Preacher that was a whole hower out of his matter, and at length remembring himself, saied well, now to the purpose, as though all that which he had spoken before, had bene little to the purpose, whereat many laughed, and some for starke wearinesse were faine to goe away.

Redditus ad propositum.

¶ *Iterating and repeating things saied before.*

WHen a man hath largely spoken his minde, he may repeate in fewe wordes the somme of his saying. As if one should bee charged with Felonie, that is a man of wealth and honestie, he might thus gather his minde together after a long tale told. First, I will proue there is no cause that I should steale. Againe, that I could not possible at such a time steale, and last, that I stole not at all.

Iteratio.

¶ *The conclusion or lapping vp of matter.*

THE conclusion, is an apt knitting together of that, which we haue saied before. As thus. If reason can perswade, if examples may mooue, if necessitie may helpe, if pitie may prouoke, if daungers foreseene may stirre vs to be wise: I doubt not but you will rather vse sharpe lawes to repress offendours, then with dissolute negligence suffer all to perish.

Rationis apta conclusio.

Mounting about the truth.

Mounting about the truth, is when wee doe set forth things exceedingly and about all mens expectation, meaning onely that they are very great. As thus. God promised to Abraham, that he would make his posteritie equal with the sandes of the earth. Now it was not so saied, that there should be so many in deede, but that the number should bee infinite. For whether shall wee vnderstande those to bee the children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in flesh, or els take them for the children of Abraham, that haue the faith of Abraham: we shall neuer proue the number of men to be equal with the sands of the Sea, though we could reckon all that haue beene, from the beginning of the world. Therefore in this speech, we must vnderstand there is a mounting, called of the Grecians *Hyperbole*: wee vse this figure much in English. As thus. He is as swift as a Swallowe, he hath a belly as bigge as a Barrell, he is a Gyaunt in making: the whole Thames is little enough to serue him, for washing his hands. In all which speeches we mount euermore a great deale, and not meane so as the wordes are spoken.

*Veritatis
superlatio,
atque traiectio.*

Asking other, and aunswering our selfe.

BY asking other, and aunswering to the question our self, we much commend the matter, and make it appeare very pleasaunt. If I would rebuke one that hath committed a Robberie, I might say thus. I wonder what you meant to commit such Felonie. Haue you not Lands? I knowe you haue. Are not your friends worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Were you not beloued of them? No doubt you were. Could you haue wanted any thing that they had? If you would haue eaten golde, you might haue had it. Did not they alwaies bid you seeke to them, and to none other? I knowe they did. What euill hap had you then to offend in such sort, not going to your friendes, which would not see you want, but seeking for that which you should not haue, endaungering your self by vntrue dealing, to feele the power and strength of a lawe, when otherwise you might haue liued in sauegarde?

Rogatio.

The like kinde of writing is also vsed, when wee make an other bodie to speake, and yet not aske them any question at all. As when Doctor Haddon had comforted the Duches of Suffolkes Grace for her children, and had saied they were happely gone, because they might haue falne hereafter, and lost that worthie name, which at their death they had: at last hee bringeth in the mother, speaking motherlike in her childrens behalfe of this sorte, and aunswereth still to her sayinges. But all these euilles whereof you speake (quoth he) had not chaunced: yet such things doe chaunce. Yet not alwaies: Yet full oft. Yet not to all: Yet to a great many. Yet they had not chaunced to mine: Yet we know not. Yet I might haue hoped: Yet better it had beene to haue feared.

Snappish asking.

WE doe aske oftentimes, because we would knowe: we doe aske also because we would chide, and set forth our grieffe with more vehemencie, the

Percontatio.

one is called *Interrogatio*, the other is called *Percontatio*. *Tullie* enueighing against *Catiline* that Romaine Rebell, beginneth his Oration chidingly, questioning with *Catiline* of this sorte. How long (*Catiline*) wilt thou abuse our sufferance? How long will this rage and madnesse of thine goe about to deceiue vs.

Dissembling or close iesting.

WHen we iest closely, & with dissembling meanes grig our fellowe, when in words we speake one thing, and meane in heart an other thing, declaring either by our countenance, or by vtterance, or by some other way, what our whole meaning is. As when wee see one boasting himselfe, and vaine glorious, to holde him vp with ye and nay, and euer to add more to that which he saieth. As I knowe one that saied himselfe to be in his owne iudgement, one of the best in all England, for trying of mettalles, & that the Counsaill hath often called for his helpe, and cannot want him for nothing. In deede (quoth an other) England had a sore losse, if God should call you. They are al bungelers in comparison of you, & I think the best of them may thank you for all that he hath: but yet sir your cunning was such that you brought a shilling to nine pence, nay to sixe pence, and a groat to two pence, and so gaue him a frumpe euen to his face, because he sawe him so foolish.

*Dissimulatio
alia
dicentis ac
significantis.*

A glorious gentleman that had two seruaunts, and belike would be knowne not onely to haue them, but also to haue moe, saied in the presence of a worshipful man, I maruaile much where al my seruaunts are? Mary sir (quoth one) that thought to hit him home: they were here al two euen now. Thus he closly mockt him, and worthely. For the number is not great, that standeth vpon two, and (all) is to much, when we speake of so fewe.

Doubtfulnesse.

DOubtfulnesse is then vsed, when we make the hearers beleeeue that the weight of our matter causeth vs to doubt what were best to speake. As when a King findeth his people vnfaithful, he may speak in this wise. Before I begin, I doubt what to name ye. Shall I cal you subiects? You deserue it not. My friends ye are not. To cal you enemies were ouer little, because your offence is so great. Rebelles you are, and yet that name doth not fully vtter your folly. Traytors I may call you, & yet you are worse then Traytors, for you seeke his death who hath giuen you life. The offence is so great, that no man can comprehend it. Therefore I doubt what to call you, except I should cal you by the name of them al. An other: whether shall I speake or holde my peace? If I speake, you will not heare, if I hold my peace, my conscience condemned my silence.

Dubitatio.

Distribution.

DIstribution, is when we applie to euery bodie, such things as are due vnto them, declaring what euery one is in his vocation. It is the duetie of a King, to haue an especiall care ouer his whole Realme. It is the office of his Nobles, to cause the Kings will to be fulfilled, and with all diligence to further his Lawes, and to see Iustice done euery where. It is the parte of a Subiect, faithfully to doe his Princes

Distributio.

commaundement, and with a willing heart to serue him at all needes. It is the office of a Bishop to set forth Gods worde, and with all diligence to exhort men to all Godlinesse. It is an Husbands duetie to loue his wife, and with gentle meanes to rule her. It is the wiues office humbly to submit her self to her husbands will. Seruaunts should bee faithfull to their Maisters, not onely for feare of a lawe, but also for conscience sake. Maisters should vse their seruants accordingly, paying them that which is due vnto them. A father should bring vp his children in the feare of God. Children should reuerence their fathers with al submission. It is also called a distribution, when we deuide the whole into seueral parts and say wee haue fower points, whereof wee purpose to speake, comprehending our whole talke within compasse of the same.

Correction.

COrrrection, is when we alter a word or sentence, otherwise then we haue spoken before, purposing thereby to augment the matter, and to make it appeare more vehement. *Tullie* against *Verres*, giueth a good example. We haue brought before you my Lords, into this place of iudgement, not a theefe, but an extortioner and violent robber, not an Aduouterer, but a rauisher of Maides: not a stealer of Church goodes, but an errant traytour, both to God and all Godlinesse: not a common Ruffine, but a most cruell cutthroate, such as if a man should rake hell for one, he could not finde the like. Againe, if one would enueigh against backbiters after this sort. Thou hast not robbed him of his money, but thou hast taken away his good name, which passeth all worldly goodes: neither hast thou slaundered thine enemie, but thine owne brother and freend that meant thee wel, and hast done thee pleasures: Nay, thou hast not slaundered him, but thou hast slaine him. For a man is halfe hanged, that hath lost his good name. Neither hast thou killed him with the sword, but poisoned him with thy tongue: so that I may call it rather an enchaunting, then a murther. Neither hast thou killed one man a lone, but so many as thou hast brought out of charitie, with thy most venemous backbyting. Yea, and last of al, thou hast not slaine a man, but thou hast slaine Christ in his members, so much as lay in thee to doe. But of this figure I haue spoken heretofore, where I wrote of amplification. *Correctio.*

Reiection.

REiection is then vsed, when wee lay such faultes from vs, as our enemies would charge vs withall: saying it is folly to thinke any such thing, much more to speake it: or els to say, such a mans worde is no slaunder, or it needeth not to talke of such toyes. Or thus. Who would thinke that I would doe such a deede? Or is it like that I would doe such a deede. *Antony* charged *Tullie*, that he was the occasion of ciuill battaile. Nay (quoth *Tullie*) it is thou, it is thou man and none other that sets *Cæsar* on worke, to seeke the slaughter of his Countrey. *Reiectio.*

A Buttresse.

A Butteresse is a fence made for that, which we purpose to holde vp, or goe *Premunitio.*

about to compasse. As thus. I hope my Lordes, both to perswade this man by reason, and to haue your iudgement in this matter. For whereas it is a sore thing to be iustly accused for breaking freendship, then assuredly if one be wrongfully slaundered, a man had neede to looke about him.

¶ *A familiar talke, or communication vsed.*

COmmunication is then vsed, when we debate with other, and aske questions as though we looked for an aunswer, and so go through with our matter, leauing the iudgement thereof to their discretion. As thus. What thinke you in this matter? Is there any other better meanes to dispatch the thing? What would you haue done, if you were in the same case? Here I appeale to your owne conscience, whether you would suffer this vnpunished, if a man should doe you the like displeasure. *Communicatio.*

¶ *Description of a mans nature or maners.*

WE describe the maners of men, when we set them forth in their kinde what they are. As in speaking against a couetous man, thus. There is no such pinch peney on liue as this good fellowe is. He will not lose the paring of his nailes. His haire is neuer rounded for sparing of money, one paire of shone serueth him a twelue moneth, he is shod with nailes like a Horse. He hath bene knowne by his coate this thirtie Winter. He spent once a groate at good ale, being forced through companie, and taken short at his worde, whereupon he hath taken such conceipt since that time, that it hath almost cost him his life. *Tullie* describeth *Piso* for his naughtinesse of life, wonderfully to heare, yea, worse then haue set forth this couetous man. Reade the Oration against *Piso*, such as he learned. *Descriptio.*

Error.

ERror is, when we thinke much otherwise then the trueth is. As when wee haue conceiued a good opinion of some one man, and are often deceiued, to say, who would haue thought, that he euer would haue done so. Now of all men vpon earth, I would haue least suspected him. But such is the world. Or thus. You thinke such a man a worthie personage, and of much honestie, but I wil proue that he is much otherwise: a man would not thinke it, but if I doe not proue it, I will giue you my head. *Erroris inductio.*

Mirth making.

I Haue heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth making, and therefore I little neede to renue them here in this place. *In hilaritatem impulsio.*

Amplification or Preuention.

ANticipation is, when we preuent those wordes, tha[t] an other would say, and disproue them as vntrue, or at least wise aunswere vnto them. A Godly Preacher enueighed earnestly against those, that would not haue the Byble to bee in *Ante occupatio.*

English, and after earnest probation of his cause, saied thus: but me thinkes I heare one say. Sir, you make much a doe, about a little matter, what were we the worse if we had no Scripture at all? To whom he aunswered: the Scripture is left vnto vs by Gods owne wil, that the rather we might knowe his commaundements, and liue thereafter all the daies of our life. Sometimes this figure is vsed when wee say, wee wil not speake this or that, and yet doe notwithstanding. As thus. Such a one is an officer, I will not say a briber. Right is hindered through might, I will not say ouerwhelmed. Thus in saying we will not speake, we speake our minde after a sort notwithstanding.

A Similitude.

A Similitude is a likenesse when two thinges, or moe then two, are so *Similitudo.* compared and resembled together, that they both in some one propertie seeme like. Oftentimes brute Beastes, and thinges that haue no life, minister great matter in this behalfe. Therefore, those that delite to proue thinges by Similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of diuers beastes, of mettalles, of stones, and al such as haue any vertue in them, and be applied to mans life. Sometimes in a worde appeareth a similitude, which being dilated helpeth well for amplification. As thus. You striue against the streame, better bowe then breake. It is euill running against a stone wall. A man may loue his house well, & yet not ride vpon the ridge. By al which, any one may gather a similitude, and enlarge it at pleasure. The Prouerbes of Hewood helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In comparing a thing from the lesse to the greater. Similitudes help well to set out the matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses & sentences, wee may with ease talke at large. This

shall serue for an example. The more precious a thing is, the more diligently *Similitude* should it bee kept, and better heede taken to it. Therefore time (considering, *enlarged.* nothing is more precious) would warely be vsed, and good care taken, that no time bee lost, without some profite gotten. For if they are to bee punished that spende their money, and waist their Landes, what follie is it, not to thinke them worthie much more blame, that spende their time (which is the chiefest treasure that GOD giueth) either idely, or els vngodly? For what other thing doth man lose, when he loseth his time, but his life? And what can bee more deare to man then his life? If wee lose a little money, or a Ring of golde with a stone in it, we coumpt that great losse. And I pray you, when wee lose a whole day, which is a good portion of a mans life, shall we not coumpt that a losse, considering though our money bee gone, wee may recouer the same againe, but time lost can neuer be called backe againe. Againe, when we lose our money, some bodie getteth good by it, but the losse of time turneth to no mans auaille. There is no man that loseth in any other thing, but some bodie gaineth by it, sauing onely in the losse of time: yea, it hath saued the life of some to lose al that they had. For riches bee the occasion sometimes of much mischief in this life, so that it were better sometimes wastefully to spende, then warely to keepe: by the losse of time, no man hath profited him selfe any thing at all. Besides this, the better and more precious a thing is, the more shame to spend it fondly. Though men keepe their goodes neuer so close, and locke them vp neuer so fast, yet oftentimes, either by some mischaunce of fire, or other thing, they are lost, or els desperate Dickes borowes now and then against the owners will al that euer he hath. And now

though the owner be vndone, yet is he not therefore dishonest, considering honestie standeth not in wealth, nor heapes of money: but the losse of time, seeing it happeneth through our owne folly, not only doth it make vs wretches, but also causeth men to thinke that we are past all grace. A wonderfull kinde of infamie, when the whole blame shall rest vpon none other mans necke, but vpon his onely that suffereth all the harme. With money a man may buy lande, but none can get honestie of that price: and yet with well vsing of time, a man not onely might get him much worshippe, but also might purchase himsefe a name for euer. Yea, in a small tyme a man might get great fame, and liue in much estimation. By losing of money we lose little els: but losing of time we lose all the goodnesse and giftes of God, which by labor might be had. Thus similitudes might be enlarged by heaping good sentences, when one thing is compared with an other, and conclusion made thereupon. Among the learned men of the Church, no one vseth this figure more then *Chrisostome*, whose writings the rather seeme more pleasaunt and sweete. For similitudes are not onely vsed to amplifie a matter, but also to beautifie the same, to delite the hearers, to make the matter plaine, and to shewe a certain maiestie with the report of such resembled things, but because I haue spoken of similitudes heretofore in the booke of *Logique*, I will surcease to talk any further of this matter.

¶ *Example.*

HE that mindeth to perswade, must needes be well stored with examples. *Exemplum.*
 And therefore much are they to be commended, which searche Chronicles of all ages, and compare the state of our Elders with this present time. The Historie of Gods booke to the Christian is infallible, and therefore the rehearsall of such good things as are therein contained, moue the faithfull to all vpriht doing, and amendment of their life. The *Ethnicke* Authours stirre the hearers, being well applied to the purpose. For when it shalbe reported that thei which had no knowledge of God, liued in a brotherly loue one towards an other, detested aduoutry, banished periuries, hanged the vnthankful, kept the idle without meate till they laboured for their liuing: suffered none extortion, exempted bribes from bearing rule in the Commonweale, the Christians must needes bee ashamed of their euill behauiour, and studie much to passe those which are in calling much vnder them, and not suffer that the ignorant and Pagans life, shall counteruaile the taught children of God, and passe them in good learning. Unegall examples commend much the matter. I call them vnegall when the weaker is brought in against the stronger, as if children be faithfull, much more ought men to be faithfull. If women be chast and vndefiled: men should much more be cleane and without fault. If an vnlearned man wil do no wrong, a learned man and a Preacher, must much more be vpriht and liue without blame. If an Housholder will deale iustly with his seruants: a King must much the rather deale iustly with his subiects. Examples gathered out of histories, and vsed in this sorte, helpe much towards perswasion. Yea, brute beastes minister greate occasion of right good matter, considering many of them haue shewed vnto vs, the paterns and Images of diuers vertues.

Doues seing an Hauke gather all together, teaching vs none other thing, but Doues.
 in aduersitie to stick one to an other. Craines in the night haue their watch, Craines.

warning vs neuer to be carelesse, for if their watch faile them, they al neuer leaue till they haue killed that one Craine, teaching vs that no traitors are worthy to liue vpon earth. The watch for his safegard, and because he would not slepe, holdeth a stone in his foote, the which falleth from him, when he beginneth to waxe heauie, and so keepeth himselfe stil waking. Whereby we may learne that all men in their vocation, should be right ware and watchfull. The Hen clocketh her Chickens, feedeth them, and keepeth them from the Kite. Women must clocke their Children, bring them vp well, and keepe them from euill happ. Now I might in speaking of some odious vice, largely set out some example belonging to the same, and compare it with other by heaping of Chronicles, and matching of things together. The vnthankfull in this age (whereof there is no small nomber) can not haue enough saide against them. And therefore I am minded to say somewhat against them, to the vtter abhorring of all such vnkind dealing. For he that is vnthankfull, for hartie loue sheweth cankard hated: wanteth all other vertues that are required to be in man. The chief perfection and the absolute fulfilling of the law, standeth in the loue which man oweth first to GOD, and next to his neighbour. Let a man haue faith, that he may be able to translate mountaines (as S. Paul saith:) yea, let him haue neuer so good qualities, or bee he neuer so politique a man for the safegard of his Countrie, be he neuer so wise, so ware, and so watchful: yet if he want loue he is nothing els but as a sounding Brasse, or a tinckling Cimball.

Now hee that is churlish and vnthankfull, must needes want loue, and therefore wanteth he all other goodnesse. The *Persians* therefore seeing the greatnesse of this offence, and that where it rested, all vices for euer were banished: Prouided by a Lawe that such should suffer death as felons, which were found faultie with vnthankfulnesse. And yet I can not see but they deserue rather an exquisite kinde of death (such as fewe haue seen, or few haue felt) then to suffer like death with other, that haue not like offended with them. But now because this offence is an euill most odious and the principall cause of all other mischief: I will set foorth three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the second of a dog, and the third of a Lion (which all three in thankfulnessse, if that be true which is reported of them, wonderfully exceeded) and the rather I seeke to set them out, that the wicked hereby may well knowe, what they themselues are, when brute beasts shall set them all to schoole.

There was a man (as *Plinie* writeth) which fostered vp a young Dragon, who seeing the same beast to waxe wonderfull greate, feared to keepe this Dragon any longer within his house, and therefore he put him out into a wilde Forest. It

happeneth afterwarde, that the same man trauayling on his iourney through the Forrest, was beset with Theeues. And nowe beeing in this distresse, and looking for none other ende but death, made (as lothe to departe) a great shoute and outcrie: straight vpon whose noyse, and at the knowledge of his voyce, the Dragon came to him in all the haste possible. Whereupon the Theeues beeing greatly afraied, ranne cleane away to saue themselues harmelesse. Thus through the thankfulnessse of a Dragon, this mans life was saued.

The Dog of the Romaine *Fuluius* is more wonderfull. This *Fuluius* trauailing by the way was slaine with slaues, that laie in waite for him. His Dogge seeing his master dead, laie by him for the space of two daies. Whereupon when the man

was missing, and search made for him: They founde him dead with his Dog Thankfulnesse of a Dog. lying by him. Some marueiling to see the Dog lye there by his dead Master, stroke him and would haue driuen him from the dead corse, and could not: some seeing such kindenesse in the dog, and pitying him that he should lye there without meate two or three daies before: cast him a peece of flesh: whereupon the Dog straight caried the meate to his maisters mouth, and would not eate any whit himselfe, though he had forborne meate so long before. And last of all when the dead body should be cast into the Riuer (according to the maner of the Romaines) the dog lept in after, and holding vp his maister so long as he could, did chuse rather to dye with him, then to liue without him.

The Lion (whereof *Appian* the Grammarian doeth speake) is also strange for his kindnesse, and almost incredible. A seruant that had run awaie from his master, and hid him selfe for feare in a Caue within a great wood, tooke a thorne out of a Lions foote, which then came to him for succour as he laie there. Now when he had done, the Lion to requite his

good turne, brought such meat to the Caue as he could kill in the Wood. The Thankfulnesse of a Lion. which meate the seruant roasting against the Sunne (being in the most hot Countrey of all *Affrica*) did eate from tyme to time. At length yet being wearie of such a lothsome life, hee left the caue and came abroad, by meanes whereof he was taken again, and being a slaue to his maister (who had power of life and death ouer him) he was condemned to be cast to wilde beasts at Rome, there to be deuoured of a Lyon. The poore caitife stode pitifully in the sight of thousands, euer looking when he should be deuoured. It happened at the same time when this fellow was thus adiudged to die: that the same Lion was taken, whose foote he healed in the wood. When the Lion was put to him, he came first very terrible towards the fellowe, and immediatly knowing what he was, stood still, and at length fauned gently vpon him. This fellowe at first being amased, began to take harte vnto him afterwarde, as half knowing him likewise, and thus they began both to take acquaintance the one of the other, and plaid together a good space without all daunger, whereupon the people being amased, much wondered at the straungenesse of this thing. And standing thus astonied, they sent to know of the slaue what this matter should meane. Unto whom this poore wretch opened the whole thing altogether euen as it happened. When the people heard this, they not onely reioyced much at the sight thereof, but also they made earnest request to his maister for his life. His maister marueiling asmuch as any of them at such an vnwonted kindnesse: gaue him not onely his life, but also his freedome. And now to the ende he might haue somewhat whereupon to liue, the people gaue him a fee for terme of his life. The felowe by and by gat him a line and a coler, and caried the Lion vp and doune the Citie in such sort, as Huntomen cary a Greihound or a Spanell, the people still wondering and saying euer as he came by: beholde a man that hath cured a Lion: beholde a Lion that hath saued a man.

The which example the more straunge it is, the more ashamed may they be, that are vnnaturall, and may learne kindnesse of a brute beast. For such men being ouercome with kindnesse by beastes, are worse then beastes, and more meete rather to bee tormented with Deuilles, then to liue with men.

¶ *Of enlarging examples by copie.*

AND now because examples enriched by copie, helpe much for amplification: I will giue a taste howe these and such like histories may bee increased. And for the better handling of them, needfull it is to marke well the circumstances: that being well obserued and compared together on both partes, they may the rather bee enlarged. As thus. That which brute

beastes haue done, shalt thou being a man, seeme not to haue done? They shewed themselues naturall, and wilt thou appeare vnnaturall? Naie, they ouercame Nature, and wilt thou be ouercome of them? They became of beastes in bodie, men in Nature, and wilt thou become of a man in bodie, a beast in Nature? They beeing without reason, declared the propertie of reasonable creatures, and wilt thou, being a man endued with reason, appere in thy doings altogether vnreasonable? Shall Dogges be thankfull: and man, yea, Christen men want such a vertue? shall wormes shewe such kindnesse: and men appeare gracelesse? It had bene no matter if they had bene vnthankful: but man can neuer escape blame, seing God hath commaunded, and Nature hath graffed this in al men: that they should do to other, as they would be done vnto. Againe, they for meate onely shewed them selues so kind: and shall man for so many benefites receiued, and for such goodnesse shewed, requite for good will euill deedes: for hartie loue deadly hatred: for vertue vice: and for life giuen to him, yeeld death to other? Nature hath parted man and beast: and shall man in Nature bee no man? Shamed be that wretch that goeth against Nature, that onely hath the shape of a man, and in Nature is worse then a beast. Yea, worthy are all such rather to be torne with deuilles, then to liue with men. Thus an example might most copiously be augmented, but thus much for this time is sufficient.

The saying of Poetes and all their fables are not to be forgotten, for by them we may talke at large, and win men by perswasion, if we declare before hand that these tales were not fained of such wisemen without cause, neither yet continued vntill this time, and kept in memorie without good consideration, and therupon declare the true meaning of all such writing. For vndoubtedly there is no one tale among all the Poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended some thing that parteineth, either to the amendment of maners, to the knowledge of the trueth, to the setting forth of Natures work, or els the vnderstanding of some notable thing done. For what other is the painfull trauaile of *Vlisses*, described so largely by *Homer*, but a liuely picture of mans miserie in this life. And as *Plutarch* saieth: and likewise *Basilius Magnus*: in the *Iliades* are described strength, and valiantnesse of the bodie: In *Odissea* is set forth a liuely paterne of the minde. The Poetes were wisemen, and wished in hart the redresse of things, the which when for feare, they durst not openly rebuke, they did in colours paint them out,

Examples
enlarged.

Poetical
narrations
profitable.

Poetes vnder
colours,
shew much
wisedome.

and tolde men by shadowes what they should doe in good sooth, or els because the wicked were vnworthie to heare the trueth, they spake so that none might vnderstande but those vnto whom they please to vtter their meaning, and knewe them to be men of honest conuersation.

We read of *Danae* the faire damosell, whom *Iupiter* tempted full oft, and Danae. could neuer haue his pleasure, till at length he made it raigne golde, and so as she sat in her Chimney, a great deale fell vpon her lappe, the which she tooke gladly and kept it there, within the which golde, *Iupiter* himselfe was comprehended, whereby is none other thing els signified, but that women haue bene, and will be ouercome with money.

Likewise *Iupiter* fansying the faire maide *Isis*, could not haue his will, till he Isis. turned himself into a faire white Bull, which signified that beautie may ouercome the best.

If a man could speake against couetous caitiues, can he better shew what Tantalus. they are, then by setting forth the straunge plague of *Tantalus*, who is reported to be in Hell, hauing Water comming still to his chin, and yet neuer able to drinke: And an Apple hanging before his mouth, and yet neuer able to eate?

Icarus would needes haue winges, and flie contrarie to Nature, whereupon Icarus. when he had set them together with Waxe, and ioyned to his side, and mounted vp into the Ayre: But so sone as the Sunne had somewhat heated him, and his Waxe beganne to melt, he fell downe into a greate Riuer, and was drowned out of hand, the which water was euer after called by his name. Nowe what other thing doeth this tale shewe vs, but that euery man should not meddle with things about his compasse.

Midas desired that whatsoever he touched, the same might be gold: Midas. whereupon when *Iupiter* had graunted him his bound: his meate, drinke, and all other things turned into golde, and he choked with his own desire, as all couetous men lightly shalbe, that can neuer be content when they haue enough.

What other thing are the wonderfull labours of *Hercules*, but that reason Hercules labours, what they signified. should withstand affection, and the spirit for euer should fight against the flesh? Wee Christians had like Fables heretofore of ioyly felowes, the S. Christopher, what he signified. Images whereof were set vp (in Gods name) euen in our Churches. But is any man so madde to think that euer there was such a one as Saint Christopher was painted vnto vs? Mary God forbid. Assuredly when he liued vpon earth there were other houses builded for him, then wee haue at this time, and I thinke Tailers were much troubled to take measure of him for making his garments. He might be of kinne to Garganteo if he were as bigge as he is set forth in Antwerp. But this was the meaning of our elders (and the name self doth signifie none other) that euery man

should beare Christ vpon his backe, that is to say, he should loue his brother, as Christ loued vs, and gaue his bodie for vs: he should trauaile through hunger, cold, sorowe, sicknesse, death, and all daungers, with al sufferance that might be. And whether should he trauaile? to the euerliuing God. But how? In darknesse? No forsooth by the light of his worde. And therefore S. Christopher beeing in the Sea, and not wel able to get out (that is to say) being almost drowned in sinne, (and not knowing which waie best to escape) an Eromite appeared vnto him with a Lanterne and a light therein, the which doth signifie none other thing to the Christian, but the true worde of God, which lighteneth the hearts of men, and giueth vnderstanding to the younglings (as the Prophet doth say.) Againe, S. George he is set

on Horsebacke and killeth a Dragon with his speare, which Dragon would haue deuoured a Virgine, whereby is none other thing meant, but that a King and euery man, vnto whom the execution of Iustice is committed, should defende the innocent against the vngodly attempts of the wicked, and rather kill such deuilles by Marciall lawe, then suffer the innocentes to take any wrong. But who gaue our Cleargie any such authoritie that those Monsters should be in Churches, as lay mens bookes? God forbad by expresse worde, to make any grauen Image, and shall wee bee so bold to breake Gods will for a good intent, and call these Idolles laie mens bookes? I could talk largely of examples, and heape a number here together, aswell of *Ethnik* Authours, as of other here at home; but for feare I should be tedious, these for this time shall suffice.

¶ *Of Fables.*

THE feined Fables, such as are attributed vnto brute beastes, would not be forgotten at any hande. For not onely they delite the rude and ignorant, but also they helpe much for perswasion. And because such as speake in open audience, haue euer mo fooles to heare them, then wisemen to giue iudgement: I would thinke it not amisse to speake much, according to the nature and phansie of the ignorant, that the rather they might be won through Fables, to learne more weightie and graue matters, for all men can not brooke sage causes, and auncient collations: but will like earnest matters the rather, if some thing be spoken there among agreeing to their natures. The multitude (as *Horace* doth say) is a beast, or rather a monster that hath many heddes, and therefore like vnto the diuersitie of natures, varietie of inuention must alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of most graue matters, or deeply search out the ground of things or vse the quiddities of *Dunce*, to set forth Gods misteries: and you shal see the ignorant (I warrant you) either fall a sleepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must needes be made merie: & the more foolish your talke is, the more wise will they compt it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse, but rather wisdom to win men, by telling of Fables to heare of Gods goodnesse. Undoubtedly fables well set forth, haue done much good at diuers times, and in diuers Commonweales. The Romaine *Menenius Agrippa*, alledging vpon a time, a Fable of the conflict made betwixt the parts of a mans bodie, and his bellie: quieted a marueilous stirre that was like to ensue, and pacified the vprorre of sedicious Rebelles, which els thought for euer to destroy their Countrey. *Themistocles* perswaded the *Athenians* not to change their officers, by rehearsing the fable of a scabbed Foxe. For

S. George on
horsback.

Apologie.

Fables how
needfull
they are to
teache
the ignorant.

(quoth he) when many flies stode feeding vpon his rawe flesh, and had well fed themselues, he was contented at an others perswasion, to haue them slapt awaie: whereupon there ensued such hungrie flies afterwards, that the sorie Foxe being all alone, was eaten vp almost to the hard bone, and therefore cursed the time, that euer he greed to any such euil counsaile. In like maner (quoth *Themistocles*) if you will change officers, the hungrie flies will eate you vp one after another, whereas now you liue being but onely bitten, and like to haue no farthar harme, but rather much wealth and quietnesse hereafter, because thei are filled and haue enough, that heretofore suckt so much of your blood.

Now likewise, as I gaue a lesson how to enlarge an example, so may fables also in like sort be set out, and augmented at large by Amplification. Thus much for the vse of Fables. Again, sometimes feined narrations, and wittie inuented matters (as though they were true in deede) help wel to set forward a cause, and haue great grace in them, being aptly vsed and well inuented. *Luciane* passeth in this point: and Sir Thomas More for his *Eutopia*, can soner be remembred of me, then worthely praised of any, according as the excellencie of his inuention in that behalfe doth most iustly require.

¶ *Digestion.*

Digestion is an orderly placing of things, parting euery matter seuerally. *Digestio.*
Tullie hath an example hereof in his Oration which he made for *Sextus Roscius Amarinus*. There are three things (quoth *Tullie*) which hinder *Sextus Roscius* at this time, the accusation of his aduersaries, the boldnesse of them, and the power that they bare. *Eruscus* his accusar hath taken vpon him to forge false matter, the *Roscians* kinsfolke haue boldly aduentured, and will face out their doings, and *Chrisogonus* here that most can doe, will presse vs with his power.

¶ *A whisht or warning to speake no more.*

A Whisht is when we bid them holde their peace, that haue least cause to speake, and can doe little good with their talking. *Reticentia.*
Diogenes being vpon the Sea among a number of naughtie packes, in a great storme of weather, when diuers of these wicked fellowes cried out for feare of drowning, some with feined praier to *Iupiter*, some to *Neptune*, and euery one as they best fantasied the Gods aboue: whisht (quoth *Diogenes*) for by Gods mother, if God himselfe knewe you to be here, you were like to be drowned euery mothers sonne of you. Meaning that they were so naught, and so fainedly made their praier to false Gods, without mind to amend their naughtie life, that the liuing GOD would not leaue them vnpunished, though they cried out neuer so fast. We vse this figure likewise in speaking of any man: we say whisht, the Wolfe is at hand, when the same man cometh in the meane season, of whom we spake before. *Diogenes.*

¶ *Contrarietie.*

CONtrarietie, is when our talke standeth by contrary wordes or sentences together. As thus. Wee might dispraise some one man, he is of a straunge *Contentio.*

nature as euer I saw, for to his frend he is churlish, to his foe he is gentle: giue him faire wordes and you offend him: checke him sharply, and you winne him. Let him haue his will, and he will flie in thy face: keepe him short and you shall haue him at commaundement.

¶ *Freenesse of speeche.*

FRreenesse of speech, is when we speake boldly and without feare, euen to the proudest of them, whatsoever we please or haue list to speake. *Diogenes*, herein did excell, and feared no man when he sawe iust cause to say his minde. This worlde wanteth such as hee was, and hath ouer many such as neuer honest man was, that is to saie, flatterers, fauners, and soothers of mens sayings.

¶ *Stomacke grieffe.*

STomacke grieffe, is when we will take the matter as hot as a toste. We need no examples for this matter, hot men haue too many, of whom they may be bold and spare not that find themselues a cold. Sometimes we entreate earnestly, and make meanes by praier to winne fauour. Sometimes we seeke fauour by speaking well of the companie present. As thus. Through your help my Lords, this good deede hath bin done. Sometimes we speake to hurt our aduersaries, by setting forth their euil behaiour. Somtimes we excuse a fault, & accuse the reporters. Sometimes wee wish vnto God for redresse of euill. Sometimes wee curse the extreme wickednesse of some past good Roisters. In all which I thinke neither examples neede, nor yet any rehearsall had bin greatly necessary, considering al these come without any great learning, sauing, that for apt bestowing, iudgement is right needfull.

¶ *Of figures in sentences called Schemes.*

WHen any sentence vpon the placing or setting of wordes, is sayd to be a figure: the said is alwaies called a Scheme, the which words being altered or displaced, the figure straight doth lose his name, and is called no more a Scheme. Of this sort there is diuers, such as hereafter followe.

¶ *Doublets.*

DOulettes is when we rehearse one and the same worde twice together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am. *Tullie* against *Catiline*, enueighing sore against his traterous attempts, saieth after a long rehearsed matter, and yet notwithstanding al this notorious wickednesse: The man liueth still, liueth? Naie Marie, he cometh into the counsaile house, which is more. An other. Darest thou shew thy face, thou wretched theefe, thou thief, I say to thine owne father, darest thou looke abroad? Thus the oft repeating of one worde, doth much stirre the hearer, and makes the worde seeme greater, as though a sworde were oft digged and thrust twice, or thrise in one place of the body.

¶ *Altering part of a worde.*

ALtering parte of a worde, is when we take a letter or sillable from some worde, or els adde a letter, or sillable to a worde. As thus. William Somer seeing much adoe for accomptes making, and that the Kinges Maiestie of most worthie memorie Henrie the eight wanted money, such as was due vnto him: and please your grace (quoth he) you haue so many Frauditours, so many Conueighers, and so many Deceiuers to get vp your money, that they get all to themselues. Whether he sayd true or no, let God iudge that, it was vnappely spoken of a foole, and I thinke he had some Schoolemaster: He should haue saide Auditours, Surueighours, and Receiuers.

*Paulum in
mutatum
verbum.*

¶ *Repetition.*

REpetition, is when we beginne diuers sentences, one after an other: with one and the same worde. As thus: When thou shalt appeare at the terrible day of iudgement, before the Maiestie of God, where is then thy riches? Where is then thy daintie fare? Where is then thy great band of men? Where are then thy faire houses? Where are then thy Landes, Pastures, Parkes, and Forests? I might say thus of our soueraigne Lorde the Kings Maiestie, that now is: King Edward hath ouerthrowen Idolatrie, King Edward hath banished superstition: King Edward by Gods help, hath brought vs to the true knowledge of our creation: King Edward hath quieted our consciences, and laboured that all his people should seeke health, by the death and passion of Christ alone.

*Repetitio
à primo.*

¶ *Conuersion.*

CONuersion, is an oft repeating of the last worde, and is contrary to that which went before. When iust dealing is not vsed: wealth goeth awaie, friendship goeth awaie, trueth goeth awaie, all goodnesse (to speake at a worde) goeth awaie. Where affections beare rule, there reason is subdued, honestie is subdued, good will is subdued, and all things els that withstand euill, for euer are subdued.

*Conuersio
eiusdem
in extremum.*

¶ *Comprehension.*

COMprehension, is when both the aboue rehearsed figures, are in one kind of speaking vsed, so that both one first word must oft bee rehearsed, and likewise all one last worde. What winneth the hartes of men? liberalitie? What causeth men to aduenture their liues, and die willingly in defence of their maisters? liberalitie. What continueth the state of a king? liberalitie. What becometh a woman best, and first of all? silence. What second? silence. What third? silence. What fourth? silence. Yea, if a man should aske me till Domes daie, I would still crie silence, silence: without the which no woman hath any good gift, but hauing the same, no doubt she must haue many other notable gifts, as the which of necessitie, doe euer followe such a vertue.

*Conuersio in
eadem.*

*Silence
becommeth
a woman.*

¶ *Progression.*

PRogression standeth vpon contrary sentences, which aunswere one another. *Progressio.*

If we would rebuke a naughtie boy, we might with commending a good boye, say thus. What a boy art thou in comparison of this fellow here. Thou sleepest: he wakes: thou plaies: he studies: thou art euer abroade: he is euer at home: thou neuer waites: he still doth his attendance: thou carest for no bodie: he doeth his duetie to all men: thou doest what thou canst to hurt all, and please none: he doeth what he can to hurte none, and please all.

Like ending, and like falling.

Then the sentences are said to end like, when those wordes doe ende in like sillables which do lacke cases. Thou liues wickedly, thou speakest naughtely. The rebels of Northfolke (quoth a most worthie man that made an inuectiue against them) through slauerie, shewe nobilitie: in deede miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause deuillishly. Sentences also are said to fall like when diuers wordes in one sentence ende in like cases, and that in rime. By greate trauaile is gotten much auaile, by earnest affection men learne discretion.

*Similiter
desinens,
similiter
cadens.*

These two kindes of Exornation are then most delitefull, when contrary things are repeated together: when that once againe is vttered which before was spoken: when sentences are turned and letters are altered. Of the first this may be an example: where learning is loued, there labour is esteemed: but when slothe is thought solace, there rudenesse taketh place. A King is honoured that is a King in deede: will you drinke or you go, or will you go or you drinke. There is a difference betwixt an Horsmilne, and a Milne horse. He is a meeter man to driue the cart, then to serue the court: through labor cometh honor, through idle liuing foloweth hanging. Diuers in this our time delite much in this kinde of writing, which beeing measurably vsed, deliteth much the hearers, otherwise

it offendeth, and wearieth mens eares with sacietie. *S. Augustine* had a goodly gift in this behalfe, and yet some thinkes he forgot measure, and vsed ouermuch this kind of figure. Notwithstanding, the people were such where he liued, that they tooke much delite in rimed sentences, and in Orations made ballade wise. Yea, thei were so nice and so waiward to please, that except the Preacher from time to time could rime out his sermon, they would not long abide the hearing. *Tacitus* also sheweth that in his time, the Iudges and Seriantes at the lawe, were driuen to vse this kinde of phrase, both in their writing, and also in their speaking. Yea, great Lordes would thinke themselues contemned, if learned men (when they speake before them) sought not to speake in this sort. So that for the flowing stile and full sentence, crept in Minstrels elocution, talking matters altogether in rime, and for waightnesse and grautie of wordes, succeding nothing els but wantonnesse of inuention. *Tullie* was forsaken, with *Liuius*, *Cæsar*, and other: *Apuleius*, *Ausonius*, with such Minstrell makers were altogether followed. And I thinke the Popes heretofore (seeing the peoples folie to bee such) made all our Himnes and Anthemes in rime, that with the singing of men, playing of Orgaines, ringing of Belles,

Augustine.

Tacitus.

Rimed
sentences, vsed
without
measure.

and

riming of Himnes and Sequences, the poore ignorant might think the harmonie to be heauenly, and verely beleue that the Angels of God made not a better noyce in heauen. I speake thus much of these ii. figures, not that I thinke folie to vse them (for they are pleasant and praise worthy) but my talke is to this ende, that they should neither onely nor chiefly be vsed, as I know some in this our time, do ouermuch vse them in their writings. And ouermuch (as all men knowe) was neuer good yet. Yea a man may haue ouermuch of his mothers blessing if she will neuer leaue blessing. Therefore a measure is best, yea, euen in the best thinges. And thus farre for these two figures.

Rimes made to
mocke
the simple.

¶ *Egall members.*

EGall members are such, when the one halfe of the sentence answereth to the other, with iust proportion of number, not that the Sillables of necessitie should bee of iust number, but that the eare might iudge them to be so egall, that there may appeare small difference. As thus. Law without mercie, is extreme power, yet men through foly deserue such Iustice. Learning is daungerous, if an euill man haue it. The more noble a man is, the more gentle he should bee. *Isocrates* passeth in this behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in nomber, keeping iust proportion in framing of his sentence.

*Paria paribus
relata.*

¶ *Like among themselues.*

SENTences are called like when contraries are set together, and the first taketh asmuch as the other following: and the other following taketh asmuch awaie, as that did which went before. As thus. Lust hath ouercome shamefastnesse, impudence hath ouercome feare, and madnesse hath ouercome reason. Or els sentences are said to be like among themselues, when euery part of one sentence is egall, and of like waight one with an other. As thus. Is it knowne, tried, proued, euident, open, and assured that I did such a deede? An other. Such riot, Dicing, Carding, picking, stealing, fighting, Ruffians, Queanes and Harlottes must needes bring him to naught.

Similia inter se.

Gradation.

GRadation, is when we rehearse the word that goeth next before, and bring an other word thereupon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should goe vp a paire of stayres and not leaue till he come at the top. Or thus. Gradation is when a sentence is disseuered by degrees, so that the word which endeth the sentence going before doeth begin the next. Labour getteth learning, learning getteth fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth blisse for euer. An other. Of sloth cometh pleasure, of pleasure cometh spending, of spending cometh whoring, of whoring cometh lack, of lacke cometh theft, of theft cometh hanging, and there an end for this worlde.

Gradatio.

¶ *Regression.*

THat is called regression, when we repeate a worde eftsome that hath bin

Regressio.

spoken and rehersed before, whether the same be in the beginning, in the midst, or in the latter ende of a sentence. In the beginning, thus. Thou art ordeined to rule other, and not other to rule thee. In the midst, thus. He that hath money hath not giuen it, and he that hath giuen money, hath not his money still: and he that hath giuen thanks, hath thanks still, and he that hath them stil, hath giuen them notwithstanding. In the latter ende, thus. Man must not liue to eate, but eate to liue. Man is not made for the sabboth, but the sabboth is made for man. If man do any filthy thing, and take pleasure therin: the pleasure goeth away, but the shame tarieth stil. If man do any good thing with paine, the paines goe awaie, but the honestie abideth still.

¶ *Wordes loose.*

WOOrdes loose are such, which as are vttered without any addition of *Dissolutum.* coniunctions, such as knitte words and sentences together. As thus. Obeye the King, feare his lawes, keepe thy vocation, doe right, seeke rest, like well a little, vse all men, as thou wouldest they should vse thee.

¶ *Outcrying.*

OUt crying, is when with voyce we make an exclamation. Oh Lord, O God, *Exclamatio.* O worlde, O life, O maners of men? O Death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy victorie?

¶ *Oft vsing of one word in diuers places.*

CAN he haue any mans harte in him, or deserueth hee the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a poore innocent man, who neuer thought him harme.

¶ *A cause giuen to a sentence vttered.*

I Feare not mine aduersarie, because I am not guiltie. I mistrust not the Iudges, because they are iust, the Quest will not cast me, the matter is so plaine.

¶ *A cause giuen to things contrary.*

BEtter it were to rule, then to serue. For, he that ruleth, liueth: because he is free. But he that serueth, cannot be saide to liue. For where bondage is, there is no life properly.

Sufferaunce.

TAke your pleasure for a time, and doe what you list, a time will come *Permissio.* when account shall be made. When thinges cannot be that we would haue, we should will that, which we can haue. Pacience is a remedie for euery disease.

A doubting.

SHall I call him foole, or shall I call him varlet, or both? An other. What *Dubitatio.* made him to commit such a Robberie? Lacke of money, or lacke of wit, or lacke of honestie? I doubt whether to call him a foolish knaue, or a knauish foole. When much matter was here in England, for calling the Pope supreme

head of the Church (quoth a Spanyard, that whilome was of the Popes Court in Rome) you doubt much here in England, whether the Pope be head of the Church or no, and great variaunce there is amongst you, at the which folly of yours I do much maruaile, for wee doubt much at Rome whether hee bee a member of the Church at all or no. A Spanyards
doubt.

Reckening.

REckening is when many thinges are numbred together. There is no streate, no house, no man, no childe, no shoppe, no lodging in al this Towne, but he hath bene in it. There is no Stone, no Diamond, no Saphire, no Rubie, no Christall: no Turcasse, no Emerode, but he knoweth them perfectly. By this figure wee may enlarge that, by rehearsing of the partes, which was spoken generally, and in fewe wordes. *Dinumeratio.*

This may bee an example. Such a Gentleman being an vnthrift, hath spent all that euer he had. Thus the sentence may be amplified, if wee shew particularly what he had, and tell seuerally how he spent it. Looke what enheritance came to him (which was no smal thing) by the death of his owne kinne, and his wiues kinsfolke: What dower soeuer he had by mariage of his wife, which by report was a very great thing: Whatsoeuer he got by Executorship: Whatsoeuer the Kinges Maiestie gaue him. What booties soeuer he got in Warrefare: looke what money he had, what Plate, what Apparell, what Houshold stuffe, what Land and Lordships, what Sheepe, Goods, Parkes, and Medowes, yea, whatsoeuer he had moueable, or vnmoueable, his house, and all that euer he had: he hath so spent in fewe daies, so waisted it, and made such hauocke of all together, among the beastly companie of filthie Queanes, among abhominable Harlottes, with banquetting from day to day, with sumptuous rare suppers, with drinking in the night, with dainties and delicates, and all such sweete delites, with Dicing, Carding, and all maner of gameing: that he hath now left neither crosse nor crucifixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde to blesse himselfe with all. Thus these wordes (he hath spent al his goodes in riot) are dilated and set forth at large, by rehearsing seuerally euery thing one after an other. Sentence
amplified
by seuerall
rehearsing
of things.

¶ *Reasoning a matter with our selues.*

THEN we reason the matter with our selues, when we aske questions of our selues, and aunswere therunto. As thus. How came this, good fellowe by all that he hath? Did his father leaue him any Lande? Not a foote. Did his friends giue him any thing? Not a groate. Hath he serued in any vocation, to heape vp so much wealth? None hath liued more idely. Doth he not leane to some Noble man? Yea, but he neuer receiued more then fower marke wages. How then commeth he by al that euer he hath, liuing without labour, hauing no friendes to help him, hauing so little to take vnto by all outward apparance, and spending so liberally, and owing no man a groate in all the worlde? Assuredly, it cannot be otherwise, but that he commeth naughtly by most of that which he hath. An other. Seing thou art so basely borne, so poore in state, so smally learned, so hard faouered, and hast no witte at al, what meanest thou to vaunt thy selfe so much, and to make such bragges as thou doest. What doth make thee to waxe so proude? *Disputatio.*

Thy stocke whereof thou didest come? Why man they are very base folke. Thine owne wealth? Tush, thou art as poore as Job. Thy learning? Marie thou neuer camst yet where any learning did growe. Thy beautie? Now in good soth, a worse faouered man can there not be vpon earth againe. Thy witte? Now God he knoweth, it is as blunt as many bee. What other thing then is all this thy bragging, but plaine madnesse.

¶ *Resembling of things.*

REsembling of thinges, is a comparing or liking of looke, with looke, shape, *Imago.* with shape, and one thing with an other. As when I see one in a great heate, and fiercely set vpon his enemie, I might say, he let flee at him like a Dragon. Or thus. He lookes like a Tiger, a man would think he would eate one, his countenance is so ougle. He speakes not, but he barkes like a Dog: he whets his teeth like a Bore, he beates the ground with his foote like a great Horse: he is as ramping as a Lyon. By this figure called in Latine *Imago*, that is to say an Image, we might compare one man with an other, as *Salust* compareth *Cæsar* and *Cato* together, or wee might heape many men together, and proue by large rehearsall any thing that wee would, the which of the *Logicians* is called induction.

¶ *Answering to our selfe.*

WE are saied to answeere our self, when we seeme to tell our self what we *Sibi ipsi* will doe, *Phedria* in *Terence* beeing much troubled and out of quiet, because *responsio.* hee was not receiued of his woman, but shut out of doores, when he was most willing to see her, made as though he would not come to her afterwards, nor yet see her at all, when she did most gently sende for him. And therefore beeing in his anger, thus he saied: Well, what shall I do? Shall I not goe, not euen now when she sends for me of her owne accorde? Or shall I bee of such a nature, that I cannot abide the despitefulnessse of Harlottes? She hath shut me out, she calles me againe. Shall I goe to her? Nay I wil not though she entreate me neuer so faire.

Order.

ORder is of two sorts, the one is when the worthier is preferred and set *Ordo.* before. As a man is set before a woman. The second is, when in amplification, the weightiest words are set last, and in diminishing the same are set formost. With what looke, with what face, with what heart dare thou doe such a deede?

¶ *Briefe describing, or circumscription.*

Circumscription is a briefe declaring of a thing. As thus, He is free that is *Circumscriptio.* subiect to no euill. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diuers other colours of *Rhetorique*, to commende and set forth a sentence, by change of wordes and much varietie of speech, but I had rather offende in speaking to little, then deserue rebuke in saying to much. For asmuch as close silence may soner be pardoned, then immoderate babling can want iust blame, and therefore thus an ende.

¶ *Of Memorie.*

AS I haue laboured to set out the other parts of *Rhetorique*, in such ample wise as I thought most needfull, so it standeth me in hande, not to slacken mine endeouour, now that I am come to speake of memorie. For, though man haue vnderstanding and iudgement, which is one part of wisdom: yet wanting a remembraunce to apply things aptly, when time and place shal best require: he shall doe but small good with all his vnderstanding. And therefore it is saied not without reason, that the same is memorie to the mind, that life is to the bodie. Now then what els must they doe that esteeme reason and loue knowledge, but cherish the memorie from time to time, as an especiall and soueraine preseruatiue, against the infection of cankerd obliuion. The Faulkners say, it is the first point of hauking to holde fast. And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in all good learning also, it is best & most expedient euermore to holde fast. For what auaille good thinges if wee cannot keepe them, if we receiue them in at one eare, and let them out as fast againe at the other eare? A good thriftie man will gather his goodes together in time of plentie, and lay them out againe in time of need: and shal not an Oratour haue in store good matter, in the chest of his memorie, to vse and bestow in time of necessitie? I doubt not, but all men desire to haue a good remembraunce of thinges, the which what it is, how it is deuised, and how it may be preserued, I will shewe in as fewe wordes as I can.

¶ *What is memorie.*

MEMORIE is the power retentiue of minde, to keepe those thinges, which by mans wit are conceiued, or thus. Memorie is the power of the minde that containeth things receiued, that calleth to minde things past, and reneweth of fresh, things forgotten.

Memorie,
what it is.

¶ *The places of Memorie.*

THE Phisitions declare, that in the former part of the head lieth the common sence, the which is therefore so called, because it giueth iudgement, of al the fiue outward sences, onely when they are presently occupied about any thing. As when I heare a thing, or see a thing, my common sence iudgeth, that then I doe heare, or see the same. But the memorie called the Treasure of the minde, lieth in the hinder part, the which is made most perfect by temperatnesse, and moderation of qualities in the braine. For where humours exceede or

want, there must needes ensue much weakenesse of remembraunce.

Children and
old men
have but euill
memories.

Children therefore being ouer moyst, and old men ouer drie, haue neuer good memories. Againe, where ouer much colde is, and extreme moysture, there is euer much forgetfulnesse. Therefore it auailleth greatly, what bodies we haue, and of what constitution they bee compact together. For such as be hot and moist, do some conceiue matters, but

they keepe not long. Again, they that be colde and drie, doe hardly conceiue, but they keepe it surely when they once haue it. And the reason is this, heate being chiefe qualitie, doth drawe thinges vnto it (as we may see by the Sunne) the which notwithstanding are soner after dissipated and resolued.

Hot & moyst
bodies some
conceiue. Cold
and drie

Againe, who hath seene a print made in water of any earthly thing? Then -- though heate and moysture together drawe things vnto them, yet, (wee see plainly) they cannot long hold them. But when the braine is cold and drie, things are therfore the faster holden, because it is the propertie of colde and drought, to thicken all things, and to harden them fast together, as we see the water through coldnesse is congeled, and soft things are frozen oftentimes: almost as hard as a stone. So that moysture through heate being chiefe qualitie, doth drawe: and drought through coldnesse, which is chiefe contrary to heate, doth harden and make thinges fast together. But now how doe wee knowe, that the memorie resteth in the latter part of the head?

keepe thinges
sure.

No doubt experience hath proued, and confirmed this to bee most true. For there hath beene some, that beeing hurt in that part, haue vtterly forgot their owne name. I doe remember one man, that (beeing hurt in that place, at the insurrection of the Lincolneshire men, fifteene yeres past) could not deuise the making of some Letters in his Crosse rowe, when he took penne and inke to write to his friend, whereas before that time, he wrote both fast and faire, and was well learned in the Latine. And therefore when he wrote, he would stand musing a great while, before he could cal to remembraunce, how he vsed to make a P. a. G. or such an other Letter: wherevpon diuers much maruailed what he would haue, or what he ment at the first time. For being griued and willing to aske helpe, he could not vtter his meaning, for lacke of remembrance, and yet his tongue serued him well otherwise, to vtter whatsoever came in his head.

Memorie in the
latter parte of
the head.

¶ *The deuision of Memorie.*

MEmorie is partly naturall, and partly artificiall. Naturall memorie, is when without any precepts or lessons, by the onely aptnesse of nature, we beare away such thinges as we heare. Wherein some heretofore did much excell, and greatly passe al other. As *Themistocles*, who had so good a memorie, that when one proffered to teach him the art of Memorie: nay by *Sainct Marie* (quoth he) teach me rather the arte of forgetting. Declaring thereby that his memorie was passing good, and that it was more plaine for him, to forget such thinges as he would not kepe, then hard to remember such thinges as he would knowe.

Memorie
deuided.

Themistocles.

Mithridates also had such an excellent memorie, that whereas he was Lorde and Ruler ouer xxii straunge Countries, that speake diuers speeches from one an other: he was able to talke with euery one of them in their owne countrey language.

Mithridates.

Likewise *Cyrus* King of the *Persians*, hauing a great armie of men, knewe the names of all his Souldiers.

Cyrus.

Cyneas Ambassadour for King *Pyrrhus*, called euery one by his name, that was in the Parliament house at Rome, the second day after he came thether, the number of them being foure times as many as they bee, that belong vnto the Parliament here in England.

Cyneas.

Julius Cæsar is reported that he could reade, heare, and tell one what he should write, so fast as his penne could runne, and endite Letters himselfe altogether at one time.

Iulius Cæsar.

Thus we see that naturally men haue had wonderfull memories, as contrariwise there haue bene heard of as straunge forgetful wittes. Some hath not knowne his right hand from his

left. An other hath forgot his owne name. An other hath caried his knife in his mouth: and hath runne rounde about the house seeking for it. An other hath told a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgot what he spake all that while.

Forgetfull
wittes.

Cicero telleth of one *Curio*, that where as he would make a deuision of three parts, he would either forget the third, or make vp a fourth, contrary to his first purpose and entent.

This I remember beeing a boye, that where as a Preacher had taken vpon him to set forth the twelue Articles of our belief, he could not in all the worlde finde out past nine: so that he was faine to say, he was assured there was twelue, wheresoeuer the other three were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knew them better then he did, and therefore he would for his part say no more, but commit them al to God, and those nine (thought he) were enough for him at that time, to set fourth and expounde for their vnderstanding.

Belike this man
had
the art of
forgetting.

Now the best meane both to amende an euill memorie, and to preserue a good, is first to keepe a diet, and eschewe surfites, to sleepe moderatly, to accompanie with women rarely, and last of all to exercise the witte with cunning, of many thinges without booke, and euer to be occupied with one thing or other. For euen as by labour the witte is whetted, so by lithernesse the witte is blouted.

Preseruation
of memorie.

But now concerning the other kinde of memorie called artificiall, I had need to make a long discourse, considering the strangenesse of the thing to the Englishe eare, and the hardnesse of the matter, to the ignorant and vnlearned. But first I wil shew from whence it hath beginning, and vpon what occasion it was first inuented, before I aduenture to declare the precepts that belong vnto the same.

¶ *The first founder of the art of Remembraunce.*

THE inuention of this Arte, is fathered vpon *Simonides*, for when the same man (as the Fable recordeth) had made in behalfe of a triumphant Champion called *Scopas*, for a certaine somme of money a Ballade, such as was then wont to be made for Conquerours: he was denied a peece of his reward, because he made a digression in his song (which in those daies was customably vsed) to the praise and commendation of *Castor & Pollux* (who were then thought being Twinnes,

Simonides first
Authour of the
arte of
remembrance.

& got by *Iupiter* to be Gods) of whom the Champion willed him to aske a portion, because he had so largely set forth their worthy doings. Now it chaunced, that where as there was made a great feast, to the honour of the same *Victorie*, and *Simonides* had beene placed there as a guest, he was sodainly called from the Table, and told that there was two yong men at the doore, and both on horsback, which desired most earnestly to speak with him out of hand. But when he came out of the doores, he saw none at all: notwithstanding, he was not so sone out, and his foote on the Thresholde, but the Parlour fell downe immediatly vpon them all that were there, and so crushed their bodies together, and in such sort, that the kinsfolke of those that were dead, comming in, and desirous to burie them euery one according to their calling, not onely could they not perceiue them by their faces, but also they could not discerne them by any other marke of any part in all their bodies. Then *Simonides* well remembring in what place euery one of them did sit, tolde them what euery one was, and gaue them their kinsfolkes carcasses, so many as were there. Thus the arte was first inuented. And yet (though this be but a Fable) reason might beate thus much into our heades, that if the like thing had bene done, the like remembrance might haue bene vsed. For who is he that seeth a dosen sit at a table, whom he knoweth very wel, cannot tell after they are all risen, where euery one of them did sit before? And therefore, be it that some man inuented this tale: the matter serueth well our purpose, and what neede wee any more?

¶ *What things are requisite to get the art of Memorie.*

They that will remember many thinges, and rehearse them together out of hand: must learne to haue places, and digest Images in them accordingly.

A place what it is.

A place is called any roume, apt to receiue thinges.

An Image what it is.

An Image is any Picture or shape, to declare some certaine thing therby. Places how they must be.
 And euen as in waxe we make a print with a seale, so we haue places where liuely pictures must be set. The places must be great, of small distaunce, not one like an other, and euermore the first place must bee made notable aboute the rest, hauing alwaies some seuerall note from the other, as some Antique, or a hand pointing, or such like, that the rather
 hauing a great number of places, wee might the better knowe where wee are, Images how they must be.
 by the remembraunce of such notable and straunge places. And thus hauing them well appointed, we must keepe them fresh in our memorie, and neuer change them but vse them still, whatsoever we haue to say. But the Images we may change, as the matter shal giue iust cause, vsing such as shal serue best for the knowledge of thinges. The which Images must bee set fourth, as though they were stirring, yea, they must be sometimes made ramping, & last of al, they must be made of things notable, such as may cause earnest impression of things in our minde. As a notable euill faouered man, or a monstrous Horse, such as Sainct Georges Horse was wont to be, or any such like

helpe well for remembrance.

- { i The places of Memorie are resembled
- { vnto Waxe and Paper.
- { ii Images are compted like vnto Letters
- { or a Seale.
- { iii The placing of these Images, is like
- { vnto wordes written.
- { iiii The vtterance and vsing of them, is
- { like vnto reading.

ANd therefore, as we doe reserue Paper, and yet chaunge our writing, putting out wordes as occasion shall serue, and setting other in their roume: so may we doe for the Images inuented, chaunge our Picture oft, and reserue the Papers stil. Some gather their places & Images out of the Crosse rowe, beginning euery Letter with the name of some Beast, and so goe through the whole, making in euery beast fiue seueral places, where the impression of things shall bee made, that is to say, in the Head, the Bellie, in the Taile, in the former parte of the legges, & also in the hinder part. So that by this meanes there shall be gathered, an hundred and fifteene places. Some againe will set their places in his head or bodie, with whom they speake. As to make the nose, the eyes, the forehead, the haire, the eares, and other partes to serue for places. And for making places in any house, Church, or other roume, this lesson is also giuen, that we enter our first places alwaies vpon the right hande, neuer returning backe: but going on still as I might say in a Circuite, till we come to that place where wee first began. But first before the Images bee inuented, the places must bee learned perfectly, and therefore one giueth counsaile that we should goe into some solitarie place where no companie is, and there make our places, walking vp and doune fower or fiue times, and calling stil to our remembrance what, and where the places are. And not only to doe this once or twise, but to labour in it two or three daies at seueral times vntil we shalbe able to tel our places vpon our fingers ends.

And now to make this hard matter somewhat plaine, I will vse an example. My friend (whom I tooke euer to bee an honest man) is accused of theft, of adulterie, of ryot, of manslaughter, and of treason: if I would keepe these wordes in my remembrance, and rehearse them in order as they were spoken, I must appoint fiue places, the which I had neede to haue so perfectly in my memorie, as could be possible. As for example, I will make these in my Chamber. A doore, a window, a presse, a bedstead, and a chimney. Now in the doore, I wil set *Cacus* the theefe, or some such notable verlet. In the windowe I will place *Venus*. In the Presse I will put *Apitius* that famous Glutton. In the Bedstead I will set Richard the third King of England, or some notable murtherer. In the Chimney I will place the blacke Smith, or some other notable Traitour. That if one repete these places, and these Images twise or thrise together, no doubt though he haue but a meane memorie, he shall carie away the wordes rehearsed with ease. And like as he may doe with these fiue words, so may he doe with fiue score, if he haue places fresh in his remembrance, and doe but

vse himselfe to this trade one fortnight together.

Therefore though it seeme straunge and foolish to them that knowe it not, yet the learned haue taken this way, and doubt not but maruailes may bee done, if one haue places readie made for the purpose, and haue them fresh in his remembrance. For what other thing els do they that appoint Images in certaine places made for that purpose, but write (as a man would say) vpon Paper, that which is spoken vnto them? What maketh the old man (that for lacke of natural heate and moysture, scant knoweth his right hand from his left) remember in the morning where he laid his purse all night, but the beds head which lightly is the appointed place for all mens purses, especially such as bee wayfairers, and haue but little store. Shal some Gentleman play blindfold at the Chesse, and cannot a learned man be able to rehearse vp a score or two of straunge names together. A Neteheard hauing the charge and keeping of twentie score head of Beastes in a wilde Fenne, that belong to diuers men, will not only tell who be the owners of al such cattel, but also he will shew a man twise a weeke where any one is feeding, and if he want one among the whole, he will tell immediatly what it is, and whose it is that is wanting. Then fonde are they that coumpt the Arte of memorie so hard, seeing they will neither proue the hardnesse of it, nor yet blush at the matter, when they see poore Neteheardes goe so farre beyond them. How many thinges doth memorie containe marueilous to beholde, and much more would, if we were not altogether slouthfull, and as carelesse to keepe, as wee are to get, good things I meane, not goodes of this world. Euery Artificer hath through exercise and labour, an artificiall memorie, sauing the learned man onely, who hath most neede of it aboue all other.

When we come to a place where we haue not bene many a day before, wee remember not onely the place it selfe, but by the place, wee call to remembrance many thinges done there. Yea somtimes a window maketh some remember, that they haue stolne in their daies some thing out of it. Somtimes a chimney telleth them of many late drinkinges and sitting vp by the fire. Sometimes a Bedstead putteth them in remembrance of many good morowes: sometimes a doore, & somtimes a parler. Thus we see places euen without Images, helpe oft the memorie, much more then shall we remember, if we haue both places and Images.

But now, because I haue halfe wearied the Reader with a tedious matter, I will harden him againe with a mery tale. At the time of rebellion in Northfolke, there was a Priest

among all other, adiudged to die vpon a Gibet in a greene place, a little from the high way side. This Priest seeing the place at his last ende, stood a while musing with himselfe, and said to the companie there. Now Lorde God what a thing is this. It comes to my remembrance now, that about fowerteene yeares past, I was merrie here vpon this bancke, with an other Priest, and wallowing me downe vpon the grasse, I saied these words: *Hæc requies mea in -- sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*. The which Sentence being a Psalme of Dauid, is nothing els in English: But this is my resting place for euer and euer, here shall be my dwelling,

God graunt all
Rebelles like
remembrance.

because I haue chosen it. And now (quoth he) I finde it to bee ouer true, so that I thinke it bee Gods will I should die, and therefore I take it in good worth, and thus I desire you al to pray for me. Thus we see that the place brought him in remembrance of a sentence, spoken fowerteene yeares before.

Therefore, this knowledge is not to bee neglected, no though wee doe contemne it, yet we haue the vse of it. For if we be fully disposed to remember a thing, wee doe call vp the memorie, and stirre it to minde things there vnto. As if one bee called Wingfeelde, and I feare to forget this name, I might remember the wing of a birde, and a greene feelde to walke in.

Sometimes we remember the whole, by keeping in minde some parte of a word. As when one is called Crowcroft, I might by remembring of a Crowe, the rather minde his name. Notwithstanding there bee some (among whom is *Erasmus*) which like not this Art of Memorie, but say it rather hindereth then helpeth a mans wit. And yet *Tullie* the greatest Orator among the Romaines, did well allowe it, and proued it good by a natural reason. For where as we knowe some things (saieth he) onely by vnderstanding, and some by the sence of seeing, those wee keepe best in our mindes, which we know by sight, and haue marked with our eyes. As for example. When I see a Lyon, the Image thereof abideth faster in my minde, then if I should heare some report made of a Lyon. Among all the sences, the eye sight is most quicke, and containeth the impression of things more assuredly, then any of the other sences doe. And the rather when a man both heareth and seeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie, he doth almost see thinges liuely[]), hee doth remember it much the beter. The sight printeth thinges in a mans memorie, as a Seale doth print a mans name in Waxe. And therefore, heretofore Images were set vp for remembrance of Saincts, to be Lay mens bookes, that the rather by seing the Pictures of such men, they might be stirred to follow their good liuing. The which surely had beene well done, if G O D had not forbidden it. But seeing thinges must be done, not of a good entent, but euen as G O D hath commaunded, it is well done that such Idolles are cleane taken out of the Church. Mary for this purpose whereof wee now write, they would haue serued gaiely well. Thus the art is sone tolde, but the practise of it is all. And therefore, if one desire to excell herein, let him take paines to gather his places together, and keepe them well in remembrance, prouing by halfe a score, how he shalbe able to vse a hundred. And no doubt, but time and exercise shall make him perfect. For the best art of memorie that can be, is to heare much, to speak much, to reade much, and to write much. And exercise it is that doth al, when we haue saied all that euer we can.

¶ *Of Pronunciation.*

Pronunciation is an apt ordering, both of the voyce, countenance, and al the whole bodie according to the worthinesse of such wordes and matter, as by speech are declared. The vse hereof is such, for any that liketh to haue praise, for telling his tale in open assembly, that hauing a good tongue, and a comely countenance, he shall be thought to passe all other, that haue the like utteraunce: though

they haue much better learning. The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery matter, and beautifieth the cause in like maner, as a sweete sounding Lute, much setteth forth a meane deuised Ballad. Or as the sounde of a good instrument stirreth the hearers, and mooueth much delite, so a cleare sounding voyce, comforteth much our deintie eares, with much sweete melodie, and causeth vs to allow the matter, rather for the reporters sake, then the reporter for the matters sake: *Demosthenes* therefore, that famous Oratour, Demosthenes saying beeing asked what was the chiefest point in all Oratorie, gaue the chiefe and onely praise to Pronunciation, being demaunded, what was the second, and of the third, he stil made aunswere Pronunciation, and would make no other pronunciation. aunswere till they left asking, declaring hereby, that arte without vtterance can doe nothing, vtterance without art can doe right much. And no doubt, that man is in outwarde apparence, half a good Clarke that hath a cleane tongue, and a comely iesture of his bodie. *Æschines* likewise, beeing banished his Æschines. Countrey through *Demosthenes*, when he red to the *Rodians* his owne Oration, and *Demosthenes* aunswere therevnto, by force whereof he was banished, and all they marueiled much at the excellencie of the same: then (quoth *Æschines*) you would haue marueiled much more, if you had heard himselfe speake it. Thus beeing cast in miserie and banished for euer, he could not but giue such great report of his most deadly and mortall enemye.

¶ *The parts of Pronunciation.*

Pronunciation standeth partly in fashioning the tongue, and partly in framing the iesture.

The tongue or voyce is praise worthie, if the vtterance be audible, strong, and easie, and apt to order as wee list. Therefore, they that minde to get praise in telling their minde in open audience, must at the first beginning, speake some what softly, vse meete pausing, and being somewhat heated, rise with their voyce, as time and cause shall best require. They that haue no good voyces by nature, or cannot well vtter their wordes, must seeke for helpe els where. Exercise of the bodie, fasting, moderation in meate and drinke, gaping wide, or singing plaine Song, and counterfeyting those that doe speake distinctly, helpe much to haue a good deliuerance. *Demosthenes* beeing not able to pronounce the first letter of that Arte which he professed, but would say, for, *Rhetorike, Letolike*, vsed to put little stones vnder his tongue, and so pronounced, whereby he speake at length so plainly, as any man in the world could doe. Musicians in England haue vsed to put gagges in childrens mouthes, that they might pronounce distinctly, but now with the losse and lacke of Musick, the loue also is gone of bringing vp children to speake plainly. Some there bee that either naturally, or through folly haue such euill voyces,

and such lacke of vtterance, and such euill iesture, that it much defaceth all Faultes in their doinges. One pipes out his wordes so small, through default of his pronunciation. winde pipe, that ye would thinke he whistled. An other is hource in his throte, that a man would thinke, he came lately from scouring of Harnesse. An other speakes, as though he had Plummes in his mouth. An other speakes in his throte, as though

a good Ale crumme stucke fast. An other rattles his wordes. An other choppes his wordes. An other speakes, as though his wordes had neede to bee heaved out with leauers. An other speakes, as though his words should bee weighed in a Ballaunce. An other gapes to fetch winde at euery third worde. This man barkes out his English Northren-like, with I say, and thou lad. And other speakes so finely, as though he were brought vp in a Ladies Chamber. As I knewe a Priest that was as nice as a Nunnes Henne, when hee would say Masse, he would neuer say *Dominus vobiscum*, but *Dominus vobicum*. In like maner, as some now will say the Commaundements of GOD. Blacke Uellet, for Commaundements, and blacke Uellet. Some blowe at their nostrilles. Some sighes out their wordes. Some signes their sentences. Some laughes altogether, when they speake to any bodie. Some grunts like a Hogge. Some cackles like a Henne, or a Iacke Dawe. Some speakes as though they should tell in their sleeue. Some cries out so loude, that they would make a mans eares ake to heare them. Some coughes at euery worde. Some hems it out. Some spittes fire, they talke so hotly. Some makes a wrie mouth, and so they wrest out their wordes. Some whines like a Pigge. Some suppes their wordes vp, as a poore man doth his Porrage. Some noddles their head at euery sentence. An other winkes with one eye, & some with both. This man frouneth alwaies when he speakes. And other lookes euer as though hee were mad. Some cannot speake but they must goe vp and downe, or at the least be stirring their feete, as though they stood in a cockering Boate. An other will play with his cappe in his hand, and so tell his tale. Some when they speake in a great companie, will looke all one way, as I knewe a Reader in my daies, who looked in like sorte, when hee read to Scholers, whom one thought to disapoint of such his constaunt lookes: and therefore against the next day, he painted the Deuill with hornes vpon his head, in the self same place, where the Reader was wont alwaies to looke, the which straunge Monster, when the Reader sawe, he was half abashed, and turned his face an other way. Some pores vpon the ground as though they sought for pinnes. *Tullie* telles of one *Theophrastus Tauriscus*, who is saied to declaime arsee versee. Some swelles in the face, and filles their cheekes full of winde, as though they would blowe out their wordes. Some sets forth their lippes, two inches good beyond their teeth. Some talkes as though their tongue went of pattines. Some shewes all their teeth. Some speakes in their teeth altogether. Some lets their wordes fall in their lippes, scant opening them when they speake. There are a thousand such faultes among men, both for their speech, and also for their iesture, the which if in their young yeares they bee not remedied, they will hardly bee forgot when they come to mans state. But the rather that these faultes may be redressed: I haue partly declared heretofore, the right vse of vtterance. And now I minde by Gods helpe to shewe the right vse of iesture.

What is iesture.

IEsture is a certaine comely moderation of the countenance, and al other Iesture,
 parts of mans bodie, aptly agreeing to those things which are spoken. That if what it is.
 we shal speake in a pleasaunt matter, it is meete that the looke also should
 bee cherefull, and all the iesture stirring thereafter. The head to bee holden vpright, the
 forehead without frowning, the browes without bending, the nose without blowing, the
 eyes quicke and pleasant, the lippes not laied out, the teeth without grenning, the armes not
 much cast abroade, but comely set out, as time and cause shall best require: the handes

sometimes opened, and sometimes holden together, the fingers pointing, the breast laied out, and the whole bodie stirring altogether, with a seemely moderation. By the which behaiour of our bodie after such a sorte, we shall not onely delite men with the sight, but perswade them the rather the trueth of our cause.

Q. Hortensius had such delite to vse comely gesture, and had such grace in Hortensius. that behalfe: that I doubt whether men had a greater desire to see him, then they had to heare him. His countenaunce so well agreed with his wordes, and his words were so meete for his countenance: that not onely hee did please the iudgement of his hearers, and contented their minde: but also he pleased their eyes, and delited their eares, so much as could be wished.

Tullie saieth well: The gesture of man[] is the speche of his bodie, and therefore reason it is, that like as the speeche must agree to the mater, so must also the gesture agree to the minde, for the eyes are not giuen to man onely to see, but also to shewe and set forth the meaning of his minde, euen as vnto a Bore, are giuen briselles: To a Lion, the taile: To a Horse, his eares: whereby their inclinations and sodaine affections

are some espied. When wee see a man looke redde
in the eyes, his browes bent, his teeth byting his
vpper lippe, we iudge that he is out of pacience.

Therefore as we ought to haue good regard,
for the vtterance of our words, so wee
ought to take heede that our gesture
be comely, the which
both being well obserued,
shall encrease fame,
and get estimation
vniuersally.

But here an ende. And now as my will hath bene earnest, to
doe my best: so I wish that my paines may be taken
thereafter. And yet what needes wishing, seeing
the good will not speake euill: and the
wicked can not speake euill: and the
wicked can not speake wel. Therefore
being staied vpon the good, and
assured of their gentle bearing
with mee: I feare none,
because I stand
vpon a saufe
ground.

