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THE WORKS
OF
GABRIEL HARVEY, D.C.L.

VOL. I.

MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION.
LETTERS TO AND FROM EDMUND SPENSER.
LETTERS FROM LETTER-BOOK.
FOVRE LETTERS AND CERTAINE SONNETS, ETC., ETC.
A LETTER OF NOTABLE CONTENTS, ETC.

1579—1593.



Contempt deposeth kings as well as death.

Mustapha, iv. 3.

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THE WORKS
OF
GABRIEL HARVEY, D.C.L.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED AND EDITED,
WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, ETC.

BY THE REV.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. (EDIN.), F.S.A. (SCOT.),
St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire.

VOL. I.

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1579—1593.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

1884.

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To
PROFESSOR DAVID MASSON,
EDINBURGH,

I DEDICATE THESE
"CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE"—

THE WORKS OF
GABRIEL HARVEY.

WITH HIGHEST REGARD AND GRATITUDE FOR HIS ABUNDANT
SERVICES TO LITERATURE, ORIGINAL AND EDITORIAL.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

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In night when colours all to blacke are cast,
Distinction lost, or gone downe with the light,
The eye a watch to inward sences plac'd,
Not seeing, yet still hauing power of sight,
Gines vaine alarums to the inward sense,
Where feare stirr'd up with witty tyranny,
Confounds all powers, and thorough self-offence,
Doth forge and raise impossibility ;
Such as in thicke depriviing darkenesse,
Proper reflections of the errorr be,
And images of self-confusednesse,
Which hurt imaginations onely see ;
And from this nothing seene, tels newes of devils,
Which but expressions be of inward evils.

Cælia, ci.



MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN his Preface to the "Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-80" (Camden Society, 1884), Mr. E. J. LONG SCOTT, M.A., commences his little notice thus :

"Gabriel Harvey, the writer of the following Letter-Book, is better known to us than almost any other man among the literary characters who crowd the Elizabethan stage. His celebrated controversy with Nashe (who raked up against him every circumstance in his life and writings in order to pour unlimited abuse and contempt upon his head) has furnished us with a vivid picture, not only of Harvey's manners and conversation, but even of his dress and physiognomy" (p. v).

This, while true in a way—that is, to the few who have mastered the "wordy war" between Nashe and Harvey—is exceptionally untrue regarded biographically. For of no contemporary of equal notoriety in men's mouths over so many years, do we know so little as of him. The Damascus blade of Thomas Nashe wounded him mortally. He was speedily forgotten—though he lived on to an unusual age ; and no one seems to have cared to rescue his memory from its swift and inexorable oblivion. Even his academic course is obscure and dateless. We

have had to wait for these long centuries to learn the chief facts of it contained in his (so-called) 'Letter-Book.' Mr. Scott has not himself added one grain of new information, as he has not troubled himself so much as to bring together what of scanty record has hitherto been made. His one distinguishing service is to have reproduced so admirably a troublesome manuscript.

None of the Registers or Parish-Books of Saffron Walden now extant go so far back as the birth of Gabriel Harvey, nor is there any mention of the Harveys in any of the later local MSS. But it is known from other sources that he was born at Saffron Walden, in Essex, 'about 1545,' or some seven years before Spenser.* He was the eldest son, of a family of six children—four boys and two girls. As everybody knows who knows anything at all of the Harveys, their father was a Ropemaker. If only his eldest son had been as satisfied with the paternal 'trade' as was that father himself, the unlucky victim of Nashe's scorpion-tongue and pen had been spared much misery and infamy. Even at this late day there remains a curious proof that so far from having been ashamed of his rope-making the elder Harvey proclaimed it—viz., in the town's museum there is preserved the most of a once fine

* Professor Henry Morley, in his paper on Harvey as "Hobbinol" (of which more in the sequel) seeks to make out that Harvey was of the same age with Spenser; but he is not successful. Throughout, the attitude of Harvey is of an elder addressing, not to say patronizing, a younger man. Besides, when Spenser matriculated at the University, Harvey was already notable there. It has even been alleged that he was tutor to Spenser and Kirke.

fireplace from Harvey's house. Its entablature is in three (marble) compartments, after this fashion :—

ALII NON NOBIS	NEC ALII NEC NOBIS	ALII ET NOBIS
Ox, with pack, eating of thistles.	Three men making a rope.	Hive and bees at work.
NOSTRI PLACENTE	[Broken out]	LABOR

The middle compartment also contains all the adjuncts to a farmyard—somewhat mutilated—*e.g.*, the end of a house, a bullock or cow, yard with the head of a cow peeping out, a pig, poultry, bullock and corn, and (seemingly) flax or hemp (grown probably for the supply of his trade) ; also a plant of saffron, whilst on a tree hangs a satchel. From these designs it is to be inferred that Harvey senior carried on a Farm as well as his rope-making business. This is incidentally confirmed by Gabriel's assertion in the notorious matter of his sister Mercy's experiences that she " fetched home and milked the cows." But the main thing is—and all honour to him for it—the rope-making was held for honest labour and trade, not stigma, by the old man.* If—as is pretty certain—Gabriel supplied these Latin mottoes, he too must have originally acquiesced. Of course it was one thing thus to have a home-memorial of the family-occupation, and another to have it shouted from the housetop with flout and jeer and waggish drollery. Anthony à-Wood puts the thing as follows :

"This person, who made a great noise in his time, was

* I owe special thanks to Joseph Clarke, Esq., The Roos, Saffron Walden, for these details and after-information. Mr. Scott quotes from Glascock's *Records of St. Michael's Parish Church, Bishop's Stortford* (1882), this entry—"1579. Paid to Harvie of Walden for a rope for the [church] bell ij^s iij^d" (p. 59).

born at Saffron Walden, in Essex; and tho' his father was a ropemaker, as Thomas Nashe, a great scoffer and his antagonist, tells us, yet he had rich kindred, and was nearly allied to Sir Thomas Smith, the great statesman in Queen Elizabeth's reign" (*Fasti*, by Bliss, i. 230).

The Smith alliance is very doubtful, and certainly was not "near." But, as unquestionably, the Ropemaker was well-to-do and mindful of the educational interests of his sons (at least). It is to be remembered to his credit that he sent three sons to the University (of Cambridge), and spent on them a good thousand pounds, as Gabriel was ever forward to attest.

From the warmth—not to say exaggerate eulogy—of our Harvey's celebration of Sir Thomas Smith, of Audley End, Saffron Walden, it would appear that this once famous Knight had interested himself from the outset in his poetic celebrator. Gabriel must have been a clever boy, probably the proverbial 'clever boy' of the village school. We know nothing of his earlier training. He is found at Cambridge University before Edmund Spenser (who proceeded thither in 1565). "His first academical breeding," says Wood, "was in Christ College, Cambridge; where in a short time he made great proficiency, to the wonder and amazement of his tutor" (as before).

In 1573 he was tutor at Pembroke College. Later he was of Trinity Hall, being addressed by his brother Richard in his "Astrological Discourse," in 1583, as his "verie good and most loving Brother . . . at his chambers in Trinitie Hall." He passed both degrees of B.A. and M.A. The following note

to Wood's *Fasti* (i. 230-1) summarizes most of the preceding data—"Gabr. Harvey aulæ Pembr. socius prius, electus Nov. 3. 1570; dein socius aulæ Trin. electus, Dec. 18. 1578. Spe et opinione magister futurus sit magna de spe excidit" (Baker, MSS. coll., vol. vi., 104, Cole). The latter involved him in a protracted quarrel by the denial of a grace for it. His Letter-Book (as before) contains his correspondence on the weary and irksome matter with Dr. John Young, Master of Pembroke, etc. (pp. 1-54). ✓ He was the winner ultimately, and henceforward his "victorie" dated his letters to intimate friends. These letters are of the oddest and quaintest ever perpetrated by sane man on another. Their vocabulary is simply a wonder; their insistence of self-assertion a still greater wonder; and their tumultuous vituperation of 'enemies,' most wonderful of all. Sooth to say, combined with the Letters to Spenser (as "Immerito" and "Benevolo")—the actual takes down our ideal of Cambridge in Elizabethan days. Such narrownesses, bitternesses, and vulgarities of enmity among scholarly and dignified men humiliate one to-day. It is a relief to find Spenser uninvolved in the paltry contention—by quiet withdrawal.

According to his own statements he became renowned beyond all precedent (before 1576) as a Lecturer on Rhetoric, with Cicero for guide. Our after-quotations from his *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor* will illustrate this. Many of the books of his Library—preserved in public and private libraries—go to show what an omnivorous and careful reader he was of all that he came across. Professor Morley, in his paper yclept "Hobbinol" (as onward), gives some

interesting quotations from notes on his *Quintilian* in British Museum. It is doubtful, notwithstanding the references in the *Gratulations of Walden*, whether he ever really travelled in service of the State for Leicester—just as it is equally doubtful whether Spenser did. One incidental allusion by his brother Richard would seem to indicate intended but not executed journeying—*e.g.*, in the epistle-dedicatory of his “Astrological Discourse” to John, Bishop of London, in counting upon his acceptance thereof, he thus writes :

“If not for mine owne sake or the worthines of the thing itselfe, yet for Cambridge sake, and that especiall affection which you have alwayes borne toward Vniuersitie men, and namely your singular curtesie toward my brother Gabriel, when he should have trauailed to Smalcaldie; which courtesie he doth often recognise.”

“Afterwards,” continues Anthony à-Wood, “he became fellow in Trinity Hall, and so excellent and learned an orator and poet, that books of these faculties were dedicated to him he was proctor of that University, and at elder years he applied his studies to astrology, wherein he became eminent, and wrote as ’tis said Almanacks much in esteem in the reign of Queen Elizabeth” (as before). His ‘Almanacks’ have not survived, save in association with his absurd brothers in the sarcastic pages of Nashe. His addiction to astrology is a measure of his *calibre*—whatever of miscellaneous learning he may have acquired. He was disappointed in a candidature for Orator of the University. He studied Civil Law, and in 1585 was admitted at Oxford Doctor of Laws. He thereafter practised

as an Advocate in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

There are two indubitable facts that check utter contempt toward Gabriel Harvey, and constrain us to conclude that, spite of his pedantry and conceit, shocking and dastardly malignity toward Robert Greene, and intellectual poverty, there must have been something above these in him : (*a*) That he was the "familiar" acquaintance of Sir Philip Sidney; (*b*) That for life he retained the friendship of Edmund Spenser. The latter's fine Sonnet from Dublin secures that his name can never perish. None the less do they remain simple matters-of-fact, that on the one hand he blackened the memory of "deade" Robert Greene, repelled the conciliatory advances of Thomas Nashe, and all through betrayed the most ludicrous self-conceit and over-estimate of himself.

As distinguished from his Latin productions, his English books in warfare with Greene and Nashe have a certain go in them, a certain vigour, a dexterous, apt-worded, wary fence, and (as already noted) an astounding vocabulary; but after all they are mere "Curiosities of Literature," and to be preserved and collected, as we have done, mainly as realistic pictures of the time, and for a background to the magnificent badinage and satire of our English Rabelais—Thomas Nashe,—and as completing the triumvirate—Greene, Nashe, and Harvey.

In strange and suggestive contrast with the "immature" death of his illustrious friend Edmund Spenser—Gabriel Harvey survived until February 7th, 1630 (buried at Saffron Walden February 11th), in at least his eighty-fifth year. Not a single

certain syllable is heard of him after Spenser's death (in 1599), albeit there is a floating tradition that the folios of 1607 and 1611 were published under his supervision (to their damage). Thomas Baker (*Socius Ejectus*) states :—

“I have seen an elegy on Dr. Harvey of Saffron Walden, composed by William Pearson, dated in 1630, whereby it appears he died in that year. By that it would seem he practised physic, and was a pretender to astrology” (*Fæsti* i., 230-1).

The following is a (summary) list of Harvey's Latin books :—

(a) Rhetor, sive 2. Dierum Oratio de Natura, Arte et Exercitatione Rhetorica. 1577.

(b) Ciceronianus vel Oratio post Reditum, habita Cantabrigiæ ad suos auditores. 1577.

(c) Smithus vel Musarum Lachrymæ, pro Obitu honoratiss. Viri . . . Thomæ Smith, Esq., aur. Majestatisque regiæ Secretarii. 1578.

(d) χαίρε vel Gratulationum Valdensium Libri quatuor. 1578.

Turning back upon these long somnolent books—mere pickings-out of (literally) scores of Manuscripts that their spider-like industrious author informs us of with premature garrulity in his “Foure Letters”—I have now to fulfil my engagement of furnishing representative quotations. These I must confess it has been hard to find in the arid pages. Nevertheless, the portions about to be given will testify—as conceded—to technical scholarship, and a certain elegance of composition. Nor can there be any question that he drew around him crowds of undergraduates, and won celebrity as a Lecturer. Taking

the books chronologically (as published) we have first his "Rhetor sive 2 Dierum Oratio de Natura, Arte, et Exercitatione Rhetorica" (1577). Herein we have specimens of his Lectures—and very sprightly and stirring lectures they are.

Let Professor Morley introduce the Lecturer to us. Having given a MS. note in his *Quintilian*, showing his 'studies' for his famous speech at Audley End, he thus proceeds:—

"But how little of a dry pedant young Gabriel Harvey was [aged 32 or 33 !] we can learn without reference to MS. if we will only look into his three published lectures, delivered, as the custom was, in Latin. In his introductory lecture, upon returning to the University in 1577, he says, after the fashion of wit in his day, that during the vacation he had been break fasting on Tully, dining on Cæsar, and supping on Virgil. We will not say with which viand he took nectar, with which wine, and with which beer, but will speak of the talk of the guests, which is the sweetest reasoning of banquets. A friend had said that it would be less wonderful that Duffield should leave his philosophy than Harvey the eloquence he loves and exalts *supra mundum, supra modum*. 'Philosophers,' says Harvey, 'are not always prophets'; and he proceeds at once emphatically to recant much that he had taught in the preceding year. He had followed those Italians—Bembo, Sadolet, Nizolius—who exalted above all things the Ciceronian style, and had detested men who were not absolute Cicero-worshippers, as Erasmus, More and Budé. He had abused Politian and Pico della Mirandola. He cites his own old Ciceronian formulas for the beginnings of speeches and letters, speaks of the delight he had in big Roman capitals, as IVP. O. M. 'I produce,' he said, 'my folly to make you wiser. I worshipped M.T. as the God of Latinity, and would rather have been a Ciceronian than a saint.' But he had since fallen upon Jean Sambuc's *Ciceronianus*. It had made him think, and sent him to the study of the old masters of Latinity. From that he had gone to the *Ciceronianus* of Peter Ramus, and to that of Professor Freig, of Basle, and to a preface by Sturmius, of Strasburg, and he had learned now to look at the ground and roots of Ciceronian eloquence; to relish the independent thought in Pico, and Erasmus, and Politian; to look for the whole man in a writer as the source of style, and

still exalting Cicero, to attend first to the life and power of the man, and not to the mere surface polish of his language. 'Let any man,' he says, 'learn to be not a Roman, but a Frenchman, German, Briton, or Italian.' That certainly is not the lecture of a pedant, rigid in the forms to which he had been bred. And the manliness of scholarship grew upon Harvey. In one of the MS. notes made by him three years later in the margin of his *Quintilian*, a sentence of the text suggests to him that 'Mr. Ascham, in his fine discourse of Imitation, is somewhat too precise and scrupulous for Tully only, on all points; we having such excellent and dainty choice in the Latin tongue, worthy to be regarded and resembled in fitting place,'—and then he cites, with a differently defining adjective to each, nearly a score of authors. On another page he notes that a man without Greek is half-learned; as Ascham said in joke of Mr. Haddon, though he loved him dearly, that he fluttered on one wing." (Pp. 278-9).

✓ The introduction to his *Rhetor* thus runs * :—

"I cannot be enough surprised that so many Englishmen, and especially Cambridge men, and of them the most delicate and dainty, should have flocked together to-day to one place, with such a crowd of the whole University, as if some theatre were opened here; in order that they may be able to listen at this time to one delivering a speech, whom they have so often and so lately listened to and welcomed with attentive ears and minds. For what is so novel—novel did I say? nay, what is so prodigious—in the University of Cambridge, as not to neglect an old professor of any art, unless he is supposed to be about to say something new, perhaps, and strange, and almost unheard-of before? I have seen empty benches, I have seen the schools deserted, sometimes when men were lecturing, sometimes when they were delivering a speech, from whose tongues language used to flow sweeter than honey, sweeter than nectar: even those twin ornaments of ours, Bing and Dodington (I am ashamed to say it, but it is too true, and indeed it is too intolerable) have been compelled to speak not once only, but often, to walls and benches. Such is the softness and elegance of Cambridge ears and minds. Nothing

* For the whole of these translations I am indebted to my accomplished poet-friend, the Rev. Richard Wilton, M.A., Londesborough Rectory, Market Weighton. He has not shunned a task apt to be discharged perfunctorily, but has gone into it with patient conscientiousness—much more so than I myself could have brought to such a labour.

ancient, nothing accustomed, pleases here : in dress, manners, words, gesture, everything, we affect the new ; even to listen to the same man for a long time, although speaking in the most polished and excellent manner, especially if he be one of our own, and an intimate, is a tiresome burden.

“ Last year I was indeed expecting (for why should I hide my feeling?) that the assembly and concourse of all the Colleges and Halls would be most crowded ; nor indeed did my opinion deceive me. Every place on the benches was seized beforehand ; the school was filled ; academicians of all ages and ranks were present ; we saw an assembly, as at elections, very large ; a crowd, as in a market-place, very great ; spectators, listeners, standing up, as in the theatre. Nor was that indeed very wonderful, for the novelty made an audience for me. But this year, and in these present comitia (believe me, who am not accustomed to lie), so far was I from being able to hope, or daring to expect this immense and vast multitude and crowd of University men, that I long ago made up my mind to lecture to myself and to these oratorical walls, for the future ; one or two of my pupils standing by, not as a listener to my eloquence, but as a witness of my presence. But lo, beyond hope, contrary to all expectation, a quite incredible concourse of most learned and eloquent men, such as I see present on every side in great numbers, and not merely of most cultivated young men, and most charming boys ; so that I seem to myself to be in Paris or Rome rather than in Cambridge. . . . Nothing recondite shall I bring forward ; nothing worthy of the ears of such illustrious orators, or the minds of such excellent philosophers ; nothing either new to any one or unheard in these seats of eloquence. Harvey is now old, and almost (as one adds) worn out : novelty he leaves to new professors.”

Going forward, this arrests attention :—

“ Now, if there are any whom Nature has not imbued with such remarkable advantages, who possess not either so sweet a sound of voice, or such dignity of action, and who seem to lack I know not what natural gift, these, not more than myself, I will discourage from the exercise and pursuit of speaking. For if there is any one from whom Nature hides her resources and supplies, I am the man ; and if there are any to whom the gods have sold their gifts (as the Greek poet says) in return for toils, I will add myself to their fellowship and company. But concerning myself I will not speak, in whom there is nothing which may seem to give encouragement to any one. For what if they should be equal to Harvey



What if they should turn out far superior? What if they should seize this chair of eloquence, and be crowded round by almost four hundred hearers, sometimes even by more? Yet, good God, how far will they be from that maturity which we seek and commend to you so earnestly?"

The following is the conclusion—a picture of Eloquence :—

"But behold (not unexpectedly) *Her* whom ye so much desire, for the sake of seeing whom ye so eagerly flock together, upon whom in hope and mind you have fixed most constant eyes so long—of incredible majesty, in royal attire, of almost angelic aspect, my most illustrious Hera, my most august Heroine, ELOQUENCE, a divine creature, and nourished with celestial dew and ambrosia, in the fortunate islands of blessed minds—not in those imaginary ones of Homer, but our much happier and more desirable ones. See, by the immortal God, how beautiful she is in all ornaments and embellishments of every kind; how all things have been prepared for incredible comeliness, extreme admiration, unequalled magnificence, splendour, veneration. I pass over her golden hair, and her curled locks; I pass over her serene and most lovely brow; I pass over her shining eyes and dark-coloured eyelids; I pass over those cheeks of mingled rose and snow; I pass over those honied lips; behold only the admirable and singular beauty of her face; and immediately every one will cry out, like the lover in the comic poet: O lovely face! henceforth I blot out all other women from my mind; I am weary of these every-day forms. Although if you regard the exceedingly becoming beauty of that bosom, and those (so-to-speak) milk-white breasts, and fair and tapering fingers, and elegant feet, and all the other members of that dainty body, you will perceive how they each resemble most the others, and all resemble all—that is, are most beautiful, most handsome, most exquisite. For what shall I say of her magnificent attire, her precious necklaces, rings, collars, of gold and silver threads, needles, clasps, fringes, of shining pearls, and glorious gems, of the remaining adornment of her body, and her general elegance? Behold rather at her right hand that most wealthy cornucopia, both distinguished with every kind of sounds and crowded with every kind of colours. See on the other side, serving and waiting on their mistress, the most obsequious maidservants—there Glory, Praise, Honour, Fame, Magnificence, Beauty, Splendour; here Money, Gold, Silver, Wealth, Means, rich and abundant Household-stuff,

agreeing with her sumptuous edifices and noble palaces ; there Study, Observance, Duty, Affability, Politeness, Grace ; here abundance of all most desirable things. Look round on her toga'd counsellors, her armed attendants, her cloaked clients, her curled courtiers, her assistants, servants, slaves, her oriental servants of servants. I should begin to reckon the sands and atoms, if I should wish to recount their several names. They are Hebrews ; they are Greeks ; they are Latins ; they are Italians ; they are Spaniards ; they are French ; they are English ; they are Germans ; they are orators of all kingdoms, races, and nations. And truly of the Hebrews, some have attained the greatest and noblest dignity, whom you see clad in the Hebrew mantle, who first put forth in written memorials both their own history and the history of others —most ancient men, and even the wonderful works of God Himself Almighty, and All-Good."

Next comes "*Ciceronianus vel Oratio post Reditum habita Cantabrigiæ ad suos auditores*" (1577). This, again, is an example of his Lectures ; nor do I seek to deny its brilliance in thought and (rhetorical) expression. I must here give the original Latin quotations, with a translation successively added thereto :—

"*Tribuebam Ciceroni maxima : in eo solo plures horas, dies, hebdomades, menses quam in aliis omnibus collocabam. Et tamen ita in eo versabor, ut abjicerem aliquando De Amicitia disputantem, et Osorium in manus sumerem perorantem de Gloria. Ideo feci, non quod Ciceronem improbarem, probarem Osorium sed ut Osorianam redundantiam a Ciceronis copia internoscerem. Fluit quidem utriusque Sermo ; sed alterius, sine ullis salebris, ut liquidus, et sedatus amnis fluit : alterius nonnunquam extra ripas, ut turgidus atque rapidus torrens diffluit, nec illis se cohiberi septis patitur, quæ videbat ab altero præstituta. Probo in plerisque Osorium ; laudo in multis : in quibusdam etiam sane admiror ; sed cum Cicerone nostro conferens (videte quam nihil vos cedam) facere non possum, quin exclamem, ut ille in Æneide, Infelix puer, atque impar congressus Achilli*" (pp. 15, 16).

"I was wont to place the highest value upon Cicero : in the study of him alone I used to spend more hours, days, weeks, months, than in the study of all other writers ; and yet I was

occupied with him in such a manner, that I would sometimes lay him aside as he discussed concerning Friendship, and take into my hands Osorius as he pronounced a set speech about Glory. I did so not with the idea that I disapproved of Cicero or approved of Osorius, but that I might distinguish between the redundancy of Osorius and the copiousness of Cicero. The discourse of each indeed flows along; but in the case of the one it flows along without any roughnesses, like a limpid and tranquil stream; in the case of the other, not seldom it overflows its banks, like a swollen and headlong torrent, nor allows itself to be restrained within the bounds, which it saw to be prescribed by another. I approve of Osorius in most things; I praise him in many; in some indeed I truly admire him; but comparing him with our Cicero (observe how in no respect I will give you up to him) I cannot but exclaim, as he in the *Æneid*, 'Unhappy youth, and how unequal a match for Achilles!'

"Affectabam jampridem Ciceroniani nomen; et id maxime ducebam honorificum atque gloriosum; eram in eorum opinione defixus, qui M. Tullium et perpetuo solum et ubique totum imitandum docuerunt, in eoque positas eloquentiæ literarumque fortunas existimarunt; Italogum quorundam sententiæ facile acquiescebam, cæteros omnes negligendos: Unum in manibus habendum Ciceronem" (p. 18).

"I long ago assumed the name of Ciceronian; and I esteemed it most honourable and glorious; and I was rooted in the opinion of those who taught that M. Tully was both always only and everywhere entirely to be imitated; and who considered that the fortunes of eloquence and of letters were centred in him; and I readily agreed with the judgment of certain Italians, that all others ought to be neglected—that Cicero alone ought to be held in men's hands."

"Itaque quantus cum, quantus fui, in illorum ego hæresi constitutus fui, qui Ciceronianos et esse se et haberi et dici voluere, eoque nomine cum Regibus se et Imperatoribus adæquatos putavere. Erant mihi in amoribus elegantissimi lautissimique Itali; imprimisque Pontanum, Bembum, etc. Hos qui nominabat, non homines, sed heroës, atque cælites, nominare videbatur. Erasmus et qui ab ejus opinione starent, Budæum, Morum, Ægidium, Glareanum, Vivem, alios omnes qui Ciceroniani non perhiberentur, non modo contemnebam, ut infantissimos: verum etiam, ut inimicissimos, odio prosequabar. Dicam vere. Piaculum mihi videbatur, Erasmus tangere, si quis ejus lineolam aliquam aliquando legisset,

idem fecem mihi videbatur, et sordes, et putridinem, et quicquid nauseam parit, olere" (p. 20).—"Nihil elegantioribus Musis adeo infestum" (p. 21).

"So, however great I am now, however great I have been, I have been firmly established in the sect of those persons who wished themselves both to be, and to be esteemed, and to be called Ciceronians, and thought themselves made equal by that name with kings and with emperors. Those most elegant and exquisite Italians stood high in my affections—particularly Pontanus and Bembus, etc. He who named these seemed to name not men, but heroes, and heavenly beings. Erasmus and those who might share his opinion, Budæus, Morus, Ogidius, etc., and all others who would not be reckoned Ciceronians, not only did I despise as most childish, but even pursued with hatred as bitter enemies. I will speak truly. It seemed to me a wickedness that required expiation, to touch Erasmus. If any one at any time had read any single line of him, he seemed to me to smell of dirt and filth and corruption, and whatever makes one feel sick. I thought nothing so utterly an enemy to the more elegant Muses as Erasmus!"

"Nescio quid Hieronymo acciderit pro tribunali summi Judicis; vapulasse ipse se ait pro Ciceroniano; et vapulavit quidem fortasse opinione sua; cur enim non credamus tanto viro? Ego vero ita jam eram quasi ad amussim Ciceronianus, itaque religiose M. Tullium, veluti latinitatis Deum, venerabar; ut, siquis unquam vapulasse hoc nomine mereretur (ne Hieronymum quidem ipsum excipio) is essem ego. Certe in meorum Ciceronianorum malebam fere, quam in sanctorum collegium cooptari" (p. 28).

"I know not what may have happened to Jerome before the tribunal of the supreme Judge, but he himself says that he was flogged as a Ciceronian; and he was flogged indeed, it may be, in his own opinion, for should we not believe so great a man? But I indeed was now so a Ciceronian (to line and rule as it were), and so devoutly revered Tully as the god of Latinity, that if any one ever deserved to be flogged on this account (I do not even except Jerome himself), I was the man! Certainly I was almost preferring to be elected into the company of my Ciceronians rather than into the company of the saints."

"Non dubitarem Cantabrigiensem Academiam illustrissimis totius Europæ gymnasiis anteferre. Nam de antiquitate alii digladiantur; ego audire malo; esse literatorum copia atque

celebritati præferendam. Ut quemadmodum olim Athenæ Græcia Græciæ dicebatur; sic aliquando Cantabrigia possit suo merito Britannia Britannæ nuncupari; idemque sit apud nostros esse Cantabrigiensem, quod erat apud Græcos esse Atticum. Sed de eo satis. Quid enim nisi vota supersunt, ut canit ille? Vos suavissimi Adolescentes, atque bellissimi pueri, si vere Ciceroniani, non simulati esse velitis; ut estis Ciceronianæ eloquentiæ, prudentiæque auditores; eo animo ad Ciceronem vestrum, institutoque venire debebitis, nunquam ut ad illum accedatis, quin discedatis non modo Grammatici, atque rhetores, sed etiam Dialectici, Ethici, Politici, Historici; interdum etiam physici, jureconsulti, atque adeo Cosmographi in quibusdam meliores" (p. 65).

"I should not hesitate to prefer the University of Cambridge to the most illustrious Colleges of all Europe. For others may contend about antiquity; but I would rather hear it said that (Cambridge) ought to be preferred for the abundance and celebrity of its learned men: that as once Athens was said to be the Greece of Greece, so at some time Cambridge may be able for its own merits to be styled the Britain of Britain; and that to be a Cambridge man may be the same thing amongst our countrymen, as to be an Athenian was amongst the Greeks. But of this enough: for what now but prayers and good wishes remain, as one sings? Ye most sweet youths, and most well-mannered boys, if truly and not feignedly ye wish to be Ciceronians, as ye are listeners to Ciceronian eloquence and wisdom; with such a spirit and intention you will feel it your duty to come to your Cicero, as never to approach him but to leave him again, not only grammarians and rhetoricians, but also dialecticians, moralists, politicians, historians; sometimes even naturalists, and lawyers, and so far in some respects better geographers."

So much for the PROSE of Harvey. We must now address ourselves to his VERSE. And first comes his "*Smithus vel Musarum Lachrymæ*" (1578)—recalling Spenser's title to one of his most charming and memorable elegiac poems ("Tears of the Muses"). It is necessary again to reproduce the original Latin of our quotations, and also, as before, to add the related translation. All the grace

of these "Tears" cannot be reflected in blank verse. There are things that escape its wider meshes. Yet these translations will be found to do justice (substantially) to the original.

GABRIELIS HARVEII VALDINATIS LACHRYMÆ.

Ad Joannem Vuddum, Clarissimi Equitis, THOMÆ SMITHI, dum viveret, amanuensem, et sororis filium.

O DEUS, an periit Musarum gloria Smithus ;
Vudde, meusque tuusque Britannorumque Suorum ;
Victurus nobis, si non sibi vivere posset ?
Ah, periit, tua me nisi fallat epistola sed, sed,
O tua sed potius me fallat epistola sæpe,
Quam caput ut venerandum illud sanctumque periret,
In dubio mens est : sed quorum insania ? Certum est
Occubuisse. Vale caput immortale, Deumque,
Angelicosque choros inter, mentesque beatas
Gaudia carpe, animumque æterno nectare pasce.
Fortunatæ urnæ, quibus insunt ossa virorum
Tantium : O cineres decies, viciesque beatos.
His laurumque crocumque æquum est innascier, atque
Lilia, et Angelicas turmas et numina cœli,
Celysiosque animos habitare sepulchra, modosque
Occinere æthereos, Furiasque arcere malignas :
Namque erat, aut nemo, Musarum filius ille.

Cui nobile Smithi

Ignotum nomen ? Superis descendite Musæ,
Euge bonæ Musæ, superiorum ad celsa theatra
Ferte virum, literis nulli, virtute secundum
Paucis, doctrina Socratem, prudentia Ulyssem
Europæ decus, & monumentum insigne Britannum.

MUSARUM LACHRYMÆ.

NOVEM LUCTUOSIS CANTICIS, SEU NÆNIIS EFFUSÆ.

CANTICUM I.

Choro.

Namque ego te Livi, teque O Comptissime Cæsar,
Et brevitate valens Sallusti, et acumine pollens
Thucydida, gemitusque tuos gemitusque tuorum
Herodoti omitto, vosque omnes Troge, Laerti,

H .I.

d

Attica Musa, Dion, Plutarque, Sabellice, Strabo,
Præterea ; taceo Tacitum, Eutropiumque aliosque
Innumeros, quos sæpe manu tractaverat ille
Partim Italos, partim Gallos, partimque Britannos.
Sol Cantabrigiæ miserandam est passus Eclypsum.

CANTICUM II.

O Clio, quod Fata volunt, mutabile non est :
At meminisse animus refugit, vinclisque ligata
Dicere lingua horret, Septembribus hisce Calendis,
Quas ego detestor, quas tu soror execraris,
Interiisse hominem, dignum immortalibus annis.

Æschylus exclamet : Sophocles plangere liquescat
Euripides (nisi quis Socratem jam dicere mavult)
Quem Noster tam sæpe suis prælegit alumnis,
Æternum ploret, Tragicoque incedat amictu.

CANTICUM III.

Thalia.

Nomina nos miseræ recinemus vestra, Checumque
Ac Smithum heroes inter, divosque celebres
Ponemus, magnumque videbitur, esse propinquum
Sive huic, sive illi, fælix Valdinea Smitho
Fortunata Checo Cantabrigia.

Talia grande nefas non insignire sepulchra
Carminibus, violis, sertis redolentibus, hymnis,
Elogiisque novis, ornamentisque vetustis.

CANTICUM IV.

Euterpe.

Heu, quam difficile est gemitum non prodere voce !
Sæpe ego, Germanæ, filum interrompere vestri
Sermonis volui, proprium expositura dolorem.
Abjeci calamos, Smitheum funus adorans.

Solis ille fuit superis, divisque secundus,
Solis est, et erit superis, divisque secundus,
Hæc tua semper erit, suavissime Tityre, Musa :
Sic Melibææ, canes : erit hæc tibi dulcis avena
Theocrite ; atque tuis eadem pastoribus instar
Fistulæ erit—pariterque meis quicunque Camænis
Allecti, nostros avidè captatis amores,
Solis ille fuit ; modulata voce canetis.

CANTICUM V.

Terpsichore.

Vade puer, cytharamque auratam frange, nec unquam
 Musica chorda sonet.—
 Quid stas, prave puer, cytharam rape, frange, revelle,
 Mille mihi cythararum instar lachrymæque dolorque—
 Quam vellem in pluviam mutarier, omniaque ossa
 Vertier in guttas madidas.

Actum est de Flacco : tua Musica desiit esse
 Pindare Musa : lyris fractis Surræius heros
 Cantica suppressit : psalteria ludicra vatum
 Triste sonant : mœret Sappho : lachrymatur Apollo :
 Simonides lyricos jamque execratur amores
 Plorat et Amphion et Thracius ingemit Orpheus.

Noster abest, heu Noster abest, heu Nostra sequetur
 Tota cohors : nihilumque tibi, nihilumque Camœnis,
 Terpsichore, superest, præter lachrymabile carmen,
 Et gemebunda imo suspiria pectore ducta.

CANTICUM VI.

Erato.

Jam ludi, jam blanditiæ, jam plectra valet,
 Tuque Venus plora, tuque O pharetrate Cupido,
 Et vos delitiæ, nocturnaque festa Choreæ
 Bembe tace ; Cavicæe tace ; Pontane taceto :
 More sile : Surreie sile ; Gascoigne sileto.

Te moriente, mori certum est, suavissime Thoma,
 Aut ego si vivo, et siquid mea carmina possunt,
 Tu vives.—
 Euge piæ Musæ, Thomæum ad funus odores
 Spargite, lacrymulis tumulum, ceu floribus arcas,
 Ornate, huic violas, et lilia blanda, rosasque
 Porrigite ; et tumulo æternum superaddite carmen :
 Smithus ego, Regum magnorum Pacifer Hermes,
 Natus ad omne decus patriæque, illisque, mihi que.
 Alter eram Socrates, Deus intus, rusticus extra,
 Non specie, sed reverâ mirabilis orbi.

SILENTIUM AD TEMPUS.

CANTICUM VII.

*Quod est instar octo reliquorum quodque integram totius
fere vitæ Historiam, non ita multis versibus expressam,
complectitur.*

Non Checus erubuit doctorem audire legentem,
Non Redmannus eum : sed nec Burgleius heros
Nec senior Coxus—fuit illi Haddonus alumnus.

Quis primus Rhetor? Smithus. Quis maximus Hermes
Linguarum? Smithus. Physicus celeberrimus? Ohe
Smithus multiscius. Morum, vitæque Magister
Optimus? et Smithus. Sic Smithus et unus, et omni
Laude resplendescens secum abstulit omnia, pollens
Divino ingenio, et (si verum dicere fas est)
Mortalis Deus, aut Divis quam proximus ipsis.

CANTICUM VIII.

Uranie.

Nec melius Natura fuit spectata cuiquam :
Nec polus, aut tellus magis ulli cognita vati :
Quorsum ego dissimulem? fuit unus et unicus ille
Filius Uraniæ; Ptolemæo major utroque
Et centum Alphonsis, et plusquam mille Zacutis.
Hipparchum, Proclum, Albertum, Ritiumque Levique
In spuriis numero : fuit hæres unicus, omnes
Anteiens Persas, Chaldæos, Gymnosophistas,
Romulidas, Graios, Arabes, Smitheius Heros.
Solius mihi funus erit sexcenta sepulchra.

CANTICUM IX.

Polymneia, Musarum ultima.

Smithe, tuum tumulum lachrymis, pluviisque rigare
Me nunc fata volunt : testabitur unda, redundans
Ingenium, flumen verborum, flumen aquarum.

Quam vellem exordiri iterum : sed sæpius ille
Sæpe omnes nymphæ; Nunc desine garrula, clamant.
Parendum est : tu Terra jaces, amplissime Smithe,
Lympha ego sum : sed erit tua jam jam cœlicus Ignis,
Mens mea (vox abiit) circumvolitabilis aer.

AD JOANNEM VUDDUM.

Pergin' adhuc flere? at Smithus super astra triumphat,
Semideumque forum amplificans, Divumque Senatum :

In Crucifixi oculis, oculos defixus, et almam
 Amplexus Triadem, geminis ardentius ulnis;
 Contemplans simulachra, oculis incognita nostris,
 Nec manibus tractata hominum, nova gaudia volvens;
 Sydereæ æternum nactus diadema cohortis,
 Chrystiadumque sacris redimitus fronte Corollis.

CHARITUM HYMNUS.

Atque hic exclamare libet, ceu Græculus ille
 Quisquis erat vates, mordaci carmine quondam
 Πάντα γέλως, καὶ πάντα σχοιῖ, καὶ πάντα τὸ μῆθεν.
 Ergo quid hi fletus? quorsum hæc insania, cives?
 Quorsum luctificis ululantia carmina verbis?
 Hoc satis est: lachrymæ valeant, vel fœmina, plora.
 Nostrum est Smithæum funus decorare canendo,
 Hyblæasque rosas, et Hymettia spargere sarta,
 Et tumulo flores, ac floribus addere carmen:
 Ossa hic pauca cubant: animus conscendit Olympum:
 Carpe viator iter: nihil hic lachrymabile Lector:
 Sortem sorte, bonam meliori, numine plenus
 Æthereo, Smithus mutavit, et incolit astra;
 Occultas hominum insidias, strepitusque diurnos,
 Nocturnosque dolos, commentaque subdola, et ausus
 Præcipites; irasque truces, ac fulmina Regum:
 Fortunæque rotam, Mavortiaque agmina temnens.

EPILOGUS, AD JOANNEM VUDDUM.

Interea te Vudde, iterumque, iterumque valere,
 Et meminisse tui solito Gabrielis amore,
 Vel jubeo, ut mos est, vel, quod civilius, opto.

THE TEARS OF GABRIEL HARVEY, OF SAFFRON WALDEN.

To John Wood, Secretary and Nephew of that most illustrious Knight, THOMAS SMITH, while he was living.

Has Smith, the glory of the Muses, died—
 Smith, mine, and thine, and every Englishman's;
 Who owed a life to us, if not himself?
 Ah but, ah but, perished he has indeed,
 Unless thy letter me deceives. Oh, rather
 I pray thy letter may deceive me often
 Than that revered and holy head should perish.
 My mind remains in doubt, but why such madness?
 'Tis certain he lies low. Immortal head,
 Farewell; and now in presence of thy God,

Angelic companies, and blessèd souls,
 Enjoy unending pleasures, and thy spirit
 Drench with the nectar of Eternity.
 O happy urns, in which are laid to rest
 The bones of such great men : O blessèd ashes,
 Blessèd a hundred times ! From these 'tis meet
 Laurel should spring, the crocus, and the lily :
 And in such sepulchres angelic troops,
 And heavenly deities, and souls Elysian,
 Should find a dwelling-place, and sweetly sing
 Etherial measures, and drive far away
 Malignant furies ; for he was indeed,
 Or no one ever was, the Muses' son.

Who does not know
 The noble name of Smith ? Descend, ye Muses,
 O ye kind Muses, from the realms above,
 And to the high assemblies of those realms
 Bear ye this man, second to none in letters,
 To few in virtue, a Socrates in learning,
 In wisdom a Ulysses, Europe's glory,
 And the distinguished ornament of Britain.

THE TEARS OF THE MUSES,
Poured forth in Nine Mournful Songs or Dirges.

SONG I.

Clio.

O Livy, thee, and thee, accomplished Cæsar,
 Thee too in brevity excelling, Sallust,
 And thee, Thucydides, in wise discernment,
 And all thy touching tales, Herodotus,
 I mention not : and all of you, Laertius,
 Athenian Muse, O Dion, Plutarch, Strabo,
 And Tacitus, I tacitly pass over ;
 Eutropius and others numberless,
 Whom oftentimes he handled with his hand,
 Italian, French, British historians.
 —The sun of Cambridge has indeed endured
 A sad eclipse.

SONG II.

What the Fates will, cannot be changed, O Clio.
 My mind refuses to remember, and
 My tongue, as bound with chains, shudders to say,
 That, these September Calends, which I loathe,

And you, my sister, execrate, there died
A man deserving of immortal years.

Æschylus, cry aloud, and Sophocles
In lamentation melt : Euripides,
(Or, if you wish it rather, Socrates,
Whom oft our Worthy to his scholars read)
Eternally bewail, and move along
In tragic vestment clad.

SONG III.

Thalia.

Your names at once we sadly will rehearse,
And Cheke and Smith among the heroes place
And famous gods ; and it shall seem an honour
To be near either—Saffron Walden happy
In Smith, and Cambridge fortunate in Cheke.

Such sepulchres it were a mighty crime
Not to adorn with verses, violets,
Delicious garlands, loving hymns of praise,
New-writ inscriptions, decorations old.

SONG IV.

Euterpe.

Alas, how hard I find it not to groan—
Often, my sisters, have I longed to break
The thread of your discourse, and utter forth
My own deep sorrow. I have thrown away
The reeds, attending on the obsequies of Smith.

To gods alone and deities he was second ;
To gods alone he is and will be second.
This, sweetest Tityrus, will be thy song ;
Thus, Melibœus, thou wilt sing ; and this
Will be thy dulcet pipe, Theocritus :
This for thy shepherds will be like a flute :
And all who are enrolled among my followers
Take up with eagerness this love of mine ;
And with a measured cadence ye will sing,
To gods alone and deities he was second.

SONG V.

Terpsichore.

Go, boy, and break thy golden lute, nor ever
Let its melodious chord resound again.



Why standest thou, bad boy? go, take thy lute,
 Break it in pieces, rend it utterly.
 My tears and griefs are worth a thousand lutes.
 Would I were changed to rain, and all my bones.
 Were turned to trickling drops.

With Horace 'tis all over; thy Muse, Pindar,
 Has lost its music: Surrey's lyre is broken,
 And its songs hushed: the poets' lightsome lyres
 Sound sadly: Sappho mourns: Apollo weeps:
 Simonides detests his lyric loves:
 Amphion wails: the Thracian Orpheus mourns.
 Our friend is gone, alas! our friend is gone,
 And all our company will follow soon.
 Nought now to thee is left, Terpsichore,
 Nought to the Muses, save a doleful song,
 And lamentable groans, and deep-drawn sighs.

SONG VI.

Erato.

Now plays, diversions, instruments, farewell.
 Thou, Venus, weep; and thou, O quivered Cupid,
 And ye delights, and nightly entertainments
 Of the bewitching dance—farewell to all.
 Bembus, Pontanus, be ye silent both:
 Be silent, More, and Surrey, and Gascoigne.

Since thou hast died, 'tis certain, I must die,
 O sweetest Thomas, but if still I live,
 And if my poetry avails me aught,
 Thou shalt live also.

Ah, pious Muses, scatter odours sweet,
 At this sad funeral, and with your tears
 Bestrew his tomb, e'en as with flowers his coffin:
 For him pour forth your violets, lilies fair,
 And roses, and upon his sepulchre
 For superscription place this lasting verse:
 I, Smith, of mighty Sovereigns of the earth
 Peace-bearing messenger, born for their glory,
 And for my fatherland's, and for my own:
 I was a second Socrates, a god within,
 Simple without; and not in show alone,
 But very deed, a wonder to the world.

SILENCE FOR A TIME.

SONG VII.

Which is equal to the eight others, and embraces the entire history of almost his whole life, expressed in comparatively few verses.

To listen to this Doctor as he taught
 Cheke did not blush, nor Redman, nor great Burleigh,
 Nor the elder Cox,—and Hatton was his pupil.
 Who was the chiefest rhetorician? Smith.
 Who was the first interpreter of tongues?
 'Twas Smith. And who the most famed naturalist?
 Oh, Smith, the all-knowing. Who of life and manners
 The ablest Master? Smith again. So Smith
 Alone for every praise illustrious
 Bore all before him, with a godlike genius
 Excelling, (and if truth I may but speak)
 A mortal God, or near as possible
 To the Divinities themselves.

SONG VIII.

Urania.

By no one else was Nature better viewed :
 Nor sky nor earth was ever better known
 To any prophet. Why should I dissemble?
 He was Urania's one and only son,
 Greater than either Ptolemy, a hundred
 Alphonsi, or Zacuti by the thousand.
 Hipparchus, Proclus, and the rest, I count
 Base-born. My only rightful heir was he,
 Excelling Greeks, Chaldæans, Arabs, Romans,
 Persians, and all—the mighty hero Smith.
 The death of him alone will be to me
 Six hundred sepulchres.

SONG IX.

Polymneia—the Last of the Muses.

O Smith, thy tomb with tears, with showers to moisten,
 The Fates command me now : Water will witness
 His overflowing genius, and the river's current
 The river of his words.

How often I would fain begin again :
 But oftener he exclaims, oft all the nymphs,
 Now cease, O garrulous, thy endless strain.
 I must obey. Thou liest, earth to earth,

Most noble Smith, and I am only water ;
 But soon thy flame will light on thee from Heaven,
 (And now my voice silenced and borne away)
 My mind shall be the circumambient air.

TO JOHN WOOD.

Dost thou persist e'en still to pour forth tears,
 When (Smith) is triumphing above the stars,
 And adding glory to the angelic throng
 And council of the Gods? The Crucified
 Beholds him with kind eyes; his own eyes droop,
 While with the fond embraces of his soul
 He hangs upon the gracious Trinity.
 He views such forms as our eyes never saw,
 Nor hands of men have handled; and revolves
 Joys unimaginable here below.
 He has obtained the eternal diadem
 Of that blest starry host, and on his forehead
 Wears the fair wreath of Christ's own chosen ones.

HYMN OF THE GRACES.

Well may we cry with that old Grecian bard,
 Whoe'er he was—who penned the biting verse :
 "All things are laughter, all things shadows be,
 And all things nothing are, and vanity."
 Then why these tears, and why this senseless sorrow,
 This loud-voiced dirge that rends the air with discord?

It is enough : a long farewell to tears ;
 Or woman let it be alone who weeps :
 'Tis ours to crown his obsequies with singing,
 And scatter on his tomb Hyblæan roses,
 And garlands from Hymettus—all fair flowers,
 And to fair flowers to add the feeling song
 Here rest his bones : his soul ascends to Heaven :
 Traveller, pass on : Reader, nought here asks tears :
 Smith has exchanged a happy lot below
 For one far happier in the realms above :
 And now fulfilled with God, he walks the stars.
 The hidden snares of men he there despises,
 The daily din and midnight treachery,
 The secret plots, and desperate attempts,
 The cruel ire and thunderbolts of Kings,
 The wheel of Fortune and the shocks of War.

EPILOGUE TO JOHN WOOD.

Meanwhile, Farewell, and yet again, farewell.
 And with thy customary love remember
 Thy Gabriel, I bid thee, as is wont,
 Or rather ask thee, which is more polite.

More noticeable, perhaps, than even his "Lachrymæ Musarum" is "χαῖρε vel Gratulationum Valdensium Libri quatuor" (1578)—the last, on Sidney, in Latin and English alike will reward study.

GABRIELIS HARVEII χαῖρε, VEL GRATULATIONIS VALDINENSIS.

LIBER PRIMUS: TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Epilogus, de Regiæ Manus Osculatione: deque eo quod vulgum Itali habere, ab excellentissima Principe diceretur.

PARS PRIMA: DE OSCULO.

Aulam

Regalem peto continuo, Dominumque saluto.
 Ille ubi me vidit, verbis affatus amicis,
 Siste, Harveie, inquit, jam jamque videbis Elissam,
 Teque tuosque elegos jam jamque videbit Elissa.
 Parva mora est, venite conclavi Regia Virgo
 (Stella ea credo fuit, stellis radiantior ipsis)
 Prostratūmque videt, visumque excepit amœna,
 Ambrosiaque manu: mihi oscula dulcia præbet,
 Oscula, cœlo ipso mage cœlica, pæneque Divis
 Diva magis, labris impressa fidelibus, et quæ
 Pluris ea una putent, Pelopis quam mille talenta.
 Exclamare juvat, fatumque omnesque Planetas
 Versibus insignire meis et somnia rebus
 Addere divinis; spemque inter Numina cœli
 Ponere.——

At postquam fulgore novo illustrasset ocellos
 Stella meos: valdeque mihi, multumque placere
 Cœpisssem: vix credibile est, quo verba stupore
 Regia concuterent animum: quo numine pectus
 Corriperent: pluris, *Quisnam est ?* fuit, *Hic cine quæro*
Ille est ? et, *Dextram tibi non, Harveie, negabo*;
 Quam Phœbi, Musæque novem, totidemque Minervæ.
 Gestio lætitia, et nova gaudia corde voluto,
 Qualia nulla dies, nullæ sensere Calendæ.

PARS EPILOGI SECUNDA: DE VULTU ITALI.

Protinus et Dominum alloqueris (meminisse juvabit
 Dum potero meminisse aliquid) *Dic, Huncine in oras
 Italicas, Francasque tibi transmittere certum est?*
 Certum, inquit Dominus; *bene factum, Jam jam habet ille
 Vultum Itali, faciemque hominis: vix esse Britannum
 Crediderim potiusque hospes quidam esse videtur.*
 Hæc ubi dicta, statim generosus membra caballus
 Excepit tua: per populum, per plurima ferris
 'Tra virum: clamor turres penetravit Olympi:
 Vive diu Regina: diu Salveque Valeque;—
 In reliquis non Italus esse
 Valde optem, nisi quod veteres Ciceronis amores
 Et Romæ, et gentis celeberrima fama togatæ
 Fixa animo, Italicas faciunt venerarier oras.
 Vera etiam ut dicam (neque enim non dicere fas est
 Quod vere dixisse queam, licet ante tacendum
 Esse videretur) paulo magis ipse favere
 Eximio Italiæ decori, mage nuper amare
 Cœpi homines, postquam gemini Smithalia nostra
 Haud unquam mihi visi Itali (data carmina serò
 Typographo fuerant) peramanti voce probassent
 Meque Italorum inter retulissent alba suorum.
 Sic fatum est; nec tu casu mihi, splendida princeps
 Vultum Itali, faciemque hominis tribuisse videris:
 Plura ipsi tribuere Itali, latet abdita causa,
 Causa tamen non vana subest: Italis ego pœne
 Esse Italus videor: nomen nec tu mihi prima
 Imposuisti Itali: gemini imposuere poetæ
 Jampridem Italici: quid mirer, nescio: credo
 Mirandum tamen est aliquid: dic Jupiter alte
 Quidnam est? quid tandem est? Harveius Anglus haberi
 Non Italus meruit: sunt illi injuria fata
 Quod perhiberi alio voluerunt nomine; mica
 Vix una Italici salis est, merus Italus, aiunt:
 Atra coma est: color et fortasse subitalus: oris
 Majestas, veneresque absunt; tamen Italus esse
 Reginæ videor: quid multis? *Me quoque dicunt
 Vatem pastores, sed non ego credulus illis.*
 Ac mihi nescio quis de cœlo spiritus alto
 Clamitat assidue (neque enim memorare pigebit
 Antiquum carmen, quod dictat Cynthius, aurem
 Vellens, O semper liceat meminisse monentis)
Plus aliis de te, quam tu tibi credere noli.

LIBER IV.

VALDINENSIVM.

Ad Nobilissimum

*Humanissimumque Juvenem, Philippum Sidneium,
Mihi multis nominibus longe charissimum.*

Tene ego, te solùm taceam, præclare Philippe,
Quemque aliæ gentes, quæque ora externa loquuntur ?
Non faciam, non si cerebrum mihi Pallas obumbret,
Non sensus mihi si Phæbus contundat acutos,
Et siluisse aliquando velit, qui multa loquutus
Tandem etiam a Musis, et Apolline deseror omni.
Si nihil est, laudabo genus; laudabo Minervam;
Laudabo ingenium; mores laudabo venustos:
Ingenuas laudabo artes; dicamque Minerva
Propitia puerum didicisse fideliter illas.
Ecquis eum minus optatum, gratumque venire
Crediderit cuiquam; qui talibus ornamentis
Venerit excultus, talique incedet amictu ?
At tua sunt privata magis Præconia: Te, te
Gallica Nobilitas; te, te Germanica valde
Admirata fuit; te, te novus Induperator
Mirifice coluit: (celebris Legatio multum
Addiderat decoris): tam forti pectore, tanto
Judicio, tam spectata virtute refertum,
Tot literis Juvenem: Stephanus tibi multa trophæa
Ingenii statuit: Languetis plura: sed unus
Plurima Banosius, nives signanda lapillo:
Banosius, pars magna animi, bona portio nostri.
Quid mirum, si te stupeat Britannica pubes;
Aula probet; faveat princeps; utrumque Lycæum
Delitias inter faveat: Respublica tota
Amplectatur, amet, miretur, laude celebret ?
Sic superi voluere; boni nimiumque benigni
Sic superi voluere; Anglis miracula semper
Esse aliqua, in quibus emineat Virtusque Fidesque
Religio, Artesque omnes, cunctique Lepores:
In quibus ipsæ habitent Musæ, dominetur Apollo,
Et Charites, Veneresque insint; regnetque Minerva:
Mercuriusque suas vires, Pandora suasque
Exerat; atque Themis, Facundiaque ipsa, bonique
Quotquot ubique adsunt, Genii sua munera jacent.
Quos digitis monstret populus, dignosque triumphis
Tergeminis statuatur; sertisque et honoribus ornet
Omnigenis, summumque adeo super æthera tollat—

Hos inter, siquis primas, Memorande Philippe,
 Attribuat tibi, cui superi bona cuncta dedere
 Corporis, ingenii, Naturæ, Fortunæque;
 Næ præclare illum facere ac sentire putabo,
 Judicioque ejus nitetur nostra Thalia.
 Fortunata domus, cui talia pignora; fælix
 Et Pater et Mater, Sidneiorumque propago
 Integra; ter fælix, ter fælicissimus ipse,
 Quique domum, patremque ornas, matremque genusque,
 Sic floreas, Sidneie, diu; tua gloria crescat
 Quotidie magis atque magis; præconia semper
 Vel nova, vel majora tibi cumulentur; honores
 Accedant insperati; spes altra voceris
 Sidneii decoris: spes altera Varviciani
 Nominis; (O vivat, sed vivat avunculus): altra
 Leicestri quoque splendoris (sed avunculus, O sed
 Vivat in æternum); Præclare Philippe voceris,
 Teque omnes reputent Sidneio Dudleioque
 Stemmæ, gente, domo, decore, amplitudine dignum.
 Principiis nihil est illustrius: ultima primis
 Si paria exstiterint, (sed erunt æqualia; Phœbus
 Majora, inquit, erunt: spondetque amplissima quæque
 Veridicus Vates) Deus, O Deus optime, quantum
 Fulgorem adjicies patriis Laribusque domoque
 Nobilitati etiam, Majestatique Britannæ?
 Quæ mea de tantis spes est ter maxima spebus.
 Crede mihi, tua me sic afficit inclyta virtus
 Ut quidvis sperare queam, præter omnia summa.
 O voti compos fiam, Sidneiaque ubique
 Laus volitet, celsumque feratur ad æthera sursum—
 Plura alias: nunc Musa jubet defessa tacere:
 Χαῖρε aliis dixi: tibi dico χαῖρε, Valeque.

GABRIEL HARVEY'S XAÏPE—ALL HAIL:

OR THE FIRST BOOK OF THE SAFFRON WALDEN WISHING
 OF JOY.

To Queen Elizabeth.

*Epilogue, concerning the kissing of the Queen's hand; and
 concerning the remark made by Her Most Excellent
 Majesty, that he had the look of an Italian.*

THE kingly hall * I seek and greet its Lord;
 He, when he saw me, gave me friendly words:

* Audley.

"Stay, Harvey, thou shalt see Eliza soon ;
 Eliza soon shall see thee and thy verses."
 Quick from her chamber came the Royal Virgin.
 A star, I swear, more bright than stars themselves.
 Bowed low she secs me ; seen, she welcomed me
 Kindly, and with ambrosial hand outstretcht,
 To me she grants a sweet kiss to impress,
 A kiss more heavenly than heaven itself,
 And almost more divine than deity ;
 A kiss imprinted there by faithful lips
 Which reckon that one kiss of greater worth
 Than thousand golden talents. Fain would I
 Cry, and with verses crown Fate and the planets,
 Enhancing things Divine with blissful dreams,
 And setting my high hope amongst the gods.

But when that goodly star with splendour new
 Had dazed my eyes, and deep complacence filled
 My bosom, it is scarcely credible
 With what profound emotion the Queen's words
 Stirred my whole soul, with what divinity
 Arrested all my being, as she said,
 "Who is that man ? tell me, I pray, who is he ?"
 And added, "Harvey, I will not deny
 To thee my right hand." Oh, those queenly words
 Are of more worth to me than great Apollo's
 And all the Muses nine and nine Minervas.
 I dance with joy, and exultations new
 My spirit thrill, such as no other day,
 No happiest day had e'er before bestowed.

Part II. of Epilogue.—Concerning the look of an Italian.

Forthwith Thou dost address my Lord as follows :
 (It will delight me to remember it
 While ought I can remember), "Tell me, prithee,
 Is this the man that thou hast fixed to send
 Into the parts of France and Italy ?"
 "It is so fixed," replied my Lord. She answered,
 "It is well done : already he possesses
 The look and face of an Italian.
 I scarcely could believe he was a Briton,
 He seems to me more like a foreigner."

Thus dost thou speak and mount thy noble charger :
 Through crowds, through seas of faces, thou art borne :
 A mighty shout arose and pierced the sky .
 "Long live the Queen," with welcomes and farewells !

To be an Italian

I should not much desire for other reasons,
 But my old love of Cicero and Rome
 And the great fame of men who wore the toga
 Rooted within me, made me venerate
 The soil of Italy. To tell the truth
 (Nor can I hide what I may truly say
 Though it might seem 'twere better left unsaid),
 I have myself begun of late to favour
 This glorious Italy, and to love its people,
 Since two Italians, never seen by me,
 With loving voice praised my Smithalia,
 (The poem had been given them by the printer)
 And placed my name upon the honoured list
 Of their choice bards of Italy. So 'tis fated :
 And not by accident, illustrious Queen,
 Dost thou appear to have ascribed to me
 The look and face of an Italian.
 Still more the Italians ascribed to me :
 Some hidden cause, and that no vain one, lurks.
 E'en to Italians I seem almost
 To be Italian ; nor didst Thou first
 Give me the name ; those two Italian poets
 Gave me the name before. I do not know
 Why I should wonder ; yet I do believe
 There is some cause for wonder. Answer me,
 Great Jupiter, What is the cause, I pray ?
 Harvey deserved to be accounted English
 And not Italian. The Fates have wronged him
 In wishing him to bear another name.
 Of wit Italian he has got, they say,
 Scarcely one grain. He is a mere Italian.
 His hair is black, and his complexion, maybe,
 Dark as from touch of the Italian sun.
 But majesty of countenance and beauty
 Are wanting to me. Yet to the Queen I seem
 To be Italian. Why should I bandy words ?
 " Me also do the shepherds call a poet,
 But I am slow to credit what they say."
 And some wise spirit from on high keeps urging
 (Nor will it pain me to record the verse
 Sung by Apollo as he plucked my ear :
 Oh, may I always recollect his warning)
 " Don't credit more what others say of thee
 Than what thyself dost say unto thyself."

BOOK IV.

VALDINENSIIUM.

*To the most noble and most cultivated Youth, Philip Sidney,
to me on many accounts by far the dearest (of all young
men).*

Of thee, thee only should I hold my tongue,
Illustrious Philip, while all other nations
And every foreign land, of thee are speaking?
No, not though Pallas should becloud my brain,
And Phœbus should benumb my senses keen,
And wish me to be silent once at length,
Who having spoken much of many things
At last by all the Muses am abandoned,
And by their King. If there is nought beside,
I'll praise thy high descent, I'll praise thy learning,
I'll praise thy genius, and thy polished manners,
And thy accomplishments: and I will say
That as a boy thou faithfully didst follow
These liberal arts, 'neath Pallas' fostering wing.
Who would believe that any one could come
Less longed for, and less welcome unto all,
Who came with such adornments of the mind,
And walked the earth with such a robe of culture?
But thine are praises which are all thine own.
Thee, thee the French nobility admired;
Thee, thee the German: thee the Emperor new
Of all the Indies wonderfully courted;
(That famous embassy of thine had brought thee
Increase of honour;) thee a youth endowed
With such undaunted courage, so great judgment,
Such tried, conspicuous virtue, and such learning.
What trophies of thy genius Stephanus showed;
Still more Languetus; most of all Banosius;
Works worthy to be marked with a white stone—
Banosius, a great part of my own soul,
And the best part. What wonder is it then
If all the British youth should stand amazed,
The Court approve, the Queen should favour thee,
And every learned circle cherish thee
Amongst its choice delights; the whole Republic
Embrace, admire, love, celebrate with praises.
So willed the Powers above, kind and too gracious,
So willed the Powers above, that Englishmen
Should always have some Wonder of the age
In whom are seen conspicuous Virtue, honour,

Religion, arts, and all accomplishments:
In whom the Muses make their habitation,
Apollo reigns, and Loves and Graces dwell,
Mercury his gifts displays, Pandora hers,
And Law and Eloquence and all good Powers
As many as exist, their boons pour on them :
At whom the people may the finger point,
And deem them worthy of the highest honours,
And decorate with manifold distinctions,
And lift above the skies. Amongst all these,
If any one assign the chiefest place
To thee, famed Philip, whom the gods have crowned
With all good gifts of body and of mind,
Of Nature and of Fortune, I shall deem
Verily that man acts and thinks right nobly,
And on his judgment our Thalia will lean.
Fortunate house to whom such sons are given ;
Happy his father and his mother ; happy
The whole race of the Sidneys : but thrice happy,
Thrice happiest thyself, who dost adorn
Thy house, thy parents, and thy kindred all.
Thus, Sidney, mayst thou flourish long ; thy glory
Daily increase yet more and more ; new praises
Be heaped upon thee, and still greater praises.
May honours come unlooked for ; and mayst thou
One time be called the hope of all the Sidneys ;
Another time the hope of Warwick's name
(But O long live thy uncle) ; at another,
Of Leicester's splendour also (but again,
Long may thy uncle live) ; O noble Philip,
May all men deem thee worthy of the stock,
Race, family, honour, magnificence,
Of Sidney and of Dudley : nought can be
More grand than thy beginning ; if thy future
Be equal to thy past (it will be equal,
Nay, greater, Phœbus says—most glorious,
Thy truthful prophet pledges), O good God,
What splendour thou wilt add to hearth and home,
And to the fame and majesty of Britain.
Such is my mightiest hope of such great hopes,
Believe me, thy unrivalled virtue so
Affects my soul, that I can hope all things
Beyond the utmost possibilities.
O may my prayer be answered, and the praise
Of Sidney circle all the earth, and fly
Up to the highest heaven. But more elsewhere.

The weary Muse now bids me cease my song.
 Χαῖρε to others I have said : to thee
 Χαῖρε I say, and *Vale*—Hail, Farewell !

Having thus fulfilled our promise to give representative quotations from the Latin works of Harvey,* it seems only fair to him to preserve here the substance of a rehabilitation of him by my good friend Professor Henry Morley. With characteristic chivalry, if also with chivalric rashness, he published in the *Fortnightly Review* a pugnacious "Apology," which he entitled cleverly "Hobbinol." It were to tire the most omnivorous Reader to reproduce it *in extenso* ; but I have no reluctance in printing its substance of defence (and eke offence). For those who wish more or all, reference is easy to the paper itself (vol. v., pp. 274-83). I intercalate a few words here and there explanatory or deprecatory. It thus opens :—

"When, in 1579, their old comrade at Pembroke Hall, Edward Kirke, prefixed to Spenser's first venture in verse *The Shepheardes' Calender* [second, not first 'venture'—the Sonnets in Jean Vander Noodt's *Theatre of Worldlings* (1565) long preceding], a letter to Gabriel Harvey, as its unnamed author's 'special friend and fellow-poet,' he only told in prose what is shown by the *Calender* itself, where Harvey is enshrined as Spenser's Hobbinol. The difference is great between this Hobbinol, as we may see him if we care to look for his true features, and the figure which stands for him in encyclopædias, in text-books, and in that lively account of the paper-

* I had meant to have worked in typical quotations from the books of the brothers of Harvey as well, but (a) Such as I have been able to read really yield nothing quotable; (b) Such as are of extrinsic interest ("Lamb of God") I have thus far failed to get at; (c) In Notes and Illustrations to Nashe confirmation of his satiric *bits* in them will be given (so far as possible).

war between Harvey and Nashe which most of us have read with natural enjoyment in Isaac D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*. Hardly a definite fact has been stated, real or imaginary, which has not had a turn given to it unfavourable to the good name of this much misrepresented scholar. A vague concession that 'the friend of Spenser and Sidney could hardly have been contemptible,' is all that we have given us in *The Calamities of Authors* to qualify the finding of a portrait in the mere caricature produced by an unscrupulous wit, who had more genius but less worth than his antagonist, and who amused himself and the town with extravagant exaggeration of what he took to be the weaknesses of his opponent's character. Yet there is not one—actually not one—sharp point in the indictment against Gabriel Harvey which does not break at a touch when we look from the burlesque upon him to the man himself" (p. 274).

On the closing astonishing averment, to any one acquainted with the 'facts,' it is enough to answer—(1) that the alleged destructive "touch" is nowhere given or so much as attempted. D'Israeli is superfluously refuted, and other second-hand critics, but absolutely Thomas Nashe is never once dealt with, nor one of his charges or witty stories traversed in this paper. It lies on the surface, indeed, that at the date of this paper the writer was unacquainted with the books of Nashe and Greene at first-hand, and at second-hand most imperfectly. (2) That with Greene's, Nashe's, and Harvey's works before him, the reader will see that making allowance for dashes of caricature, Nashe had reality, not fancy, for his grotesquest representations; and now in the Letter-Book we have Herod out-Heroded in the *fantastique* of his gossip and vituperation, his superlative vanity and opinionativeness, and his foul tongue. As for Nashe's argus-eyes for every droll story that would tell, the assailant of Robert Greene set the base

example. He had indeed ignominiously to apologise for his mendacious tittle-tattle in his "Earthquake" letters. Professor Morley continues,—

"He did not become a great man, or what he called 'a megalander'; we may, if we will, class him with what is fossil or extinct in literature—its megatherium or dodo. [Much too vast for so very very small a creature—some fortunately 'extinct' vermin, more apt.] But in his day he worked hard, aspired nobly, and left witness to his labour and his aspiration. [Where? Echo answers 'Where' is this 'witness' to 'noble aspiration'?] Perhaps we do not care, for his own sake, to read the evidence, but set him aside as one of the small matters, if any there be, in which it is not worth while to be just. [Conceded that it is 'right to be just'; but it must be all round, *i.e.* not to Harvey at the cost of Greene and Nashe, any more than to them at his cost.] Then let him have the advantage of being not merely Gabriel Harvey, although to him that was something, but also Spenser's Hobbino!, which is to us more. He was, during some important years of Spenser's life, the poet's 'long-approved and singular good friend' and counsellor. The counsel was outgrown, but not the friendship. To our credence as well as Harvey's, Spenser has left what he once called 'the eternal memory of our everlasting friendship, the inviolable memory of our unspotted friendship, the sacred memory of our vowed friendship'; and it is a little due perhaps to Spenser that we should ascertain how much credit is due to the commentators who would have us think that he wrote in this way to a conceited pedant seven years older than himself" (p. 275).

This stand-point of defence is skilfully selected, but a very little reflection shows its fundamental weakness. Far be it from me to seek to rob Harvey of the one green leaf that belongs to his memory! Nevertheless, it is inevitable that we here recall three things: (*a*) That the phrase "long-approved and singular good friend" was a letter-heading of the time as conventional as "your obedient servant" of to-day, —*e.g.* in the Desmond and other rebel correspondence much the same forms are found passing between men

who detested each other. It was a phrase and nothing more, and might simply be adopted by Spenser *cæteris paribus*; (b) That the deepened words "the eternal memory," etc., etc., occur in a letter which bubbles over with raillery even to burlesque on Spenser's part—Nashe himself not exceeding him in his showing up of the Hexameter folly. Nor can any one who has studied the matter doubt that Nashe was right in his suspicion that Harvey made the most of his relations to Spenser, or that it could not be other than an offence to find his name introduced by head and shoulders; (c) That Harvey's preposterous exhibitions as a "conceited pedant" came after, not preceded, Spenser's generous praises; for the Nashe-Harvey "wordy war," wherein Harvey went to such lengths of vindictive abuse and self-praise followed long after, whilst there is good reason for thinking that Spenser interfered to withdraw the Sonnets, etc., originally published as Precursor of *Pierce's Supererogation* in honour of Harvey by Harvey himself. This last point—passing a needless vindication of an alleged claim of Harvey to be related to Sir Thomas Smith of Audley End (a distant cousinship at most)—brings us to Professor Morley's extraordinary dealing with his notorious "vanity" as for ever demonstrated by—(a) His spreading out in all minutest detail his family and personal history, as though they were of national interest; (b) His publication of laudations by certain contemporaries, not merely at the close of *Pierce's Supererogation*, but as a distinct publication (as shown in its place in Vol. II.)—and which laudations Nashe explicitly

proved were largely repudiated by their writers, and affirmed to have been obtained under false pretences.

"It has been said"—he puts it—"in the pleasant book *The Calamities of Authors*, that Gabriel Harvey's vanity caused him to publish a collection of panegyrics upon himself. Where is it? Can it be that the title of the four books of the *Gratulations of Walden*, a collection of laudatory epigrams and poems upon Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, Burghley, and three other personages of the Court—the third of them, and dearest of all, Harvey's friend, Philip Sidney—can it be that this volume produced in honour of the Queen's visit to Walden and Audley End, has been mistaken for a set of panegyrics on its editor? Or is such a description given to the nine pages of verses in the Harvey and Nashe quarrel attached to the 229 pages of *Pierce's Supererogation*? This is the sort of attention and justice clever men get from posterity when they have once been well covered with abuse from which it is nobody's particular business to defend them, and when they have not achieved in their lives anything great enough to draw on them the general attention of their countrymen in after times" (p 281).

Most innocent-looking is all this, especially the supposition that Isaac D'Israeli was capable of such a 'mistake' about the *Gratulations of Walden*. The absolute and irrefutable answer is: (a) That the "nine pages" and more, were not appended merely to *Pierce's Supererogation*, but first of all (as already noted) published separately, and the unsold copies then appended to *Pierce's Supererogation*; (b) That whilst not the quantity but quality of such publication determines the "conceit" of their publisher, "nine pages" and more, of panegyrics, was in all conscience a prodigious thing; (c) That these "nine pages" and more, have packed within them such superlative of laudation as no self-respecting man ever could have made public; and not only so, but (d) That they were thus published without the consent of the

writers—as subsequent books (*ut supra*) demonstrate ; and (e) That as noted in the place (Vol. II., p. 2) the first set of ‘laudations’ formed a separate publication before its being made an Appendix to *Pierce’s Supererogation*, and that, still more egregious, this Appendix itself was supplemented with others of the same kind—as witness our reproduction ! (Vol. II.) Let the reader turn to these two sets of “Verses” and related Epistles—for Epistles as well as Verses are given—and judge for himself. Finally, Professor Morley seeks to transfer to Richard Harvey the astrological heresies. He partially succeeds ; but it is only partially, seeing that he is diplomatically silent on those “Almanacks” that Gabriel himself composed and published, and catered in them to the popular credulities on “the influence of the stars.”

No Vindication of Gabriel Harvey is possible, by Professor Morley or anybody else, so long as these three things remain :—

1. *The Hexameter device.* None but a “fantastic pedant” could have insisted on experiment so nonsensical, and none but a man blinded by “vanity” could so have boasted of being the Inventor of Hexameter. The paper on “Hobbinol” is deftly dumb on the whole absurdity. With its mal-influence on Sidney and the hazard of losing the *Faery Queen* by it, we cannot allow it to be thus dropped.

2. *The malignant traducing of Robert Greene.* Whilst again and again iterating that he warred not with the dead, Harvey has worked into his “Foure Letters” every idle piece of gossip and every

venomous accusation that his pestiferous industry could ferret out. Professing never to have read Greene's books, he nevertheless piles up epithets of abuse upon them, and rancorous nicknames; and all in the worst style of cold-blooded sentence-spinning. My regard for Professor Morley will not allow me to characterize his verdict on those infamous "Foure Letters"; than which nothing viler, baser, more heartless, exists in our language; for Harvey makes not the slightest reference to Greene's pathetic and passionate penitence.

3. *The rejection of Nashe's offer of reconciliation.* Whoso reads the epistle to the first edition of the "Tears" must recognise sincerity and characteristic generosity of forgiveness on the part of one to whom it could not be very easy to bring himself so to stoop. Equally self-evident is the truthfulness of Nashe's record as to how he was misled into such an overture of peace. This being so, it is impossible to acquit Harvey of measureless vindictiveness as of scarcely describable treachery. Nor less declarative of a pedant's "vanity" is his failure to recognise what an ass he had written himself down, and how incomparable was the intellectual force and ability of his young antagonist.

Take him all-in-all, GABRIEL HARVEY must abide a monumental example of how little "much learning" (granting that) does for CHARACTER; how possible it is to be a Scholar, and at the same time a Blockhead — mastered by, not mastering his acquisitions; how contemporary reputation often proves to be the toadyism of a clique; and how

some men have the art or the un-art of putting their worst foot foremost. Gabriel Harvey one cannot admire, much less love. Associated with SIDNEY and SPENSER indissolubly, we think of Sidney and Spenser, not of him, save by-the-bye. His learning was heavy, but not solid (much as a pound of feathers is of the same weight as a pound of lead, yet incompact); his 'rhetoric' magniloquent rather than eloquent; his verse fluent and smooth, but without inspiration; his temperament, vain, cantankerous, malignant; his long life a melancholy failure; his books a tomb, not a monument. I would not, however, leave the Friend of EDMUND SPENSER blamable and despised merely.

Therefore I add last of all.—It must never be forgotten that it was Gabriel Harvey who called "Colin Clout" from North-East Lancashire to London, and (practically) introduced him to Leicester and Sidney, and "affairs of State."*

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

* See new Life of Spenser before Works in ten vols. (Vol. I., *frequenter*). It may be added that in Life of Greene, with Notes and Illustrations; in Notes and Illustrations to Nashe, and in Notes and Illustrations to Harvey, in Works, a good deal more of biographical-critical material will be found, including illustrative and elucidative *bits* from the Letter-Book (as before).



I.

LETTERS BETWEEN
EDMUND SPENSER AND HARVEY.

1579-80.



NOTE.

The 'Two Other very commendable Letters,' though published after the 'Three Proper and Wittie familiar Letters' because 'more lately delivered unto the Printer,' come first chronologically, and accordingly are so given in this (first) collection of Harvey's English Writings. Both volumes are reproduced in full and in integrity from the *unique* exemplars in the British Museum. See Memorial-Introduction on these and related Letters; also our edition of the complete Works of Spenser (10 vols.), Vols. I. and IX.—G.

¶ TVVO OTHER

very commendable Let-

ters, of the fame mens vvri-

ting: both touching the foresaid

Artificiall Verifying, and cer-

tain other Particulars :

*More lately deliuered vnto the
Printer.*



IMPRINTED AT LON-

don, by H. Bynneman, dvvelling

in Thames streate, neere vnto

Baynardes Castell.

Anno Domini. 1580.

Cum gratia & privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.





LETTERS

FROM

Oct., 1579.

SPENSER (IMMERITO) TO
GABRIEL HARVEY.

TO THE WORSHIPFULL HIS VERY
SINGULAR GOOD FRIEND, MAISTER
G. H.

FELLOW OF TRINITIE HALL IN CAMBRIDGE.



GOOD Master G. I perceiue by your
most curteous and frendly Letters
your good will to be no lesse in
deed, than I alwayes esteemed. In
recōpence wherof, think I be-
•seech you, that I wil spare neither speech, nor
wryting, nor aught else, whensoever, and where-
soever occasion shal be offred me : yea, I will not

5C,
stay, till it be offred, but will seeke it, in al that
possibly I may. And that you may perceiue how
much your Counsel in al things preuaileth with
me, and how altogether I am ruled and ouer-ruled
thereby: I am now determined to alter mine
owne former purpose, and to subscribe to your
aduizemēt: being nothwithstāding resolued stil,
to abide your farther resolution. | My principal
doubts are these. First, I was minded for a while
to haue intermitted the vttering of my writings:
leaſte by ouer-much cloying their noble eares, I
should gather a contempt of myself, or else seeme
rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it, for
some sweetnesse that I haue already tasted. Then
also, me seemeth, the work too base for his excellent
Lordship, being made in Honour of a priuate Per-
sonage vnknowne, which of some yl-willers might
be vpbraided, not to be so worthie, as you knowe
ſhe is: or the matter not so weightie, that it should
be offred to so weightie a Personage: or the like.
The ſelfe former Title ſtil liketh me well ynough,
and your fine Addition no leſſe. If theſe, and the
like doubtēs, maye be of importaunce in your
ſeeming, to fruſtrate any parte of your aduice,
I beſeeche you without the leaſt ſelfe loue of your
own purpose, counsell me for the beſte: and the
rather doe it faithfullye, and carefully, for that, in
all things I attribute ſo muche to your iudgement,

that I am euermore content to annihilate mine owne determinations, in respecte thereof. And indeede for your selfe to, it sitteth with you now, to call your wits and senses together, (which are alwaies at call) when occasion is so fairely offered of Estimation and Preferment. For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates. *Verum ne quid durius.*

I pray you bethinke you well hereof, good Maister G. and forthwith write me those two or three special points and caueats for the nonce, *De quibus in superioribus illis mellitissimis longissimisque Litteris tuis.* Your desire to heare of my late beeing with hir Maiestie, muste dye in it selfe. (As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney* and Master *Dyer*, they haue me, I thanke them, in some vse of familiarity : of whom, and to whome, what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leaue your selfe to conceiue, hauing alwayes so well conceiued of my vnfained affection and zeale towards you. And nowe they have proclaimed in their ἀρειωπάγῳ a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie beste to : in steade whereof, they have, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English fillables for English Verse : hauing had thereof already great practise, and

note

drawen mee to their faction. Newe Bookes I heare of none, but only of one, that writing a certaine Booke, called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Maister *Sidney*, was for hys labor scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Suche follie is it, not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him to whome wee dedicate oure Bookes. Suche mighte I happily incurre entituling *My Slomber* and the other Pamphlets vnto his honor. I meant them rather to Maister *Dyer*. (But I am, of late, more in loue wyth my Englishe Verifying than with Ryming: whyche I should haue done long since, if I would thē haue followed your counsell.)
Sed te solum iam tum suspicabar cum Aschamo sapere: nunc Aulam video egregios alere Poëtas Anglicos.

Maister E. K. hartily desireth to be commended vnto your Worshipp: of whome what accompte he maketh, your selfe shall hereafter perceiue, by hys paynefull and dutifull Verfes of your selfe.

Thus much was written at Westminster yesternight: but comming this morning, beeyng the sixteenth of October, to Mystresse *Kerkes*, to haue it deliuered to the Carrier, I receyued youre letter, sente me the lasste weeke: whereby I perceiue you otherwhiles continue your old exercise of Verifying

Sat
Goss

Slum

?
In - 1617

in English: whych glorie I had now thought
shoulde haue bene onely ours heere at London and
the Court.

Truste me, your Verses I like passingly well, and
enuye your hidden paines in this kinde, or rather
maligne, and grudge at your selfe, that woulde
not once imparte so muche to me. But once,
or twice you make a breache in Maister Drants
Rules: *quod tamen condonabimus tanto Poëtæ, tuæ-
que ipsius maximæ in his rebus autoritati.* You
shall see when we meete in London (whiche, when
it shall be, certifie vs) howe fast I haue followed
after you in that Course: beware, leaste in time
I ouertake you. *Veruntamen te solum sequar, (ut
sæpenumero sum professus,) nunquam sanè assequar
dum viuam.*

And nowe requite I you with the like, not with
the verye best, but with the verye shortest,
namely, with a fewe *Iambickes*: I dare warrant
they be precisely perfect for the feete (as you can
easily iudge), and varie not one inch from the
Rule. I will imparte yours to Maister Sidney
and Maister Dyer at my nexte going to the
Courte. I praye you, keepe mine close to your-
selfe, or your verie entire friendes, Maister Preston,
Maister Still, and the reste.

Iambicum Trimetrum. p. 20

Vnhappie Verfe, the witneffe of my vnhappie ftate,
 Make thy felfe fluttring wings of thy faft flying
 Thought, and fly forth vnto my Loue wherfo-
 euer ſhe be :

Whether lying reafleffe in heauy bedde, or elfe
 Sitting fo cheereleffe at the cheerfull boorde, or
 elfe
 Playing alone careleffe on hir heauenlie Virginals.

If in Bed, tell hir, that my eyes can take no reſte:
 If at Boorde, tell hir, that my mouth can eate
 no meate :
 If at hir Virginals, tell hir, I can heare no mirth.

Aſked why? ſay : Waking Loue ſuffereth no
 ſleepe :
 Say, that raging Loue dothe appall the weake
 ſtomacke :
 Say, that lamenting Loue marreth the Muſicall.

Tell hir, that hir pleaſures were wonte to lull me
 aſleepe :
 Tell hir, that hir beautie was wonte to feede
 mine eyes :
 Tell hir, that hir ſweete Tongue was wonte to
 make me mirth.

Nowe doe I nightly waste, wanting my kindly
reste :

Nowe doe I dayly starue, wanting my liuely
foode :

Nowe doe I alwayes dye, wanting thy timely
mirth.

And if I waste, who will bewaile my heauy
chaunce ?

And if I starue, who will record my cursed end ?

And if I dye, who will saye : *this was Immerito* ?

I thought once agayne here to have made an
ende, with a heartie *Vale* of the best fashion : but
loe, an ylfavoured myschance. My last farewell,
whereof I made great accompt, and muche mar-
uelled you shoulde make no mention thereof, I am
nowe tolde (in the Diuels name) was thorough one
mans negligence quite forgotten, but shoulde nowe
vndoubtedly haue beene sent, whether I hadde
come, or no. Seeing it can now be no otherwise,
I pray you take all together, wyth all their faultes :
and nowe I hope, you will vouchsafe mee an
answeare of the largest size, or else I tell you true
you shall bee verye deepe in my debte : notwith-
standing, thys other sweete, but shorte letter, and
fine but fewe Verses. But I woulde rather I might
yet see youre owne good selfe, and receiue a

Reciprocally farewell from your own sweet mouth.

Ad ornatissimum virum, multis iamdiu

NOMINIBUS CLARISSIMUM, G. H. IMMERITO

sui, mox in Gallias navigaturi,

εὐρυχέων.

Sic malus egregium sic non inimicus Amicum;
 Sicq̃ nouus veterem iubet ipse Poëta Poëtam,
 Salvere, ac cælo post secula multa secundo
 Iam reducem, cælo mage, quàm nunc ipse, secundo
 Vtier. Ecce Deus, (modò sit Deus ille, renixum
 Qui vocet in scelus, & iuratos perdat amores)
 Ecce Deus mihi clara dedit modò signa Marinus,
 Et sua veligero lenis parat Æquora Ligno,
 Mox fulcanda, suas etiam pater Æolus Iras
 Ponit, et ingentes animos Aquilonis——
 Cuncta viis sic apta meis: ego solus ineptus.
 Nam mihi nescio quo mens saucia vulnere, dudum
 Fluctuat ancipiti Pelago, dum Nauita proram
 Inualidam validus rapit huc Amor, & rapit illuc.
 Consiliis Ratio melioribus vsa, decusq̃
 Immortale leui diffusa Cupidinis Arcu.
 Angimur hoc dubio, & portu vexamur in ipso.

Magne pharetrati nunc tu contemptor Amoris,
 (Id tibi Dii nomen precor haud impune remittant)
 Hos nodos exfolue, & eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Spiritus ad fummos, scio, te generosus Honores
Exstimulat, maiusq; docet spirare Poëtam,
Quàm levis est Amor, & tamen haud levis est
Amor omnis.

Ergo nihil laudi reputas æquale perenni,
Præq; sacrosancta splendoris imagine tanti,
Cætera, quæ vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat.
Prædia, Amicitias, vrbana peculia, Nummos,
Quæque placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores,
Conculcare soles, ut humum, & ludibria sensus.
Digna meo certè Harveio sententia, digna
Oratore amplo, generoso pectore, quam non
Stoica formidet veterum Sapientia vinculis
Sancire æternis; sapor haud tamen omnibus idem.
Dicitur effæti proles facunda Laërtæ,
Quamlibet ignoti iactata per æquora Cæli
Inque procelloso longum exsul gurgite ponto,
Præ tamen amplexu lachrymosæ Coniugis, Ortus
Cælestes Divumque thoros spreuisse beatos.
Tantum Amor, et Mulier, vel Amore potentior.
Illum

Tu tamen illudis: tua Magnificentia tanta est:
Præq; subumbrata Splendoris Imagine tanti,
Præq; illo Meritis famosis nomine parto
Cætera, quæ Vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat,
Prædia, Amicitias, armenta, peculia, nummos,
Quæq; placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores,
Quæq; placent ori, quæq; auribus, omnia temnis.

Næ tu grande fapis, Sapor at fapientia non eft :
Omnis & in parvis benè qui fcit defipuiſſe,
Sæpe fuperciliis palmam fapientibus aufert.
Ludit Ariſtippum modò tetrica Turba Sophorum,
Mitia purpureo moderantem verba Tyranno ;
Ludit Ariſtippus dictamina vana Sophorum,
Quos levis emenſi male torquet Culicis vmbra :
Et quiſquis placuiſſe Studet Heroibus altis,
Deſipuiſſe ſtudet, ſic gratia crefcit ineptis.
Deniq̃ laurigeris quiſquis ſua tempora vittis,
Inſignire volet, Populoque placere fauenti,
Deſipere infanus diſcit, turpemq̃ pudendæ
Stultitiæ laudem quærit. Pater Ennius vnus
Dictus in innumeris fapiens : laudatur at ipſe
Carmina veſano fudiſſe liquentia vino.
Nec tu pace tua, noſtri Cato Maxime fæcli,
Nomen honorati ſacrum mereare Poëtæ,
Quantamuis illuſtre canas, et nobile Carmen,
Ni *ſultire* velis, ſic S[t]ultorum omnia plena.
Tuta ſed in medio ſupereſt via gurgite, nam Qui
Nec reliquis nimium vult deſipuiſſe videri,
Nec fapuiſſe nimis, Sapientem dixeris vnum.
Hinc te merſerit vnda, illinc combuſſerit Ignis.
Nec tu delicias nimis aſpernare fluentes,
Nec ferò Dominam, venientem in vota, nec Aurum,
Si fapis, oblatum, (Curiis ea, Fabriciiſq̃
Linque viris miſeris miſeranda Sophiſmata: quondam
Grande fui decus ii, noſtri ſed dedecus æui :)

Nec sectare nimis. Res vtraq crimine plena.
Hoc bene qui callet, (si quis tamen hoc bene callet)
Scribe, vel inuito sapientem hunc Socrate solum.
Vis facit una pios; Iustos facit altera: & alter'a,
Egregiè cordata, ac fortia pectora: verùm
Omne tulit punctum, *qui miscuit vtile dolci.*
Dii mihi, dulce diu dederant: verum vtile nunq̃:
Vtile nunc etiam, ô utinam quoq̃ dulce dedissent.
Dii mihi (quippe Diis æqualia maxima paruis)
Ni nimis inuideant mortalibus esse beatis,
Dulce simul tribuisse queant, simul vtile: tanta
Sed Fortuna tua est: pariter quæq̃ vtile, quæq̃
Dulce dat ad placitum: sæuo nos fydere nati
Quæsitum imus eam per inhospita Caucaſa longè,
Perq̃ Pyrenæos montes, Babilonaq̃ turpem:
Quòd si quæſitam nec ibi inuenerimus, ingens
Æquor inexhaustis permenſi erroribus, ultrâ
Fluctibus in mediis focii quæremus Vlyſſis.
Paſſibus inde Deam feſſis comitabimur ægram,
Nobile cui furtum quærenti defuit orbis.
Namq̃ ſinu pudet in patrio, tenebrisq̃ pudendis
Non nimis ingenio Iuuenem infœlice virentes,
Officiis fruſtra deperdere vilibus Annos,
Frugibus & vacuas ſperatis cernere ſpicas.
Ibimus ergo ſtatim: (quis eunti fauſta precetur?)
Et pede cliuoſas feſſo calcabimus Alpes.
Quis dabit interea conditas rore Britanno,
Quis tibi Litterulas? quis carmen amore petulcum?

Musa sub Oebalii defueta cacumine montis,
 Flebit inexhausto tam longa silentia planctu,
 Lugebitq; sacrum lacrymis Heliconæ tacentem.
 Harueiusq; bonus, (charus licet omnibus idem,
 Idq; suo merito, prope suauior omnibus vnus,)
 Angelus. & Gabriel, (quamuis comitatus amicis
 Innumeris, geniũmq; choro stipatus amæno)
Immerito tamen vnum absentem sæpe requirit,
 Optabitq; Vtinam meus hîc *Edmundus* adestet,
 Qui noua scripsisset, nec Amores conticuisset
 Ipse suos, & sæpe animo verbisq; benignis
 Fausta precaretur, Deus illum aliquando reducat,
 &c.

*Plura vellem per Charites sed non licet per Musas.
 Vale, Vale plurimũ, Mi amabilissime Harveie, meo
 cordi, meorum omnium longè charissime.*

pro-generality / I was minded also to haue sent you some
 English verses: or Rymes, for a farewell: but
 by my Troth, I haue no spare time in the world,
 to thinke on such Toyes, that you know will
 demaund a freer head, than mine is presently. I
 beseeche you by all your Curtesies and Graces
 let me be answered ere I goe: which will be,
 (I hope, I feare, I thinke) the next weeke, if I
 can be dispatched of my Lorde. I goe thither,
 as sent by him, and maintained most what of
 him: and there am to employ my time, my

Answer

body, my minde, to his Honours seruice. Thus with many superhartie Commendations and Recommendations to your selfe, and all my friendes with you, I ende my last Farewell, not thinking any more to write unto you, before I goe: and withall committing to your faithfull Credence the eternal Memorie of our euerlasting friendship, the inuiolable Memorie of our vnspotted friendship, the sacred Memorie of our vowed friendship: which I beseech you Continue with vsuall writings, as you may, and of all things let me heare some Newes from you. As gentle M. *Sidney*, I thanke his good Worship, hath required of me, and so promised to doe againe. *Qui monet, vt facias, quod iam facis*; you knowe the rest. You may alwayes send them most safely to me by *Mistresse Kerke*, and by none other. So once againe, and yet once more, Farewell most hartily, mine owne good *Master H.* and loue me, as I loue you, and thinke vpon poore *Immerito*, as he thinketh vpon you.

Leycester House, this 5 of October, 1579.

*Per mare, per terras,
Viuus, mortuusque
Tuus Immerito.*



To my verie Friende,

M. Immerito.

*L*iberalissimo Signor Immerito, in good soothe my poore Store-house will presently affourd me nothing, either to recompence, or counteruaile your gentle Masterships long, large, lauish, Luxurious, Laxatiue, Letters withall, (now a Gods name, when did I euer in my life, hunt the Letter before? but, belike, theres no remedie, I must needs be euen with you once in my dayes,) but only forsoothe, a Few Millions of Recommendations, and a running Coppie of the Verses enclosed. Which Verses (*extra iocum*) are so well done in Lattin by two Docters, and so well Translated into English by one odd Gentleman, and generally so well allowed of all, that chaunced to haue the perusing of them: that trust mee, G. H. was at the first hardly intreated, to shame himselfe, and truely, now blusheth, to see the first Letters of his name, stande so neere their Names, as of necessitie they must. // You know y^e Greeke prouerb, πορφύρα περὶ πορφύραν διακριτέα,

and many colours, (as in a manner euery thing else) that seue/rally by themselves, seeme reasonably good, and freshe ynough, beyng compared, and ouermatched wyth their betters, are maruellously disgraced, and as it were, dashed quite oute of Countenance. I am at this instant, very busilye, and hotly employed in certaine greate and serious affayres : whereof, notwithstanding (for all youre vowed, and long experimented secrecie) you are not like to heare a worde more at the moste, till I my selfe see a World more at the leaste. And therefore, for this once, I beseech you (notwithstanding your greate expectation of I knowe not what Volumes for an answeare) content your good selfe, with these Presentes, (pardon me, I came lately out of a Scriueners shop) and in lieu of many gentle Farewels, and goodly Godbewyes, at your departure : gyue me once againe leaue, to playe the Counsaylour a while, if it be but to iustifie your liberall Mastershippes, *Nostri Cato maxime sæcli* : and I coniure you by the Contents of the Verses, and Rymes enclosed, and by al the good, and bad Spirites, that attende vpon the Authors themselves, immediatly vpon the contemplation thereof, to abandon all other fooleries, and honour Vertue, the onely immortall and suruiuing Accident amongst so manye mortall, and euer-perishing Substaunces. As I strongly pre-

fume, so good a Texte, so clearkly handeled, by three so famous Doctours, as olde Maister Wythipole, and the other two bee, may easily, and will fully perswade you, howsoever you tush at the fourths vnsutable Paraphrase. But a worde or two, to your large, lauishe, laxatiue Letters, and then for thys time, Adieu. Of my credite, your doubtes are not so redoubted, as youre selfe ouer suspiciouly imagine; as I purpose shortely to aduize you more at large. Your hotte yron, is so hotte, that it striketh mee to the hearte, I dare not come neare to strike it: The Tyde tarryeth no manne, but manye a good manne is fayne to tarry the Tyde. And I know some, whych coulede be content to bee their own Caruers that are gladde to thanke other for their courte / sie: But Beggars, they saye, muste be no choosers.

Your new-founded ἀρειονπαγον I honoure more, Areop.
than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the twoo worthy Gentlemenne, than of the two hundreth *Dionisij Areopagita*, or the verye notablest Senatours, that euer *Athens* dydde affourde of that number.

Your Englishe *Trimetra* I lyke better, than p. 10
perhappes you will easily belecue: and am to requite them wyth better, or worse, at more conuenient leysure. Marry, you must pardon me,

I finde not your warrant so sufficiently good, and substauntiall in Lawe, that it can perswade me, they are all, so precisely perfect for the Feete, as your selfe ouer-partially weene, and ouer confidently auouche : especiallye the thirde, whych hath a foote more than a Lowce (a wonderous deformitie in a righte and pure Senarie) and the sixte, which is also in the same Predicament, vnlesse happily one of the feete be sawed off wyth a payre of Syn-copes : and then shoulde the Orthographie haue testified so muche : and in steade of *Hēauēnlī Virgīnāls*, you should haue written, *Heaūnlī Virg-nāls* : & *Virgnāls* againe in the ninth, & should haue made a Curtoll of *Immērtō* in the laste : being all notwithstanding vsuall, and tollerable ynoughe, in a mixte, and licentious Iambicke : and of two euilles, better (no doubt) the fyrste, than the laste : a thyrde superfluous fillable, thā a dull Spondee. Then me thinketh, you haue in my fancie somewhat too many Spondees beside : and whereas Trochee sometyme presumeth in the firste place, as namely in the second Verse, *Make thy*, whyche *thy*, by youre Maisterhippes owne authoritie muste needes be shorte, I shall be faine to supplye the office of the Arte Memoratiue, and putte you in minde of a pretty Fable in Abstemio the Italian, implying thus much, or rather thus little in effect.

Tale.

A certaine lame man beyng inuited to a solemne Nuptiall Feaste, made no more adoe, but fate me hym roundlye downe foremoste at the hygheft ende of the Table. / The Master of the feast, suddainly spying his presumption, and hanfomely remoouing him from thence, placed me this hauling Gentleman belowe at the nether end of the bourd : alledging for his defence the common verse : *Sedes nulla datur, præterquam sexta Trochæo* : and pleasantly alluding to this foote, which standing vppon two syllables, the one long, the other short, (much like, of a like, his guesstes feete) is alwayes thrust downe to the laste place, in a true Hexameter, and quite thrust out of doores in a pure and iust Senarie. Nowe Syr, what thinke you, I began to thinke with my selfe, when I began to reade your warrant first : so boldly, and venterously set down in so formall, and autentique wordes, as these, Precisely perfit, and not an inch from the Rule? Ah Syrrha, and Iesu Lord, thought I, haue we at the last gotten one of whom his olde friendes and Companions may iustly glory, *In eo solùm peccat, quòd nihil peccat* : and that is yet more exacte, and precise in his English Comickall Iambickes, than euer M. Watson, himselfe was in his Lattin Tragicall Iambickes, of whom M. Ascham reporteth, that he would neuer to this day suffer his famous Abfolon to

Conte
his
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come abroad, onely because *Anapæstus in Locis paribus*, is twice, or thrice vsed in steade of *Iambus*? A small fault, ywisse, and such a one in M. Aschams owne opinion, as perchaunce woulde neuer haue beene espyed, no neither in *Italy*, nor in *Fraunce*. But when I came to the curious scanning, and fingering of euery foote, & syllable: Lo here, quoth I, M. Watsons *Anapæstus* for all the worlde. A good horse that trippeth not once in a iourney: and M. Immerito doth, but as M. Watson, & in a manner all other *Iambics* haue done before him: marry he might haue spared his preface, or at y least, that same restrictiue, & streight laced terme, Precisely, and all had been well enough: and I assure you, of my selfe, I beleeeue, no peece of a fault marked at all. But this is the Effect of warrantes and perhappes the Errour may rather procéede of his Master, M. Drantes Rule, than of himselfe. Howsoever it is, the matter is not great, and I alwayes was, and will euer continue of this Opinion, *Pauca / multis condonanda vitia Virtutibus*, especially these being no *Vitia* neither, in a common and licentious *Iambicke*. *Verùm ista obiter, non quidem contradicendi animo, aut etiam corrigendi mihi crede: sed nostro illo Academico, pristinoq more ratiocinandi.* And to say trueth, partely too, to requite your gentle courtesie in beginning to me, and noting I knowe

22

Anti-Drant

Drant
V

not what breache in your gorbellyed Maisters Rules: which Rules go for good, I perceiue, and keepe a Rule, where there be no better in prefence. My selfe neither sawe them, nor heard of them before: and therefore will neither praise them, nor dispraise them now: but vppon the suruiewe of them, and farther conference, (both which I desire) you shall soone heare one mans opinion too or fro. Youre selfe remember, I was wonte to haue some preiudice of the man: and I still remaine a fauourer of his deferued, and iust commendation. Marry in these poyntes, you knowe, Partialtie in no case, may haue a foote: and you remember mine olde Stoicall exclamation: Fie on childish affection, in the discourfing, and deciding of schoole matters. This I say, because you charge me with an vnknowne authoritie: which for aught I know yet, may as wel be either vn sufficient, or faultie, as otherwise: and I dare more than halfe promise, (I dare not saye, warrant) you shall alwayes in these kinde of controuerfies, finde me nigh hande answerable in mine owne defence. *Reliqua omnia, quæ de hac supersunt Anglicorum versuum ratione, in aliud tempus reseruabimus, ociosum magis.* Youre Latine Farewell is a goodly braue yonkerly peece of work, and Goddilige yee, I am alwayes maruellously beholding vnto you, for your bountifull

Titles: I hope by that time I haue been resident a yeare or twoo in Italy, I shall be better qualified in this kind, and more able to requite your lauishe, and magnificent liberalitie that way. But to let Titles and Tittles passe, and come to the very pointe in deede, which so neare toucheth my lusty Trauayler to the quicke, and is one of the prædominant humors y^e raigne in our cōmon Youths: *Heus mi tu, bone proce, magne mulierularum amator, egregie Pamphile, cum aliquando tandem, qui te manet, qui mulierosos omnes, qui uniuersum Fæministarum sectam, Respice finem.* And I shal then be content to appeale to your owne learned experience, whether it be, or be not, too too true: *quod dici solet à me sæpe: à te ipso nonnunq̃: ab expertis omnibus quotidie: Amare amarum: Nec deus, vt perhibent, Amor est, sed amaror, & error: & quicquid in eandem solet sententiam Empiricōs aggregari. Ac scite mihi quidè Agrippa Ouidianam illam, de Arte Amandi, ἐπιγάφην, videtur correxisse, meritōq̃ de Arte Meretricandi, inscripsisse. Nec verò ineptè alius, Amatores Alchumistis comparauit, aureos, argenteosq̃ montes, atq̃ fontes lepidè somniantibus, sed interim miserè immanibus Carbonum fumis propemodum occæcatis atq̃ etiam suffocatis: præterq̃ celebratum illum Adami Paradisum, alium esse quendam prædicauit, stultorum quoq̃ Amatorumq̃ mirabilem*

*Paradisum: illum verè, hunc phantasticè, fanaticèq;
beatorum. Sed hæc alias, fortassis vberiùs.*

Credite me, I will neuer linne baityng at you, til I haue rid you quite of this yonkerly, & womanly humor. And as for your speedy and hasty trauell: me thinks I dare stil wager al the Books & writings in my study, which you know, I esteeme of greater value, than al the golde & filuer in my purse, or cheft, that you wil not, (and yet I muste take heede, how I make my bargaine with so subtile and intricate a Sophister) that you shall not, I saye, bee gone ouer Sea, for al your saying, neither the next, nor the nexte weeke. And then peraduenture I may personally performe your request, and bestowe the sweetest Farewell vpon your sweetmouthed Mashippe, that so vnsweete a Tong, and so sowre a paire of Lippes can affoorde. And, thinke you I will leaue my *Il Pellegrino* so? No I trôwe. My Lords Honor, the expectation of his friendes, his owne credite and preferment, tell me, he muste haue a moste speciall care, and good regarde of employing his trauaile to the best. And therefore I am studying all this fortnight, to reade him fuche a Lecture in Homers Odysses, and Virgils Æneads, that I dare vndertake he shall not neede any further instruction, in Maister Turlers Trauayler, or Maister Zuingers Methodus, Methodus Apo-

demica : but in his whole trauaile abroade, and euer after home, shall shewe himselfe a verie liuely and absolute picture of Vlysses and Æneas. Wherof I haue the stronger hope he muste needes proue a most capable and apt subiecte (I speake to a Logician) hauing the selfe same Goddeffes and Graces attendant vpon his body and mind, that euermore guided them, & their actions: especially y^e ones Minerua, and the others Venus: that is (as one Doctōr expoundeth it) the pollitique head, and wise gouernement of the one; and the amiable behauiour, and gracious courtesie of the other: the two verie principall, and moste singular Companions, of a right Trauailer: and as perhaps one of oure subtile Logicians woulde saye, the two inseparable, and indiuisible accidents of the foresaide Subiects. *De quibus ipsis, cæterisq; omnibus artificis Apodemici instrumentis: imprimisq; de HomERICA illa, diuinaq; herba (μῶλυ δὲ μιν καλέουσι θεοί) qua Vlissem suum Mercurius, aduersus Cyrcæ & pocula, & carmina, & venena, morbosq; omnes præmuniuit: & coram, uti spero, breui: & longè, uti soleo, copiosius: & fortasse etiam, aliquantò, quàm soleo, cum subtiliùs, tum verò Politicè, Pragmaticèq; magis. Interim tribus eris syllabis contentus, ac valebis.* Trinitie Hall, stil in my Gallerie. 23 Octob. 1579. In haste.

Yours, as you knowe. G. H.

¶ THREE PROPER

and wittie, familiar Letters:
lately passed betweene tvvo V-
niuersitie men: touching the Earth-
quake in Aprill last, and our English
refourmed Verifying

*With the Preface of a well-willer
to them both.*



IMPRINTED AT LON-

don, by H. Bynneman, dvvelling
in Thames Streate, neere vnto
Baynardes Castell.

Anno Domini. 1580.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.



¶ TO THE CVRTEOVS

Buyer, by a VVellwiller of
the tvvo Authors.

Vrteous Buyer, (for I write not to the enuious Carper) it was my good happe, as I interpreate it, nowe lately at the fourthe or fiste hande, to bee made acquainted wyth the *three Letters following*, by meanes of a faithfull friende, who with muche entreaty had procured the copyng of them oute, at *Immeritos* handes.) And I praye you, interprete it for your good happe, so soone after to come so easly by them, throughe my meanes, who am onely to craue these twoo thinges at your handes, (to thinke friendly of my friendly meaning,) and to take them of me wyth this Presumption, *In exiguo quandoque cespite latet lepus*: and many pretious stones, thoughe in quantitie small, yet in qualitie and valewe are esteemed for great. (The first for a good familiar and sensible Letter, sure liketh me verye well, and gyueth some hope of good mettall in the Author, in whome I knowe myselfe

✓ to be verye good partes otherwise. (But shewe me, or *Immerito*, two Englyshe Letters in Printe, in all pointes equall to the other twoo, both for the matter it selfe, and also for the manner of handling, and faye, wee neuer sawe good Englishe Letter in our liues. And yet I am credibly certified by the foresaide faithfull and honest friende, that himselfe hathe written manye of the same stampe bothe to Courtiers and others, and some of them discoursing vppon matter of great waight and importance, wherein he is said, to be fully as sufficient and hable, as in these schollerly pointes of Learning) The whiche Letters and Discourses I would very gladly see in Writing, but more gladly in Printe, if it might be obtained. (And at this time to speake my conscience in a worde of *these two following*, I esteeme them for twoo of the rarest, and finest Treaties, as wel for ingenious deuising, as also for significant vttering, & cleanly conueying of his matter, that euer I read in this Tongue : and I hartily thanke God for bestowing vppon vs some such proper and hable men with their penne, as I hartily thanke the Author himselfe, for vsing his pleasure, and witty Talente, with so much discretion, and / with so little harme, contrarye to the veine of moste, whych haue thys singular conceyted grace in writing. If they had bene

of their owne setting forth, I graunt you they might haue beene more curious, but beeyng so well, and so sufficiently done, as they are, in my simple iudgement, and hauing so many notable things in them, together with so greate varietie of Learning, worth the reading, to pleasure you, and to helpe to garnishe our Tongue, I feare their displeasure the lesse. And yet, if they thinke
 { I haue made them a faulte, in not making them priuy to the Publication : I shall be alwayes ready to make them the beste amendes I can, any other friendly waye. Surely, I wishe them bothe hartilye wel in the Lord, and betake you and them to his mercifull gouernemente,

hoping, that he will at his pleasure
 conuerte suche good and diuine
 gifts as these, to the setting out
 of his own glory, and the
 benefite of his Church.

This XIX. of
 Iune. 1580.

(::)

*Your, and their vnfayned
 friend, in the Lorde.*

*Præse 11
 Publ. 2
 int.*



April, 1580.

Three proper wittie fami-
liar Letters, lately passed be-
twene two Vniuersitie men, tou-
ching the Earthquake in April last,
and our English reformed Versifying.

*To my long approoued and singular good Frende,
Master G. H.*

Good Master H. I doubt not but you haue some great important matter in hande, which al this while restraineth your Penne, and wonted readinesse in prouoking me vnto that, wherein your selfe nowe faulte. If there bee any such thing in hatching, I pray you hartily, lette vs knowe, before al the worlde see it. But if happily you dwell altogither in *Iustinians* Courte, and giue your selfe to be deuoured of secrete Studies, as of all likelyhood you doe: yet at least imparte some your olde, or newe Latine, or Englishe, Eloquent and Gallant Poesies to vs, from whose eyes, you saye, you keepe in a manner nothing hidden. Little newes is here stirred: but that olde greate matter still depending.

His Honoure neuer better. I thinke the *Earthquake* was also there wyth you (which I would gladly learne) as it was here with vs: ouerthrowing diuers old buildings and peeces of Churches. Sure verve straunge to be hearde of in these Countries, and yet I heare some saye (I knowe not howe truely) that they haue knowne the like before in their dayes. *Sed quid vobis videtur magnis Philosophis?* (I like your late Englishe Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also enure my Penne sometime in that kinde: whyche I fynd indeede, as I haue heard you often defende in worde, neither so harde, nor so harsh, that it will easily and fairely yeelde it selfe to our Moother tongue.) For the onely, or chiefeſt hardneſſe, whych ſeemeth, is in the Accente: whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfauouredly, comming ſhorte of that it ſhould, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in *Car-penter*, the middle fillable being vsed ſhorte *in* ſpeache, when it ſhall be read long in Verſe ſeemeth like *a lame Goſling that draweth one legge after hir*: and *Heauen* being vsed ſhorte as one fillable, when it is in verſe ſtretched out with a *Diaſtole*, is like *a lame Dogge that holdes vp one legge.*) But it is to be wonne with Cuſtome, and rough words muſt be ſubdued with Vſe. For, why a Gods name may not we, as elſe the Greekes,

75

not

lost legge
GOSLING

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622

at 11th 20th

10/

haue the kingdome of our owne Language, and
measure our Accentes by the founde, referuing
that Quantitie to the Verse? Loe, here I let
you see my olde vse of toying in Rymes, turned
into your artificial straighnesse of Verse, by this
Tetraſticon. I beſeech you tell me your fanſie
without parcialitie.

*See yee the blindfoulded pretie God, that feathered /
Archer,*

*Of Louers Miſeries which maketh his bloodie game?
Wote ye why, his Moother with a Veale hath couered /
his Face?*

*Trust me, leaſt he my Looue happely chaunce to
beholde.*

Seeme they comparable to thoſe two, which I
translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the laſt time we
lay together in Weſtminſter?

*That which I eate did I ioy, and that which I
greedily gorged,
As for thoſe many goodly matters leaſt I for others.*

I would hartily wiſh, you would either ſend me
the Rules and Precepts of Arte, which you obſerue
in Quantities, or elſe followe mine, that *M. Philip
Sidney* gaue me, being the very ſame which *M.
Drant* deuifed, but enlarged with *M. Sidney's* own
iudgement, and augmented with my Obſeruations,
that we might both accorde and agree in one :

How
Drant

P. 7

leaste we ouerthrowe one an other, and be ouer-
thrown of the rest. Truste me, you will hardly
beleue what greate good liking and estimation
Maister *Dyer* had of your *Satyricall Verses*, and
I, since the viewe thereof, hauing before of my
selfe had speciall liking of *Englishe Versifying*,
am euen nowe aboute to giue you some token,
what, and howe well therein I am able to doe :
for, to tell you trueth, I minde shortely at con-
uenient leysure, to sette forth a Booke in this
kinde, whiche I entitle *Epithalamion Thamefis*,
whyche Booke, I dare vndertake wil be very
profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the
Inuention and manner of handling. For in setting
forth the marriage of the Thames: I shewe his
first beginning, and offspring, and all the Countrey,
that he passeth thorough, and also describe all
the Riuers throughout Englande, whyche came to
this Wedding, and their righte names, and right
passage, &c. A worke, beleue me, of much
labour, wherein notwithstanding Master *Holinshed*
hath muche furthered and aduantaged me, who
therein hath bestowed singular paines, in searching
oute their firste heades and sources: and also in
tracing and dogging oute all their Course, til they
fall into the Sea.

*O Tite, siquid, ego,
Ecquid erit pretii?*



✓ But of that more hereafter. Nowe, my *Dreames* and *Dying Pellicane*, being fully finished (as I partelye signified in my laste Letters) and presentely to bee imprinted, I wil in hande forthwith with my *Faery Queene*, whyche I praye you hartily send me with al expedition: and your frendly Letters, and long expected Iudgement wythal, whyche let not be shorte, but in all pointes fuche, as you ordinarilye vse, and I extraordinarily desire. *Multum vale. Westminster. Quarto Nonas Aprilis 1580. Sed, amabo te, Meum Corculum tibi se ex animo commendat plurimum: iamdiu mirata, te nihil ad literas suas responsi dedisse. Vide quæso, ne id tibi Capitale sit: Mihi certè quidem erit, neq̃ tibi hercle impunè, vt opinor, Iterum vale, & quam voles sæpè.*

Yours alwayes to commaunde,

IMMERITO.

Postscripte.

✓ I take best my *Dreames* shoulde come forth alone, being growen by meanes of the Glosse (running continually in maner of a Paraphrase) full as great as my *Calendar*. Therin be some things excellently, and many things wittily discoursed of *E. K.*, and the pictures so singularly fet forth, and purtrayed, as if *Michael Angelo* were there, he could (I think) nor amende the beste, nor

✓ reprehende the worst. I know you woulde lyke
them passing wel. Of my *Stemmata Dudleiana*,
and especially of the sundry Apostrophes therein,
addressed you knowe to whome, must more aduise-
ment be had, than so lightly to fende them
abroade: howbeit, trust me (though I doe neuer
very well) yet in my owne fancie, I neuer dyd
better: *Veruntamen te sequor solum: nunquam verò
assequar.*



A Pleasant and Pitthy Fami-
liar discourse, of the Earthquake
in Aprill last.

To my loouing frende, *M. Immerito.*



Ignor Immerito, after as many gentle Godmorrowes, as your self, and your sweet Harte listeth: May it please your Maister-shippe to dispense with a poore Oratour of yours, for breaking one principall graund Rule of our olde inuiolable Rules of Rhetorick, in shewing himselfe somewhat too pleafurably disposed in a sad matter: (of purpose, to meete with *A coople of shrewde wittie new married Gentlewomen*, which were more Inquisitiue, than Capable of Natures works) I will report you a prettie conceited discourse, that I had with them no longer agoe, than yesternight, in a Gentlemans house, here in *Essex*. Where being in the company of certaine curteous Gentle-

men, and those two Gentlewomen, it was my chaunce to be well occupied, I warrant you, at Cardes (which I dare saye I scarcely handled a whole tweluemoonth before) at that very instant, that the Earth vnder vs quaked, and the house shaked aboue: besides the moouing, and ratling of the Table, and fourmes, where wee sat. Where vpon, the two Gentlewomen hauing continually beene wrangling with all the rest, and especially with my selfe, and euen at that same very moment, making a great loudè noyse, and much a doo: Goode Lorde, quoth I, is it not wonderful straunge that the delicate voyces of two so proper fine Gentlewoomen, shoulde make such a suddayne terrible Earthquake? Imagining in good fayth, nothing in the world lesse, than that it shoulde be any Earthquake in deede, and imputing that shaking to the suddayne stirring, and remoouing of some cumberous thing or other, in the vpper Chamber ouer our Heades: which onely in effect most of vs noted, scarcely perceyuing the rest, beeing so closely and eagerly set at our game, and some of vs taking on, as they did. But beholde, all on the suddayne there commeth, stumbling into the Parlour, the gentleman of the house, somewhat straungely affrighted, and in a manner all agast, and telleth vs, as well as his Head and Tongue woulde giue him leaue, what

a woonderous violent motion, and shaking there was of all things in his Hall: sensibly and visibly seene, as well of his owne selfe, as of many of his Seruautes, and Neighbours there. I strait wayes beginning to thinke some what more seriously of the matter: Then I pray you, good Syr, quoth I, send presently one of your seruantes farther into the Towne, to enquire, if the like hath happened there, as most likely is, and then must it needes be some Earthquake. Whereat the good fearefull Gentleman being a little comforted, (as misdoubting and dreading before, I knowe not what in his owne House, as many others did) and immediately dispatching his man into the Towne, wee had by and by certayne woord, that it was generall ouer all the Towne, and within lesse than a quarter of an howre after, that the very like behappened the next Towne too, being a farre greater and goodlyer Towne. The Gentlewoomens hartes nothing acquaynted with any such Accidentes, were maruellously daunted: and they, that immediately before were so eagerly, and greedily praying on vs, began nowe forsooth, very demurely, and deuoutely to pray vnto God, and the one especially, that was euen nowe in the House toppe, I beseeche you hartily, quoth shee, let vs leaue off playing, and fall a praying. By my truely, I was neuer so scared

in my lyfe. Me thinkes it maruellous straunge. What good Partèner? Cannot you pray to your selfe, quoth one of the Gentlemen, but all the House must heare you, and ringe Allin to our Ladyes Mattins? I see woomen are euery way vehement, and affectionate. Your selfe was liker euen now, to make a fraye, than to pray: and will you nowe needes in all hast bee on both your knees? Let vs, and you say it, first dispute the matter, what daunger, and terror it carryeth with it. God be prayfed, it is already ceased, and heere be some present, that are able cunningly, and clearkly to argue the case. I beseeche you master, or mystresse, moderate your zealous and deuoute Passion a while. And with that turning to me, and smiling a little at the first: Nowe I pray you, Master H. what say you Philosophers, quoth he, to this suddayne Earthquake? May there not be some sensible Naturall cause thereof, in the concauities of the Earth it selfe, as some forcible and violent Eruption of wynde, or the like? Yes no-doubt, sir, may there, quoth I, as well, as an Intelligible Supernaturall: and peraduenture the great aboundance and superfluitie of waters, that fell shortly after Michaelmas last, beeing not as yet dried, or drawen vp with the heate of the Sunne, which hath not yet recouered his full attractiue strength and power, might minister some

occasion thereof, as might easily be discoursed by Naturall Philosophie, in what sorte the poores, and ventes, and crannies of the Earth being so stopped, and fylled vp euery where with moysture, that the windie Exhalations, and Vapors, pent vp as it were in the bowels thereof, could not otherwise get out, and ascende to their Naturall Originall place. But the Termes of Arte, and very Natures of things themselues so vtterly vnknownen, as they are to most heere, it were a peece of woorke to laye open the Reason to euery ones Capacitie.

I know well, it is we that you meane, quoth one of y^e Gentlewomen (whom for distinction sake, and bicause I imagine they would be loath to be named, I will hereafter call, Mystresse *Inquisitiua*, and the other, Madame *Incredula*: now I beseeche you, learned Syr, try our wittes a little, and let vs heare a peece of your deepe Uniuerstie Cunning. Seeing you Gentlewomen will allgates haue it so, with a good will, quoth I: and then forsooth, very solemnly pawsing a whyle, most grauely, and doctorally proceeded, as followeth.

The Earth you knowe, is a mightie great huge body, and consisteth of many diuers, and contrarie members, & vaines, and arteries, and concauities, wherein to auoide the absurditie of *Vacuum*, most necessarily, be very great store of substantiall matter,

3 repl.

Wood
Bot

and sundry Accidental humours, & fumes, and spirites, either good, or bad, or mixte. Good they cannot possibly all be, whereout is ingendred so much bad, as namely so many poysonfull, and venemous Hearbes, and Beastes, besides a thousand infectiue, and contagious thinges else. If they be bad, bad you must needes graunt is subiect to bad, and then can there not, I warrant you, want an Obiect, for bad to work vpon. If mixt, which seemeth most probable, yet is it impossible, that there should be such an equall, and proportionable Temperature, in all, and singular respectes, but sometime the Euill (in the diuels name,) will as it were interchaungeably haue his naturall Predominaunt Course, and issue one way, or other. Which euill working vehemently in the partes, and maliciously encountering the good, forcibly tosseeth, and cruelly disturbeth the whole: Which conflict indureth so long, and is fostred with aboundaunce of corrupt putrified Humors, and ylfauoured grosse infected matter, that it must needes, (as well, or rather as ill, as in mens and womens bodyes) brust out in the ende into one perillous disease or other, and sometime, for want of Naturall voyding such feuerous and flatuous Spirites, as lurke within, into such a violent chill shiuering shaking Ague, as euen now we see the Earth haue. Which

written?
written?
(over)
 Ague, or rather euery Fitte thereof, we schollers
 call grossely and homely, *Terræ Motus*, a moouing,
 or stirring of the Earth, you Gentlewomen, that
 be learned, somewhat more finely and daintily,
Terræ metus, a feare and agony of the Earth:
 we being onely mooued, and not terrified, you
 being onely in a manner terrified, & scarcely
 mooued therewith. Nowe here, (and it please
 you) lyeth the poynt, and quidditie of the con-
 trouersie, whether our *Motus*, or your *Metus*, be
 the better, & more consonant to the Principles
 and Maximes of Philosophy? the one being
 manly, and deuoyde of dreade, the other womannish,
 and most wofully quiuering, and shiuering for
 very feare. In sooth, I vse not to dissemble with
 Gentlewomen: I am flatly of Opinion, the Earth
 whereof man was immediately made, and not
 woman, is in all proportions and similitudes liker
 vs than you, and when it fortuneth to be dis-
 tempered, and diseased, either in part, or in whole,
 I am perswaded, and I beleue Reason, and Philo-
 sophy will beare me out in it, it only mooueth
 with the very impulsive force of the malady,
 and not trembleth, or quaketh for dastardly feare.

Nowe, I beseeche you, what think ye, Gentle-
 women, by this Reason? Reason, quoth Madame
Incredula: By my truly, I can neither picke out
 Rime, nor Reason, out of anything I haue hearde

yet. And yet me thinkes all should be Gospell,
 that commeth from you Doctors of Cambridge.
 But I see well, all is not Gould, that glistereth.
 In deede, quoth Mistresse *Inquistina*, heere is
 much adoee, I trowe, and little helpe. But it
 pleaseth Master *H.* (to delight himselfe, and these
 Gentlemen) to tell vs a trim goodly Tale of Robin-
 hood, I knowe not what. Or suer if this be
 Gospell, I dowte, I am not in a good beleefe.
 Trust me truly, Syr, your Eloquence farre passeth
 my Intelligence. Did I not tell you aforehand,
 quoth I, as muche? And yet would you needes
 presume of your Capacities in such profound
 mysteries of Philosophie, and Priuities of Nature,
 as these be? The very thinking whereof (vnlesse
 happily it be *per fidem implicitam*, in beleeuing, as
 the learned beleeeue, And saying, It is so, 'by-
 cause it is so) is nighe enough, to caste you both
 into a fitte, or two, of a daungerous shaking
 feauer, vnlesse you presently seeke some remedie
 to preuent it. And in earnest, if ye wyll giue me
 leaue, vpon that small skill I haue in Extrinsecall,
 and Intrinsecall Physiognomie, & so forth, I will
 wager all the money in my poore purse to a pottle
 of Hyppocrase, you shall both this night, within
 somewhat lesse than two howers and a halfe, after
 ye be layed, Dreame of terrible straunge Agues,
 and Agonyes as well in your owne prettie bodyes,

(over)

as in the mightie great body of the Earth. You are very merily disposed, God be prayſed, quoth Miſtreſſe *Inquiſitiua*. I am glad to ſee you ſo pleaſurable. No doubt, but you are maruellous priue to our dreames. But I pray you now in a little good earneſt, doo you Schollers thinke, that it is the very reaſon in deede, which you ſpake of euen now? There be many of vs, good Miſtreſſe, quoth I, of that opiniō: wherein I am content to appeale to ꝑ knowledge of theſe learned Gentlemen here. And ſome againe, of our fineſt conceited heades defend this Poſitiō, (a very ſtraūge Paradox in my fancie:) ꝑ the Earth hauing taken in too much drinke, & as it were ouer laiſh Cups, (as it hath ſenſibly done in a maner all this Winter paſt) now ſtaggereth, & reeleth, & tottereth, this way and that way, vp & downe, like a drunken man, or wooman (when their Alebench Rhetorick cōmes vpon them, & ſpecially the moouing Patheticall figure *Pottypōſis*.) & therefore in this Forcible fort, you lately ſawe, payneth it ſelfe to vomit vp againe, that ſo diſordereth, and diſquieteth the whole body within. And, forſooth, a fewe new Contradictorie fellowes make no more of it, but a certaine vehement, and paſſionate neeſing, or fobbing, or coſſing, wherewithall they ſay, and as they ſay, ſay with great Phyſicall, and Naturall Reaſon, The

Earth in some place, or other, euer lightly after any great, and suddayne alteration of weather, or diet, is exceedingly troubled, and payned, as namely this very Time of the yeare, after the extreeme pynching colde of Winter, and agayne in Autumne, after the extreeme parching heate of Sommer. But shall I tell you, *Mistresse Inquisition*? The foundest Philosophers in deede, and very deepest Secretaries / of Nature, holde, if it please you, an other Assertion, and maintayne this for truth: (which at the least wise, of all other seemeth maruellous reasonable, and is questionlesse farthest off from Heresie :) That as the Earth, vppon it, hath many stately, and boysterous & fierce Creatures, as namely, Men and Women, and diuers Beastes, wherof some one is in maner continually at variaunce and fewde with an other, euermore seeking to be reuenged vpō his enimie, which eft soones breaketh forth into professed and open Hostilitie: and then consequently followe set battels, & mortall warres: wherein the one partie bendeth all the force of his Ordinance and other Martiall furniture against the other: so like wise within it too, it hath also some, as vengibly and frowardly bent, as for Example, Woormes, and Moules, and Cunnyes, and such other valiauntly highminded Creatures, ȳ Sonnes and daughters of *Mars* & *Bellona* that nurrish ciuill debate, and

contrarie factions amongſt them ſelues: which are ſeldome, or neuer ended too, without miſerable bloudſhed, and deadly warre: and then go me their Gunnes luſtily off, and the one diſchargeth his Peece couragiously at the other: and there is ſuch a Generall dub a dubbe amongſt them, and ſuch horrible Thundering on euery ſyde, and ſuche a monſtrous cruell ſhaking of one an others Fortes and Caſtels, that the whole Earth agayne, or at the leaſt, ſo much of the Earth, as is ouer, or neere them, is terribly hoyſed, and ——— No more Ands or Iſs, for Gods ſake, quoth the Madame, and this be your great Doctory learning. Wee haue euen Enoughe alreadie for our Money: and if you ſhoulde goe a little farther, I feare mee, you woulde make vs nyghe as cunning as your ſelfe: and that woulde bee a great diſgrace to the Uniuerſitie. Not a whitte, gentle Madame, quoth I, there be of vs, that haue greater ſtore in our bowgets, than we can well occupie our ſelues, and therefore we are glad as you ſee, when by the fauourable, & gracious aſpect of ſome bleſſed Planet, and ſpecially our Mercury, or your Venus, it is our good Fortune, to lighte on ſuch good friendes, as you, and ſome other good Gentlewomen be, that take pleaſure, & comfort in ſuch good things. Wherat Miſtreſſe *Inquiſitiua*, laughing right out, and beginning to demaunde

I know not what, (me thought shee made, as if it should haue been some goodly plaufible Iest, wherat shee is, and takes her selfe prettily good :) Well, well, Master *H.* quoth the Gentleman of the house, now you have playde your part so cunningly with the Gentlewomen, (as I warrant you shall be remembred of *Inquisitiua*, when you are gone, and may happely forget her : which I hope, Mistresse *Incredula* will do sometyme too, by hir leaue :) I pray you in earnest, let vs men learne some thing of you too : and especially I would gladly heare your Iudgement, and resolution, whether you counte of Earthquakes, as Naturall, or Supernaturall motions. But the shorter, all the better. To whom I made answere, in effect, as followeth :

Master H^s. short, but sharpe, and learned
Iudgement of Earthquakes.

TRuely Syr, vnder correction, and in my fancie : The Earthquakes themselves I would saye are Naturall : as I verily beleeeue the Internall Causes thereof, are : I meane those two Causes, which the Logicians call, the Materiall, and the Formall : Marry, the Externall Causes, which are the Efficient and Finall, I take rather of the two to

be supernaturall. I must craue a little leaue to laye open the matter.

Materiall
(Cause)

The Materiall Cause of Earthquakes, (as is superficially touched in the beginning of our speache, and is sufficiently prooued by Aristotle in y^e second Booke of his *Meteors*) is no doubt great abundance of wynde, or stoare of grosse and drye vapours, and spirites, fast shut vp, & as a man would saye, emprysoned in the Caues, and Dungeons of the Earth: which winde, or vapors, seeking to be set at libertie, and to get them home to their Natural lodgings, in a great fume, violently rush out, and as it were breake prison, which forcible Eruption, and strong breath, causeth an Earthquake. As is excellently, and very liuely expressed of Ouid, as I remember, thus:

*Vis fera ventorum cæcis inclusa cauernis,
Expirare aliquò cupiens luctataq frustra
Liberiore frui cælo, cùm carcere Rima
Nulla foret, toto nec peruia flatibus esset,
Extentam tumefecit humum, ceu spiritus oris,
Tendere vesicam solet, and so forth.*

Formall

The formall Cause, is nothing but the very manner of this same Motion, and shaking of the Earth without: and the violent kinde of striuing, and wraftling of the windes, and Exhalations

within : which is, and must needes be done in this, or that sort, after one fashion, or other. Nowe, fyr, touching the other two Causes, which I named Externall: The first immediate Efficient, out of all Question, is God himselfe, the Creatour, and Continuer, and Corrector, of Nature, and therefore Supernaturall : whose onely voyce carrieth such a reuerend and terrible Maiestie with it, that the very Earth againe, and highest Mountaines quake & tremble at the founde and noyse thereof : the text is rife in euery mans mouth : *Locutus est Dominus & contremuit Terra*: howbeit, it is not to be gainesayd, that is holden of all the auncient Naturall Philosophers, and Astronomers, for the principall, or rather sole Efficient, that the Influence, and heate of the Sunne and Starres, and specially of the three superior Planets, Saturne, Iupiter, and Mars, is a secundarie Instrumentall Efficient of such motions.

The finall, not onely that the wynde shoulde recouer his Naturall place, than which a naturall reasonable man goeth no farther, no not our excellentest profoundest Philosophers themselues : but sometime also, I graunt, to testifie and denounce the secrete wrathe, and indignation of God, or his sensible punishment vppon notorious malefactours, or a threatning Caueat, and forewarning for the inhabitantes, or the like, depending

to his
 upon a supernaturall Efficient Cause, and tending
 to a Supernaturall Morall End.

Which End, (for that I knowe is the very
 poynt, whereon you stande) albeit it be acknow-
 ledged Supernaturall and purposed, as I sayd, of
 a supernaturall Cause, to whom nothing at all
 is impossible, and that can worke supernaturally,
 and myraculously without ordinarie meanes, and
 inferiour causes : yet neuerthelesse is, we see,
 commonly performed, by the qualifying, and con-
 forming of Nature, and Naturall things, to the
 accomplishment of his Diuine and incomprehensible
 determination. For being, as the olde Philosophers
 call him, very Nature selfe, or as it hath pleased
 our later schoolemen to terme him, by way of
 destinction, *Natura Naturans*, he hath all these
 secondarie inferiour thinges, the foure Elementes,
 all sensible and vn sensible, reasonable and vn-
 reasonable Creatures, the whole world, and what
 soeuer is containd in the Compas of the worlde,
 being the workmanship of his owne hands, and,
 as they call them, *Natura naturata*, euer pliable
 and flexible Instrumentes at his Commaundement :
 to put in execution such Effectes, either ordinarie
 or extraordinarie, as shall seeme most requisite to
 his eternall Prouidence : and now in these latter
 dayes, very seldome, or in manner neuer worketh
 any thing so myraculously and extraordinarily,

Disc.

God uses

Nature

instrument

but it may fenſibly appeare, he vſeth the ſeruite and Miniſterie of his Creatures, in the atcheeuing thereof. I denie not, but Earthquakes (as well as many other fearfull Accidentes in the ſame Number,) are terrible ſignes, and as it were certaine menacing forerunners, and forewarners of the great latter day, and therefore out of controuerſie the more reuerendly to be conſidered vppon : and I acknowledge conſidering the Euentes, and ſequels, according to the collectiō and diſcourſe of mans Reaſon, they haue ſeemed to Prognosticate, and threaten to this, and that Citie, vtter ruyne and deſtruction : to ſuch a Country, a generall plague and peſtilence : to an other place, the death of ſome mightie Potentate or great Prince : to ſome other Realme or Kingdome, ſome cruell imminent warres ; and fundry the like dreadful and particular Incidentes, as is notoriously euident by many olde and newe, very famous and notable Hiſtories to that effect. Which of all other the auncient Romaines, long before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, did moſt religiously or rather ſuperſtitiously obſerue, not without a number of ſolemne Ceremonies, and Holly-dayes for the nonce, euer after any Earthquake, making full account of ſome ſuch great rufull caſualtie or other, as other whyles fell out in very deepe : and namely, as I remember, the yeare *Ante bellum Sociale*, which was one of

the lamentableſt, and miſerableſt warres, that Italy euer ſawe : and Plinie, or I knowe not well who, hath ſuch a ſaying : *Roma nunquam tremuit, vt non futurus aliquis portenderetur inſignis Euentus.*

But yet, notwithstanding, dare not I aforehand preſume thus farre, or arrogate ſo much vnto my ſelfe, as to determine precisely and peremptorily of this, or euery the like ſingular Earthquake, to be neceſſarily, and vndoubtedly a ſupernaturall, and immediate fatall Action of God, for this, or that ſingular intent, when as I am ſure, there may be a ſufficient Naturall, eyther neceſſarie or contingent Cauſe in the very Earth it ſelfe : and there is no queſtion, but the ſelfe ſame operation in *Genere* or in *ſpecie*, may at one tyme, proceeding of one Cauſe, and referred to one End, be preternaturall or ſupernaturall : at another tyme, proceeding of another, or the ſame Cauſe, and referred to an other End, but Ordinarie, and Naturall. To make ſhorte, I cannot ſee, and would gladly learne, howe a man on Earth, ſhould be of ſo great authoritie, and ſo familiar acquaintance with God in Heauen, (vnleſſe haply for the nonce he hath lately intertained ſome fewe choice ſingular ones of his priuie Counſell) as to be able in ſuch ſpecialties, without any iuſtifiable certificate, or warrant) to reueale hys incomprehenſible myſteries, and definitiue to giue

sentence of his Maiesties secret and inscrutable purposes. As if they had a key for all the lockes in Heauen, or as if it were as cleare and resolute a case, as the Eclipse of the Sunne, that darkened all the Earth, or at the least all the Earth in those Countries, at Christes Passion, happening altogether prodigiously and Metaphysically in *Plenilunio*, not according to the perpetuall course of Nature, in *Nouilunio*: in so much that *Dionisius Areopagita*, or some other graund Philosopher, vpon the suddayne contemplation thereof, is reported in a certain Patheticall Ecstasie to haue cryed out, *Aut rerum Natura patitur, aut Mundi machina destruetur*: as my minde giueth me, some of the simpler and vnskillfuller sort, will goe nye to doe vpon the present fight, and agony of this Earthquake. Marry the Errour I graunt is the more tollerable, though perhappes it be otherwhiles (and why not euen now,) a very presumptuous Errour in deede, standing only vpon these two weake and deceitful groundes, Credulitie and Ignorance: if so be inwardly (not onely in Externall shewe, after an Hypocriticall and Pharisaicall manner) it certainly doo vs good for our reformation, and amendment, and seeme to preache vnto vs, *Pœnitentia agite* (as in some respect euery suche straunge and rare Accident may seeme :) how Ordinarie,

and Naturall so euer the Cause shall appeare otherwise to the best learned: especially, as the Earthquake shall be knowne to endure a longer, or a shorter Tyme, or to be more or lesse generall, in more, or fewer places. Which two differences, touching the quantitie of Tyme, and Place, after I had a little more fully profecuted, alledging certaine particular Examples thereof, howe in some places, huge Castels, in some Townes, in some great and mightie Cities, in some Shires and Seigniories, and Prouinces, in some whole Countryes, and Regions haue been perillously mooued and shaken therewith: in one place, a long time together: in an other place, not so long, or at feuerall and parted times: in another, very short, as God be thanked here euen nowe: and finally by the way, shewing a thirde and most notable difference of all, (as well for the presēt or imminent terrour and daunger, as otherwise) by the fundry *species*, and formes which Aristotle, Plinie, and other Meteorologicians haue set downe of Experience, as they haue heard, or read, or seen the earth to quake, to sturre, and hoyse vp Houses, Walles, Towers, Castelles, Churches, Minsters, whole Townes, whole Cities, whole Prouinces without farther harme: to ruinate and ouerthrowe, and destroy some: to yawne and gape, and open lyke a graue, and consequently

to swallow vp and deuour other: and sometime also to drinke vp whole riuers, and mightie bigge running waters withall, or to chaunge and alter their common woonted course some other way: to sinke and fall downewards: to cast out and vomitte vp either huge vaste heapes, as it were Mountaines of Earth, or large Ilandes in the mayne Sea, neuer remembred, or seen before: or great ouer flowing waters, and fountaynes: or hotte scalding sulphurous lakes: or burning sparkles and flames of fire: to make a horrible hissing, gnashing, ratling, or some like woonderfull straunge noyse, (which all Effectes are credibly reported, and constantly auouched, of our most famous & best allowed Philosophers) a fewe such particularities, and distinctions, compendiously and familiarly coursed ouer. The good Gentleman gaue me hartily, as appeared, very great thanks, and tolde me plainly, he neuer, either read, or heard halfe so much of Earthquakes before: confessing withall, that he yeilded resolutely to my opinion: that an Earthquake might as well be supposed a Naturall Motion of the Earth, as a preternaturall, or supernaturall ominous worke of God: and that he thought it hard, and almost impossible, for any man, either by Philosophie, or Diuinitie, euermore to determine flatly the very certaintie either way. Which also in

End

conclusion was the verdict, and finall resolution of the greater and fager part of the Gentlemen present: & namely of an auncient learned common Lawyer, that had been Graduate, and fellow of a Colledge in Cambridge, in *Queene Maries* / dayes. Who tooke vpon him, to knit vp the matter, & as he said determine the controuersie, with the authoritie of all the naturall Philosophers, old or newe, Heathen or Chrifian, Catholique or Protestant, that euer he read, or heard tell of. There Phyfickes, quoth he, are in euery mans hands: they are olde enough to fpeake for them felues, and wee are young enough to turne our Bookes. They that haue Eyes and Tongues, let them fee, and reade. But what fay you nowe, quoth I, to the staying and quieting of the Earthe, beeing once a moouing? May it not feeme a more myraculous worke, and greater wonderment, that it shoulde fo suddainely ftaye againe, being mooued, than that it should fo suddainely mooue, beyng quiet and ftill? Mooue or turne, or shake me a thing in lyke order, be it neuer fo fmall, and leffe than a pynnes Head, in comparifon of the great mightie circuite of the Earth, and fee if you fhall not haue much more a doo to ftaye it prefently, beeing once fturred, than to fturre it at the very firft. Whereat the Gentleman fmyling, and looking merrily on the Gentlewomen, heere

is a schoole poynt, quoth he, that by your leaues, I beleue will poase the better scholler of you both. But is it not more than tyme, thynke ye, wee were at Supper? And if you be a hungered, Maister *H.* you shall thanke no body but your selfe, that haue holden vs so long with your profounde and clerkly discourfes, whereas our manner is to suppe at the least a long howre before this tyme. Beyng fet, and newe occasion of speeche ministered, our Supper put the Earthquake in manner out of our myndes, or at the leastwise, out of our Tongues: sauing that the Gentlewomen, nowe and then pleasauntly tyhyng betweene them selues, especially Mystresse Inquisitiua, (whose minde did still runne of the drinking, and Neefing of the Earth,) repeated here, and there, a broken peece of that, which had been already sayde before Supper. With deepe iudgement no doubt, and to maruellous great purpose, I warrant you after the manner of woomen Philosophers and Diuines.

And / this summarily in Effect was our yesternyghtes graue Meteorologicall Conference, touching our Earthquake here in the Country: which being in so many neighbour Townes, and Villages about vs, as I heare say of this morning, maketh me presuppofe, the like was wyth you also at London, and elswhere farther of. And then forfoothe,

Request for
Literature

must I desire Maister *Immerito*, to send me within a weeke or two, some odde fresh pauling threehalfe-pennie Pamphlet for newes : or some Balductum Tragicall Ballet in Ryme, and without Reason, setting out the right myserable, and most wofull estate of the wicked, and damnable worlde at these perillous dayes, after the deuifers best manner : or whatfoeuer else shall first take some of your braue London Eldertons in the Head. In earnest, I could wishe some learned, and well aduized Uniuerstitie man, woulde vndertake the matter, and bestow some paynes in deede vppon so famous and materiall an argument. The generall Nature of Earthquakes by definition, and the speciall diuersitie of them by diuision, beyng perfectly knownen (a thing soone done) and a complete Induction of many credible and autenticall, both olde and newe, diuine and prophane, Greeke, Lattine, and other Examples, (with discretion, and iudgement, compyled and compared together) being confiderately and exactly made, (a thing not so easly done) much no doubt myght be alledged too or fro, to terrifie or pacifie vs, more or lesse. If it appeare by generall Experience, and the forefayde Historicall Induction of particulars, that Earthquakes, *sine omni exceptione*, are ominous, and significatiue Effectes, as they say of Comets, and carry euer some Tragicall and horrible matter

4.7.16

with or after them : as eyther destruction of Townes and Cities, or decay of some mightie Prince, or some particular, or generall plague, warre, or the lyke, (*vt supra*) whatsoeuer the Materiall, or Formall cause be, Naturall, or supernaturall, (howbeit for myne owne part I am resolued, as wel for the one, as for the other, that these two I speake of, both Matter and Fourme, are rather Naturall in both, than otherwise) it concerneth vs, vpon the vewe of so Effectuall and substaunciall euidence, to conceiue feriously, and reuerently of the other two Causes : the first, supreme Efficient, whose Omnipotent Maiestie hath nature self, and all naturall Creatures at commaundement : and the last finall, which we are to iudge of as aduisedly, and prouidently, as possibly we can, by the consideration, & comparison of Circumstances, the tyme when : the place where : the qualities, and dispositions of the persons, amongst whom such, and such an Ominous token is giuen. Least happily through ouer great credulitie, and rashnesse, we mistake *Non causam pro causa*, and sophistically be entrapped *Elencho Finiū*. Truly, I suppose, he had neede be an excellent Philosopher, a reasonable good Historian, a learned Diuine, a wise discrete man, and generally, such a one as our Doctor *Still*, & Doctor *Byng* are in Cambridge, that shoulde shew

himselfe accordingly in this argument, and to the iudgement and contentation of the wisest, perfourme it exactly. My selfe remember nothing to the contrarie, either in Philosophie, or in Historie, or in Diuinitie either, why I may not safely & lawfully subscribe to the iudgement of the noble Italian Philosopher, and most famous learned Gentleman, whilest he liued, Lord of *Mirandola*, and Erle of *Concordia*, Counte *Ioannes Franciscus Picus*, in my opinion, very considerately, and partly Philosophically, partly Theologically set downe, in in the sixt Chapter of his sixt Booke, against Cogging deceitfull Astrologers, and Southsayers, *De rerum Prænotione, pro veritate Religionis, contra Superstitiosas vanitates*. In which Chapter, (if happely you haue not read it already,) you shall finde many, but specially these three notable places, most effectuell and directly pertinent to the very purpose. The first more vniuerfall. *Naturæ opere fieri non potest, vt Ostentis, vt Monstris magni isti, seu dextri, seu sinistri euentus portendantur, & ab aliqua pendeant proxima causa, quæ & futura etiam proferat. Impostura Dæmonum, vt id fiat, videri potest. Sed & pleræq non monstrofa, / non prodigiosa per sese, pro monstris tamen, & portentis, haberi possunt, & solent à quibusdam, quibus Rerum Natura non satis comperta est, causarum enim ignoratio, noua in re Admirationem*

parit. Propter quam, philosophari homines cœpisse, in exordijs primæ philosophiæ scribit Aristoteles. Wherein those two seuerall points, *Impostura Dæmonum*, and *Ignoratio causarum*, are no doubt maruellous probable, and moste worthy bothe presentlye to bee noted nowe, and more fully to be discuffed hereafter: appearing vnto me the verie right principall Causes of so manye erroneous opinions, and fantastickall superstitious dreames in this, and the like behalfe.

The seconde more speciall, as it were hitting the white indeede, and cleauing the Pinne in sunder.

Idem in Terræmotibus etiam, quod in fulguribus, fulminibusq̃ interpretandis, obseruauit Antiquitas. Cuius Rei liber, Græco eloquio, nuper ad manus peruenit, in Orpheum relatus Autorem: sed per absurdum nimis, vt quod frequentissimè fit, pro vario terræ anhelitu, pro ventorum violentia, vaporumq̃ conductione, (marke you that?) ex eo rerum futurarum significationem petere, quorum nec effectus esse possunt, nec causa, præterq̃ forte mortis inferendæ illis, qui fulmen exceperit, aut qui terrarum hiatu perierit. Sed nec ab eadem proxima deduci causa possunt, à qua & futuræ pendeant res, vt supra deductum est.

And then shortly after, the thirde, moste agreeable to the seconde, as flatlye determining

on my fide, and as directly concluding the same position as may be.

Nec sanè Orpheus ille, si tamen Orpheus fuit, ullam affert omninò causam, cur quispiam ex terræ motibus, urbium, hominum, religionum euenta præ-sagire possit. Solùm vano narrat arbitrio : si terræ contigerit motus, nocti, si æstate, si hyeme, si aurora, si interdiu, quid portendatur : Quæ certè, & saniore possunt arbitrio refelli, & Experientiæ testimonio, ut arbitror, non secus irrideri, ac supra Tagis portenta irrismus, Haruspicinæ Autoris.

A moste excellent founde Iudgement in my conceit : and ful well befeeming so Honorable and admirable a Witte, as out of Question, *Picus Mirandula* had : who being yet scarcely thirty yeeres of age, for his singularity in al kind of knowleege, as wel diuine as prophane, was in Italy and France, as Paulus Iouius reporteth, furnamed Phœnix, as the odde, and in effecte the onely singular learned man of Europe : and to make shorte : such a one, in moste respectes, as I woulde wishe nowe to be tempering with this newe notorious incident : staying my selfe in the meane while vpon this probable and reasonable *Interim* of his : and preferring it before al the friuolous coniecturall Allegations, and surmises, that oure counterfaite, and reasonlesse *Orphei* oppose to the contrarye. But, Iesu, what is all this

to Master Immerito? Forfoothe I knowe not by what mischaunce, these miserable balde odious three halfe penny fellowes, alas, a company of silly beetleheaded Affes, came into my minde, that wil needes be sturring, and taking on in euerye such rare and vnaccustomed euent, as if they sawe farther in a Milstone, than all the worlde besides, whereas euerie man, that hathe but halfe an eye in his head, seeth them to be more blinde, than anye Buzzarde, or Bayarde, *Scribimus indocti doctique Poemata passim*, and surely, as the worlde goeth now in Englande, rather the firste, for aught I see, than the laste. *O interim miseras Musas, & miserabiles.* Where the faulte shoulde rest, *viderint Oculi, atque capita Reip. Mihi quidem isthic, neque seritur admodum, neque metitur. Non valde mea nouos Bibliotheca libros desiderat, seipsa, id est, quos habet, veteribus contenta est. Quid plura? Tu vale, mi Immerito, atque ita tibi persuade, Aliquid esse eum, qui istorum longe est dissimilimus, quos Typographi nostri habent venales maxime.* Commende mee to thine owne good selfe, and tell thy dying Pellicane, and thy Dreames from me, I wil nowe leaue dreaming any longer of them, til with these eyes I see them forth indeede: And then againe, I imagine your *Magnificenza*, will holde vs in suspense as long for your nine Englishe *Commædies*, and your Latine *Stemmata Dudleiana*:

whiche two shal go for my money, when all is
 done : especiallye if you woulde but bestow one
 feuennights pollishing and trimming vppon eyther.
 Whiche I praye thee hartily doe, for my pleasure,
 if not for their sake, nor thine owne profite. My
 ✓ *Schollers Loue, or Reconcilement of contraries*, is
 shrunke in the wetting : I hadde purposed to haue
 dispatched you a Coppie thereof, long ere this :
 but, no remedie, hitherto it hath alwayes gone
 thus with me : Some newe occasion, or other, euer
 carrieth me from one matter to another, & will
 neuer suffer me to finishe eyther one or other.
 And truly, *Experto crede*, it is as true a Verse as
 euer was made, since the first Verse that euer
 was made : *Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula
 sensus* : whiche my *Anticosmopolita*, thoughte it
 greeue him, can beste testifie, remayning still as
 we saye, *in statu, quo*, and neither an inche more
 forward, nor backward, than he was fully
 a twelue-month since in the Courte, at his laste
 attendaunce vppon my Lorde there. But the
 Birde that will not sing in Aprill, nor in May,
 maye peradventure sing in September : and yet me
 thinkes, *Sat cito, si sat bene*, if I coulde steale but
 one poore fortnight, to peruse him ouer afreshe,
 and copy him out anewe. Whiche I hope in God
 to compasse shortly. But I beseech you, what
 Newes al this while at Cambridge? That was

His po
Drean

His w

wont to be euer one great Question. What? *Det mihi Mater ipsa bonam veniam, eius ut aliqua mihi liceat Secreta, vni cuidam de eodem gremio obsequentissimo filio, reuelare: & sic paucis habeto. Nam alias fortasse pluribus: nunc non placet, non vacat, molestum esset.* Tully and Demosthenes nothing so much studied, as they were wonte: *Liui*, and *Salust* possiblye rather more, than lesse: *Lucian* neuer so much: *Aristotle* muche named, but little read: *Xenophon* and *Plato*, reckned amongst Discourfers, and conceited Superficiall fellowes: much verball and sophistical angling: little subtile and effectuall disputing: noble and royall Eloquence, the best and perswasiblest Eloquence: no such Orators againe, as redheaded Angelles: An exceeding greate difference betweene the countenaunces, and portes of those, that are braue and gallaunt, and of those, that are basely, or meanly appparelled: betwene the learned and vnlearned, *Tully*, and *Tom Tooly*, in effect none at all.

Matchiauell a great man: *Castilio* of no small reputation: *Petrarch*, and *Boccace* in euery mans mouth: *Galateo* and *Guazzo* neuer so happy: ouer many acquainted with *Vnico Aretino*: The French and Italian when so highly regarded of Schollers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly? The *Queene Mother* at the beginning,

or ende of euery conference : many bargaines of Mounfieur : *Shymeirs* a noble gallant fellowe : all inquisitiue after Newes, newe Bookes, newe Fashions, newe Lawes, newe Officers, and some after newe Elementes, and some after newe Heauens, and Helles to. Turkishe affaires familiarly knowne : Castels buried in the Ayre : muche adoe, and little helpe : Iacke would fain be a Gentlemanne : in no age so little so muche made of, euery one highly in his owne fauour, thinking no mans penny, so good siluer as his own : Something made of Nothing, in spite of Nature : Numbers made of Ciphars, in spite of Arte : Geometricall Proportion seldome, or neuer vsed, Arithmeticall ouer much abused : Oxen and Affes (notwithstanding the absurditie it seemed to *Plautus*) draw both together in one, and the same Yoke : *Conclusio ferè sequitur deteriorem partem*. The Gospell taughte, not learned : Charitie key colde : nothing good, but by Imputation : the Ceremoniall Lawe, in worde abrogated : the Iudiciall in effecte difannulled : the Morall indeede abandoned : the Lighte, the Lighte in euery mans Lippes, but marke me their eyes, and tell me, if they looke not liker Howlets, or Battes, than Egles : as of olde Bookes, so of auntient Vertue, Honestie, Fidelitie, Equitie, newe Abridgements : euery day freshe span newe Opinions : Heresie

in Diuinitie, in Philosophie, in Humanitie, in Manners, grounded muche vpon heresay : Doctors contemned: the Text knowen of moste, vnderstood of fewe : magnified of all, practised of none : the Diuell not so hated, as the Pope : many Inuectiues, small amendment : Skill they say controlled of Will: and Goodnesse mastered of Goods: but Agent, and Patient muche alike, neither Barrell greatly better Herring: No more adoe aboute Cappes and Surpleffes : Maister *Cartwright* nighe forgotten: The man you wot of, conformable, with his square Cappe on his rounde heade: and Non-resident at pleasure : and yet Non-residents neuer better bayted, but not one the fewer, either I beleue in Acte, or I beleue in Purpose. A nūber of our preachers fibbe to French Souldiors, at the first, more than Men, in the end lesse than Women. Some of our pregnantest and soonest ripe Wits, of *Hermogenes* mettall for al the world : Olde men and Counsailours amongst Children : Children amongst Counsailours, and olde men : Not a fewe dubble sacred Tani, and chaungeable Camelions : ouer manye Claw-backes and Pickethankes : Reedes shaken of euerie Wind : Iackes of bothe sides : Aspen leaues : painted Sheathes, and Sepulchres : Asses in Lions skins : Dunglecockes : slipperye Eles : Dormise: I blush to thinke of some, that weene themselues as fledge

as the reſte, being God wot, as kallowe as the reſt: euerie yonker to ſpeake of as politique, and as great a Commonwealths man as Biſhoppe *Gardner*, or Doctör *Wutton* at the leaſt: as if euerie man nowe adayes hauing the framing of his own Horoſcope, were borne in *decimo cæli domicilio*, and had al the Wit, Wiſedome, and Worſhippe in the world at commaundement. *Sed heus in aurem: Meminiſti quod ait Varro? Omnes videmur nobis eſſe belli, feſtiui, ſaperdæ, cùm ſumus Canopi: David, Vliffes, and Solon*, fayned themſelues fooles and madmen: our fooles and madmen faine thēſelues *Dauids, Vliffes, and Solons*: and would goe nigh to deceiue the cunningeſt, and beſt experiencèd *Metapoſcopus* in a country: It is pity faire weather ſhould euer do hurt, but I know what peace and quietnes hath done with ſome melancholy pickſtrawes in the world: as good vnſpoken as vnāmēded. And wil you needes haue my Teſtimoniall of your olde Contrōllers new behauior? A buſy and dizey heade, a brazen forehead: a ledden braine: a woodden wit: a copper face; a ſtony breſt: a factious and eluiſh heart: a founder of nouelties: a confounder of his owne, and his friends good gifts: a morning bookeworm, an afternoone maltworm: a right Iuggler, as / ful of his ſleights, wyles, fetches, caſts of Legerdemaine, toyes to mocke Apes withal,

odde shiftes, and knauish practizes, as his skin can holde. He often telleth me, he looueth me as himselfe, but out lyar out, thou lyeſt abhominably in thy throate. Ieſu, I had nigh hand forgotten one thing that ywis ſomtime I think often ynough vpon : Many Pupils, Iacke-mates and Hayle fellowes wel met, with their Tutors, and by your leaue, ſome too, becauſe forfooth they be Gentlemen, or great heires, or a little neater or gayer than their fellowes, (ſhall I ſay it for ſhame? beleeuē me, tis too true) their very own Tutors.

Ah mala Licentia, ab initio nō fuit ſic. Stulta eſt omnis iuuenilis Doctrina, ſine virili quadam Diſciplina. Quasi verò pauperioribus duntaxat pueris, ac non multò magis generosæ, atq̃ nobili Iuuentuti conueniat, priſtinæ illius Inſtitutionis, atque Educationis ſeueritas, & ingenuæ, & prudentis, & eruditæ, & cum Tutoris personæ, tum pupillo, etiam ipſi perquam accommodatæ. Vſque quæque ſapere oportet: id erit telum accerrimum. Cætera ſerè, vt olim: Bellum inter Capita, & membra continuatum: δοκοſοφία publicis deſenſa ſcholis, priuatis confirmata parietibus, omnibus locis oſtentata, Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire, hoc ſciat alter. Plurimi paſſim ſit Pecunia, Pudor parui penditur: Nihili habentur Literæ: Mihi crede, credendum nulli: O amice, amicus nemo. Quid tu interim? Quomodo te inquires, geris? Quomodo? Optimum

*est aliena frui insania. Video : taceo, rideo : Dixi.
Et tamen addam, quod ait Satyricus ille:*

*Vivendum est rectè, tum propter plurima, tum his
Præcipuè causis, ut linguas Mancipiorum Contemnas.*

*E meo municipio, Postridiè quàm superiores de
Terræmotu sermones haberentur, id est, ni fallor,
Aprilis septimo, Vesperis.*

With as manye gentle Goodnightes, as be letters in
this tedious Letter.

Nosti manum tanquam tuam.

POSTSCRIPTE.

This Letter may only be shewed to the two odde
Gentlemen you wot of. Marry I would haue those two to
see it, as sone as you may conueniently.

*Non multis dormio: non multis scribo: non cupio placere
multis.*

Alij alios numeros laudant, præferunt, venerantur:

Ego ferè apud nos, ferè apud vos Trinitatem.

*Verbum sapienti sat: nosti cætera: & tres Charities habes
ad vnguem.*


A Gallant familiar Letter, containing

an Answere to that of *M. Immerito*, vvith

fundry proper examples, and some Precepts

of our English reformed Verifying.

To my very friend *M. Immerito*.

 Ignor Immerito, to pasſe ouer your
needleſſe complaint, wyth the reſidue
 of your preamble (for of y^e Earthquake
 I preſuppoſe you haue ere this receyued my goodly
 diſcourſe) and withall to let my late Engliſh
 Hexametres goe as lightlye as they came: I
 cannot chooſe, but thanke and honour the good
 Aungell, whether it were Gabriell or ſome other
 that put ſo good a notion into the heads of thoſe
 two excellent Gentlemen *M. Sidney*, and *M.*
Dyer, the two very Diamondes of hir Maieſties
 Courte for many ſpeciall and rare qualities: as to
helpe forwarde our new famous enterpriſe for the
Exchanging of Barbarous and Balduſtum Rymes
 with Artificial Verſes: the one being in manner
 of pure and fine Goulde, the other but counterfet
 and baſe yl-fauoured Copper. I doubt not but
 their liuelie example, and Practiſe, wil preuaile a
 thouſand times more in ſhort ſpace, than the dead
 Aduertizement and perſuaſion of *M. Aſham* to
 the ſame Effecte: whoſe *Scholemaſter* notwith-

3-

not

26
 standing I reuerence in respect of so learned a
 Motiue. I would gladly be acquainted with M.
Drants Profodye, and I beseeche you, commende
 me to good M. Sidneys iudgement, and gentle M.
Immeritos Obseruations. I hope your nexte Letters,
 which I daily expect, wil bring me in farther
 familiaritie & acquaintance with al three. Mine
 owne Rules and Precepts of Arte, I beleue wil
 fal out not greatly repugnant, though peraduen-
 ture somewhat different: and yet am I not so
 resolute, but I can be content to referue the
 Copying out and publishing therof, vntil I haue
 a little better consulted with my pillowe, and taken
 some farther aduize of Madame Sperienza. In
 the meane[tyme], take this for a general Caueat,
 and say I haue reuealed one great mysterie vnto
 you: I am of Opinion, there is no one more
 regular and iustificable direction, eyther for the
 assured, and infallible Certaintie of our Englishe
 Artificiall Profodye particularly, or generally to
 bring our Language into Arte, and to frame a
 Grammar or Rhetorike thereof: than first of all
 vniuerfally to agree vpon one and the same
 Ortographie, in all pointes conformable and pro-
 portionate to our Common Natural Profodye:
 whether Sir Thomas Smithies in that respect be
 the most perfit, as surely it must needs be very
 good: or else some other of profounder Learning,

& longer Experience, than *Sir Thomas* was, shewing by necessarie demonstration, wherein he is defectiue, wil vndertake shortely to supplie his wantes, and make him more absolute. My selfe dare not hope to hoppe after him, til I see something or other, too or fro, publickely and autentically established, as it were by a generall Councel, or acte of Parliament: and then per- aduenture, standing vppon firmer grounde, for Companie sake, I may aduenture to do as other do. Interim, credit me, I dare geue no Precepts, nor set downe any *Certaine General Arte*: and yet see my boldenesse, I am not greatly squaimishe of my *Particular Examples*, whereas he that can but reasonably skil of the one, wil giue easily a shreude gesse at the other: considering that the one fetcheth his original and offspring from the other. In which respecte, to say troth, *we Beginners* haue the start, and aduantage of our Followers, who are to frame and conforme both their Examples and Precepts, according to that President which they haue of vs: as no doubt *Homer* or some other in *Greek*, and *Ennius*, or I know not who else in *Latine*, did preiudice, and ouer- rule those, that followed them, as well for the quantities of syllables, as number of feete, and the like: their onely Examples going for current payment, and standing in steade of Lawes, and

Rules with the posteritie. In so much that it seemed a sufficient warrant (as still it doth in our Common Grammar Schooles) to make $\tau\hat{\iota}$ in $\tau\mu\eta$, and \bar{u} , in *Vnus* long, because the one hath $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta$ δ' $\epsilon\kappa$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\grave{\iota}$, and the other, *Vnus homo nobis*, and so consequently in the rest. But to let this by-disputation passe, which is already so thoroughly discoursed and canuassed of the best Philosophers, and namely *Aristotle*, that poynt vs, as it were with the forefinger, to the *very fountaines and head springes* of Artes, and Artificiall preceptes, in the *Analitiques* and *Metaphysikes*: most excellently set downe in these *four Golden Termes*, the famouffest Termes to speake of in all *Logique* and *Philosophie*, $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$, $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$: shall I nowe by the way sende you a *Ianuarie gift* in *Aprill*: and as it were shewe you a *Christmas Gambowlde* after *Easter*? Were the manner so very fine, as the matter is very good, I durst presume of an other kinde of *Plaudite* and Gramercie, than now I will: but being as it is, I beseeche you, set parcialitie aside, and tell me your maisterships fancie.

A New Yeeres Gift to my old friend Maister
George Bilchaunger : In commendation of three most precious
 Accidentes, *Vertue*, *Fame*, and *Wealth* : and finally of
 the fourth, *A good Tongue*.

*V*ertue lendeth a man to *Renowne*, *Fame* lendeth
Aboundaunce,

Fame with *Aboundaunce* maketh a man thrife
 blessed and happie.

So the Rewarde of Famous *Vertue* makes many
 wealthy,

And the Regard of Wealthie *Vertue* makes many
 blessed :

O blessed *Vertue*, blessed *Fame*, blessed *Abound-*
aunce,

O that I had you three, with the losse of thirtie
 Comencementes.

Nowe farewell *Mistresse*, whom lately I loued
 above all,

These be my three bonny lasses, these be my three
 bonny Ladyes,

Not the like *Trinitie* againe, saue onely the *Trinitie*
 above all :

Worship and Honour, first to the one, and then to
 the other.

A thousand good leaues be for euer graunted
Agrippa.

For squibbing and declayming against many
 fruitlesse
Artes, and Craftes, deuifde by the *Diuls and Sprites*,
 for a torment,
 And for a plague to the world: as both *Pandora*,
Prometheus,
 And that curfed *good bad Tree*, can testifie at all
 times.
 Meere Gewegawes and Bables, in comparifon of
 thefe.
 Toyes to mock Apes, and Woodcockes, in com-
 parifon of thefe.
 Iugling caftes and knicknackes, in comparifon of
 thefe.
 Yet behinde there is one thing, worth a prayer at
 all tymes,
A good Tongue, in a man's Head, *A good Tongue* in
 a Woomans.
 And what fo precious matter, and foode for a good
 Tongue,
 As blessed Vertue, blessed Fame, blessed Abound-
 ance.

L'Enuoy.

Maruell not, what I meane to fend thefe Verfes at
 Euenfong:
 On *Newweyeres* Euen, and *Oldyeeres* End, as a
Memento:

Trust me, I know not a ritcher Iewell, newish or
oldish,
Than blessed Vertue, blessed Fame, blessed Abund-
aunce,
O blessed Vertue, blessed Fame, blessed Abound-
aunce,
O that you had these three, with the losse of *Fortie*
Valetes.

He that wisheth, you may liue to see a hundreth
Good Newe yeares, euery one happier, and
merrier, than other.

Now to requite your *Blindfolded pretie God*,
(wherin by the way I woulde gladly learne why,
Thē, in the first, *Yē* in the first, and thirde, *Hē*, and
My, in the last, being shorte, *Mē*, alone should be
made longer in the very fame) Imagin me to come
into a goodly Kentishe *Garden* of your old Lords,
or some other Noble man, and spying a flourishing
Bay Trée there, to demaunde *ex tempore*, as
followeth: Thinke vppon Petrarches

Arbor vittoriosa, tiromfale,
Onor d'Imperadori, e di Poete :

and perhappes it will aduaunce the wynges of your
Imagination a degree higher: at the least if any
thing can be added / to the loftinesse of his
conceite, whō gentle Mistresse *Rosalinde*, once

reported to haue all the *Intelligences* at commaundement, and an other time, Christened her,
Segnior Pegaso.

Encomium Lauri.

What might I call this Tree? *A Laurell?* O
 bonny Laurell:

Needes to thy bowes will I bow this knee, and
 vayle my bonetto:

Who, but thou, the renowne of Prince, and Princely
Poeta:

Th' one for Crowne, for Garland th' other thanketh
Apollo.

Thrice happy *Daphne*: that turned was to the *Bay Tree*,

Whom such seruantes serue, as challenge seruice
 of all men.

Who chiefe Lorde, and King of Kings, but th' *Emperour* only?

And *Poet* of right stampe, ouerawith th' *Emperour*
 himselfe.

Who, but knowes *Aretyne*, was he not halfe Prince
 to the Princes.

And many a one there liues, as nobly minded at
 all poyntes.

Now Farewell *Bay Tree*, very Queene, and Goddesse
 of all trees,

Ritchest perle to the Crowne, and fayrest Floure to
the Garland.

Faine wod I craue, might I so presume, some
farther aquaintaunce,

O that I might? but I may not: woe to my
destinie therefore.

Trust me, not one more loyall seruauent longes to
thy Personage,

But what sayes *Daphne*? *Non omni dormio*, worfe
lucke:

Yet Farewell, Farewell, the Reward of those, that
I honour:

Glory to *Garden*: Glory to *Muses*: Glory to
Vertue.

Partim Ioui, & Palladi,
Partim Apollini & Musis.

But seeing I must needes bewray my store, and
set open my shoppe wyndowes, nowe I pray thee,
and coniure thee by all thy amorous Regardes, and
Exorcismes of Loue, call a Parliament of thy
Sensible, & Intelligible powers together, & tell
me, in Tom Trothes earnest, what *Il secondo*, &
famoso Poeta, Messer Immerito, sayth to this bolde
Satyriall Libell lately deuised at the instaunce of a
certayne worshipfull Hartefordshyre Gentleman,
of myne olde acquayntaunce: *in Gratiam quorun-*
dam Illustrum Anglofrancitalorum, hic & ubique

the Satire

*apud nos volitantium. Agedum verò, nostri homines,
tanquam tuam ipsius cutem.*

Speculum / Tuscanismi.

Since *Galateo* came in, and *Tuscanisme* gan vsurpe,
Vani^{tie} aboute all: Villanie next her, Statelynes
Empresse.

No man, but Minion, Stowte, Lowte, Plaine,
fwayne, quoth a Lording:

No wordes but valorous, no workes but woomanish
onely.

For life Magnifico^{es}, not a beck but glorious in shew,
In deede most friuolous, not a looke but Tuscanish
alwayes.

His *cringing side necke*, *Eyes glauncing*, *Fisnamie
smirking*,

With *forefinger kisse*, and braue *embrace to the
footewarde*.

Largebelled *Kodpeafed Dublet*, *vnkodpeafed halfe
hose*,

Strait to the dock, like a shirte, and close to the
britch, like a diueling.

A little *Apish Flatte*, cowched fast to the pate, like
an Oyster,

French *Camarick Ruffes*, deepe with a witnesse,
starched to the purpose.

Euery one A per se A, his termes, and braueries
in Print,

Delicate in speach, queynte in araye: conceited in
all poyntes:

In Courtly guyles, a pasing singular odde man,
For Gallantes a braue Myrrour, a Primerofe of
Honour,

A Diamond for nonce, a fellowe pereleffe in England.
Not the like *Discourser* for Tongue, and head to
be found out:

Not the like *resolute Man*, for great and serious
affayres,

Not the like *Lynx*, to spie out secretes, and priuities
of States.

Eyed, like to *Argus*, *Earde*, like to *Midas*, *Nofd*,
like to *Naso*,

Wingd, like to *Mercury*, fittft of a Thousand for
to be employde,

This, nay more than this doth practife of *Italy* in
one yeare.

None doe I name, but fome doe I know, that a
peece of a tweluemonth

Hath so perfited outly, and inly, both body, both
foule,

That none for fenfe, and senses, halfe matchable
with them.

A *Vulturs smelling*, *Apes tasting*, *sight* of an *Eagle*,

A *spiders touching*, *Hartes hearing*, *might* of a *Lyon*.

Compoundes of wisedome, witte, prowes, bountie,
behauour,

All gallant Vertues, all qualities of body and foule:
 O thrice tenne hundreth thousand times blessed
 and happy,
 Blessed and happy *Trauaile*, *Trauaile* most blessed
 and happy.

Penatibus Hetruscis laribusque nostris Inquilinis.

Tell me in good sooth, doth it not too euidently
 appeare, that this English Poet wanted but a good
patterne before his eyes, as it might be some
 delicate, and choyce elegant Poefie of good *M.*
Sidneys, or *M. Dyers* (ouer very *Castor*, & *Pollux*
 for such and many greater matters) when this
 trimme geere was in hatching: Much like some
Gentlewooman, I coulde name in England, who
 by all Phisick and Physionomie too, might as
 well haue brought forth all goodly faire children,
 as they / haue now some ylfauored and deformed,
 had they at the tyme of their *Conception*, had in
 sight, the amiable and gallant beautifull Pictures
 of *Adonis*, *Cupido*, *Ganymedes*, or the like, which
 no doubt would haue wrought such deepe impres-
 sion in their *fantasies*, and *imaginations*, as their
 children, and perhappes their Childrens children
 too, myght haue thanked them for, as long as
 they shall haue Tongues in their heades.

But myne owne leysure fayleth me: and to say
 troth, I am lately become a maruellous great

ftraunger at myne olde *Mistresse Poetries*, being
 newly entertayned, and dayly employed in our
 Emperour *Iustinians seruice* (sauing that I haue
 already addrest a certaine pleasurable and Morall
 Politique Naturall mixte deuise, to his most
 Honourable Lordshippe, in the same kynde,
 wherevnto my next Letter, if you please mee
 well, may perchaunce make you priuie:) marrie
 nowe, if it lyke you in the meane while, for
 varietie sake, to see howe I take a young Brother
 of myne, (whom of playne Iohn, our Italian
 Maister hath Christened his *Picciolo Giouanni-*
battista,) Lo here (and God will) a peece of
 hollydayes exercise. In the morning I gaue him
 this *Theame* out of *Ouid*, to translate, and varie
 after his best fashion.

Dum fueris felix, multos numerabis Amicos,
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.
Aspicis, ut veniant ad candida tecta columbæ?
Accipiat nullas sordida Turris Aues?

His translation, or rather Paraphrase before
 dinner, was first this:

I.

Whilst your Bearnies are fatte, whilst Cofers stuffd
 with aboundaunce,
 Freendes will abound: If bearne waxe bare, then
 adieu fir a Goddes name.

See ye the Dooues? they breede, and feede in
 gorgeous Houfes : [Houfes.
 Scarce one Dooue doth loue to remaine in ruinous

And then forfooth this : to make prooffe of his
 facultie in Pentameters too, affecting a certaine
Rithmus withall.

2.
 Whilst / your Ritches abound, your friends will
 play the *Placeboes*.

If your wealth doe decay, friend, like a feend,
 will away,

Dooues light, and delight in goodly fairetyled houfes:
 If your house be but olde, Dooue to remoue be
 ye bolde.

And the last and largest of all, this:

3.

If so be goods encrease, then dayly encreaseth a
 goods friend.

If so be goods decrease, then straite decreaseth a
 goods friend.

Then God night goods friend, who feldome
 prooueth a good friend,

Giue me the goods, and giue me the good friend,
 take ye the goods friend.

Douehouse, and Louehouse, in writing differ a letter,
 In deede scarcely so much, so resembleth an other
 an other.

Tyle me the Doouehouse trimly, and gallant,
where the like storehouse?

Fyle me the Doouehouse: leaue it vnhanfome,
where the like poorehouse?

Looke to the Louehouse: where the resort is,
there is a gaye shoue:

Gynne port, and mony fayle: straight sports and
Companie faileth.

Beleue me, I am not to be charged with aboue
one, or two of the Verfes: and a foure or fwe
wordes in the rest. His afternoones *Theame* was
borrowed out of him, whō one in your Coate,
they say, is as much beholding vnto, as any
Planet, or Starre in Heauen is vnto the Sunne:
and is quoted as your self best remember, in the
Glose of your October.

*Giunto Alessandro ala famosa tomba
Del fero Achille, sospirando disse,
O fortunato, che si chiara tromba
Trouasti.*

Within an houre, or there aboutes, he brought
me these foure lustie Hexameters, altered since
not past in a worde, or two.

Noble Alexander, when he came to the tombe of
Achilles,
Sighing spake with a bigge voyce: O thrice blessed
Achilles,

That such a Trump, so great, so loude, so glorious
 haft found,
 As the renowned, and surprizing *Archpoet Homer*.

Vppon the viewe whereof, Ah my Syrha, quoth
 I, here is a gallant exercife for you in deede: we
 haue had a little prettie triall of you[r] *Latin* and
Italian Translation: Let me see now I pray, what
 you can doo in your owne Tongue: And with
 that, reaching a certaine famous Booke, called the
 newe / *Shephardes Calender*: I turned to *Willyes*
 and *Thomalins Emblemes*, in *Marche*: and bad
 him make them eyther better or worfe in English
 verfe. I gaue him an other howres respite: but
 before I looked for him, he suddainely rushed
 vpon me, and gaue me his deuife, thus formally
 fet downe in a faire peece of Paper.

1. *Thomalins Embleme.*

Of Honny, and of Gaule in Loue there is store,
 The Honny is much, but the Gaul is more.

2. *Willyes Embleme.*

To be wize, and eke to Loue,
 Is graunted scarce to God aboue.

3. *Both combined in one.*

Loue is a thing more fell, and full of Gaule, than
 of Honny,

And to be wize, and Loue, is a worke for a God,
or a Goddes peere.

With a small voluntarie Supplement of his owne,
on the other side, in commendation of hir most
gratious, and thrice excellent Maiestie:

Not the like *Virgin* againe, in Asia, or Afric, or
Europe,
For Royall Vertues, for Maiestie, Bountie, Behauiour.
Raptim, uti vides.

In both not passing a worde, or two, corrected
by mee. Something more I haue of his, partly
that very day begun, and partly continued since:
but yet not so perfittly finished, that I dare
committe the viewe and examination thereof, to
Messer Immeritoes Censure, whom after those
same two incomparable and myraculous Gemini,
Omni exceptione maiores, I recount and chaulk
vppe in the Catalogue of our very principall
Englishe *Aristarchi*. Howbeit, I am nigh halfe
perfwaded, that in tyme (*siquidem ultima primis*
respondeant) for length, bredth, and depth, it will
not come far behinde your *Epithalamion Thamesis*:
the rather, hauing so fayre a president, and
patterne before his Eyes, as I warrant him, and
he presumeth to haue of that: both *Master*
Collinthead, and *M. Hollishead* too, being together

?
Messer
his brother

77 therein. But / euer, & euer, me thinkes your great Catoes, *Ecquid erit pretij*, and our little Catoes, *Res age quæ profunt*, make fuche a buzzing, & ringing in my head, that I haue little ioy to animate, & encourage either you or him to goe forward, vnlesse ye might make account of some certaine ordinarie wages, or at the least-wife haue your meate, and drinke for your dayes workes. As for my selfe, howsoever I haue toyed, and trifled heretofore, I am nowe taught, and I truste I shall shortly learne, (no remedie, I must of meere necessitie giue you ouer in the playne felde) to employ my trauayle, and tyme wholly, or chiefly on those studies and practizes, that carrie as they saye, meate in their mouth, hauing euermore their eye vppon the Title *De pane lucrando*, and their hand vpon their halfpenny. For, I pray now, what faith M. Cuddie, *alias* you know who, in the tenth *Æglogue* of the forefaid famous new Calender?

Piers, I haue piped erft so long with payne,
That all myne Oten reedes been rent, and wore,
And my poore Muse hath spent hir spared store,
Yet little good hath got, and much lesse gayne.
Such pleasaunce makes the Grashopper so poore,
And ligge so layde, when winter doth her
strayne.

The Dapper Ditties, that I woont deuize,
 To feede youthes fancie, and the flocking fry,
 Delighten much : what I the bett for thy?
 They han the pleasure, I a sclender prize.
 I beate the bushe, the birdes to them doe flye,
 What good thereof to Cuddy can arise?

But Master *Collin Cloute* is not euery body,
 and albeit his olde Companions, *Master Cuddy* and
Master Hobbinoll be as little beholding to their
Mistresse Poetrie, as euer you wist: yet he per-
 aduenture by the meanes of hir special fauour, and
 some personall priuiledge, may happely liue by
dying Pellicanes, and purchase great landes, and
 Lordshippes, with the money, which his *Calendar*
 and *Dreames* haue and will affourde him. *Extra*
jocum, I like your *Dreames* passingly well: and
 the rather, bicause they fauour of that singular
 extraordinarie veine and inuention, which I euer
 fancied moste, and in a maner admired onelye in
Lucian, *Petrarche*, *Aretine*, *Pasquill*, and all the
 most delicate and fine conceited Grecians and
 Italians: (for the Romanes to speake of, are but
 verye Ciphars in this kinde:) whose chieftest
 endeuour, and drifte was, to haue nothing vulgare,
 but in some respecte or other, and especially in
 liuely *Hyperbolicall Amplifications*, rare, queint, and
 odde in euery pointe, and as a man woulde faye,
 a degree or two at the leaste, aboue the reache,

and compasse of a common Schollers capacitie. In whiche respecte notwithstanding, as well for the singularity of the manner, as the Diuinitie of the matter, I hearde once a Diuine, preferre *Saint Johns Reuelation* before al the veriest *Mætaphysicall Visions*, & iollyest conceited *Dreames* or *Extases*, that euer were deuised by one or other, howe admirable, or super excellēt foeuer they seemed otherwise to the worlde. And truely I am so confirmed in this opinion, that when I bethinke me of the verie notablest, and moste wonderful Prophetically, or Poeticall Vision, that euer I read, or hearde, me seemeth the proportion is so un-equall, that there hardly appeareth anye semblance of Comparison: no more in a manner (especially for Poets) than doth betweene the incomprehensible Wisedome of God, and the sensible Wit of Man. But what needeth this digression between you and me? I dare saye you wyll holde yourselfe reasonably wel satisfied, if youre *Dreames* be but as well esteemed of in Englande, as *Petrarches Visions* be in Italy: which I assure you, is the very worst I wish you. But, see, how I haue the *Arte Memoratiue* at commaundement. (In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten your *Faerie Queene*: howbeit by good chaunce, I haue now sent hir home at the laste, neither in better nor worse case, than I founde hir. And must you of necessitie

12
Mætaphysicall

John

7

haue my iudgement of hir in deede? To be plaine,
 I am voyde of al iudgement if your *Nine Comædies*,
 whereunto in imitation of *Herodotus*, you giue the
 names of the *Nine Muses* (and in one mans fanſie
 not vnworthily) come not neerer *Arioſtoes Comædies*,
 eyther for the fineneſſe of plaufible Elocution, or
 the rareneſſe of Poetical Inuention, then that *Eluiſh*
Queene doth to his *Orlando Furioſo*, which not-
 withſtanding, you wil needes ſeeme to emulate,
 and hope to ouergo, as you flatly professed your-
 ſelf in one of your laſt Letters. Besides that you
 know, it hath bene the vſual practiſe of the moſt
 exquisite and odde wittes in all nations, and
 ſpecially in *Italie*, rather to ſhewe, and aduaunce
 themſelues that way, than any other: as namely,
 thoſe three notorious dyſcourſing heads, *Bibiena*,
Machiauel, and *Aretine* did, (to let *Bembo* and
Arioſto paſſe) with the great admiration, and won-
 derment of the whole countrey: being in deede
 reputed matchable in all points, both for conceyt
 of Witte and eloquent decyphering of matters,
 either with *Ariſtophanes* and *Menander* in Greek,
 or with *Plautus* and *Terence* in Latin, or with
 any other, in any other tong. (But I wil not ſtand
 greatly with you in your owne matters. If ſo
 be the *Faerye Queene* be fairer in your eie than
 the *Nine Muses*, and *Hobgoblin* runne away with
 the Garland from *Apollo*: Marke what I ſaye, and

literary
style

FP

yet I will not say that I thought, but there an
End for this once, and fare you well, till God
or some good Aungell putte you in a better
minde.

And yet, bicause you charge me somewhat
fuspitiouflye with an olde promise, to deliuer you
of that iealousie, I am so farre from hyding mine
owne matters from you, that loe, I muste needes
be reuealing my friendes secreate, now an honest
Countrey Gentleman, sometimes a Scholler: At
whose request, I bestowed this pawlting bungrely
Rime vpon him, to present his Maistresse withall.
The parties shall bee namelesse: sauing, that the
Gentlewoman's true, or counterfaite Christen name,
must necessarily be bewrayed.

¶ To / my good Mistresse *Anne*: the very
lyfe of my lyfe, and onely
beloued Mistresse.



Entle *Mistresse Anne*, I am plaine by
nature :
I was neuer so farre in loue with any
creature.

Happy were your seruant, if hee coulde bee so
Anned,

And you not vnhappy, if you shoulde be so
manned.

I loue not to gloze, where I loue indeede,
 Nowe God, and good *Saint Anne*, sende me good
 speede.

Such goodly Vertues, such amiable Grace,
 But I must not fall a praying : I want Time
 and Place.

Oh, that I had mine olde Wittes at commaunde-
 ment :

I knowe, what I coulde say without controle-
 ment :

But let this suffice : thy desertes are fuche :
 That no one in this world can loue thee too
 muche.

My selfe moste vnworthy of any fuche fælicitie,
 But by imputation of thy gracious Curtesie.

I leaue to loue the Muses, since I loued thee,
 Alas, what are they, when I thee see ?

Adieu, adieu pleasures, and profits all :

My Hart, and my Soule, but at one bodyes
 call.

Woulde God, I might faye to hir: My hart-
 roote is thine:

And, (ô Pleasure of Pleasures) Thy sweet-hart-
 roote mine.

Nowe I beseeche thee by whatsoeuer thou louest
 beste,

Let it be, as I haue faide, and, Soule, take thy
 reste.

By the faith of true Loue, and by my trueſt Truly,
Thou ſhalt neuer putte forth thy Loue to greater
Vfurie.

And for other odde neceſſaries, take no care,
Your ſeruaunts *Dæmonium* ſhall ridde you of
that feare.

I ſerue but two Saints, *Saint Penny* and *Saint Anne*,
Commende this I muſte, commaunde that I
canne.

Nowe, ſhall I be plaine? I pray thee euen moſt
hartily,

Requite Loue, with Loue: and farewell moſt
hartily.

Postſcripte.

I But once loued before, and ſhee forſooth was
a *Susanne*:

But the Heart of a *Susanne*, not worth the Haire
of an *Anne*:

A *Sus* to *Anne*, if you can any Latine, or Pewter:
Shee Fleſh, hir Mother Fiſh, hir Father a verye
Newter.

I woulde once, and might after, haue ſpedde a
Gods name:

But, if ſhe coye it once, ſhe is none of my
Dame.

Nowe I praye thee moſte hartily, Thrice gentle
Miſtreſſe Anne,

Looke for no long ſeruice of ſo plaine a manne.

And yet I assure thee, thou shalt neuer want any
seruice,

If my selfe, or my S. Penny may performe thy
wishe.

And that once againe, (full loath) I take my leaue
of thy sweete harte,

With as many louing Farewels, as be louing pangs
in my heart.

He that longeth to be thine ovvne
inseparably, for euer and euer.

God helpe vs, you and I are wisely employed,
(are wee not?) when our Pen and Inke, and Time,
and Wit, and all runneth away in this goodly
yonkerly veine: as if the world had nothing else
for vs to do: or we were borne to be the only
Nonproficients and *Nihilagents* of the world.
Cuiusmodi tu nugis, atq̃ nœnijs, nisi vnâ mecum
(qui solemni quodam iureiurando, atq̃ voto ob-
stringor, relicto isto amoris Poculo, iuris Poculum
primo quoq̃ tempore exhaurire) iam tandem ali-
quando valedicas, (quod tamen, vnum tibi credo
τῶν ἀδυνάτων videbitur) nihil dicam amplius,
Valeas. E. meo municipio. Nono Calendas Maias.

But hoe I pray you, gentle firra, a word with
you more. In good sooth, and by the faith I
beare to the Muses, you shal neuer haue my
subscriptiō or consent (though you should charge

me wyth the authoritie of fve hundreth Maister Drants,) to make your *Carpēnter* our *Carpēnter*, an inche longer, or bigger, than God and his Englishe people haue made him. Is there no other Pollicie to pull down Ryming, and fet vppe Versifying, but you must needes correcte *Magnificat*, and againste all order of Lawe, and in despite of Custome, forcibly vsurpe, and tyrannize vppon a quiet companye of wordes, that so farre beyonde the memorie of man, haue so peaceably enioyed their feueral Priuiledges and Liberties, without any disturbance, or the leaste controlement : What? Is Horaces *Ars Poetica* so quite out of our Englishe Poets head, that he muste haue his Remembrancer, to pull hym by the fleewe, and put him in mind, of, *Penes vsūm, & ius, & norma loquendi*? Indeed I remēber, who was wont in a certaine brauerie, to call our *M. Valanger*, Noble *M. Valanger*. Else neuer / heard I any that durst presume so much ouer the Englishe, (excepting a fewe suche stammerers, as haue not the masterie of their owne Tongues) as to alter the Quantitie of any one fillable, otherwise, than oure common speache and generall receyued Custome woulde beare them oute. Woulde not I laughe, thinke you, to heare *Messer Immerito* come in baldely with his *Maiēstie, Royaltie, Honēstie, Sciēces, Facūlties, Excellēt, Tauērnour, Manfully, Faith-*

fully, and a thousand the like, in steade of *Maiēstie*,
Royāltie, *Honēstie*, and so forth? And trowe you
 anye coulde forbear the byting of his Lippe, or
 smyling in his Sleeue, if a iolly fellowe, and greate
 Clarke, (as it might be your selfe,) reading a fewe
 Verses vnto him, for his owne credite and com-
 mendation, should nowe and then, tell him
 of, *bargāineth*, *follōwing*, *harrōwing*, *thorōughly*,
Trauāilers, or the like, in steade of, *bargāineth*,
follōwing, *harrōwing*, and the reste? Or will
Segnior Immerito, by cause, may happe, he hath
 a fat-bellyed Archedeacon on his side, take vppon
 him to controll Maister Doctor *Watson* for his *All*
Trauāilers, in a Verse so highly extolled of Master
Alcham, or Maister *Alcham* himselfe, for abusing
Homer, and corrupting our Tongue, in that he saith:

*Quite throughe a Door flēwe a shafte with a brasfe
 head.*

Nay, haue we not somtime, by your leaue, both
 the Position of the firste, and Dipthong of the
 seconde, concurring in one, and the same fillable,
 which neuerthelesse is commonly & ought neces-
 sarily to be pronounced short? I haue nowe small
 time, to bethink me of many examples. But what
 say you to ŷ second in *Merchaūdisē*? to the third in
Couenaūnteth? & to the fourth in *Appurtenaūnces*?
 Durst you aduēture to make any of them long

either in Prose, or in Verse? I assure you I knowe who dareth not, and *suddāinly* feareth the displeasure of all true Englishmen if he should. Say you *suddāinly*, if you list: by my *certainly*, and *certainly*, I wil not. You may perceiue by the *Premisses*, (which very worde I would haue you note by the waye to) the Latine is no rule for vs: or imagine aforehande, (bycause you are like to proue a great Purchaser, / and leaue such store of money, and possessions behinde you) your *Executors* will deale *fraudulently*, or *violently* with your *successour*, (whiche in a maner is euery mans case) and it will fall oute a resolute pointe: the third in *Executores*, *fraudulēter*, *violēter*, and the seconde in *Successor*, being long in the one, and shorte in the other: as in seauen hundreth more: suche as, *disciple*, *recited*, *excited*: *tenement*, *orator*, *laudable*: & a number of their fellowes are long in English, short in Latine: long in Latine, short in English. Howbeit, in my fancy, such words, as *violently*, *diligently*, *magniscently*, *indifferently*, seeme in a manner reasonably indifferent, and tollerable either waye, neither woulde I greatly stande with him, that translated the Verse,

Latin -
no exa

to him

Cur mittis violas? ut me violentius uras?

Why send you violets? to burne my poore hart violently.

Marry so, that being left common for verſe, they are to be pronounced ſhorte in Proſe, after the manner of the Latines, in ſuche wordes as theſe, *Cathedra, Volucrēs, mediocres, Celebres.*

And thus farre of your *Carpēter*, and his fellowes, wherin we are to be moderated, and ouerruled by the vſuall, and common receiued founde, and not to deuife any counterfaite fantaſticall Accent of oure owne, as manye, otherwiſe not vnlearned haue corruptely and ridiculoſlye done in the Greeke.

Nowe for your *Heauen, Seauen, Eleauen*, or the like, I am likewiſe of the ſame opinion: as generally in all words elſe: we are not to goe a little farther, either for the *Proſody*, or the *Orthography*, (and therefore your imaginary *Diaſtole* nothing worthe) then we are licenced and authoriſed by the ordinarie uſe, & cuſtome, and proprietie, and Idiome, and, as it were, Maieſtie of our ſpeech: which I accounte the only infallible and ſouueraine Rule of all Rules. And therefore hauing reſpecte therevnto, and reputing it Petty Treason to reuolt therefro: dare hardly eyther in the *Proſodie*, or in the *Orthography* either, allowe them two ſyllables in ſteade of one, but woulde as well in Writing, as in Speaking, haue them vſed, as *Monosyllaba*, thus: *heavn, ſeavn, a leavn*, as Maister *Aſcham*

35

Proſ.
Orth.

Aſcham

in his *Toxophilus* doth *Yrne*, commonly written *Yron* :

Vp to the pap his string did he pull, his shafte to the harde yrne.

Especially the difference so manifestly appearing by the Pronunciation, betweene these twoo, *a leavn a clocke* and *a leaven of Dowe*, whyche *lea-ven* admitteth the *Diastole* you speake of. But see, what absurdities thys yl fauoured *Orthographye*, or rather *Pseudography*, hathe ingendred : and howe one errour still breedeth and begetteth an other. Haue wee not, *Mooneth*, for *Moonthe* : *sithence*, for *since* : *whilest*, for *whilste* : *phantasie*, for *phanfie* : *euen*, for *evn* : *Diuel* for *Diul* : *God hys wrath*, for *Goddess wrath* : and a thousande of the same stampe : where in the corrupte *Orthography* in the moste, hathe beene the sole, or principall cause of corrupte *Profodye* in ouer many :

Marry, I confesse some wordes we haue indeede, as for example, *fayer*, either for beautifull, or for a *Marte* : *ayer*, bothe *pro aere*, and *pro herede*, for we say not *Heire*, but plaine *Aire* for him to (or else *Scoggins Aier* were a poore iest) which are commonly, and maye indifferently be vsed eyther wayes. For you shal as well, and as ordinarily heare *fayer*, as *faire*, and *Aier* as *Aire*,

bad orthog.
profodye

same words:
2 spellings
in meaning

Scoggins

and bothe alike : not onely of diuers and fundrye persons, but often of the very fame : otherwhiles vsing the one, otherwhiles the other : and so *died*, or *dyde* : *spied*, or *spide* : *tryed*, or *tride* : *fyer*, or *fire* : *myer*, or *myre* : with an infynyte companye of the fame forte : sometime *Monosyllaba*, sometime *Polyssyllaba*.

To conclude both pointes in one, I dare sweare priuately to your selfe, and will defende publicquely againste any, it is neither Heresie, nor Paradox, to sette downe, and stande vppon this assertion, (notwithstanding all the Preiudices and Presump-
tions to the contrarie, if they were tenne times as manye moe) that it is not, either Position, or Dipthong, or / Diafole, or anye like Grammer Schoole Deuice, that doeth, or can indeede, either make long or short, or encrease, or diminish the number of Sillables, but onely the common allowed, and receiued *Profodye* taken vp by an vniuersall consent of all, and continued by a generall vse, and Custome of all. Wherein neuertheless I grant, after long aduise, & diligent obseruation of particulars, a certain Vniform Analogie, and Concordance, being in proceffe of time espyed out. Sometime this, sometime that, hath been noted by good wits in their *Analyfes*, to fall out generally alyke : and as a man woulde saye, regularly in all, or moste wordes : as Position, Dipthong, and the like : not

as firſte, and eſſentiall cauſes of this, or that effecte, (here lyeth the point) but as Secundarie and Accidentall Signes of this, or that Qualitie.

It is the vulgare, and naturall Mother *Proſodye*, that alone worketh the feate, as the onely ſupreame Foundreſſe, and Reformer of Poſition, Dipthong, Orthographie, or whatſoeuer elſe: whoſe Affirmatiues are nothing worth, if ſhe once conclude the Negatiue: and whoſe *ſecundæ intentiones* muſt haue their whole allowance and warrante from hir *primæ*. And therefore in ſhorte, this is the verie ſhorte, and the long: Poſition neither maketh ſhorte, nor long in oure Tongue, but ſo farre as we can get hir good leaue. Peraduenture, vppon the diligent ſuruewe, and examination of Particulars, ſome the like Analogie and Uniformity, might be founde oute in ſome other reſpecte, that ſhoulde as vniuerſally and Canonically holde amongſt vs, as Poſition doeth with the Latines and Greekes. I ſay, (peraduenture,) bycauſe, hauing not yet made anye ſpeciall Obſeruati-
on, I dare not preciſely affirme any generall certaintie: albeit I preſume, ſo good and ſenſible a Tongue, as ours is, beeyng wythall ſo like itſelfe, as it is, cannot but haue ſomething equipollent, and counteruaileable to the beſt Tongues, in ſome one ſuch kinde of conformitie, or other. And this forſooth is all the Artificial Rules and

i.e. Poſi-
only to La-
lows in
in Engl

Precepts, you are like to borrowe of one man at this time.

Sed amabo te, ad Corculi tui delicatissimas Literas, prope diem, quā potero accuratissimè; tot interim illam exquisitissimis salutibus, atq̃ salutationibus impertiens, quot habet in Capitulo, capillos semiaureos, semiargenteos, semigemmeos. Quid quæris? Per tuam Venerem altera Rosalindula est: eamq̃ non alter, sed idem ille, (tua, vt ante, bona cum gratia) copiosè amat Hobbinolus. O mea Domina Immerito, mea bellissima Collina Clouta, multò plus plurimùm salue, atq̃ vale.

You knowe my ordinarie *Postscripte*: you may communicate as much, or as little, as you list, of these Patcheries, and fragments, with the two Gentlemen: but there a straw, and you loue me: not with any else, friend or foe, one, or other: vnlesse haply you haue a special desire to imparte some parte hereof, to my good friend *M. Daniel Rogers*: whose curtesies are also registred in my Marble booke. You knowe my meaning.

Nosti manum & stylum.

G.



II.

LETTER-BOOK OF
GABRIEL HARVEY.

1573-80.



NOTE.

Mr. Edward John Long Scott, M.A., has recently published, through the Camden Society, the "Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580. Edited from the original MS., Sloane 93, in the British Museum" (1884, pp. xviii, 191). Few will doubt that it was a pious (literary) duty to print this MS. in full. Nevertheless, equally few will gainsay that it is a *farrago*, wherein chaff much more abounds than grain. Its main interest lies in the long—unconscionably long—letters addressed by Harvey to Dr. John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and the friend of Edmund Spenser (see our new Life of Spenser, Vol. I. of his Life and Works), on the denial of a 'grace' for his degree. It is now a very small matter; but it bulked largely at the time, and these Letters about it are indirectly of value for the light shed over the then academic life—a period that covered Spenser's residence in Cambridge. Other Letters circle around the same centre. They yield biographic *bits*, but have no claim to be reproduced from the Camden Society volume as part of Harvey's 'Works.' I limit myself herein to Harvey's Letters to Spenser. They are lively and characteristic, but permanently interesting only as having been addressed to the Poet of Poets. These Letters follow here as in right sequence with the preceding. In Notes and Illustrations to the Works of Nashe (Vol. VI.) I give such gleanings from these noticeable Letters as elucidate and illustrate that Writer's allusions—including full quotations from Harvey's vindication of his sister, whose story was so mercilessly caricatured by Nashe. See also the Memorial-Introduction in the present volume.

G.

LETTERS FROM HARVEY TO SPEN'SER.

I. To his very unfrendly frende
that procurid þy edition of his
fo slender and extemporall devises.*

° With reference to this heading it appears that Spenser having obtained possession of some of Harvey's compositions, had got them printed, with a dedication to Edward (afterwards Sir) Dyer. The following is given as title-page and dedication in one—

[To the right worshipfull gentleman
And famous courtier
Master Edwarde Diar,
In a manner oure onlye Inglishe poett.
In honour of his rare qualities
And noble vertues,
Quodvultdeus Benevolo
J. W.

Commendith the
Edition of his frendes
Verlayes, together with certayne other
Of his poetickall devises;
And, in steade of a Dedicatorye Epistle,
Præsentith himself, and the uttermost
Of his habilitie and value,
To his good worshippes
Curtuous and favorable likinge,
This first of August, 1580.

1.	2.
The Verlayes.	The Millers Letter.
3.	4.
The Dialogue.	My Epistle to Imerito.
<p>The Verlayes; My Letter to Benevolo The Schollers Looe; The Millers Letter; The Dialogue,—p. 89.]</p>	

Mr. Scott explains that the words '*Quod vult Deus*' are

✓ Magnifico Signor Benevolo, behoulde what millions of thanks I recounte unto you, and behoulde how highly I esteeme of your good Mastershipps overbarish and excessive curtesy, first in publishing abroad in prynte to the use or rather abuse of others, and now in bestowing vppon myselfe a mishapin illfavorid freshe copy of my precious poems, as it were, a pigg of myne owne sowe. (Truste me, there ar sundry weighty and effectuell causes why I should accounte it the very greatist and notablifte discourtesy in good earnest that ever heretofore was offerid me by either frende or foe: and truly there never happenid any on thinge unto me that did ever disorder and distraute the power of my mynde so mutche.) Alasse they were hudlid, and as you know bunglid upp in more haste then good speede, partially at the urgent and importune request of a honest goodnaturid and worshipfull yonge gentleman who I knewe, beinge privy to all circumstaunces, and very affectionate towards me or anye thinge of my dooinge, would for the tyme accept of them accordinglye: especially considering they were the very first rimes in effect

written in the margin against the word 'Benevolo,' and that they seem to have been intended (by J. W.—whoever he was) as an alternative expression for 'Benevolo.' 'Benevolo' is alternated with 'Immerito' by Gabriel for Spenser.—G.

that euer he perusid of mine in Inglish: and so I remember I then excusid the matter, terming them my fine Verlayes, and first experiments in that kinde of fingeringe and goodly wares. It is Italian curtesye to give a man leave to bee his own carver. And now forfoothe, as a mighty peece of worke not of mine own voluntarile election, which might have chosē a thousand matters both more agreeable to my person and more acceptable to others, but they muste needs in all haste no remedye to sett to sale in Bartholomewe and Stirbridge fayer, with what lack ye Gentlemen? I pray you will you see any freshe newe bookes? Looke, I beseeche you, for your loove and buie for your moonye. Let me yet borrowe on crackd groate of your purse for this same span new pamphlett. I wisse he is an University man that made it, and yea highlye commendid vnto me for a greate scholler. I marry, good fyr, as you saye, so it should appeare in deede by his greate worke: by my faye he hath taken very soare paynes, beshrowe my hart else. What? Will iij^d fetch it? I will not steeke to bestowe so much in exhibition uppon the University. Doist thou smyle to reade this stale and beggarlye stuffe in writinge that thy eares have so often lothid and so disdaynefully abhorrd in the speakinge? Am not I as suer as of the shirte or gowne on my backe to heare and putt up these

a pamphlet

*anti
ruling*

and twentye such odious speeches on both sides of my hede before on fayer day be quite over paste, and nowe I beseech your Benivolenza what more notorious and villanous kind of iniurye could have bene deuised againste me by the mortallist enemy I have in this world? Besides, if peradventure it chaunce to cum once owte whoe I am, (as I can hardly conceive howe it can nowe possibely be wholye kept in, I thanke your good mothers eldist ungracious sonne) nowe, good Lorde, howe will my right worshipfull and thrisevenerable masters of Cambridge scorne at the matter? Tell me in good soothe, as thou art an honest gentleman, doist thou not verelye suppose I shalbe utterlye discredid and quite disgracid for ever? Is it not a thinge neerelye impossible ether still to mainetayne or againe to recoover that præiudiced opinion of me amongste them, that heretofore, by means of good fortune and better frendes and I knowe not what casualitye else, was conceavid? What greater and more odious infamye for on of my standinge in the Univerfitye and profession abroad then to be reckonid in the Beaderoule of English Rimers, especially beinge occupied in so base an obiecte and handelinge a theame of so slender and small importance? Canst thou tell me or doist thou nowe begin to imagin with thyfelfe what a wunderfull and exceedinge displea-

attack
verse

fure thou and thy Prynter have wroughte me?
 In good faythe, I feare me it will fall oute, to be
 the greatist discourtesye on thy parte and the most
 famous discredditt on mine that ever was procurid
 by a frende towards his friend. If they had bene
 more than excellentlye dun, flowinge, as it were, in
 a certayne divine and admirable veyne, so that a
 good fellowe moughte well have faide, Did you
 ever reade so gallant passionate geere in Inglishe?
 What greate notable fame or creditt, I pray you,
 could they worke me, beinge still to bee reputid
 but for fine and phantasticall toyes, to make the
 best of them? Nowe, beinge on the contrarie
 side so farr otherwise, as all the worlde seithe, and
 I must needs confesse, howsoever it pleasith your
 delicate Mastershipp to bestowe a delicate liverye
 uppon them, and christen them by names and
 epithites, nothinge agreable or appliante to the
 thinges themselves (purposinge of all likelihood to
 give me that as a plaister for a broakin pate), what
 other fruite is hereby reapid unto me, but dis-
 pleasure of my worshipfullist deariest frendes;
 malicious and infamous speaches of my professid
 and secrete enemies: contempte and disdayne of
 my punyes and underlings? finally what but
 dislikinge, murmuring, whisperinge, open or cloase
 quippinge, notorious or auricular iyinge on every
 hande? In faythe, you have showid me a very

attacked.

frendly and gracious touche, I befhrowe your kyinde harteroothe for your labour. Howbeit perforce I muſt nowe be conſtraynid (the wounde being ſo far paſt all remedy and incurrable) to make a vertu of neceſſity as many poore honeſt men have dun before me, and if not ſufficiently contente to ſatiſſie myne owne phanſye (which is ſimplye unpoſſible) yet to countenaunce oute the matter as eaſely as I can: ſetting the beſt and impudentiſt face of it that I can borrowe here amongſt my acquayntaunce in Cambridge, havinge none ſuch of myne owne. (And herein onlye to faye trothe and to be playne, thou maiſt make me ſum litle peece of amendes if ſo be your maſterſhippes worſhipp woulde deign the voutefaſyng me by the next carrier that cummith downe to Sterbridge fayr ether ſo reaſonable quantity of your valorous and invincible currage or at the leſte the clippings of your thrifhonorablen muſtachoies and ſubboſcoes to overſhadow and to coover my bluſhing againſt that tyme. I beſeech your goodlineſſe lett this ilfavorid letter ſuffize for a dutifull ſollicitor and remembrer in that behaulfe (and eſpecially in the other æconomicall matter you wott of for the very greatiſt parte and higheſt poynte of all my thoughtes at this preſente) without farther acquayntinge my benefaſtours and frendes with theſe pelting ſcholaſtical futes and I

præsume of our oulde familiaritie so much that I suppose it needlesse extraordinariely to procure any noblemans petitory or commendatorye letters in any futch private respectes. For the on I hope in the heavens my chin will on day be so favorable and bountifull unto me by meanes of sum hidden celestiall influence of the planettes and namely a certayne prosperous and secrete aspecte of Iupiter as to minister superabundant matter of sufficient requitall to add a certayne most reverende venerable solemne grace to my Præsidentshipp when it cummes: and as for the other it were but lost labour to reiterate the selfesame promisses and warrants that were so fully and resolutely determined uppon at our last meeting, and shall as largely and assuredly be perfourmid at the place and feast appointid. In the meanwhile I knowe you may for your habilitye and I trust you will of your gentlenes affourde me so much of your stoare ether wayes as shall reasonably serve to be employed on so available and necessary uses. Rather then fayle, I requeste you most hartelye lett me borrow them both vpon tolerable vsurye; I can forthwith give you my obligation for repayment of the principalls with the loane made in as forcible and substantiall manner as you or your lernid counsell can best devise.

silence
 Marry, on this condition, that your worship will be so good and favorable master unto me as give me leave to covenant and indent with you aforehand that you would voutesafe to suffer your selfe solemnely to be bownde in like obligation that nether this miserable letter nor my foresayd obligation (according to the usuall manner of this age and your owne late Præsident) be now or hereafter putt oute in print by you or yours, your advice or advices, procurement or procurements, labour or labours, meane or meanes, follicitation or follicitations, motion or motions, or such like, by what name or names, title or titles, appellative or appellatives, substantive or substantives, worde or wordes, so ever they have bene, bee or may be callid, termid, specified, declarid, or denominate, &c. In good erneste, and to leave thes same stale tarreeres, you knowe full well that woulde doutlesse and in very deede go to mar all and kutt off cleane all possible hope of recoovery if ether the on or the other by sum unluckye accident should so infortunately miscarry as to lighte uppon sum other men's fingers, and so consequently cum to farther scaming.

And then sum circumstances over præcisely examinid and aggravatid according to sum men's pleasurable humors, especially this last most necessary discourse of taking the paringes of thye

mustachioes to loane, it would iumpe fall owte
 with me in respecte of y^e former poems and this
 wofull letter with the obligation, as M. Carlill
 wrote once in a peece of Aristotle his Politiques,
 as I remember, touchinge Grouchius Newe Correc-
 tion of Paionius translation—"Grouchius Paonium
 dum corrigere voluit depravavit." And so, con-
 trary to our rule and maxime in bothe lawes, thou
 shouldst "afflictionem addere afflicto cum sit potius
 ipsius miseriæ miserandum," accordinge to the
 charitable and fatherly glosse of Innocentius tertius.
 You see nowe what homely and ridiculous stufte
 I still sende abroad amongste my frendes, accor-
 ding to my wontid manners, rather desiringe
 continuance of entier frendshipp and ould acquayn-
 taunce by familiar and good fellowlye writinge
 then affecting the commendation of an eloquent
 and oratorlike stile by over curious and stately
 enditinge. To be shorte, I woulde to God that all
 the ilfavorid copyes of my nowe prostituted devises
 were buried a greate deale deeper in the centre of
 the erthe then the height and altitude of the middle
 region of the verye English Alpes amountes unto
 in your shier. And as for this paultinge letter I
 most affectionatelye praye the, mi best beloved
 Immerito, retourne it me back againe for a token,
 fast inclosid in thye verye next letters all to be
 torne and halfied in as manye and as small peeces

and filters as ar the motes in the Sonne. Thus recommendinge my foresaid obligation when it cumeth to your gentle worships favorable and secrett tuition, I most humblye and serviceablelye, after my dutifull manner, take my leave of your Excellencyes feete and betake your gracious Mastershippe with all your right worshipfull and honorable posyes to the mightye protection of the Hyyeft. Into whose handes withall I comende myselfe and myne owne goodly devises, consideringe that (*de facto*) it will nowe no otherwise be, the starres and your most provident wisdum so disposinge, to whose invincible and fatall resolutions I humble and submitt my selfe. From Cambridge in hast; where, bycause we have no other newes that thou greatlye regardiste, I will not steeke to participate with the thus mutch of my private estate, that in a thousande respectes I am no lesse behouldinge to the person you wotte of, myne ould benefactour and reverend frende, then this goodly fayer daye is unto the sun, beinge the 10 of this present, and as bewtifull a sunnye daye as cam this summer—1579.

G. H., as affectionate towards your Mastershipp as ever heretofore, conditionallye that nether this palting letter nor that tell tale obligation cum forthe in printe.

Alias, in steade of the ould G. H. reade

Grandis Hostis, as you redd once in my Greate
Ostiffes parlour, Grandis Hostis.

The foresayed obligation.

Noverint universi et universæ per præsentēs, etc.,
me G. H. de Cambridge in comitatu eodem,
Master of Arte, teneri et firmiter obligari E. S. de
London in comitatu Middlesex, gentleman, in cii
crinibus sterling, de sua propria berda solvendis
seu numerandis eidem E. S. de London, &c., aut
suo vel suis certo vel certis attornato vel attornatis,
hæredi vel hæredibus, executori vel executoribus,
&c., seorsum vel divisim ad placitum eiusdem E. S.
de London, &c., in forma subscripta, viz., in festo
Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis proxime
futuro xxv. in festo Pasche tunc proximo sequente
xxv. in festo beati S. Johannis Baptistæ tunc
proximo sequente xxv. in festo vulgariter nuncu-
pato festo Omnium Sanctorum xxvii. et sic de festo
in festum, &c., viz. in quolibet festo trium festorum
priorum xxv., et tunc in ultimo, viz. in festo
Omnium Sanctorum xxvii. quousque dicti cii. crines
sterling de sua propria berda, plenarie et totaliter
sic persolvantur seu numerentur. Ad quas quidem
solutiones, seu numerationes et quamlibet earum
(ut præmittitur) bene et fideliter in forma prædicta
faciendas, solvendas, seu numerandas, obligo me
aut meum certum vel certos attornatum vel at-

turnatos, hæredem vel hæredes, executorem vel executores, &c.

The Condiçion of this obligation
(which haply my yunge Italianate Seignior and
French Monsieur will objecte).

What thoughe Italy, Spayne and Fraunce
ravished with a certayne glorious and ambitious
desier (your gallantshipp would peradventure terme
it zeale and devotion) to sett oute and advaunce
ther owne languages above the very Greake and
Lattin, if it were possible, and standinge altogether
uppon termes of honour and exquisite formes of
speaches, karriinge a certayne brave, magnificent
grace and maieesty with them, do so highly and
honorably esteeme of their countrie poets re-
posing on greate parte of their sovraine glory and
reputation abroad in the worlde in the famous
writings of their nobblist wittes? What though
you and a thousand such nurrishe a stronge
imagination amongst yourselves that Alexander,
Scipio, Cæsar, and most of ower honorablist and
worthyest captaynes had never bene that they
were but for pore blinde Homer? What thoughe
it hath univerally bene the practisse of the flourish-
ingist States and most politike commonwelthes
from whence we borrowe our substantiallist and
most materiall præceptes and examples of wise and

considerate government, to make f very most of
 ther vulgare tungen, and together with their
 feigniories and dominions by all meanes possible
 to amplifye and enlarge them, devisinge all
 ordinarye and extraordinarye helpes, both for the
 poliffhing and refininge them at home, and alsoe
 for the spreddinge and disperfinge of them abroad?
 What though Il Magnifico Segnior "Immerito"
 Benivolo hath notid this amongst his politike
 discourfes and matters of state and governement
 that the most couragious and valorous minds have
 evermore bene where was most furniture of
 eloquence and greatist stoare of notable orators and
 famous poets? What a goddes name passe we
 what was dun in ruinous Athens or decayid Roome
 a thousand or twoe thousande yeares agoe? Doist
 thou not oversensibely perceive that the markett
 goith far otherwise in Inglande wherein nothinge
 is reputid so contemptible, and so baselye and
 vilelye accountid of as whatsoever is taken for
 Inglishe, whether it be handfsum fasshions in
 apparrell, or seemely and honorable in behaviour,
 or choise wordes and phrases in speache or anye
 notable thinge else in effecte that favorith of our
 owne cuntrie, and is not ether merely or mixtely
 outlandishe? Is it not cleerer than the sonne at
 noonedayes that oure most excellent English treatises,
 were they never so eloquentlye contrivid in prose,

Contempt

or curiously devised in meeter, have ever to this daye, and shall ever hereafter, be sibb to arith-metericians, or marchantes counters, which now and then stande for hundreds and thousand, by and bye for odd halfpens or fa[r]things and otherwhiles for very nihils? Hath your monsieurshipp so soone forgottin our long Westminster conference the verie last Ester terme touchinge certain odd peculiar qualities, appropriate in a manner to Inglish heddes, and especiallye that same worthy and notorious *βριταννικὴν ξηλοτυπίαν*, that Erasmus prettily playeth withall in a certayne gallant and brave politique epistle of his, written purposely to an Inglish gentleman, a courtier, to instructe him howe he mighte temporize, and courte it best here in Inglande? Is not this the principall fundation and grande maxim of our cuntry pollicy, not to be over hasty in occupying a mans talent, but to be very chary and circumspect in opening himselfe and revealingge his gifts unto others? Is it not on of the highest pointes of our Inglish experiencid wisdum, and, as a man would saye, the very profoundist mystery of our most deepe and stayd hedds, to have every on in continuall ielouzye, lest he sitt over neere there schirtes or have familiar insighte in ther commendable and discommendable qualityes? Doth not silence cover and conceale many a want, and is it not both an easier and far

furer way to maynetayne and nurrish the opinion
 of a mans excellency by noddunge and counte-
 nauncinge oute the matter ether with tunge or
 penne withoute theffame discourfing vagaries after
 a certayne solemne manner then by speakinge or
 writinge to purchiffe credit? Effpecially in
 Inglish where Inglish is contemid or in meeter
 where meeter goith a begginge? And canst thou
 tell me nowe, or doist thou at the last begin to
 imagin with thy selfe what a wonderfull and
 exceeding displeasure thou and thy prynter have
 wroughte me, and howe peremptorily ye have
 preiudishd my good name for ever in thrustinge
 me thus on the stage to make tryall of my
 extemporall faculty, and to play Wylfons or
 Tarletons parte. I suppose thou wilt go nighe
 hande shortelye to sende my lorde "of Lycsters, or
 my lorde of Warwicks," Vawfis, or my lord
 Ritches players, or sum other freshe starteupp
 comedanties unto me for sum newe devised inter-
 lude, or sum mallconceivid comedye fitt for the
 Theater, or sum other paintid stage whereat thou
 and thy lively copesmates in London maye
 lawghe ther mouthes and bellyes full for pence or
 twoepence apeece? By cause peradventure thou
 imaginest Unico Aretino and the pleasurable
 Cardinall Bibiena, that way effpecially attraynid to
 be so singularly famous. And then perhappes not

longe after uppon newe occaſion (an God will) I muſt be M. Churchyards and M. Eldertons ſucceſſours tooe, and finally cronyclod for on of the moſt notorious ballat makers and Chriſtmas carollers in the tyme of Her Maieſtyes reigne. Extra iocum. In good troothe, and by the fayth of a moſt faythful frende, I feare me exceedinglye thou haſte alreddy hazardid that that will fall owte to your greatiſt . . . Cætera defunt (pp. 58—68).

2. ANOTHER LETTER OF HARVEY TO SPENSER.

A thouſande recomendations preſuppoſid vnto your good wiſdum, and twiſe as many to your goodly worſhipp. I certified your goodlines the laſt weeke as well bi letters as by my factour in that behalfe, M. Umphrye, howe litle corne was ſhaken in y late greate outragious tempeſt you wott of; and nowe forſoothe approachith y ſolemne and grand feaſte of Pennycoste, I wiſſe a greater plague than y former, and farr more terrible privately unto my purſe then that other publickly præiudiciale agaynſte my good name. And may it pleaſe your good Maſterſhipp to heare all? Marry, Syr, the very worſt and moſt vnlookid for newes is yit behinde. Forſoothe my poore ſelfe for want of a better muſt be fayne to

supply ſe roome of a greater Clarke and play Il
 Segnor Filoſofes parte uppon the Comencement
 ſtage. A moſt ſuddayne and ſtrange reſolution in
 all reſpectes. O that I were a compoſunde of all
 the ſciences as well ſpeculative as active and
 ſpecially thoſe that conſiſt in a certaine practi-
 call diſcourſe ether of ſpeech or reaſon (notwith-
 ſtanding ther exceſſiue vanitie) that the ilfavorid
 con-iurer Agrippa ſo furiously and outragiously
 cryeth oute vppon. It were a fitt of frenetiſ
 moria I ſuppoſe to wiſhe ſe morall and philoſo-
 phicall wiſdum of Socrates, ſe divine notions
 and conceites of Plato, ſe ſuttle and intricate
 acumen of Ariſtotle, ſe brave eloquence of Tully,
 ſe gallant pronounciation of Hortenſius, and ſo
 forthe, after ſe manner of theſſame greate
 learnid ſchollariffimi ſcholares that rowle ſo
 trimly in there antiquities, whereas we knowe
 not for certainty whether any ſutch creatures
 and apotheoſes were ever in the worlde or
 noe, or, if peradventure they were, who ſeeith
 not they muſt needes be rotten above a
 hundrith thouſande ages agone, not ſo much
 as the leſt ſignification of an ould ilfauorid
 tumber or any peece of a ruſtye monumente
 remaining behinde to helpe colour the matter.
 But would to God in heaven I had awhile for
 there ſake the profounde lerninge of M. Duffington,
 the myſticall and ſupermetaphiſicall philoſophy
 of Doctor Dee,

Commen-
 ſer

Verdict of the

Contempts

the rowlinge tongue ether of M. Williamſon, ouer fine Cambridge barber, or of Miſtriſſe Truſteme-trulye, mye Welche oſtiſſe, the trim lattin phraſes and witty proverbes of him that built Caius College and made Londinenſis Booke de Antiquitate, y^e audacity of my cuntryman M. Atturney and Clarke of ouer towne, and laſtly, the diſputative appetite of Doctor Buſbye, with the like affectionate zeale to the Commencement groates and afternoone feavenaclocke dinnars, which perſons according to ther ſeverall quality do all ſtill flooriſhe and karry the credit at this daye. Kunninge would nowe be, I perceive, no burden, and eloquence, if a man had it, were more worth then a crackd teſterne in his purſe or a payer of tatterid venetias in his preſſe. Had it not nowe bene a point of wiſdom to have layed vpp againſt a deere yeare? And to have furniſhed myſelfe a yeare or twoe ſince of ſutch neceſſary howſe-howlde proviſion as is requiſite at ſuch a droute? Good Eloquence and gentle Philoſophy, and ye loove me pittye my caſe and helpe me this once, and I will never be affuredlye hereafter ſoe farr to feeke agayne. Ye have holpen ſum I knowe owte of the ſame place to fayer riches and good mariages and I knowe not what ſecrett likinge elſe : I beſeech ye nowe extende your favorable curteſyes thus far towards me as to afforde me on tolerable

gks h

oration, and twoe or three reasonable argumentes, and lett me aloane agoddes name to shifte for the other myselfe. I am not to trouble ye often: goodnowe be a litle compassionate this once. I have no other meanes or staye in the whole worlde to repose my affiaunce in, being heggid in on everyside with so many pore bankrupte neyghbours, that ar a greate deale reddier, Godd wott, to borrowe abroade of every on then to lende at home to any on. And yet have I on suer frende as harde as the world goith (I meane my familiar, the Pheere of that which attendid vppon M. Phaer in Kylgarran Forest when he translatid Virgils *Æneidos*) [by his familiar it is most likely he menith his paper booke], that never yet faylid me at a pinche; peradventure he would not greatly steek to shewe me a taste of his office and "disburse" sumthinge for me if I could assure him once to sett a good furlye countenaunce on the matter and face it oute lustely as sum other good fellowes doe. The wante whereof is the speciallist defecte that he comonly reprehendith in me. And therefore here I am most humbely to request your good Masterhippes favorable advise howe I mighte best attayne that same excellent vertue and most divine prædominante qualite which I now speake of. The only vertue in effecte in the whole crisscrosse rowe

these

business

ether of morall or intellectuall vertues that nowe adayes karrieth meate in the mowthe. The rest in a manner ar owte of fasshion and overftale for fo queynte and queafye a worlde: your delicacy would haply have delighted your self in overturning y^e proverbe upfyedowne and terminge them more artificiallye, mowthe without meate. I knowe a wife and worshipfull gentleman that giveth this for on of his posyes, O Temperantia Dea: That is no commencement posye, when ypocrasse and marchepane and all ower apothecary delicacyes runne a begginge. O Dearum dea impudentia would fitt sum of our turnes amongst a number of singular odd devises and emblemes where in he excellithe and serve our purpose a greate deale better. The worse ilfauorid lucke his that must ether putt upp his pipes and helpe to furnishe upp a dum showe, or else goe a borrowinge or begginge where it is that wantith a certayne thinge so necessarilye behoovefull: in very deede the soverayne ladye and supreme goddesse of vertues and in a manner the only foundresse and defendresse as well of the theoricks as practicks in all sciences and professions, and namely the very mother and nurse of our most mysticall and profoundest morall naturall and supernaturall philosophy. And herein only to say trothe and to be playne thyselfe mayest make me on

generall grande amendes for all the particular
 petite iniuries and despites that ever thou hast
 ether trechroussly devised or ungracioussly practised
 against me to this daye if so be your good master-
 shippes worshipp would deygne the voutesafinge me
 by the nexte London karrier that comith downe
 to Midsomer fayer, ether sum reasonable quantity
 and portion of your valorous and invincible cur-
 rage, or at the lestewise the clyppinges of your
 (thrife honorable mustachyoes and subboscoes, to
 overshaddowe and cover my blushing agaynste
 that tyme.) I beseech your gallantshipp lett this
 stamminge letter suffize for a dutifull sollicitour
 and rememberer in that behalfe (and especially in
 the other oeconomicall matter you wott of, the
 very greatist parte and higheste poynte of all my
 thoughtes at this præsente notwithstandinge ȳ resi-
 due ar as you see) withoute farther acquayntinge
 my benefactours and frendes with these pelt-
 inge schollasticall futes. I præsume of our owlde
 familiarity so mutch that I supposd it needles
 extraordinarily to procure any noblemans petitory
 or comendatory letters in any sutch private
 respectes. For the on I hope in the heavens
 my chin will on daye be so favorable and bownti-
 full vnto me by meanes of sum hidden cælestiall
 influence of the planets, and namely, a certayne
 prosperous and secrete aspekte of Iupiter, as bothe

100 74 52

100 74 52

p. 116

to minifter ſuperabundant matter of ſufficient requitall; and to add a certayne ſolemne venerable grace to my moſt reverend Regenteshipp when it cumes in actum. And as for the other, in my fanſye it were but loſt labour to reiterate the ſelfefame promiſſes and warrantes that were ſo fully and reſolutely determined uppon at ower laſt meetinge; and ſhall as largely and aſſuredly be perfourmid at ſ place and feaſte appointid. In ſ meane ſpace I knowe you maye for your hability, and I præſume you will of your gentlenes, affourde me ſo much of your ſtoare other wayes as ſhall reaſonably ſerve to be imployed on ſo avayleable and neceſſary uſes. Rather then fayle, I requeſt you moſt humbly let me borrowe them bothe vppon tolerable uſurye. I am forthwith to give you my obligation for repayment of the principalls with the loane at the daye appoyntid, contrived in as forcible and ſubſtantiall manner as your ſelfe or your lernid counſell can beſt deviſe. Marry on this generall condition that your worſhip wilbe ſo good and favorable Maſter unto me as give me leave to covenant and indente with you aforehande that you voutefaſe to ſuffer yourſelfe to be bownde in like obligation that nether this miſerable letter nor my foreſayde obligation (according to the uſuall accuſtomid manner of this prægnant age, and the late noto-

rious præfident of a frende of ouers that pub-
lishethe abroade every childish ridiculous toye,
which I shall never forgett, beinge so utterlye
beyounde all expectation and likehood) be nowe
or hereafter wholye or by peecemeale severally by
themselves or iointlye with sum other pamphlett
copied oute or putt forthe in prynte by you or
youers, your advice or advices, procurement or
procurements, labour or labours, meane or meanes,
sollicitation or solicitations, motion or motions,
permission or permissions, or sutch like, by what
name or names, title or titles, appellative or ap-
pellatives, substantive or substantives, worde or
wordes, so ever they have bene, bee or may be
callid, termid, specified, denominate or declarid,
&c. Not forgetting your ould Autenticall Rule,
that you were wunt to saye you lernid first of
ower Master Rydge, Cautela superabundans non
nocet. Extra iocum, and to leave thesame stale
karreeres you knowe fullwell it woulde fuerly
quite mare all, and utterly discreditt me for
ever beyonde all possible hope of recoverye if
either the on or the other by sum unlucky
accident should so unfortunately miskarrye, as but
once to lighte uppon sum other mens delicate
fingers, and so consequentlye cum to farther
skanninge. And then sum circumstaunces over
præcisely examined and aggravatid accordinge to

p. 118

Wages of merit
liber

sum mens pleasurable humors, especially this laste most necessary discourse of takinge they wott not what to loane, it would iumpe fall oute with me, in respecte of sum former matters, and this wofull letter with the telltale obligation, as M. Carleile wrote once in a peece of Aristotile (his politiques, as I remember), towchinge Growchius newe correction of Perionius' translation: Grouchius Perionium dum corrigere voluit, depravavit. And so contrary to the gentle and pitifull maxime in both lawes, thoue shouldist afflictionem addere afflicto; cum sit potius ipsius miseræ miserandum, accordinge to j̄ charitable and fatherly glosse of Innocentius Tertius. You see howe the burnt childe dreadith fier; and he that once smartid for Niffilles and sum prætendid oversightes will not lightly incurr the least ieopardy, seeme the offence never so pardonable, and his defence never so reasonable and effectuall. I beseeche you in good earnest, have speciall regarde to the præmisses, and whatsoever I comunicate privately with yowe or howe merrely so ever I write unto you, lett it be Mum to all the world beside, and reckonid in secretis non revelandis.

You see I reteyne my accustomed manner in sendinge still abroad amongst my frendes such homelye ridiculous stufte as I was wonte, and as my pen is yet best acquayntid withall; rather

desiringe continuance of entier frendshipp and owlde acquayntaunce by familiar and good fellowly writinge, then asseſſinge the comendation of an eloquent and oratorlike ſtyle by overcurious and ſtatelye enditinge. In deede it makith no matter howe a man wrytith untoe his frends ſo he wryte frendlye; other præceptes of arte ſtile and decorum, and I know not what, ar to be reſervid for an other place. And truly in my conceyte where argumente of gravity and matter of importaunce is wantinge, y more conceited toyes and deviſes all the better. What are letters amongſt frendes but familiar diſcourſes and pleaſante conference? and what Stoick or Eremite will bar them of any merriments and ieſtes that are not ether merely undecent or ſimple unhoneſt?

Thanke my good Maſters of Cambridge for this apologye. You knowe I was not wonte to truble myſelf or others greatly with any futch kindes ether of maydenlye excuſes or ſchollarlye defence. But ſince all things ar becom haynous and ſcandalous, at every man's pleaſure, it ſtandith us poore ſowles in hande to anſwer for ower ſelves as well as ower ſilly wittes and ſimple tungen will give us leave.

God be prayſid the thinges themſelves for the greater parte ar not ſo offenſive to queſy conſciences, but they are as deſenſive againſt cavillinge

very good!
I would it

his
wittes

obiections. Thus commendinge and recomendinge mye poore futes with *ȝ* foresayd obligation when it cummes to your gentle worshippes favorable consideration and secrett tuition, I most humbely and serviceably after my oulde dutifull manner take my leave at your Excellency's feete and betake your gracious Mastershipp with all your worshippingful and honorable posyes to *ȝ* mighty protection of *ȝ* highest.

✓ From my chamber the daye after mye victorie. But see a fitt of my arte memorative. I had quite forgotte the odd embrodered token that M. Pumfrittes man deliverid me from your good Mastershipp the other daye. Ower courtinge manner is nowe to give the choyce of a thousand thanks for every gewegawe; and sumtymes tooe for very neere Niffles as it were only *pro forma tantum*. Go tooe then, feinge thanks, to speake præcisely, ar but wordes (pp. 70—77).

3. A THIRD LETTER OF HARVEY TO SPENSER.

Concerninge *ȝ* cheefist generall poynte of your Mastershippes lettere, youerfelfe are not ignorant that schollars in ower age are rather nowe Aristippi then Diogenes: and rather active then contemplative philosophers: covetinge above alle thinges

Art and Learning

under heaven to appeare somewhat more then
schollars if themselves wiste howe; and of all
thinges in the worlde most detestinge that spitefull
malicious proverbe, of greatist Clarkes, and not
wisest men. The date whereof they defende was
exspired when Dunse and Thomas of Aquine with
the whole rablement of schoolemen were abandonid
ower schooles and expellid the Universtye. And
nowe of late forsoothe to helpe countenance owte
the matter they have gotten Philbertes Philosopher
of the Courte, the Italian Archebysshoppes brave
Galatro, Castiglioes fine Cortegiano, Bengalassoes
Civil Instructions to his Nephewe Seignor Principia
Ganzar: Guatzoes newe Discourfes of curteous
behaviour, Iouios and Raffellis Emblemes in Italian,
Paradines in Frenche, Plutarche in Frenche,
Frontines Stratagemes, Polyenes Stratagemes, Polo-
nica, Apodemica, Guigiandine, Philipp de Comines,
and I knowe not howe many outlandishe braveryes
besides of the same stampe. Shall I hazarde a litle
farther: and make you privy to all our privities
indeede. Thou knoist Non omnibus dormio et
tibi habeo non huic. Aristotles Organon is nigh-
hand as litle redd as Dunses Quodlibet. His
oeconomicks and politiques every on oath by rote.
You can not stepp into a schollars studye but (ten
to on) you shall litely finde open ether Bodin de
Republica or Le Royes Exposition vppon Aristotles

consultation
at
Cambridge

Spenser?

Arnot

Politiques or sum other like Frenche or Italian Politique Discourses.

And I warrant you sum good fellowes amongst us begin nowe to be prettely well acquayntid with a certayne parlous byoke callid, as I remember me, Il Principe di Niccolo Macchiavelli, and I can peradventure name you an odd crewe or tooe that are as cuninge in his Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Livio, in his Historia Fiorentina, and in his Dialogues della Arte della Guerra tooe, and in certayne gallant Turkishe Discourses tooe, as University men were wont to be in their parva Logicalia and Magna Moralia and Physicalia of both sortes; verbum intelligenti sat; you may easily coniecture y^e rest yourselfe; especially being on that can as soone as an other spye lighte at a little whole. But, howsoever, most of us have expired the settinge downe, or rather settinge upp of this conclusion towching the expiringe of the foresayde date as a most necessary Univerfitye principle and mayne foundation of all our credditt abroad; me thinkes still for sum speciall common welthe affayres and many particular matters of counsell and pollicye, besides daylye freshe newes and a thousande both ordinary and extraordinary occurrents and accidents in the worlde, we ar. yet (notwithstanding all and singular the præmises) to take instructions and advertisements at your lawiers

Dege
practi
theorit

and courtiers handes, that ar continuallye better traynid and more livelye experiencid therein, then we univerfity men ar or poffibly can be, or elfe peradventure when we fhall ftande moft in our owne conceites we maye haply deceyve and disgrace ower felves moft, and in fūm bye matters when we leaſte thinke of it, committ greater errors, and more fowly overfhooto ower felves then we be yet aware of or can conieſturally imagin. For my ſelfe, I recounte it on ſoveragne poynte of my feylicitye in genere and ſūm particular contentement of mynde that I have ſutch an odd frende in a corner, ſo honeſt an yuthe in ſy city, ſo trew a gallant in ſy courte, ſo towarde a lawier, and ſo witty a gentleman, that both can ſufficiently for his rare pregnancy in conceyte, and will gladlye for his ſingular forwardnes in courteſye—I wuld fayne ende this periode, were it not that a certayne extraordinary paſſion, and on ſuddayne moſt effectually conceyte will needes curtoll it of in ſy midſte. And nowe, good ſyr, you get nott halfe a worde more of me towchinge this article, ſavinge my ould coolinge carde, Item, a litle to abate your Maſterſhippes currage that, as we grante you ſy ſuperioritye in ſūm ſpeciall particularityes concerning ower owne cuntrye, ſo you muſt needes acknowledge us your maſters in all generall poyntes of governement, and the great archepollycyes of

Spenser

Harvey ✓

all ould and newe common welthes. As for those other particulars you write of concerning my private estate, and namely, mye commencement matters, when I am better resolvid my selfe you shall heare more. In the meane, I craue pardon (pp. 78—81).

4. A FURTHER LETTER OF HARVEY TO SPENSER.

As many and as fewe salutations as you liste. Will you beleewe me? Your lastweekes letter, or rather bill of complaynte was deliverid me at myne hostiffes by the fyersyde, beinge fastheggid in rownde abowte on every side with a company of honest good fellowes, and at that tyme reasnable honest quaffers. I first runned it over curforilye to my selfe, and spyinge the argument so generall (savage in on pointe onely, where I layed a strawe), and withall so fittinge the humor of that crewe, after a shorte preface to make attention, began to pronounce it openly in the audience of the whole assemblie in sutch sorte as the brave orator Aeschines is reportid on a tyme to have redd owte with a wonderfull grace (in the hearinge of y Rodians, amongst whome he then sojornid,) that noble oration of Demosthenes in defend of Ctesiphon.

Shall I be playne with you? It was solemely agreeid uppon, that the letter for the manner of the enditing was very handssomly penid and full of many proper conceiptes, but *ſ* argumentes whereuppon *ſ* libell of complaynte studd, were definitively condemnid, as unsufficient. To be shorte, ower finall resolution was, that an answer should incontinently be contrived amongst us all, saviage that on was to be dispenfid withall, to playe the secreтарыe. The matter most specially concerninge me, I toulde them I was contente to beare twoe partes, and to playe bothe a quarter answerer and whole secreтарыe. My service being accepted of, *ſ* first began, as followith:—

✓ Sir, yower newe complaynte of *ſ* newe worlde is nye as owlde as Adam and Eve, and full as stale as *ſ* stalist fasshion that hath bene in fasshion since Noes fludd. You crie oute of a false and trecherous worlde, and therein ar passinge eloquent and patheticall in a degree above the higheft. Nowe I beseeche you, Syr, did not Abell live in a false and trecherous worlde, that was so villanouslye and cruelly murtherid of his owne very brother? Na, did not ould Grandfier himselfe live in a false and trecherous worlde, that was so suttellye and fraudulently putt beside so incomparably ritche and goodlye possession as Paradise was?

The storyes to this effecte—Tower of Babel,

*Content
Spenser's*

*Y. C. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Spenser's*

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Sodome—ar notoriouſlye knowne; there be infinite thouſands of examples to proove that the firſt men in y^e worlde were as well ower maſters in villanye as ether predeceſſours in tyme or fathers in confanguinitye. Lett us not be ſo iniurious to remaender antiquitye as to deprive y^e fardiſt of, of his due commendation, nether muſt we be ſo partially affectionate towards any as, againſt ower owne conſciences, to conceale theſe notorious and infamous trecheryes. (Undowtidlye the very worlde itſelfe millions of yeares before the Creation was predeſtinate to be a ſchoolehowſe and ſhopp of all villanyes, and even then I ſuppoſe the ilfauoritid ſprites and diuells that nowe ſo truble and infecte the world were a deviſinge and premeditatinge thoſe infinite ſeverall kindes and varietyes of wickednes, that immediately after the Creation and ever ſince they have ſo baſely blowne abroad and ſo cuninglye plantid in everye quarter and corner of the worlde.

✓ The fyer is a queynte ſubtile element beyonde the reatche and capacity of our diviniſt and moſt myſticall philoſophers (I excepte not Hermes himſelfe, whom they terme y^e very perfectiſte philoſopher nexte unto God himſelfe), and I knowe not by what extraordinarye and ſecret meanes y^e knowledge thereof ſhoulde defende into the intelligible and reaſonable parte, but by the miniſtry

a balan
of history

for su
for

and mediation of owtewarde and externall fences, and be cabalistically conveyid over from age to age; which biinge utterlye absurde (for who ever sawe or felte the verye pure fyre element unlesse it were perchaunce Prometheus or sum like imagin-arye wonder of the worlde?) why maye not that which they call fyer for any thinge that is certainly knowne to the contrarye be the very local place and seatte of Hell, where is sutch horrible fier-workes and sutch continual burninge flames as both the formiddiste Catholique divines and most excellent profane writers threaten against the wickid? or at lestewise why maye it not be a certayne excessive and everlastinge heate, proceedinge from the whott breathes of so many divellishe fierye sprites and scaldinge feindes, as ar there inhabitinge, and bye a forcible burninge influence inflaminge the alreddye furious and boylinge minds of tyrants and whott impatient divellish fellowes (wherwith the fowre partes of the worlde are nowe sett on fier, and which finallye according to the most auncient divine oracles and fatall destinyes must necessarilye consume and destroye all) to all kinde of colerick passions, extreame outrages and horrible cruelties as well for pleasure as revenge or other-
 ✓ wise? And then, as for the aier or winde, not the profundist philosopher that ever wrote to this daye can tell me or dare undertake to determine what

it is. Maye it not be, trowe you, a compounde of aierye, wyndie, raynie, snowye, frostye, coulde, whott, fayre, fowle, howlsum, contagious caulme and blusteringe tempestuous sprites? replenishinge everye place where it entrith (and it enterith at all aventure in every place beinge not allreddie fulfilled with sum other corpulent bodye) with diversitie of like qualities and effectes, and whirlinge into every mans eares infinite blastes of aierye conceiptes, and levities, sutch as light women and fantastical heddes ar puffid upp withall; and specially diverse frantick herittiques that ar the fonders and ring-leaders of newfanglid opinions and vayne ridiculous sectes? I will not desier you to credit magicians but even ower best and most allowid philosophers themselves to go forwarde with the reste, grante there be innumerable legions of waterishe and earthlye sprytes. And who can tell but the erthe itselke maye be a compacte and condensate bodye of the groffer and quarrier forte of them? And so the water, both lande and water bendinge themselves and all the power they can make so spitefullye and divelishlye against the heavens, and so cunninglye bewitchinge there inhabitants with a certayne superstitious and incredible admiration of there comodities and treasures for the cumpassing and obteyninge whereof so many trecherous and villanous practises ar dayly and howerlye putt in

Salt

Spin

Earth

Water

execution. Sure I am fierye, aerye, watriſhe and
 erthely diuels ar \hat{y} onely absolute monarches of
 \hat{y} worlde, if they be not \hat{y} very worlde itſelf, and
 have amongſt them a moſt ſovrayne and pre-
 dominate regimente over all elements if they be
 not the very elementes themſelves. And on thing
 maketh me vehementlye ſuſpecte that the phyſicians
 and philoſophers imaginid no leſſe but durſte not
 ſo flatly utter it, in that they howlde it as a naturall
 principle in there phyſickes, that \hat{y} elementes ar
 not mixte and compoude, but pure and ſimple, and
 as a man woulde ſaye bodyes, whereas to ſpirituall
 thinkinge and in naturall reaſon they ſenſibelye
 appear very compoudeſ. What marvell nowe
 (conſideringe the præmiſſes and per conſequences
 what maye [be] inferd of the præmiſſes) thowghe
 the world from the very begininge to this daye,
 and manelye at this daye (as everye age hath
 allwayes complaynid of the preſent age) hath ever
 bene and ſtill remainithe ſo maliciouslye fett and ſo
 ungraciouſelye diſpoſid beinge ever ſince the Creation
 and ſhall alwayes continue thorowhowte and on
 every ſide ſo throngid and invironid in and cum-
 paſſid with ſuch infinite huge oſtes of miſerable
 wickid creatures, and moſte ſubtle enemyes, that
 knowe as well ther owne advantage and where the
 ſhooe pinchith us moſt, as the begger knowith his
 diſhe?

But
 all men to
 the world is
 in man

The next complayninge of the foremans tædious discourse, and withall telling me I had y^e best office that was so thoroughly employed, wente forward in this wise:

Give me leave, Syr, to run a good longe course in so large a feylde.

You make a wonderfull greate matter of it, that reason, contrarye to all reason and y^e custome of former ages is forcibely constraynid to yeelde her obedience, and to be in a manner vassal unto appetite. See, I beseech you, howe you overshoot yourselfe and mistake the matter, in beinge over credulous to beleieve whatsoever is unadvisedly committid to writinge. Here is righte a newe comedye for him that were delightid with overthwarte and contrary Supposes. You suppose the first age was the goulde age. It is nothinge foe. Bodin defendith the goulde age to flourish now, and our first grandfathers to haue rubbid thorowghe in the iron and brassen age at the beginnunge when all thinges were rude and unperfitt in comparison of the exquisite finesse and delicacye, that we are growen unto at these dayes. You suppose it a foolish madd worlde, wherein all thinges are overrulid by fansye. What greater error? All thinges else are but troble of minde and vexation of spiritt. Untill a mans fansye be satisfied, he wantith his most soveraigne contentement, and cannot never

Reason.

Appetite

Golden

2. Iron

Brass

Fancy

be at quiet in himselfe. You suppose most of these
 bodily and sensuall pleasures ar to be abandonid as
 unlawfull and the inwarde contemplative delightes
 of the minde more zelously to be imbracid as most
 commendable. Good Lord, you a gentleman, a
 courtier, an yuthe, and go aboute to revive so
 owlde and stale a bookishe opinion, deade and
 buried many hundrid yeares before you or I
 knewe whether there were any worlde or noe!
 You are suer the sensible and ticklinge pleasures
 of the tastinge, feelinge, smellinginge, feinge, and
 hearinge ar very recreative and delectable indeede.
 Your other delightes proceedinge of sum strange
 mellancholy conceites and speculative imaginations
 discourfid at large in your fansye and brayne ar
 but imaginanye and fantasticall delightes, and but
 for names fake might as well and more trulye
 be callid the extremist labours and miserabeliste
 torments under the sunne. You suppose us
 students happye, and thinke the aire præferrid
 that breathithe on thes fame greate lernid philo-
 sophers and profonde clarkes. Would to God
 you were on of these men but a fennighte. I
 dowbte not but you would sweare ere Sundaye
 nexte, that there were not the like wofull and
 miserable creaturs to be fownde within y cumpas
 of the whole world agayne. None so injurious
 to themselves, so tyranous to there servantes, so

anti-pleasure

relatives to

Causality

S. 1. 1. 1.

A. 1. 1. 1.

✓ niggardlye to ther kinsfolkes, foe rigorrous to ther
acquayntance, foe unprofitable to all, so untowarde
for the common welthe, and so unfitt for the
worlde, meere bookeworms and verye idolles, the
moft intolerable creatures to cum in any good
fociable cumpanye that ever God creatid. Looke
them in the face: you will straytewayes affirme
they are the dryeft, leanift, ill-favoriddeft, abiectift,
base-minddift carrions and wretcheckes that ever
you fett your eie on. To be shorte, and to kutt
off a number of futch bye fupposes, your greatift
and moft erronious fuppose is that Reason should
be mistriffe and Appetite attend on her ladifhips
perfon as a pore servante and handmayden of
hers. Nowe that had bene a probable defence
and plaufible fpeache a thoufande yeares fince.
There is a variable courfe and revolution of all
thinges. Summer gettith the upperhande of
wynter, and wynter agayne of fummer. Nature
herfelfe is changeable, and moft of all delightid
with vanitie; and arte, after a forte her ape,
conformith herfelfe to the like mutabilitie. The
moone waxith and wanieth; the fea ebbith and
flowith; and as flowers fo ceremonyes, lawes,
fashions, customs, trades of livinge, fciences, de-
vifes, and all thinges elfe in a manner flourifhe
there tyme and then fade to nothings. Nothing
to fpeake of ether fo reftorative and comfortable

Reason

for delighe or beneficiall and profitable for use, but beinge longe together enioyed and continued at laste ingenderith a certayne satietye, and then it soone becometh odious and lothsum. So it standith with mens opinions and iudgmentes in matters of doctrine and religion. On fortye yeares the knowledge in the tungen and eloquence karrieth the credдите and flauntith it owte in her faddin dobletts and velvet hofes. Then exspirith the date of her bravery, and everye man havinge enoughe of her, philosophy and knowledge in divers naturall morall matters, must give her the Camisade and beare ŷ swayne an other while. Every man seith what she can doe. At last cumith bravery and iointith them bothe.

Anemographia. Not the greatist clarke and profundist philosopher that ever was in the worlde can tell the certayne cawse of the windes? What can they be but huge legions and millions of invifible tumultuous and tempestuous spirittes? What cause can there be in the erthe of such blowinge and blusteringe in everye place, be the qualities and dispositions otherwise never so repugnant and contrarye? What matter so everlastinge and endles?

Melancholye sprites ingender melancholye passions in men, affections colerick, colericke passions &c. Mens bodyes ar disposed and qualified

accordinge to the spiritts that have the predominant regiment over them, and all philoſophye faith that the temperature and diſpoſition [and] inclination of the mindes followythe the temperature and compoſition of the bodye. Galen, &c.

Cuſtome and cabaliſticall by tradition.

Cætera deſunt.



III.

FOVRE LETTERS, AND CERTAINE
SONNETS.

1592.



NOTE.

For the exemplar of 'Foure Letters' (4to) I am indebted to the British Museum. Mr. J. Payne Collier reprinted this in his (so-called) Yellow Series, with even more than his ordinary inaccuracy. See Memorial-Introduction for the relation of the present book to Nashe.—G.

FOVRE LETTERS,

and certaine Sonnets :

*Especially touching Robert Greene,
and other parties,
by him abused :*

But incidently of diuers excellent persons,
and some matters of note.

To all courteous mindes that will vouchsafe the reading.



LONDON

Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe,

1592.

The particular Contents.

A Preface to Courteous mindes.

*A Letter to M. Emmanuell Demetrius : with a Sonnet
annexed.*

A Letter to M. Christopher Bird.

A Letter to euery fauourable or indifferent Reader.

An other Letter to The-same : extorted after the rest.

Greenes Memoriall : or certaine Funerall Sonnets.

*Two Latine Epitaphes : the one of M. Greene : the other
of M. John Haruey.*

A Sonnet of M. Spencer to M. Doctor Haruey.



To all Courteous Mindes,

that will Vouchsafe the Reading.

MAY I craue pardon at this instant, as well for enditinge, that is vnwoorthy to be published, as for publishing, that was vnwoorthy to be endited: I wil hereafter take precise order, either neuer to importune you more, or to sollicite you for more especiall cause. I was first exceeding loath to penne, that is written: albeit in mine owne enforced defence, (for I make no difference betwene my deereſt friendes and my ſelfe:) and am now much loather to diuulge, that is imprinted: albeit againſt thoſe, whoſe owne Pamphlets are readier to condemne them, then my Letters forward to accuſe them. Vile aētes would in ſome reſpectes, rather be concealed, then recorded: as the darkneſſe of the Night better fitteth the nature of ſome unlucky birdes, then the brightneſſe of the day: and Heroſtratus, in a villanous brauery, affectinge a

most-notorious, & monstrous Fame, was in the censure of the wisest Iudgmentes, rather to be ouerwhelmed in the deepest pitt of Obliuion, then to enioy any relique, or shadow of his owne desperate glory. But Greene (although pitifully blasted, & how woefully faded?) still flourisheth in the memory of some greene wits, wedded to the wantonneffe of their owne fancy, and inamored vppon euery new-fangled toy: and Pierce Pennyleffe (although the Diuels Oratour by profession, and his Dammes Poet by practise) in such a flush of notable good fellowes, cannot possibly want many to reade him: enough to excuse him: a few to commend him: soome to beleue him; or to credite any, that tickeleth the right veine, and feedeth the riotous humour of their licentious vanity. To stop the beginning, is no bad purpose: wher the end may proue pernicious, or perillous. Venome is venome, and will infect: when the Dragons Head spitteth poison, what mischief may lurke in the Dragons tail? If any distresse be miserable, diffamation is intollerable: especially to mindes, that would rather deserue iust commendation, then be any way blemished with vniust slander. They that vse to speake well of other: and endeouour to do well themselues: (the defectes of dishability are not to be imputed to endeouour) would be sory to heare amisse, without cause of complaint, or suspition: and he that like a Lacedemonian, or Romane, accounteth Infamy worse

then death, would be loath to emprove his courage, or to employ his patience, in digestinge the pestilent Bane of his life. That is doone, cannot de facto be undone: but I appeale to Wisedome, how discretely; and to Iustice, how deseruedly it is done: and request the one, to do vs reason, in shame of Impudency: and beseech the other to do vs right, in reproach of Calumny. It was my intention, so to demeane my selfe in the whole, and so to temper my stile in euery part: that I might neither seme blinded with affection, nor enraged with passion: nor partiall to frend, nor preiudiciall to enemy: nor iniurious to the worst, nor offensiue to any: but mildly & calmly shew, how discredite reboundeth vpon the autors: as dust flyeth back into the wags Eyes, that will nedes be puffing it vp. Which if I haue altogether attained, without the least ouersight of distempered phrase, I am the gladder: if failed in some few incident termes, (what Tounge, or Pen may not slipp in heat of discourse?) I hope, a little will not greatly breake the square, either of my good meaning with humanity, or of your good acceptation with indifferency. Fauour, is a courteous Reader, & a gracious Patron: and no man loueth fauour wher it is to be loued; or honoureth it, where it is to be honoured, more affectionatly, then I: yet here I neither desire fauour toward louingest frend: nor wish disfauour toward spitefullest foe: but onely request reason toward both:

and so briefly recommend both to your foresaid Indifferency: as to an equall ballance of vpright Iudgement. London: this 16. of September.

Your thankful dettour G. H.



The First Letter.

*To the worshipfull, my very good frend M. Em-
manuell Demetrius, at his house by the
Church in Lime-streete in London.*

MASTER DEMETRIUS, I earnestly com-
mend this bearer, M. Doctor *Haruey*,
my good frend, vnto you : being a
very excellent generall Scholler. Who
is desirous of your acquaintance and friendship,
especially for the sight of some of your antiquities
& monuments: and also for some conference
touching the state of forraine countries: as your
leisure may conueniently serue. You shall assuredly
find the Gentleman very honest, and thankefull:
and me ready to reacquite your courtesie and
fauour to him so shewen, in that I possibly may.
And so with the remembrance of my harty recom-
mendations, with like thanks for your two letters
of forreine newes, receiued the last weeke: I com-

mitte you to the Protection of the Almighty.
Walden this 29. of August 1592.

Your louing frend Christopher Bird.

✓ In steed of other nouels, I sende you my opinion, in a plaine, but true Sonnet, vpon the famous new worke, intituled, *A Quippe for an vpstart Courtier*; or, forsooth, *A quaint Dispute betweene Veluet-breeches, and Cloth-breeches*: as fantastickall and fond a Dialogue, as I haue seene: and for some particulars, one of the most licentious, and intolerable Inuectiues, that euer I read. Wherein the leawd fellow, and impudent rayler, in an odious and desperate moode, without any cause, or reason; amongst fondry other persons notoriously defamed, most spitefully and villanously abuseth an auncient neighbour of mine, one *M. Haruey*, a right honest man of good reckoning; and one that aboue twenty yeres since bare the chiefeest office in Walden with good credite: and hath maine-
 tained foure sonnes, in *Cambridge* and else where, with great charges: all sufficiently able to aun-
 sweare for themselues: and three, (in spite of some few *Greenes*) vniuerally well reputed in both Vniuersities, and through the whole Realme. Whereof one returning sicke from *Norwich* to *Linne*, in Iuly last, was past sence of any such malicious iniury, before the publication of that

✓ | vile Pamphlet. *Liur post fata quiescat: Et benè
à singulis audiant, qui omnibus volunt benè.*

A due Commendation of the Quipping Autor.

✓ | Greene the Connycatcher, of this Dreame the Autor,
For his dainty deuise, deserueth the hauter.
*A rakehell: A makehift: A scribling foole:
A famous bayard in Citty, and Schoole.*
✓ | Now sicke, as a Dog: and euer brainesick:
*Where such a rauing, and desperate Dick?
Sir reuerence, A scuruy Master of Art,
Aunswared inough with a Doctors fart.
He scornes other Aunswear: and Enuy salutes
With shortest vowels, and with longest mutes.
For farther triall, himself he referres
To prooffe, and sound iudgement, that seldome erres.
Now good Robin-good-fellow, and gentle Greene-
sleeues,
Giue him leaue to be quiet, that none aggreeues.*
Miferrima Fortuna, quæ caret inimico. /

a. M. C. K. P.

The Second Letter.

To my louing friend, Maister Christopher Bird
of Walden.

MAISTER Bird, in the abſence of M. Demetrius, I deliuered your letter vnto his wife, whome I found very courteous. My next buſineſſe was to enquire after the famous Author: who was reported to lye dangerously ſicke in a ſhoemakers houſe near Dow-gate: not of the plague, or the pockes, as a Gentleman ſaide, but of a ſurfett of pickle herringe and renniſh wine, or as ſome ſuppoſe, of an exceeding feare. For in his extreameſt want, he offered ten, or rather then faile twenty ſhillings to the printer (a huge ſom with him at that inſtant) to leaue out the matter of the three brothers: with confeſſion of his great feare to be called *Coram* for thoſe forged imputations. A conſcious mind, and vndaunted hart, ſeldome dwell together: hee was not the firſt, that bewrayed, & puniſhed his owne guiltines, with bluſhing for ſhame, or trembling for dread, or drouping for woe. Many can heape miſery inough vppon their owne heads: and neede no more penalty, but, their owne contrition, and the Cenſure of other. I would not wiſhe a ſworne enemie to bee more baſely valued, or more vilely

Greene

neg. in str.

reputed, then the common voice of the cittie esteemeth him, that sought Fame by diffamation of other, but hath vtterly discredited himselfe: and is notoriously grown a very prouerbe of Infamy, and contempt. I little delight in the rehearfall of such paltrye: but who like *Elderton* for Ballating: *Greene* for pamphletting: both, for goodfellowship, and bad conditions? Rayling was the Ypocras of the drunken rimester: and Quipping the Marchepane of the madde libeller. They scape faire, that go scot-free in such sawcy / reckonings: I haue knowne some, read of many, and heard of more, that wantonly quipped other & soundly nipped themselues. The hoatetest bloud of choller may be cooled: and as the fiercest fury of wild-fire, so the fiercest wild-fire of Fury, consumeth it selfe. Howbeit a common mischiefe would be preuented: and it generally concerneth all, and particularly behooueth euery one, to looke about him, when he heareth the belles ringing backward, and seeth the fire running forward: and beholdeth euen Death in person, shooting his peremptory boltes. You vnderstand me without a Glosse: and here is matter inough for a new ciuill war, or shall I say for a new Troyan siedge, if this poore Letter should fortune to come in print. I deale directly: and will plainly tell you my fancy, if *Titius* continue to vpbraid *Caius* with euery thing & nothing.

us. of d. l. l. l.

K. l. l. l.

p. 163. l. 1. 1. 1.

✓ I neither name Martin-mar-prelate: nor shame
 Papp wyth a hatchet: nor mention any other,
 but *Elderton*, and *Greene*: two notorious mates,
 & the very ringleaders of the riming, and
 scribbling crew. But *Titius*, or rather *Zoilus* in
 his spitefull vaine, will so long flurt at *Homer*:
 and *Thersites*, in his peeuish moode, so long fling
 at *Agamemnon*: that they wil become extremely
 odious & intollerable to all good Learning, and
 ciuill Gouvernement: and in attempting to pull
 downe, or disgrace other without order, must
 needes finally ouerthrow themselues without relief.
 Oratours haue challenged a speciall Liberty: and
 Poets claimed an absolute Licence: but no Liberty
 without boundes: nor any Licence without limita-
 ✓ tion. Inuectiues by fauour haue bene too bolde:
 and Satyres by vsurpation too-presumptuous: I
 ouerpasse *Archilochus*, *Aristophanes*, *Lucian*, *Iulian*,
Aretine, and that whole venomous and viperous
 brood, of old & new Raylers: euen *Tully*, and
 ✓ *Horace* otherwhiles ouer / reched: and I must
 needs say, Mother Hubbard, in heat of choller,
 forgetting the pure sanguine of her sweete Feary
 Queene, wilfully ouer-shot her malcontented selfe:
 as elsewhere I haue specified at larg, with the good
 leaue of vnspotted friendshipp. Examples in some
 ages doe exceeding much hurt. *Salust*, and *Clodius*
 learned of *Tully*, to frame artificiall Declamations,

See
 Raylers
 himselfe

Sat of
 Time Lib

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malc-

& patheticall Inuectiues againſt *Tully* himſelfe,
 and other worthy members of that moſt-floriſhing
 State: if mother Hubbard in the vaine of *Chawcer*,
 happen to tel one Canicular tale: father *Elderton*,
 and his ſonne *Greene*, in the vaine of *Skelton*, or
Scoggin, will counterfeit an hundred dogged Fables,
 Libles, Calumnies, Slaunders, Lies for the whet-
 ſtone, what not, & moſt curriſhly ſnarle, & bite
 where they ſhould moſt kindly fawne, and licke.
 Euery priuate exceſſe is dangerous: but ſuch
 publike enormities, incredibly pernitiuous, and in-
 ſupportable: and who can tell, what huge outrages
 might amount of ſuch quarrellous, and tumultuous
 cauſes? Honour is precious: worſhip of value:
 Fame inualueable: they perillouſly threaten the
 Commonwealth, that goe-about to violate the
 inuiolable partes thereof. Many will ſooner
 looſe their liues, then the leaſt Iott of their
 reputation. Lord, what mortall feudes, what
 furious combats, what cruell bloudſhed, what
 horrible ſlaughterdome haue bene committed, for
 the point of Honour, and ſome few Courtly
 cerimonies? Though meaner perſons do not ſo
 highly ouerpriſe their credite; yet who taketh
 not diſcourteſie vnkindly, or ſlaunder diſpleaſingly?
 For mine owne part, I am to make an vſe of my
 aduerſaries abuſe: and will endeouour to reforme
 any default, where of I may iuſtly, or probably be

Sat
 24th

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empeached. Some Emulation hath already done
 me good: both for supply of great imperfections:
 / & for encrease of small perfections. I haue, and
 who hath not, found it better, to be tickled &
 flinged of a bufy ennemy, then to be coyed, &
 lulled of an idle frend. *Plutarch* is grauely wise:
 and *Macchiauell* fubtilly politike: but in either of
 them, what founder, or finer piece of cunning,
 then to reape commodity by him, that seeketh
 my displeasure: & to play vpon the aduauntage
 of his detection of my infirmities? Other cauilling,
 or mote-spying Malice confoundeth it selfe: & I
 continue my accustomed simplicity, to aunswere
 vanity with filence: though peraduenture not
 without daunger of inuiting a newe iniury, by
 intertaining an old. Patience hath trained mee
 to pocket-vp more hainous indignities: & euen
 to digest an age of Iron. They that can doe
 little, must be contented to suffer much. My
 betters neede not take it grieuoufly, to be taunted
 or reproched in that booke, where Saint Peter,
 & Christ himfelfe are Lucianically & scoffingly
 alleadged: the one for begging, the other for
 graunting A foolish boone: (pretended euer since
 the fatall destiny of the gentle crafte). Some men
 wil haue their fwinge, & their bugges-woordes,
 though it be againft all Gods-forbid: & what
 Cefars might, or Catoes integrity, or what Saints

deuotion can stop such mouths? yet neither themselves the better: nor other the woorse: that depend not on their allowance, but rely on their owne iustification: and desire to confute their impudency not with words, but with deeds. Howbeit I am not to preiudice my Brother aliue: or to smoothe the wrong, offered to my Brother deceased: or to tollerate the least diffamation of my good Father, whome no illwiller could euer touch with any dishonesty, or discredite in any fort. Nothing more deere, or inestimable, then a mans good name: & albeit I contemne such pelting iniuries, vainely deuised against my selfe, yet am I not to neglecte so intollerable a wrong, so notoriously published against them. There is law for desperate out-lawes: & order for most disorderly fellowes. They that cannot gouerne themselves, must bee ruled by other; and pay for their folly. Whiles I was thus, or to like effecte, resolving with my selfe, and discourging with some speciall frendes: not onely writing vnto you: I was suddainely certified, that the king of the paper stage (so the Gentleman tearmed *Greene*) had played his last part, & was gone to *Tarleton*: whereof I protest, I was nothing glad, as was expected, but vnfainedly sory; aswell because I could haue wished, he had taken his leaue with a more charitable farewell: as also because I was

Read in the
Sat. day 2.

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12. 11.

12. 11. 7. 9.
12. 11. 7. 9.

deprived of that remedy in Law, that I intended against him, in the behalfe of my Father, whose honest reputation I was in many duties to tender. Yet to some conceited witt, that could take delight to discover knaueries, or were a fitt person to augment the history of Conny-catchers: O Lord, what a pregnant occasion were here presented, to display leaud vanity in his liuely coullours, & to decipher the very misteries of that base Arte? Petty Coofeners are not woorth the naming: he they say, was the Monarch of Crosbiters, and the very Emperour of shifters. I was altogether vnacquainted with the man; & neuer once saluted him by name: but who in London hath not heard of his dissolute, and licentious living; his fonde disguisinge of a Master of Arte with ruffianly haire, vnseemely apparell, and more vnseemely Company: his vaine glorious and Thrafonicall brauinge: his piperly Extemporizing, and Tarletonizing; his apish counterfeiting of euery ridiculous, and absurd toy: his fine coofening of Iuglers, and finer iugling with coofeners: hys villainous cogging, and foisting; his monstrous swearing, and / horrible forswearing; his impious profaning of sacred Textes: his other scandalous, and blasphemous rauinge: his riotous and outrageous surfeitinge; his continuall shifting of lodgings: his plausible mustering, and banquet-

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inge of roysterly acquaintaunce at his first comminge;
 his beggarly departing in euery hostiffes debt; his
 infamous resorting to the Banckside, Shorditch,
 Southwarke, and other filthy hauntes: his obscure
 lurking in basest corners: his pawning of his
 sword, cloake, and what not, when money came
 short; his impudent pamphletting, phantasticall
 interluding, and desperate libelling, when other
 coofening shifts failed: his imployinge of Ball
 (furnamed cuttinge Ball) till he was intercepted
 at Tiborne, to leauy a crew of his trustiest com-
 panions, to garde him in daunger of Arrestes: his
 keeping of the foresaid Balls sister, a sorry ragged
 queane, of whome hee had his base sonne, *Infor-*
fortunatus Greene: his forsaking of his owne wife,
 too honest for such a husband: particulars are
 infinite: his contemning of Superiours, deriding of
 other, and defying of all good order? Compare
 base fellowes, and noble men together: & what
 in a manner wanted he of the ruffianly, and
 variable nature of *Catiline*, or *Antony*, but the
 honourable fortunes of *Catiline*, and *Antony*?
 They that haue seene much more then I haue
 heard; (for so I am credibly infourmed) can relate
 straunge & almost incredible Comedies of his
 monstrous disposition: [wherewith I am not to
 infect the Aire, or defile this paper.] There be
 inough, and inough such Histories, both dead, and

Ball's case

Ball?
 G's name
 wife

Sp
 Report

part of your
 interest

liuing: though youth bee not corrupted, or age
 accloyed with his Legendary. Truly I haue been
 ashamed, to heare some ascertayned reportes of hys
 most woefull, and rascall estate: how the wretched
 fellow, or shall I say the Prince of beggars, laid
 all to gage for some few / shillings: and was
 attended by lice: and would pittifully beg a
 penny-pott of Malmesie: and could not gett any
 of his old acquaintance to comfort, or visite him
 in his extremity, but Mistris Appleby, and the
 mother of Infortunatus. Alas, euen his fellow-
 writer, a proper yong man if aduised in time, that
 was a principall gueft at that fatall banquet of
 pickle herring, (I spare his name, and in some
 respectes wish him well) came neuer more at him:
 but either would not, or happily could not, per-
 forme the duty of an affectionate, and faithfull
 friend. The poore Cordwainers wife was his onely
 nurse: and the mother of Infortunatus hys sole
 companion: but when Mistresse Appleby came,
 [it was] as much to expostulate iniuries with her,
 as to visite him. God helpe good fellowes when
 they cannot helpe themselues. Slender reliefe in
 the predicamente of priuations, and fained habites.
 Miserable man, that must pearish: or be succoured
 by counterfeite, or impotente supplies. I once
 bemoned the decayed and blasted estate of M.
Gascoigne: who wanted not some commendable

Reg. to
 Nostel

friend
 mother

same

parts of conceit, and endeuour: but vnhappy M. *Gascoigne*, how Lordly happy, in comparifon of moft-vnhappy M. *Greene*? He neuer enuyed me fo much, as I pittied him from my hart: efpecially when his hofiffie *Ifam* with teares in her eies, & fighes from a deeper fountaine, (for ſhe loued him derely) tould me of his lamentable begging of a penny pott of Malmefy: and, fir reuerence how lowfy he, and the mother of Infortunatus were (I would her Surgeon found her no worfe, then lowfy :) and how he was faine poore foule, to borrow her hufbandes ſhirte, whiles his owne was a waſhing: and how his dublet, and hoſe, and ſword were fold for three ſhillings: and beſide the charges of his winding ſheete, which was foure ſhillings; and the charges of hys buriall / yefter-day, in the New-churchyard neere Bedlam, which was fix ſhillings, and foure pence; how deeply hee was indebted to her poore hufbande: as appeered by hys own bonde of tenne poundes: which the good woman kindly kindly ſhewed me: and beſeeched me to read the writting beneath: which was a letter to his abandoned wife, in the behalfe of his gentle hoſt: not ſo ſhort as perſuaſible in the beginning, and pittifull in the ending.

Doll, I charge thee by the loue of our youth, & by my ſoules reſt, that thou wilt ſee this man paide:

for if hee, and his wife had not succoured me, I had died in the streetes.

Robert Greene.

? Oh what notable matter were here for a greene head, or Lucianicall conceit : that would take pleasure in the paine of such sorry distressed creatures? whose afflicted case, to euery charitable, or compassionate mind, cannot but seeme most commiserable, if not for their owne cause, yet for Gods sake : who deserueth infinitely of them, whome hee acquitteth, not according to iudgement, but according to mercy. I rather hope of the deade, as I wish to the liuinge, that Grace might finally abounde, where wickednesse did ouerflow : and that Christ in his diuine goodnesse shoulde miraculoussly forgiue the man, that in his diuelish badnesse blasphemously reuiled God. [The dead bite not : and I am none of those, that bite the dead.] When I begin to conflict with ghostes, then looke for my Confutation of his fine Quippe or quaint Dispute, whome his sweete hostisse, for a tender farewell, crowned with a Garland of Bayes : to shew, that a tenth Muse honoured him more being deade, then all the nine honoured him aliuie. I know not whether *Skelton*, *Elderton*, or some like flourishing Poet were so enterred : / it was his owne request, and his Nurfes

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deuotion: and happily some of his fauourites may imitate the example. One that wished him a better lodging, then in a poore Iourneymans house, & a better graue, then in that Churchyard in Bedlam, hath perfourmed a little peece of greater duety to a Laureat Poet.

*Here lies the man, whome mistrisse Isam crown'd
with bayes;*

*Shee, shee, that ioyde to heare, her Nightingales
sweete layes.*

Which an other no sooner read, but he immediately subscribed: as speaking to the ignorant passenger.

*Heere Bedlam is: and heere a Poet garish,
Gaily bedeck'd, like forehorse of the parish.*

Other Epitaphes, and funerall deuotions I am promised by some, that deeply affect inspired Bardes, and the adopted sonnes of the Muses: but you may imagine, I haue smal superfluity of leysure, to entend such businesse: and yet nothing of frend, or foe, can be vnwelcome vnto mee, that fauoureth of Witte, or relisheth of Humanity, or tasteth of any good. In the meane, as euer before for a generall Defence, so still for a speciall Apology, I referre my selfe to euery indifferent iudgement: and presume they will conceiue well, that perceiue

no ill. Charity recommendeth Fauour to superiors ; Amity to equals : and good-will to all ; that either reuerence diuinity, or regarde Humanity. Friendes haue Affection ; and the wiser sort Reason, to value men, not by others report, but by their owne defart, or probable hope : which I would willingly nourish, as I honestly may, till it shall please God to affoord some conuenient occasion of more actuall prooffe. And as for Enuy or hatred to any party : I did euer abhorre them both : and I imagine / there is not any, that either more resolutely disdayneth the one, or, more peremptorily detesteth the other : as perhaps may yer long visibly appeere : if some other requisites concurre with my intention, or fall-out aunswearable to my expectation. Promise is debt : and I hadd rather perfourme, then promise any thinge : but a minde, desirous to pleasure friendes, to reconcile foes, to displease fewe, to displeasure none. They that haue little else, to winne or continue credite, had neede haue Humanity in supply of other defectes. Let the worlde deale with simple men, as it pleaseth : I loath to be odious to any : and would be loth to bee tedious to you. The next weeke, you may happily haue a letter of such French occurrences, and other intelligences, as the credible relation of inquisitiue friendes, or imployed straungers, shall acquaint me withall. That most valorous, and

Tol.

Foreign

braue king wanteth no honourable prayes, or zealous prayers. Redoubted Parma was neuer so matched: and in so many woorthy histories, aswell new, as olde; how few comparable either for Vertue, or Fortune? The Spanyard, politique inough, and not ouer-rafhly audatious, will bee aduised before he entangle himselfe with more warres attonce: knowing how the braue Earle of Essex, woorthy Sir Iohn Norrice, and their valiant knightes, haue fought for the honour of England: and for the right of Fraunce, of the Low countries, and of Portugall. Thrife happy Fraunce; though how vnhappy Fraunce, that hath such a Soueraigne Head, such resolute Hartes, and such inuincible Handes to fight for thee; that will either recouer thee most mightily, or die for thee most honourably. Were I of sufficient discourfe, to record the valiauntest, and memorablest actes of the world; I would count it a felicity, to haue the oportunity of so egregious, and heroicall an argument: not pleasurable / deuised in counterfaite names, but admirably represented to the eie of France, and the eare of the world, in the persons of royall, and most puisfaunt knightes: how singularlie worthy of most glorious, and immortal fame? Gallant wits, and braue pennes may honorably bethinke themselues: and euen ambitiouslye frame their stile to a noble emulation of Liuy, Homer, and

Reiser
History



the diuineſt ſpirits of all ages: I returne to my priuate buſineſſe. Good maiſter Birde, commende me to my good friendes: and fare you hartely wel. London this 5. of September.

Your euer aſſured: GABRIELL HARUEY.

The Third Letter.

To euery Reader, fauourable, or indifferently affected.

ALBEIT for theſe twelue, or thirteene yeares, no man hath beene more loth, or more ſcrupulous, then my ſelfe, to vnderlie the cenſure of euery curious conceite, or rigorous iudgement, that pretendeth a deepe inſight in the perfections of wits and ſtiles, inſomuch that euen Actions of Silence and Patience haue bene commenced againſt me: and although I ſtil dwel in the ſame opinion, that nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured both for matter and maner: and that importeth not ſome notable uſe, to one, or other effectuall purpoſe: Yet partlie the vehemente importunity of ſome affectionate friends, and partly mine own tender regard of / my fathers and my brothers good reputation, haue ſo forcibly ouer-ruled me, that I haue finally condeſcended to their paſſionate motion: and in an

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extraordinarie case, haue respectiue yeeled my consent to an extraordinary course. Which I would vnpartially commend to the reasonable allowance of euery indifferent peruser that carrieth Courtesie in his Tongue, or honesty in his Hart. For mine owne iniury, the more I consider, the lesse I estimate the same: as one born to suffer, & made to contemne iniuries. He that in his youth flattered not himselfe with the exceeding commendations of some greatest schollers in the worlde: cannot at these yeares, either be discouraged with misrepute, or daunted with misfortune. A premeditate, & resolute minde lightly shaketh off the heauiest crosses of malice, and easely passeth ouer a thousande grieuances with a smile. Some haue learned of Reason, some of Philosophy, some of History, some of Diuinitie, some of Experience, some of all, to endure patiently, whatsoever befalleth, & euen to make the cruellest paine pleasant, as some make the swetest pleasure painefull. I had rather name *Titius*, or *Sempronius*, then my selfe: But the vrgent entreaty of friends, and your eager expectation haue suddainely obtained that, which no personall impeachment, or real enforcement, could in many yeres extort. Howbeit I shall hardly content them, to satisfy you: that am neither to offend any, but in case of notoriety: nor to defend my selfe, but in case of necessity,

or honesty. If anie haue charged mee, or do charge mee with insufficiency, I confesse : perfection is no common gifte : if with ignorance, I graunt : many seeme, fewe are learned : if with simplicity, I yeeld : wondrous wittes are rare birdes : if with ill lucke, I deny not : good lucke is not euerie mans lotte : / yet who euer hearde me complaine of ill-lucke, or once say, *Fortune my foe* ? But in the plainnesse of my nature, and simplicitie of my Arte, I can easely defie the proudest, that dareth cal my credite in question : or accuse me of any dishonest, or scandalous parte, either in deede, or in word. Many thinges are made offensiue in the handling, that are tollerable inough in their owne nature : or fie on an odious circumstance, where the substance it selfe might be more gracious. Letters may bee priuately written, that would not bee publikely diuulged : I was then yong in yeares, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and as the manner is, somewhat ouerweening in conceit : and for varietie of study, and some deeper intelligence in the affayres of the world, otherwhiles reading inuectiues, and Satyres, artificially amplified in the most exaggerate and hyperbolicall kinde, I coulde hardlye refraine from discoueringe some little part of my reading : I had curiously laboured some exact, and exquisite poyntes of studie and practise, and

greatly misliked the preposterous and vntowred
courses of diuers good wits, ill directed ; there
wanted not some sharpe vnderferued discourtesies
to exasperate my minde : shall I touch the vlcer ?

it is no such mysterye, but it may be reuealed :

✓ I was supposed not vnmeet for the Oratorship of
the vniuersity, which in that springe of mine age,
for my Exercise, and credite I earnestly affected :
but mine owne modest petition, my friendes dili-
gent labour, our high Chauncellors most honour-
able and extraordinarye commendation, were all
peltingly defeated, by a flye practise of the olde
Foxe : whose acts, and monuments shall neuer
dye : some like accidents of dislike for breuity
I ouerfly : young bloud is hot ; youth hasty :
ingenuity open : abuse impa / tient : choler sto-
machous : temptations busie : the Inuectiue vaine,
a sturring and tickeling vaine : the Satyricall
humour, a puffinge and swelling humor : Conceit
penneth, leifure peruseth, and Curtesy commendeth
many needlesse discourses : Idlenesse, the greatest
Author & variablest Reader in the world : some
familiar friendes pricked me forward : and I,
neither fearing daunger, nor suspecting ill measure,
(poore credulitie sone beguiled) was not vnwilling
to content them, to delight a few other, and to
auenge, or fatisfie my selfe, after the manner of
shrewes, that cannot otherwise ease their curst

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✓ hearts, but by their owne tongues, & their neighbours eares. Signor Immerito (for that name will be remembred) was then, and is still, my affectionate friend, one that could very wel abide Gascoignes Steele glasse, and that stoode equallie indifferent to either part of the state Demonstratiue: many communications, and writings may secretlie passe, betweene such, euen for an exercise of speech, and stile, that are not otherwise conuenient to be disclosed: it was the finister hap of those infortunate Letters, to fall into the left handes of malicious enemies, or vndiscreete friends: who aduentured to imprint in earnest, that was scribled in iest (for the moody fit was soone ouer :) and requited their priuate pleasure with my publike displeasure: oh my inestimable, and infinite displeasure. When there was no remedie, but melancholy patience; and the sharpest parte of those vnlucky Letters had bene ouer-read at the Councell Table; I was aduised by certaine honourable and diuers worshipfull persons, to interpreate my intention in more expresse termes: and thereupon discoursed euerie particularitie, by way of Articles or Positions, in a large Apology of my duetiful, and entier affection to that flourishing / Vniuersitie, my deere Mother; which Apology, with not so few as forty such Academicall Exercises, and fundry other politique Dis-

Spencer

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courses, I haue hitherto suppressed, as vnworthie
 the view of the busie world, or the entertainment
 of precious Time: but peradventure these extra-
 ordinarie prouocations may worke extraordinarie
 in me; and though not in passion, yet in conceit
 sturre me vp, to publish many traictes, and
 Discourses, that in certaine considerations I meant
 euer to conceale, and to Dedicate vnto none, but
 vnto obscure Darknesse, or famous Vulcane. It
 were pittie, but wonderous wits (giue enemies
 their due) shoulde become more woonderous by
 comparison: conference maketh excellent things
 appeare more admirable: & I am so far frō being
 a Saturnist by nature, or a Stoick by discipline,
 that I can easily frame a certaine pleasurable
 delight vnto my selfe, by ministring some matter
 vnto them, that now are faine to make something
 of nothing: and wittily to plaie with their own
 shadowes. It goeth somewhat hard in my harsh
 Legend, whē the father of Musicke must be
 mocked, not Tubulcain, as he mistearmeth him,
 but Tuball, whom Genesis voutsafeth honourable
 mention: and the Hexameter verse flouted;
 whereof neither Homer in Greeke, nor Virgil
 in Latin, (how valorous Autors?) nor Alexander
 in conquest, nor Augustus in maiesty, (how
 puiffaunt Princes?) were ashamed; but accompted
 it the onely gallant trumpet of braue, and

Sat's type be

the same

Open to box

Heroicall Acts: and I wis, the English is nothing
 too good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other
 eloquent Languages, that honour the Hexameter,
 as the soueraigne of verses, and the high Con-
 trowler of Rimes. If I neuer deserue anye better
 remembraunce, let mee rather be Epitaphed, The
 Inuentour of the English Hexameter; / whom
 learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill; and
 excellent Sir Philip Sidney disdained not to follow
 in his *Arcadia*, & elsewhere: then be chronicled,
 The greene maister of the Blacke Arte: or the
 founder of vgly oathes; or the father of mis-
 begotten *Infortunatus*: or the Scriuener of Crofs-
 biters: or as one of his own sectaries termed
 him, the Patriarch of shifters. Happy man I, if
 these two be my hainoufest crimes, and deadliest
 finnes: To bee the Inuentour of the English
 Hexameter, and to bee orderlie clapt in the
 Fleete for the foresaide Letters: where he that
 sawe mee, sawe mee at Constantinople. Indeed
 Sir Iames Croft (whome I neuer touched with
 the least tittle of detractions) was cunningly
 incensed, and reincident against mee: but at last
 pacified by the voluntarie mediation of my
 honourable fauourers, M. Secretary Wilson, and
 Sir Walter Mildmay: vnrequested by any line
 of my hand, or any woord of my mouth. Neither
 did I otherwise sollicite, or intreate Sir Iames, till

Stanihurst
 Sidney

Flot

Incensed

I had assured notice of his better satisfaction : when I writte vnto him, as became mee, in respectiue and dutifull sort : not for feare of any daunger, but for loue of honourable fauour. Which Letters, albeit not so ceremoniouſlie pleasing, as effectually contenting, the wise knight not onely receiued courteously, but accepted fauourable, and commended honourablye : and for my selfe, earnestly affirmed, I was first wronged by other, and then mistaken by him ; but now found another man, then I was supposed. As for my old Controwler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed was the man, that otherwhiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles ouerthwarted me crossly, alwaies plaied fast, and loose with me) he was old enough, to aunſweare for himselfe, and should not bee defended by him Onely / he wished me to proceede louingly with the Vniuersity, howſoeuer I dealt with that Doctor. And that was all the Fleeting, that euer I felt ; sauing that an other company of speciall good fellowes, (whereof he was none of the meanest that brauely threatned to coniure-vpp one, which should massacre Martins wit, or should bee lam-backd himself with ten yeares prouision) would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earle of Oxforde, that some thing in those Letters, and namely, the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably

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Perne

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intended againſt him : whoſe noble Lordſhip I proteſt I neuer meante to diſhonour with the leaſt preiudicial word of my Tongue, or pen : but euer kept a mindefull reckoning of many bounden duties toward The ſame : ſince in the prime of his gallanteſt youth, hee beſtowed Angels vpon me in Chriſtes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwiſe voutſafed me many gracious fauours at the affectionate commendation of my Coſen, M. Thomas Smith, the ſonne of Sir Thomas, ſhortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not diſpoſed to trouble his Iouiall mind with ſuch Saturnine paltery ſtil continued, like his magnificent ſelfe : and that Fleeting alſo proued, like the other, a filly bullbeare, a ſorry puffe of winde, a thing of nothing. But a ſtrong imagination pierceth deeply : and the Paper Fleete will not bee ſo aunſwered. Ieſu, what would ſuch notable fellowes write, or rather would they not write, if they could probably ſay, or fantaſtically furniſe by me, as I can euidently proue by them ? But I ſeeke not the condemnation of the deade, or the diſgrace of the liuing ; but the good amendement of the one, by the naughty example of the other. And for mine own farther iuſtification in the premiſſes, or otherwiſe : I had rather my larger writings and / other actions ſhould plead for mee, then this, or any ſlighte

✓ Letter : wherein I am not to infourme pregnant conceits, that may imagine more by a little : or to addresse any peece of mine own history, though wiser men in case of vnworthy reproch, haue not made nice to vndertake their own defence, and euen to labour their owne commendation. The plaufible Examples of Tully, Cato, Marius, Scipio, diuers such vertuous Romanes, and sundry excellent Greekes, are famously knowen : but not greatly fit for euery mannes imitation. Were other of my disposition, small time should be lost in auenging, or debating verball iniuries, especially to my selfe : who can verie well suffer poore spite, to shoote at mee, and to hitte himselfe : and sometime smile at the silly flie, that will needs martyr it selfe in my candle. But me thinkes, the wildest head, and desperatest mind should consider, they that speak it must not looke to heare well : the worlde is not giuen to pocket vp infamies : who cannot returne-home a Quippe, or requite one libell with another ? nothing more common in bookes, or more readye in mouthes, then the Inuectiue vaine, and the whole Arte of railing : some schollers haue choyce of nimble pennes, & smooth tongues at cōmandement : & there was a time, when paraduenture I coulde speake with them, that talked with me. Though the case be altered ; and I now, none of the hastiest to striue

for those bucklers; yet a general, a special, a glowing, a piercing indignitie, may rekindle some little sparkes of courage, and affection wil be affection, though not in proper reuenge, yet the common duetie. I am not to dispute the nature of Force, or the force of nature: who knoweth not, how violentlie force prouoketh force: or how mightilie nature worketh in compatible natures? But how far publike obiections, / or famous imputations require publike aunswers: or how insufficient the formallest Iudiciall remedie in any one Court, may seeme, in case of a printed diffamation, that with the wings of Mallice in some, of Enuie in more, and of Leuity in most, flieth through the Realme, and ouer the Sea: bee it indifferentlie decided by euerie discrete iudgement, or reasonable consideration. Especially when the guiltie part is deceased: and the iniury not the lesse, but the more notorious. The best is, the persons abused, are not altogether vnknownen, they haue not so euell a neighbour, that euer reade, or hearde those opprobrious villanies (it is too-mild a name, for my brother Richardes most abhominable Legend, who frameth himselfe to liue as chastely, as the leawde writer affected to liue beastly) but hath presentlie broken out into some such earnest, or more passionate speeches: ô pestilent knauery, who euer heard

such arrant forgeries, and ranke lies? A mad world, where such shameful stuffe is bought, and sold: and where such roisterly Varlets may be suffered to play vpon whome they lust, and how they lust. Is this *Greene* with the running Head, and the scribling Hand, that neuer linnes putting-forth new, newer, & newest bookes of the maker? If his other bookes bee as holesome geere, as this, no maruaile though the gay-man conceiue trimlie of himselfe, and statelye scorne all beside. *Green*, vile *Greene*, would thou wearest halfe so honest, as the worst of the foure, whom thou vpbraidest: or halfe so learned, as the vnlearnedst of the three. Thanke other for thy borrowed & filched plumes of some little Italianated brauery; & what remaineth, but flat Impudencie, and grosse Detraction: the proper ornaments of thy sweete vtterance? I alleadge not mine owne inuentions, (who cannot forget the / two Athenian Temples of Impudencie, and Calumnie, when I remember him :) I could nominate the Gentlemen, and substantiall Yeomen, Gentlemens fellowes, that vttered much more by his life, and can hardlie forbear him since his death: and who of acquaintance with him, or them, whom hee depraueth, could either partiallie excuse the one, or reasonable accuse the other. Their liues effectually speake for themselues: and he that liued not to see nine and twentie yeares,

Jat

Liz

Greene

H. Brooke

A. Brooke

Sat

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died not, till the Vniuersitie of Cambridge had bestowed vpon him a grace to bee a Doctor of his facultie, and till hee was reputed in Northfolke, where he practised phisicke, a proper toward man, and as skilfull a Phisition for his age, as euer came there : how well beloued of the chiefeest Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen in that Shire, themselues testifie. That his gone to Heauen cannot be recovered on Earth : it is our comfort, that he liued in good credite, and died in good minde. I must euer remember some of his notable sayings (for in deede so they were) : and can neuer forget that sweete voice of the dying Cignet : *ô frater Christus est optimus Medicus, & meus solus Medicus. Vale Galene, valete humanæ Artes : nihil diuinum in terris, præter animum aspirantem ad cælos.* That best and his onelie Phisition knoweth, what spiritual phisicke I commended vnto him, when I beheld in his meager and ghastly countenance, that I cannot rehearse without some fit of compassion. Wee must in order follow him, that shoulde in nature haue gone before him, and I know not by what destinie, hee followed him first, that foled him last. How he departed, his ghostly mother Isam, can truliest, and will fauourabliest report ; how he liued, London remembreth. Oh, what a liuelie picture of Vanity ? but oh, what a deadlie image of miserie ? And oh what

a terrible Caueat for fuch & fuch? I am not to extenuate or prejudice his wit, which could not any way be great, though fom way not the leaft of our vulgar writers, & mani-waies very vngracious: but who euer eftemed him either wife, or learned, or honeft, or any way credible? how many Gentlemen, and other fay of him? Let the paltry fellow go: Lorde, what a lewde Companion was hee? What an egregious make-shift. Where fhould Conny-catchers haue gotten fuch a Secretarie: How fhall cofenage do for a new Register: or Phantafticalitye for a new Autor. They wronge him much with their Epitaphs, and other folemne deuifes, that entitle him not at the leaft, The fecond Toy of London; the Stale of Poules, the Ape of Euphues, the Vice of the Stage, the mocker of the fimple world: the flowter of his friendes, the Foe of himfelfe; and fo foorth. What durft not hee vtter with his tongue; or diuulge with his Penne; or countenance with his face? Or whome cared hee for, but a carelefse crewe of his own associates? Perufe his famous bookes: and in fteede of *Omne tulit punctum, qui mifcuit utile dolci* (that forsooth was his professed Poesie) Loe a wilde head, ful / of mad braine and a thoufande crotchets: A fcholler, a Discourfer, a Courtier, a ruffian, a Gamefter, a Louer, a Souldier, a trauailer, a Mer-

chaunt, a Broker, an Artificer, a Botcher, a pettifogger, a Player, a Coofener, a Rayler, a beggar, an Omnigatherum, a Gay nothing: a Stoarehouse of bald and baggage stufte, vnwoorth the aunswering, or reading: a Triuiall, and triobular Autor for knaues, & fooles: an Image of Idlenes; an Epitome of fantafticalitie; a Mirrour of Vanitie: *Vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas.*

Alafe, that anie shoulde say, as I haue heard diuers affirme: His witte was nothing but a minte of knauerie; him / self a deuifer of iugling feates: a forger of couetous practises: an Inuentour of monstruous oathes: a derider of all religions: a contemner of God, and man: a desperate Lucianist: an abhominable Aretinist: an Arch-athieft: and he arch-deferued to be well hanged seauen yeares agoe. Twenty, and twentie such familiar speeches I ouer-passe: and bury the whole Legendary of his Life, & Death, in the Sepulchre of eternal Silence. I will not condemne, or censure his workes, which I neuer did so much as superficially ouerrunne, but as some fewe of them occurfiully presented themfelues in Stationers shops, and some other houses of my acquaintance. But I pray God they haue not done more harme by corruption of manners, then good by quickening of witte: and I would, some Buyers had either more Reason to discerne, or lesse Appetite to

desire such Nouels. The world is full inough of fooleries: though the humor be not feasted with such luxurious, and riotous Pamphlets. Howe vnlike *Tullies* sweete Offices: or *Isocrates* pithy instructiōs: or *Plutarches* holefome Morrals: or the delicate Dialogues of *Xenophon*, and *Plato*: or the sage Tragedies of *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, or the fine Comedies of the dainetiest Atticke wittes: or other excellent monumentes of antiquity, neuer sufficientlie perused? yet the one as stale, as oldest fashions, and what more freshly current for a while then the other? Euen *Guicciardines* siluer history, and *Ariostos* golden Cantoes, grow out of request: and the Countesse of Pēbrookes Arcadia is not greene inough for queasie stomackes, but they must haue *Greenes* Arcadia: and I beleue most eagerlie longed for *Greenes* Faerie Queene. O straunge fancies: ô monstrous newfanglednesse. The wittier sort tasteth, & flieth: as the Dog from Nilus: other wantons find Expe/rience the mistris of fooles: and need no other pennance but their owne repentaunce. The verie Time confuteth Vanitie: and the verie place requireth sobrietie. No publike security without priuate moderation: and the more bondes of gouernment, the more indefeasible assurance. Due Circumspection may do much good: and an abundant Cautele can do little hurt. Youth is youth: &

age corruptible: better an hundred Ouides were banished, then the state of Augustus endangered, or a soueraigne Empire infected. Especially in a tumultuous age, and in a world of warre: wherein not Bacchus, but Mars: not Venus, but Mercury: not Ryot, but Valour, not Phanfy, but Pollicy, must strike the stroke. Gallant Gentlemen, be thinke your selues of the olde Romane Discipline, and the newe Spanish industry: and I am not to trouble you with any other accusation of them, that condemne them selues, and neede no other shame, or punishment, but their owne woorkes. Onely I request some busy pennes to stay their wisedomes: and either to publish a iustifyable trueth, or to conceale their bad disposition. Woe to that study, that mispendeth precious Time, and consumeth it self, in needlesse, and bootlesse quarrels. Comparisons, they say, are odious: but Inuectiues more odious: & what so abhominable, as forged & suborned calumnies? One, or two miserable examples may stand for an hundred: I will not aggrauate or discourse particulars: A pitiful case, that such lusty beginnings should haue such sorry ends: and who can tell, what dowty yoonker may next gnash with his teeth? Terrible Creatures, and the curst Cowe, haue sometime short hornes. The wildest Colte is soone tamed: and be like neither Death, nor Shame, nor

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Mifery are affraid of them, that vaunt themfelues,
 Like vnto Death, / and Will Sommer, in fparing
 none. God helpe, and Charity pittie them, that
 haue neither hability to help, nor witt to pittie
 themfelues, but will needs try a conclufion betweene
 their heads, and the next wall. I haue heard of
 Gyants in conceit, and Pigmeis in performance :
 yong Phaetons, younge Icar, young Choræbi,
 and I fhall fay young Babingtons, and how many
 millions of greene youthes, haue in ouermounting,
 moft ruefully difmounted, and left behinde them
 full-lamentable Hiftories? For the very mention
 of fome direfull Tragedies, were horrible, and
 what fo wretched, as headlong enterprifes : or fo
 hideous, as the desperate attempt of Impoffibilities?
Philostratus in his Icones, pleafurably reporteth,
 according to the tradition of Greeke Poets, how
 on a time, A refolute band of dowty Pigmies,
 triumphantly marched to inuade *Hercules* a fleepe.
 Woe to fuch braue aduentures. *Æfops* Toade, A
 proud aspiring Creature, shamefullie ouermatched
 her fwelling, and burften felfe. Great, and fmall
 things may in fome proportion be compared to-
 gether : and beholde as miserable a fpectacle, in
 their kinde. Flourifhing M. *Greene* is moft-wofully
 faded, and whileft I am bemoaning his ouer-
 pitteous decay ; & difcourfing the vfuall fucceffe
 of fuch ranke wittes, Loe all on the fuddaine, his

✓ sworne brother, M. *Pierce Penni-leffe*, (still more
 ✓ paltery, but what remedy? we are already ouer
 shoes, and must now go through) Loe his inwardest
 companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe,
 cruelly pinched with want, vexed with discredite,
 tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouer-
 whelmed with his own misery; in a rauing, and
 franticke moode, most desperately exhibiteth his
 supplication to the Diuell. A strange title, an od
 wit, and a mad hooreson, I warrant him: doubtles
 it wil proue / some dainty deuise, queintly con-
 triued, by way of humble Supplication To the
 high, and mighty Prince of Darkeness: not
 Dunfically botched-vp, but right-formally cōueied,
 according to the stile, and tenour of Tarletons
 president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly
 finnes: which most-dea[d]ly, but most liuely
 playe, I might haue seene in London: and was
 verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford, by
Tarleton himselfe, of whome I merrily demaund-
 ing, which of the seauen, was his owne deadlie
 finne, he bluntly aunswered after this manner:
 By God, the finne of other Gentlemen, Lechery.
 Oh but that, M. Tarleton, is not your part vpon
 the stage: you are too-blame, that dissemble with
 the world, & haue one part for your friends
 pleasure, an other for your owne. I am somewhat
 of Doctor Pernes religion, quoth he: and abruptlie

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tooke his leaue. Surely it must needes be current
 in matter, and autenticall in forme, that had first
 such a learned president: and is now pleasantlie
 interlaced with diuers new-founde phraes of the
 Tauerne: and pathetically intermixt with sundry
 dolefull pageantes of his own ruinous, & beggerlie
 experience. For the poore tennement of his Purse,
 (quoth himselfe, gramercy good *Tarleton*) hath
 bene the Duels Dauncing schoole, anie time this
 halfe yeare, and I pray God, (quoth another) the
 poore Tenement of his Heart, hath not also bene
 the Duels Fencing Schoole, twise as long. Partic-
 ulars, and Circumstances are tedious, especially
 in sorrowfull, and forlorne causes. The summe
 of summes is, He tost his imagination a thousand
 waies, and I beleue searched euery corner of his
 Grammar-schoole witte (for his margine is as
 deepe learned, as *Fauste precor gelida*) to see if
 he coulde finde anie meanes to relieue his estate,
 but all his thoughtes, and marginal notes con-
 sorted to his conclusion, That the worlde was
 vncharitable, and he ordained to be miserable.
 It were cruelty, to add affliction to affliction: what
 flintly Heart would not figh or rather melt, to
 heare the bewailefull moane of that sobbing, and
 groning Muse, the daughter of most-pregnant,
 but most wretched *Niobe*?

Lit. Hist.
 Nature

Revised in the
 of 18th century

*Why ist damnation, to despaire, and die,
When Life is my true happines disease?*

And a little after :

*Diuines, and dying men may talke of Hell :
But in my Heart, her seuerall tormentes dwell.*

And so foorth, most-hideouslie.

For the Text is much more dolefull, then the Gloffe : and who woulde not be moued with more pittifull compunctiō, to heare the lamentable Farewell.

*England adieu, the soile that brought me foorth :
Adieu vnkinde, where Skill is nothing worth :*

Then, to read that profound Quotation,

Hei mihi, quam paucos hæc mea dicta mouent ?

Which was thought Pathetical out of crie,

*Forgiue him God, although he curse his Birth,
Since Miserie hath dawnted all his Mirth.*

Now, good sweete Muse, I beseech thee by thy delicate witte, and by all the queintest Inuentions of thy deuifeful braine, cast not thy drearie selfe headlong into the horrible Gulf of Desperation : but being a Creature of so singular, and wonderfull hope, as thy inspired courage diuinelie suggesteth, and still reare-vp mountaines of highest Hope ; and either gallantlie aduance thy vertuous

self, maugre Fortune : (what impossible to aspiring industry?) or mightilie enchant some magnificent Meccenas, (for thou canst doe it) to honour himselfe in honouring thee : and / to blisse the eies of the gazing worlde, with beholding those Miracles, which some round liberality, and thy super-thankfull minde, would hugelie enable thee to worke. Let it neuer be said, that the Minion of the Muses, should forsake himself, or abandon them, whose very shadowes he adoreth. A braue Hart, in extreamest distresse, neuer languisheth : no such affrighting Death, or gnashing Hell, as the deuouring Abyss of dispaire. Yet better a man without money, then money without a man : Penniless is not his purse but his minde : not his reuenue, but his resolution : A mā is a man though he haue but a hose vpon his head : for euerie curse, there is a blessing, for euerie malady, a remedie, for euerie winter, a sommer : for euerie night a day, a dog hath a day.

Nocte pluit tota: redeunt spectacula manè.

Right magnanimitie neuer droupeth, sweet Musike requickneth the heauiest spirites of dumpish Melancholy: fine Poetry abhorreth the loathsome, and vgly shape of forlorne penfueneſs : what gentle minde detesteth not cursed, and damnable desperation? All abiect dolefulnes, is woefully

base, and baselie woefull. The die, the ball, the sponge, the siue, the wheele of Fortune, Fortune hirselse, a trifle, a iest, a toy in Philosophy, & diuine resolution. Be a Musitian, & Poet vnto thy self, that art both, and a Ringleader of both, vnto other: be a Man, be a Gentleman, be a Philosopher, be a Diuine, be thy resolute selfe; not the Slaue of Fortune, that for euery fleabiting crieth out-alas & for a few hungry meales, like a Greeke Parasite, misuseth the Tragedy of Hecuba: but the friend of Vertue, that is richest in pouerty, freest in bondage, brauest in ieopardie, cheerefullest in calamitie: be rather wise and vnfortunate, with the siluer Swanne, then fortunate & vnwise with the golden / Asse: remember thine owne marginal Embleme *Fortuna fauet fatuis*. Oh, solace thy miraculous selfe, and cheere the Muses in cheering thy daintie soule, sweetelie drunken with their delitious Helicon, and the restorative Nectar of the Gods. What can I say more? That cordial liquor, and that heauenly restorative, bee thy foueraigne comfort, and scorne the basenes of euerie crased, or fainting thought, that may argue a degenerate minde. And so much briefly touching thy deere selfe: whome I hope neuer to finde so pathetically distressed, or so Tragically disguised againe. Now a word, or two concerning him, who in charitie kisseth thy hand,

and in pitie wisheth thee better lucke. May it please gentle Pierce, in the diuine fury of his rauished spirite, to be graciouſlie good vnto his poore friendes, who would be somewhat loath, to be filly ſheepe for the wolfe, or other ſheepe-biter: I dare vndertake, the abuſed Autor of the Aſtrologiſſimall diſcourſe, (euerie page thereof, vnder correction of inſpired and ſupernaturall conceits, diſcouereth more Arte and Iudgement, thē the whole Supplicatiō of the Parturient Mountaine) notwithstanding the notorious Diabolicall diſcourſe of the ſaid *Pierce*, a man better acquainted with the diuels of Hell, then with the Starres of Heauen: ſhall vnſainedly pray for him: and onely pray him to report the knowen truth, of his approoued learning, & liuing, without fauor. Otherwiſe, it were not greatlie amiſſe, a little to conſider, that he, which in the ruſſe of his freſheſt iollity, was faine to cry, M. *Churchyard*, a mercy in printe, may be orderlie driuen to crie more peccauiſes, then one. I would thinke the Counter, M. *Churchyard*, his hoſtiſſe *Penia*, and ſuch other ſenſible Leſſons, might ſufficientlie haue taught him, that *Pennileſſe* is not Lawleſſe: and that a Poets or Painters / Licence, is a poore ſecurity, to priuilege debt, or diffamacion. I woulde wiſh the burned child not to forget the hot Element: and would aduiſe ouer-weening youthes to remember

themselues, and the good auncient oracle of sage *Apollo*. There is a certaine thing, called Modestie. if they could light vpon it: and by my younge Masters leaue, some pritty smacke or discretion would relish well. The Athenians were noted for lauish amplieng: the Cretensians for craftie lying; the Theffalians for subtile cogging: the Carthaginians for deceitfull perfidie: *Hanniball*, *Fabius*, *Agathocles*, *Iphicrates*, *Vlisses*, and a thousand such, for counterfeit policie, but all their forgeries were seasoned with the salt of probabilitie, & onelie vsed at occasions of aduauntage: and although the Grecians generallie were ouerlightheaded, and vaine-spoken, yet their leuitie fauoured of elegant wittinesse, and the flying birde carried meate in the mouth. Euen Lucians true tales are spiced with conceite: and neither his, nor Apuleius' Affe, is altogether an Affe. It is a piece of cunning in the most fabulous Legends, to interlace some credible narratiōs, & verie probable occurrences, to countenance and authorize the excesssiue licentioutnesse of the rest. Vnreasonable fictions palpably bewray their odious grosseffe: and hee that will be a famous deuiser in folio, must be content with the rewarde of a notable Lier, not to be credited, when he auoweth a trueth. The pleasant man talketh of a Bachelers hoode, turned ouer his eares, for abusing of Aris-

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totle : and imagineth goodlie matters of casting the Heauens water : of anatomizing the skies intrailles ; of the vniuersal adulterie of planets, of the bawd of those celestial bodies : how Saturne, & Iupiter proued honester men, then al the world took thē for : ô braue Tarlton thou / wert hee, when all is done : had not Aretine bene Aretine, when he was, vndoubtedlie thou hadst bene Aretine : gramercy capricious, and transcendent witte, the onelie high Pole Artique, and deepe Minerall of an incōparable stile. Yet Tarltons Iests not sufficient : but Roscius must haue his Stale, to make him more admirable : al were nothing, vnlesse Eldertons ale-crammed nose, had bene consumed to nothing, in beare-baiting him, with whole bundels of ballats : that forsooth is not so good a gentleman, (for euerie heire of a Nash is a good gentleman at the least, as the beard of Thomas Nash,) the maister butler of Pembroke Hal, whose graue countenance, like Cato, able to make him runne out of his wittes for feare, if he looke sternely vpon him, and I wot not what, and what trumperie else, as childish, & garish stufte, as euer came in print : yet what packe of vanity is not in print. I will not cry Absurde, Absurde : as he madly exclaimeth, Monstrous, Monstrous : But who in that Vniuersity can deny, but M. Haruey read the publike Philo-

lophie Lecture with special good liking, and many will say with singular commēdation, when this mightie lashing Gentleman (now well read in the late exploits of Vntruffe, and for Tarletons amplifications A per se A) was not so much as *idoneus auditor ciuilibus scientiæ*. What hee is improved since, excepting his good olde *Flores Poetarum*, and Tarletons surmounting Rhetorique, with a little Euphuisme, and Greenesse inough, which were all prettily stale, before he put hand to penne, I report me to the fauourablest opinion of those that know his Prefaces, Rimes, and the very Tympanye of his Tarltonizing wit, his Supplication to the Diuell: oh that is the Diuell & al. I am so farre from doting vppon mine owne, or my Brothers Writings, in any matter of moment, / that I vse to censure them with a more curious and rigorous iudgement, then I examine any thing else, wherein my eare is so loath to flatter me, & my conceit so affraid to cosen me, that my mind euer remaineth vnsatisfied, & nothing hitherto could fulfill my desire, insatiably couetous to do better. But as those perfunctorie Discourses are, (which were more hastilie, then speedilie published without my priuity), let the best of them goe for wast paper, & serue the basest shops, if the worst of them importe not more publike, or priuate vse, then his gayest flower,

that may thank *Greene & Tarlton* for his Garland. Were my brother, not my brother, but some familiar acquaintance, I might in Trueth, & should in Reason, make other comparifons, with applaufe inough: (for what indifferencie feeth not the difference? or what fo filly, as he could make Pierce, with voice, or pen? notwithstanding thofe Miracles of the white rauē in the cloudes): But the Vniuerfitie, the cittie, the whole Realme, all good Learning, & ciuil gouernment, be their Iudge, & my mouth efpecially in this Martinifh and Counter-martinifh age: wherein the Spirit of Contradiction reigneth, and euerie one fuperaboundeth in his owne humor, euen to the annihilating of any other, without rime, or reafon. Some would bee Mutes, if they might bee fuffered to be, as were meeteft for them, and onelie to dwell in the excellentē monuments of diuine wittes, whose fweet company they cannot enioy inough, but what is to be done, when vowels are courfed, & Mutes haunted, and that heauenlie conference hellifhlie difturbed: God, or good Order, cicumcife the Tongues, and Pennes, that flaunder without caufe, and raile without effect, euen in the fuperlatiue degree of rauing. Aretine, and the Diuels Oratour might very / well bee fpared in Chriftian, or politicke Commonwealthes: which cannot want contagion inough, though they bee

not poyfened with the venemous potions of Inck-horne witches. Fine plesant witt was euer commendable: and iudiciall accusation lawfull: but fie on grosse scurility, and impudent calumny: that wil rather goe to Hell in iest, then to heauen in earnest, and seeke not to reforme any vice, to backebite, and depraue euery person, that feedeth not their humorous fancy. A vile mind: and what a pestelenter villany? but some odd wittes forth, will needes bee accompted terrible Bull Beggars, and the onely Killcowes of their age: for how should they otherwise keepe the simple worlde in awe; or scare multitudes of plaine folke, like idiot crowes, and innocent dooues? All the Inuectiue and Satyricall Spirites, are their Familiars: scoffing, and girding is their daily bread: other professe other faculties: they professe the Arte of railing: Noble, Reuerend, or whatfoeuer, al pefants, and clownes; gowty Duels, and buckram Giants: Midasses, and golden Asses: Cormorants, and Drones, Dunces, and hypocriticall hoat spurres, Earthwormes, and Pinchefart Penny-fathers: that feede not their hungry purses, and eager stomackes: they haue termes, quoth a maruellous doer, steeped in *Aqua-Fortis*, and gunnepowder, that shal rattle through the skies, and make Earthquakes in such pesauntes eares, as shall dare to sende them awaie with a flea in their eare: (howe might a man

purchase the fight of those puissant, and hideous
 termes?) they can lash poore slaues, and spurgall
 Affes mightily, they can tell parlous Tales of
 Beares and Foxes, as shrewdlye as mother Hub-
 bard, for her life: they will dominiere in Tauernes,
 and Stationers shops, to die for't: they will be as
 egre/giously famous, as euer was *Herostratus*, or
Pausanias, or *Kett*, or *Scoggin*: *Agrippa*, and
Rabelays but Ciphers to them: they haue it only
 in them. Would Christ, they had more discretion
 in them, and lesse rancour against other, that
 neuer wished them the least euill, but still beseech
 God to encrease the best, and to pardon the worst
 in them. The Quippe knoweth his reward, and
 the Supplication to the Diuell, expressly dedicated
 to the Prince of Darkenesse, I committe to the
 censure of Wisedom, and Iustice, with fauour;
 onelye requesting that mightie Bombarder of
 termes, to spare quiet men that meane him no
 harme, and to keepe the huge maine shot of his
 ratling Babies for Buckrame Giants. Alasse, what
 should I touch their parents, or twit thē by their
 other friendes: Let it be one of their iolities to
 offer, & one of our simplicities to suffer that
 iniury: which neither impaireth the reputation
 of the Father; nor abaseth the credite of the
 Sonnes: nor argueth any thing, but the impudente
 despightfulnesse of the Libeller. Fewe Sonnes

haue felinger cause to loue, or reuerence, or defend their Fathers, then my selfe: but his dealing is such, where he tradeth: and his liuing such where he conuerfeth, that he may easely shame himselfe, which goeth-about to shame him, or vs in him. I will not trouble you with the rehearfall of his inheritance, which I could haue wished more then it was: yet was it more, by the fauour of that terrible Thunder-smith of termes, thē the inheritances of both their Fathers together. Put case, I haue inquired, what speciall cause the Pennileffe Gentleman hath, to bragge of his birth: which giueth the woeful poueretto good leaue, euen with his Stentors voice, & in his ratling termes to reuiue the pittifull historie of Don Lazarello de Thoemes: / to contend with colde, to conuerse with scarcitie: to be laid-open to pouertie; to accuse Fortune: to raile on his patrons, to bite his penne, to rend his papers, to rage in all points, like a mad man, to torment himselfe in that agony a long time, to be miserable, to be *vacuus viator*: to haue *opus* and *usus* knocking at his doore twenty times a weeke, when he is not within: to seek his dinner in poules with Duke humfrey: to licke dishes, to be a beggar.

To ban the Aire, wherein he breathes A wretch:

to be the Diuels distressed Orator, to proclaime

his owne defolate and abiect estat: in these and such other most-base and shamefull complaints, scarcely befeeming the rascallest sifer in an Vniuersity, or the beggarliest mendicant frier in a country.

Forgiue him, God, although he curse his birth.

I, but who so excessiuely thankefull to his other friends? One kind freend, more worth then two vnfreendlie kinsmen. Affection will relieue where nature faileth: he must needes abound in deuoted and bountifull freendes, that sheweth himselfe so meritoriously freendlie, and so vnspeakably gratefull:

*O friendes, no friendes, that then vngentlie frowne,
When changing fortune casts vs headlong downe.*

I had nigh-hand ouer-skipped the learned allegation in the margine, solemnely auouched with a very-pathetical Pol, *Pol me occidistis Amici*. All which, and most of the Premisses, I had altogether omitted, but that the two vnmeete Companions, a Lordes heart, and a beggars purse must somewhat remember themselues, or be a little, as it were pulled by the ragged sleeue. Young schollers can tel how Vlysses handeled Irus, and olde Truants haue not altogether forgotten, howe sawsie the Harpies were, till they /

were interteined accordingly. But what though the decayed Gentleman, so commendeth his owne woorthipfull birth, and trusty frendes? Many noble Houses haue seene their own ruines: and sometime the brothers of the Prodigall Sonne, will not sticke to curse, wher they should reuerently blesse. The Table-fellow of Duke Humfrey, & Tantalus, might learne of him to curse Iupiter, and to ban not onely the four Elementes, but also the seauen Planets, and euen the twelue houses of Heauen.

And what though the other sorry Magnifico, as very a Bifonian, as he for hys life, would sweare in a brauery, his Father was of foure & twenty religions: and himselfe a Diuine from his mothers womb; an Image of both Churches, & both Synagogues too: a naturall Perne artificially emproued: the thrise-and-thrise learned-sonne, of his foure & twenty times-learned father? So *Greene* would flourish. Euery man is to answere for hys own defaultes: my trespassse is not my fathers, nor my fathers mine: A Gibeline may haue a Guelph to his sonne, as Barthol faith: & hath neuer a Saint had a Reprobate to his father? are all worthy minds, the issues of noble houses: or all base mindes the offsprings of rascall stockes? Were it not a felicity, to be the woorth of a thousande, that being descended of meanest

parentage, haue prooued, as Histories testify, & the world daily confirmeth? Or might not Greene, and his Complices, haue beene much better, then they were, or are, although their Parentes had been much worfe, then they were, or are? What faith the afflicted Suppliant himselfe?

*Ah, woorthlesse wit, to traine me to this woe :
Ill thriue the Folly, that bewitch'd me so.*

Haue we not a number of excellent industrious men and valorous knights, not greatly beholding vnto fortune for their progeny?

Malo pater tibi sit Therfites, who knoweth not that onely Arte of Heraldry?

Quàm te Therfitæ similem producat Achilles. The Argument of Nobility, is a gallant and plausibile Argument: but what Common-place so braue, and honourable, as the Common-place of vertue? Can any thinge bee obscure, where desert is famous: or any thing famous, where desert is obscure? Gramercy sweete margine, for that notable Poefy: *Meritis expendite causam*: in earnest, a singular Rule of infallible iudgemente; and I imagine, himselfe deserueth somethinge, that / specially alleadgeth Deserte. It is longe since I declaimed vpon any Theame: but who would not pleade Vertues cause, in whatsoeuer subiecte? or what honest Eloquence is not furnished with

Catilinarie, & Philippiques againſt Vice? Not the Father, & the Sonne, but Vertue, and Vice, the efficientes of Honour, and Dishonour. He onely baſe, he onely ſimple, he onely contemptible, that hath Vice to his father, & Ignoraunce to his mother: the onely Parentes of rſcality. And may I not truly affirme, that not only Oforius, or Patritius gallantly proue, but all wiſe Autors ſeriously approue, and euen Vertue, & Skill themſelues, with their owne ſoueraigne mouth, honorably profeſſe? No right ſonne, & heire apparant of theirs, either vnnoble in himſelfe, or obſcure in the world; or deſpiſed in the higheſt, or vnregarded of the loweſt; or diſhonorabſe in his Life, or inglorious after his Death. I ſpeake not for any perſon, but for the matter; and cannot eyther condignely praiſe the valorous ſeede of the one: or ſufficiently bliſſe the fruitfull wombe of the other. And what ſo vngentle in Nature, or ſo vnnoble in Fortune, as their Contraries: how barbarouſly oppoſed againſt that diuine race, and heauenly generation: that cannot ſturre, vnaccompanied with Enuy, and a worlde of moates? Yet neither the vnhappieſt creature vtterly deuoid of all graces: (I praiſe ſomethinge in Elderton, and Greene:) nor the excellenteſt perſonage thoroughly accompliſhed with all perfections: (ah, that Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* and Sir *Phillip Sidney*, hadd bene

Vertue
ſeeld

as cautelous, as aduenturous :) nor they, that obieſt, nor we that anſweare, nor any, but a few ſingular men, the Miracles of the world ; either for wit wondrous, or for Art exquisite, or for action admirable, or for integrity notable. I-wis, we little neede, to be charged with our fathers offences: it is inough for one, yea for the beſt one, to carry the burthen of his own tranſgreſſions, and errours. Errours are infinite: and follies, how vniuerſally rife, euen of the wiſeſt ſorte? Oh that vertues were as like the ſtarres of heauen, or the birds of the Aire, as vices are like the ſandes of the Sea, and the Beaſtes of the Earth: hee that ſeeith leaſte, ſeeith much amiſſe: the fine Diſcouerer, and curious Intelligencer, goe inuiſible, & ſtratagematically diſcry many hidden priuities of publique, and priuate miſgouernment: there is an eie, that pierceth into the ſecreteſt finnes, and moſt-inſcrutable thoughtes of profoundeſt Hypocriſy: in whoſe pure ſight nothing is iuſtifiable, but by pardon. Diuinity flyeth highe: and wadeth deepe: But euen in Humanity, & in the view of the world, who liueth inculpable? or who is not obnoxious to ſome criminall, or ciuill actions? or,

*Wher ſhud I find, that I ſeeke, A perſon clere as a
Chriſtal?* [other?

Where man God to man? where one not Diu'l to an

*Where that Zeal diuine, whose heauenly Sunshin
acheerith*

*The dreryest drouping : and fellist rancor alayeth ?
Where thosfame mealting bowels of tender agreement,
That mildly conquer most-rough, and hideous out-
rage ?*

*Where / Moses meeknes ? wher Davids sweetnes
Olimpique ?*

*Where thatfame gentle kindnes, that bounty renowned,
That gracious fauour, that whilom beautif'd Honour /
That Looue aduanced ; that abandoned odious Hatred ;
That Sirenized Furies: that rocks Adamantine .
Mollifd: arreared Pillars of Glory triumphant ?*

And so foorth : for the verse is not vnknown ;
& runneth in one of those vnsatyrical satyres,
which M. Spencer long since embraced with an
ouerlooing Sonnet: A token of his Affection,
not a Testimony of hys Iudgement.

What should I labour a needlesse point? or what
should I weary you with tediousnesse, that may
much-better bestow your vacant houres? Enough,
to any is inough: to some, ouer-much. God
knoweth, and who knoweth not, how sensually
corrupt some good fellowes were, and are, that
so sharply, and bitterly noted, and do note, so
many imaginatiue corruptions in other. Would
God, they had bene as quietly disposed, as their

Sets in

parents: or as aduisedly stayed, as some of their frendes, that wished them a milder course: & some of our pens might haue been employed to better vse, then this idle businesse, or rather busy idleneffe. Whereof I desire no other fruite, but some little contentation of friendes, and some reasonable mittigation of ill-willers: vnto whose good I am diligently to addresse, & euen affectionately to dedicate any my endeouour. If in some tearmes I haue vsed a little plaine dealing, albeit not without respecte (but euery one seeith not into an others considerations: & diuers circumstances alter the case) I craue pardon for the least ouersight: and will be as ready to commend any little good, euen in an aduersary: as I was vnwillinge, but enforced to touch soome palpable badd: which I would wish amended, where it may be redressed: and / quite forgotten, where it ought to be buried. My meaning was not, to displeasure, or discredite any: but onely to satisfie the pleasure, and mainetain the credit of those, vnto whom I owe many dueties, aswell in speciall consideration, as in naturall affection. Had I not bene more depely stinged in them, then in my selfe: who haue made Comedies of such Tragedies; and with pleasure giuen such hoatspurres leaue, to run themselues out of breath: what folio of folly might not for me haue passed vntouched?

As our own
+ purpose
S

plain dealing

intellig - dep

Unus slander

or who for me, might not haue flourished, or
 lashed in Poules Churchyarde, *Cum gratia &*
priuilegio? It were good, that they, which haue
 a dexterity in writing trimly vppon euery matter,
 white or blacke: should also haue a felicity in
 speaking well vppon euery person, that deserueth
 not ill: especially such as can say something, and
 thinke more. The terriblest tearmes may be
 repayed-home with aduauntage: I haue knowen
 the railingest Sophister in an Vniuersity, sett *non*
plus: and haue seene the madbraynest Roister-
 doister in a countrey, dashed out of countenance.
 There is Logicke inough, to aunfweare Carters
 Logicke: and play inough to tame Horse-play.
 Wronged men are feldome tounge-tied: the
 patientest Creature wanteth not bloud in his hart,
 or incke in his penne: and although his bloud
 be not wildfire, yet it is bloud; that will not be
 cooled with a Carde, or daunted with bugs-
 wordes: and although his incke, be not pitch,
 or poison, yet it is incke; that will neither blushe
 for shame, nor waxe pale for feare; but will
 holde his owne, when perhaps gayer coullours
 shal lose their coullor; and *Aquafortis* valiantly
 eate his owne harte. Good sweete Masters quiet
 your selues: or thincke not much, to bear a little
 for company, that are so forward to load other
 without mercy. No man loather then my self,

liked

returb

H: not

not m

to contend with desperate / malecontents: or to ouerthwart obstinate Humoristes: or to encounter Incke-horne Aduentures: nor to quarrell with any sorte of wrangling Companions: (scoldinge is the language of shrewes: and rayleinge the stile of Rakehells) or so much as to call busy heads, by their vsuall, and proper names: (the thinges are paltry: and the very names fauour of rascallity:) but there is a time, when such douty warriours must be appeased; & such wise men answered according to their wisedome. Howbeit, in fauour of a priuate and publike quietnesse, I will thanke the honest fellowes the more, the lesse occasion they geue me, to interrupt better exercises: to trouble the world with triflinge discourses vppon peltinge matters: to disease themselues: to pleasure none, but the printer, & idle creatures, the onely busy readers of such Nouellets. I would gladly be specially beholdinge vnto them for this courtesy: and dare vndertake it shall redounde more to their credite, to approue their desire of reconciliation, by silence: then to continue the opinion of their rooted despight, by stirring more coales. I hope this winde hath not shaken any suche corne, but fellow-schollers, (as Doctor Caius would say), and now forsooth fellow-writers, may bee made friendes with a cup of white wine, and some

Waller
humorists
etc

done

Waller

little familiar conference, in calme and ciuile termes. I offer them my hande: and request their: which I will accept thanckfully: & kisse louinglye: and euer commende the good Nature, that would; and the better gouernemente, that coulde master Affection with Reason, and sweeten gall with Humanity. For it is not my energetically persuasion, but their owne pathetically motion, that must do it: as the enchanting Muse of Orpheus redeemed the ghastly ghost of his owne Euridice out of Hell. Such an Experimente of profounde and diuine / arte, as I would compassionately recommend to euery amiable minde, disguised with hellishe passion: the foulest deformity of any fayre wit. Otherwise, if it stande more with their credite, to be reputed wilfull, then wise: or if a peruerse, and froward resolution, be the better pollicy, they are free-men: and haue incke at will, and paper at commaundement: and a number of greedy Eares, that egerly longe, and as it were daunce attendaunce, to heare those dreadfull inuincible termes, steeped in *Aqua fortis*, & Gunpowder. The intoxicate sprite of the grisly Euridice (I speake to a Poet: and cannot more mildly terme that infernall Fury) may eftsoones returne to her accursed lodginge, and insteede of heauenly Orpheus embrace the hellish Oratour of the Blacke Prince: whome I will not any way

psycch

euere
malcontent

psycch

make worfe, but wold wifh infinitely better, then he hath made himfelfe. For I thancke God, I am neither fo profanely vncharitable, as to fend him to the Sancebell, to truffe-vp his life with a trice : nor fo abiectly timorous, as for extreme fearefulnes to wifh, with a profefled deuotion : So be it : Pray, Penne, Incke, and Paper on their knees, that they may not be troubled with him any more. Good Lorde, what fantafticall panges are thefe? who euer endighted in fuch a ftile, but one diuine *Aretine* in Italy, & two heauenly *Tarletons* in England : the fole platformers of odd Elocution, and onely fingularities of the plaine worlde? Two of them, that fo wantonly played with the higheft and deepeft fubiectes of spirituall contemplation : Heauen, and Hell, Paradife, and Purgatory : know their locall repofe : and ferioufly admonifh the third, to be aduifed how he lauiſh in fuch dalliance. No variety, or infinity fo infinite, as Inuention : which hath a huge worlde, and a maine Ocean of fcope, to difport, and raunge itfelfe, though / it arreare not vayne Hyperboles of the reuerende myſteries of God. Good fweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet indeede : and vſe heauenly Eloquence indeede : and employ thy golden talent with amounting vfance indeede : and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue, & braue valour indeede : as noble Sir Philip

Sidney and gentle Maister Spencer haue done,
 with immortall Fame : and I will bestow more
 complements of rare amplifications vpon thee,
 then euer any bestowed vpon them : or this
 Tounge euer afforded : or any Aretinish moun-
 taine of huge exaggerations can bring-foorth.
 Right artificiality (whereat I once aimed to the
 vttermoſt power of my ſlender capacity,) is not
 mad-brained, or ridiculous, or abſurd, or blaſphe-
 mous, or monſtrous : but deepe-conceited, but
 pleaſurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gracious,
 but admirable : not according to the fantaſtical
 mould of *Aretine* or *Rabelays*, but according to
 the fine modell of *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Pindarus*, &
 the excellenteſt wittes of Greece, and of the lande
 that flowed with milke, and hony. For what
 Feſtiuall Hymnes ſo diuinely dainty, as the ſweete
 Pſalmes of King Dauid, royally tranſlated by
Buchanan? or what ſage Gnomes, ſo profoundly
 pithy, as the wiſe Prouerbes of King Salomon ;
 notably alſo tranſlated : but how few Buchanans!
 Such liuely ſpringes of ſtreaming Eloquence : &
 ſuch right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte :
 I cordially recommend to the deere Louers of
 the Muſes: and namely, to the profeſſed Sonnes of
 the-ſame ; *Edmond Spencer*, *Richard Stanihurſt*,
Abraham France, *Thomas Watſon*, *Samuell Daniell*,
Thomas Naſh, and the reſt, whome I affectionately

Artificial

of Super

Artificial
models

Buchanan

thancke for their studious endeouours, commendably employed in enriching, & polishing their native tongue, neuer so furnished, or embellished as / of late. For I dare not name the Honorabler Sonnes, & Nobler Daughters of the sweetest, & diuineſt Muſes, that euer ſang in Engliſh, or other language: for feare of ſuſpition of that, which I abhorre: and their owne moſt delectable, and delicious Exerciſes (the fine handy-worke of excellent Nature, and excellenter Arte combined) ſpeake incomparably more, then I am able briefly to inſinuate.

Gentle mindes, and flourishing wittes, were infinitely to-blame, if they ſhould not alſo for curious imitation, propoſe vnto themſelues ſuch faire Types of refined, and engraced Eloquence. The right Noouice of pregnante, and aspiring conceit, wil not ouerſkippe any precious gemme of Inuention, or any beautifull floure of Elocution, that may richly adorne, or gallantly bedecke the trimme garland of his budding ſtile. I ſpeake generally to euery ſpringing wit; but more ſpecially to a few; and at this inſtante ſingularly to one: whom I ſalute with a hundred bleſſings: and entreate with as many prayers, to loue them, that loue all good wittes: and hate none, but the Diuell and his incarnate Impes, notoriously proffeſſed. I proteſt, it was not thy perſon that

Let

I any-way disliked ; but thy rash, and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers : which in some had bene vn-sufferable : in an youth, was more excusable : in a reformed youth is pardonable : and rather matter of concordance, then of aggrievance. I perswade my selfe, rather to hope the best, then to feare the worst : & euer wish vnto other, as I would wish other, to wish vnto mee. It is my earnest desire, to begin, and ende suche friuolous altercations at once : and were it not more for other, then for my selfe, assuredly I would be the first, that should cancell this impertinent Pamflet : and throw the other two Letters, with the Sonnets annexed, into the fire. Let them haue / their swinge, that affect to be terribly singular : I desire not to be a blacke Swanne : or to leaue behind me any Period in the stile of the Diuels Oratour : or any verse in the vaine of his Dammes Poet : but rather couet to be nothing in printe, then any thinge in the stampe of needelesse, or fruitlesse Contention. As I am ouer-ruled at this presente, and as it standeth now : I am not to be mine owne Iudge, or aduocate : but am contente to bee sentenced by euery courteous, or indifferente peruser, that regardeth honesty in persons, or trueth in testimonies, or reason in causes. Or seeing some matters of Fame are called in question : I am

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but

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not onely willing, but desirous to vnderlye the verdicte, euen of Fame her-felfe ; and to submit our whole credites, to the voice of the people, as to the voice of Equity, and the Oracle of God : to whose gracious fauours he recommendeth your Courtesy, that neither flattereth the best : nor flaundereth the woorst : nor wilfully wrongeth any : but professeth duety to his superiours : humanity to his equals : fauour to his inferiours : reason to all : And by the same Rule, oweth you amends for the premisses : not speedily dispatched, but hastily bungled-vp, as you see. London : this 8. and 9. of September.

The friend of his frendes, & foe of none. /

The Fourth Letter.

To the same fauourable, or indifferent Reader.

HONEST Gentlemen (for vnto such I especially write), giue me leaue, in this slender Pamflet, onely to fulfill the importune requestes of a few: with your small delighte, and mine owne lesse contentment: and pardon mee, though I no way affect to feede the dainty humour of curious conceites, carried with an insatiable expectation of I wot not what imagined perfection : which may easely dis-

Handwritten note: Remains

Handwritten notes:
d. Lib. as
enter. - acc.
Ser. pen

play it selfe, wher it is, but cannot possibly appeare where it is not. I presume I cannot lesse satisfie any, then I haue satisfied my selfe: who, hauing wedded my selfe to priuate study, and deuoted my mind to publike quietnesse, tooke this troublesom penne in hand, with such an alacrity of courage, as the sorry Beare goeth to the stake: & now reioyce in that, which with more hast, then speede is dispatched; as Æsops Hart, with more affection, then reason, gloried in his Hornes, till he found his fugitiue legges, his furer friendes. For in many cases, I take it a better Pollicy, to vse the flying Legge, then the cumbersome Horne: and at this instant, I should much more haue pleased my selfe, if I had still practised my former resolution, to scorne the stinging of a pieuish waspe: or the biting of an eluish gnat: or the quipp of a mad companion: and rather to pocket-vp a pelting iniury, then to entangle my selfe with trifling businesse: or any-way to accrew to the most-contemptible fellowship of the scribbling crew, that annoyeth this Age, and neuer more accloyed the world. Alas, he is pitifully bestead, that in an Age of Pollicy, and in a world of Industry, (wherein the greatest matters of Gouvernement, and Valour, seeme small to aspiring capacities) is constrained to make woeful Greene, and beggarly Pierce Pennyleffe, (as it were a Grashopper, and a

Sat
modest
depress

Sat
modest
contempt

dimin

anti-Sa

Green
wash

Cricket, two pretty musitians, but silly creatures) the argumente of his stile : and enforced to encounter them, who onely in vanity are something : in effect, nothing : in account, lesse then / nothing : howsoeuer, the Grashopper enraged, would bee no lesse then a greene Dragon : and the Cricket malecontented, not so little as a Blacke Bellwether : but the only Vnicorne of the Muses. Some in my case, would perhaps be content for their owne credite, to haue them notoriously so reputed : and in cunning, would, peraduenture not sticke, to straine at a Gnatt, as it were at a Camell : but plaine dealing vseth no such Rhethorick : they that haue eies can see : and they that haue Eares, can heare, as sensibly as I : and I must in reason leaue them, as in prooffe I finde them, either meere Paper-bugs, and inckehorne-pads : or a greate deale worse : so far, as the Ringleaders of leaud Licentiousnes, are more pestilent, then the Platformers of vaine Fantasticality : or the poison of corrupted mindes, is more pernitious, then the venome of disguised witts. Any flightnesse, curious inough : and any cost, too much, vpon such an argumente : a subiecte of losse to the writer, of gaine to none : but duety must obey : and courtesy yeelde : and it is the lucke of some pelting Comedies, to busy the Stage, as well as some grauer Tragedies. Were nothing els discourfuely inserted, (as some

But
it is true
a man's words

has
plain dealing
it is true

little else occasionally presented it selfe) what paper more currently fit for the basest mechanicall vles, then that which containeth the vile misdemeanours, and Truth will say, the abhominable villanies of such base shifting companions : good for nothinge, in the opinion of good mindes, but to cast away themselues, to spoile their adherentes, to pray vpon their fauourers, to dishonour their Patrons, to infecte the Aire, where they breath. Might Pierce be entreated, to quallifye his distempered veine ; and to reclaime his vnbrideled selfe : as some bold Gawins, vpon milder consideration haue bene glad to doe : (good Pierce be good to thy good friendes : and gentle to thy gentle selfe :) I assuredly would be the first that should wrap-vp such memorials, not in a sheete of wast-paper, but in the winding-sheete of Obluion : and will not sticke, to embalme the dead corps of a professed ennemy, to sweeten / the liuing spirite of a wished friend : howsoeuer extreemely meane, or famously obscure. The gracious Lawe of Amnesty, a soueraine Law : but the diuine Law of Charity, the Law of Lawes. Who cannot contemne the insolentest arrogancy ? but who must not condescend to any reasonable accord ? Hee that was neuer dismayed with any necessary distresse, yet euer escheweth all vnnecessary trouble : and he that least feareth the swoord of vniust Calumny, yet

in Surin
kind advice
to Hache

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Charity
of Surin

moſt dreadeth the ſcabbard of iuſt Infamy, and would gladly auoide the lighteſt ſuſpition of that, which hee abhorreth. Though the painted ſheath bee, as it is, (for it needeth no other Painter to pourtray it ſelfe) yet neuer childe ſo delighted in his ratling baby; as ſome old Lads of the Caſtell, haue ſported themſelues with their rappinge bable. It is the proper weapon of their profeſſion: they haue vſed it at-large, and will vſe it at pleaſure, howſoeuer the patient heale himſelfe at their coſt. It were a worke of importance, to aunſweare that weapon: I long ſince gaue them ouer in the plaine field; and am now become a ſuter to their towardeſt ſchollers, to remember the glorious conqueſt of their witty Maſters. I would willingly pleaſe, or not diſpleaſe, as I may: but no Life, without ſelf-contentment: no performance of any action without Reſolution. The leaſt may thinke vppon Fabius Maximus: who with an honourable obſtinacy purſued the courſe of his owne platforme, notwithstanding aⁿ thouſand empeachments: & although ſlowly, with much murmuringe, yet effectually, with more reputation, atchieued his politicke purpoſe: like an experte Pilot, that in a hideous tempeſt regardeth not the fooliſhe ſhrickinges, or vaine outcries of diſorderly paſſengers, but beſtirreth himſelfe, and directeth his marriners, according to the wiſe rules of orderly

Navigation. A wauering and fleeting minde, feldome or neuer accomplifheth any negotiation of value. It is none of the leaft comfortes in diftrefse, that Patience is an excellent quality : and Conftancy the honourableft vertue in the world. I am not to dilate, / where a fentence is a difcourfe, and a woorde more then inough. It hath bene my defire, to conforme my intentions to my quality, and my exercifes to my intentions: but as they are, it fhall go very-hard, before I begin to abandon hope: or relente to friuolous motions: or forget my felfe, and my friends, to remember my ennemies: who are beft remembred, when they are moft forgotten. Some are cunning: & can imaginatiuely caft beyonde the Moone: but he is a fimple Temporifer, that would attempt to raife a fantafticall, or putatiue opinion in an actiue worlde: and who fo kindly coofeneth himfelfe, as that he that feeketh a cloak, to couer his owne fluggifh Idlenefse, or vnweeldy infufficiency?

Let them affect myfticall commendation, that profefse occult Philofophy: and let them crofsbite themfelues that can find no other Conny-catchers, to play that part. It was a principall Maxim in Socrates difcipline, That euery one fhould contend to be indeede, whatfoeuer he would couet to feeme in apparence: fome that haue often recommended that Maxim vnto other, and often

idea
quality
act

paper
kinds of
work

appear
vnto

called it the foueraigne Rule of sound, and honourable proceeding ; were neuer forwarder to allow his precept in discourse, then ready to follow his example in practife. There bee other inough, to make a gallant show : and some trim fellows, will not stick to maintaine a braue Paradoxe, that the opinion, and semblaunce of thinges, neither euer was, nor is now, inferiour to the very thinges themselfes : but in preferment and reputation many times superiour. I am not here to argue the case : Fortune is a fauourable Lady to some forward aduenturers : they may easely swim, that are holden vp by the chinne ; such, & such haue liued in estimation, & purchased landes ; but what did they euer effectuate of any worth ; or wherin appered ther sufficiency, to discharg any weighty function, or to performe any notable act ? A reed is a fory staffe : & Fortune as changeable as the Moone : no counterfeite, or pretended commendation endureth long : only desert holdeth-out infallibly, when many / a goodly gentleman beshreweth himselfe : I must not stand vpon particularities : no Education to the Trainement of Cyrus : nor any proceeding, to the emploiment of Cesar. Pregnant rules auail much ; but visible Examples amount incredibly : Experience, the onely life of perfection, & onely perfection of life. Whatfoeuer occasion causeth me to be mistaken, as ouer-much addicted

true

false

part 1, 110

Nature as

act

note - system

Examples

a man
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to Theory, without respect of action: (for that is one of the especiallest points, which I am importuned to resolute :) I neuer made account of any study, meditation, conference, or Exercise, that importeth not effectual vse, & that aymeth not altogether at action: as the singular marke, whereat euery Arte, & euery vertue is to leuell. I loue Method: but honour Practise: must I shew the difference? Either Arte is obscure, or the quickest capacity dull: and needeth Methode, as it were the bright Moone, to illuminate the darksome night: but Practise is the bright Sun, that shineth in the day, & the foueraigne Planet that gouerneth the world: as else-where I haue copiously declared. To excell, ther is no way but one: to marry studious Arte to diligent Exercise: but where they must be vnmarried, or diuorced, geue me rather Exercise without Arte, then Arte without Exercise. Perfect vse worketh masteries: and disgraceth vnexperienced Arte. Examples are infinite: and dayly display themselues. A world without a Sunne: a Boddy without a Soule: Nature without Arte: Arte without Exercise: fory creatures. Singular practise the only singular, and admirable woorkeman of the world. Must I dispatch the rest that is exacted? It is no fit place: and the least little wil seeme too-much. As in other thinges, so in Artes, formality doth

well: but materiality worketh the feat. Were Artifts as skillfull, as Artes are powerfull, wonders might be atchieued by Art emprooued: but they that vnderstand little, write much: and they that know much, write little. The vayne Peacocke, with his gay coullours, and the pratling Parrat with his ignorant discourfes (I am / not to offend any, but the Peacocke, and the Parrat) haue garifhly difguifed the worthieft Artes, and deeply difcredited the profoundeft Artiftes, to the pitifull defacement of the one, and the shamefull preiudice of the other. Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludouike Viues, Peter Ramus, and diuers excellent fchollers, haue earnestly complained of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many abfurdities: and ftill corruption ingendreth one vermine or other: and ftill that pretious Trainement is miferably abufed, which fhould be the fountaine of skill, the roote of vertue, the feminary of gouernment, the foundation of all priuate and publike good. The Methodift, & Discourfer might be more materiall: the Theorift, and Practitioner more formall: all fower more effectuall; or how commeth it to paffe, that much more is profefled, but much leffe perfourmed, then in former ages? efpecially in the Mathematikes and in naturall Magie; which being cunningly and extenfiuely imploied (after the manner of

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Archimedes, Archytas, Apollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan, and such like industrious Philosophers, the Secretaries of Art, and Nature,) might wonderfully bestead the Commonwealth: with many puissant engins, and other commodious deuises, for warre, and peace. In actuall Experimentes, and polymechany, nothing too-profound: a superficiall slightnesse, may seeme fine for sheetes, but proueth good for nothinge: as in other businesse, so in learninge, as good neuer a whit, according to the prouerbe, as neuer the better: one perfect Mechanician worth ten vnperfect Philosophers: an ignorant man lesse shameth himselfe, lesse beguileth his frend, lesse disableth the Commonwealth, then a putatiue Artiste: a whole naturall wit more seruiceable, and more sufficient, then a Demi-scholler: who presuming on that, which he hath not, abateth the force of that, which he hath.

He must not dreame of perfection, that emproueth not the perfectest Art, with most perfect industrie. A snatch, / and away, with Neoptolemus, and the common sort of studentes, may please a little, but profiteth nothing. It is the Body, not the shadow, that dispatcheth the businesse. The flower delighteth to-day, and fadeth to-morrow: the fruite edifieth, and endureth: the visard, the painted sheath, and such terrible braueries, can best report

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their owne entertainment : the peacock, and the parrat haue good leaue to prancke vppe themselues, and leysure inough to reuiue, and repolish their expired workes. What can last allwayes, quoth the neat Tayler, when his fine feames began to cracke their credit at the first drawing-on. I appeale to Poules churchyard, whether lines be like vnto feames: and whether the Deft writer be as sure a workeman, as the neat Taylor. There may be a fault in the Reader, aswell as in the weauer: but euery manne contente himselfe, to bear the burthen of his owne faultes : and good sweete Autors infourme yourselues, before you vndertake to instruct other. Excellent effectes must flow from the spring of excellent causes : and nothing notable without notable Endeuour. The Print is abused, that abuseth : and earnestly beseecheth flourishing writers, not to trouble the Presse, but in case of vrgent occasion, or important vse. Or if you conceiue extraordinarily of your owne pregnancy: and will needes imploy your youthfull Tallent : remember that corruptions in manners and absurdities in Arte, haue too-lately ouerflowed the banckes of all good Modesty, and discretion. Hee that hath but halfe an Eie, can see no lesse: & he that hath but halfe a Tongue, may say more : I onely note by the way, that hindereth many a gallant wit in the way : and

Let me see,

Library of the

without empeachment to any, wish all rather to be excellent, with Socrates, then to seeme famous, with the Philosopher of the Court. My meaning is not, to teach, but to touch : &, albeit, I haue curforily spoken somethinge for my selfe, and something as it were against other ; yet the one little, and the other lesse, are both vttered with a mind, that will rather accuse other then / my selfe : and rather accuse my selfe then other : wheresoeuer I find the least reason for them, or the least cause against my selfe : and if in any thing I am any thing, it is in nothing so much, as in a zealous desire, to see Learning flourish : Vertue prosper : the good proceede from better to better : the bad amend : the body cherriish the members : the Members tender the body : all generally maintaine Concord with all : euery one particularly nurish accord with euery one. Howbeit, at this instant I must craue licence, to stand vpon such tearmes, not as I would most willingly choose, but as the present occasion forcibly suggesteth. No man loather, to minister the least, or to take the greatest occasion of publike contention, or priuate discontentment : choler is as soone inflamed, as flaxe; and small sparkles of dissention, haue kindled horrible fires of faction : there be wrangling & quarreling hoatspurres enough, though I be none : *Ignis fatuus* neuer so spritishly

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bufy: neuer fo many threatning Comets: neuer
 fuch a terrible fky of Blafing, and falling ftars:
 neuer fuch lufly stirring of liuely coales, and dead
 cinders: euery Martin Iunior, and Puny Pierce,
 a monarch in the kingdome of his owne humour:
 euery pert, and crancke wit, in one odd veine, or
 other, the onely man of the Vniuerfity, of the
 City, of the Realme, for a flourifh or two: who
 but he, in the flufh of his ouerweening conceit?
 giue him his peremptory white rod in his hand,
 and God-night all diftinction of perfons, and all
 difference of eftates: his Pen is his mace, his
 launce, his two-edged fword, his fcepter, his
 Hercules club: and will beare a predominant
 fway, in defpight of vaine glorious Titles and
 ambitious Degrees. Lordes muft take heede, how
 they Lord-it in his prefence: but he forfooth
 may play the Lord Great Maifter, *cum gratia*,
 & a fawcy Sophifter take vpon him, like a mighty
 Tyrant, *cum priuilegio*. God helpe, when Igno-
 rance, and want of Experience, vfurping the
 chayre of fcrupulous, and rigorous Iudgement,
 will in a fantafticall Imagination, or, percase / in
 a melancholy moode, prefume farther, by infinite
 degrees, then the learnedeft men in a ciuill Com-
 monwealth, or the fageft counfellours in a Princes
 Court. Our new-new writers, the Loadftones of
 the Preffe, are wonderfully beholdinge to the Affe:

in a manner the onely Autor, which they alledge: the world was euer full inough of fools, but neuer so full of Affes in print: the very Elephant, a great Affe: the Camel, a huge Affe: the Beare, a monstrosus Affe: the Horfe, an absurd Affe: the Fox himselfe, a little Affe, or for variety, an Ape: who not an Affe, or an Ape in good plaine English, that chanceth to come in the wise Affe-makers, & mighty Ape-dubbers way? They are fine men, & haue many sweete phrascs: it is my simplicity, that I am so slenderly acquainted with that dainty stile; the only new fashion of current eloquēce *in esse*: far surpassing the stale vein of Demosthenes, or Tully: Iewel, or Harding: Whitgift, or Cartwright: Sidney, or Spencer. But I could wish, Ignorance would fauour it selfe: & it were not amisse, that want of Experience should be content to be a little modest, or somewhat quiet: & both enforce les occasion to be termed, as they will needes notoriously proclaime themselues: as it were with a public Oh-is, or a generall *Nouerint vniuersi per præsentes*. For if any thing indeede, be a right Affe in print, it is the one: and if any thing, indeede, be a right Calfe in print, it is the other: Ignorance, the famousest Affe, and want of Experience, the notablest Calfe in the world: Yet the one, the terrible controwler: the other the singuller Re-

Settlers: continued

fourmer of the world: both, the busiest aduenturers, and doweeste doers in a world. They trouble many much: some exceedingly: themselves most: mee little: who can very well leaue them to the iollity of their owne swinge: or onely pray them to stay the nimble course of their forward wisdomes, till they haue soberly reade, and hearde a little, and a little more: (for I wis something resteth vnconsidered:) and till they haue effectually seene, and tried a great deale, and a great-deale more: (for much remaineth vnaproved:) I loue not to sollicite them greatly, that loue to importune all other exceffiuely. That little I haue done, I haue done compelled, and would wish vndone, rather then any storme of Debate, or the least fit of Mallice, should insue thereof: let them glory in Pen-scolding, and Paper-brabbling, that list: I must not, I cannot, I will not: I hate to intend such arrant paltry, not for feare, but for contempt, not for lasinesse, but for weightier businesse: good honest youthes, spare an old Truante, meeter now to play the Dumme Dog, with some auncientes, then the bauling Cur, or the hissing Snake, with you springals: a thousand Examples pierce deepe, and ouer-sensibly teach me the miserable inconuenience of such mischiefe, and the miserable mischief of such inconuenience: better a pecke of troubles, then a load of agonies:

no plague to irkesome vengeance: no ioy, or treasure to industrious imploiment: no felicity, to a commodious intercourse of sweete study, sweeter conuerfation, and sweetest action: that wanteth, must be supplied, as sufficient as it may: extraordinary incombrances little neede: Time is pretious, and would not be prodigally wasted in wast paper, or contemptuously thrust out by the shoulders: my first Letter, was in a manner voluntary: my second, in fort necessary: this, wholly superfluous, but violently extorted after the rest: all wearysome vnto me; but this most tedious: and any thing more, would seeme intollerable: Especially in the Inuectiue veine: the little Fury of this Age, & great Incendiary of the world: whose vnmeasurable outrage I would rather mitigate with twenty Insinuatue, & persuasue Orations, then any way aggrauate with one Offensue or defensue Letter. Some Comickall lars may be endured: but no act so ioyfull, as the Plaudite: & whatsoever the beginning happeneth to be, I would allwayes wish a pleasant, or amicable end: the scope whereat I as dilligently aime, as any, that most religiously affecteth vnity. Only my determination is, rather to be a Sheepe in Wolfes printe, then to / suffer my selfe, or my deereft frendes, to be made Sheepe in the wolfes walke: and onely my request is, that euery

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discreete, and courteous minde, will as considerately weigh the cause, as censoriously note the effect. I hope, there neither is, nor shalbe any default committed, but may in conuenient time bee redressed with some reasonable amendes: vntill which time, I am not to dedicate any thing vnto any personage of name; but a mind, affectionately desirous to honour the worthiest: to reuerence the wisest, to commend the learnedest: to embrace the best: to appease the worst: to iniury none: to render euery one, the vttermost of his desart, or other quality. Which mind I entierly recommend vnto you all: and you all vnto God: whome I beseech, to accomplish that, which I cannot effect: and euen to worke a miracle vppon the deafe. London: this 11. and 12. of September.

Your affectionate frend, G. H.

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no more

GREENES MEMORIAL, OR
certaine Funerall Sonnets.

*To the foresaid Maister Emmanuell Demetrius, Maister Christopher
Bird, and all gentle wits, that will voutsafe the reading.*

SONNET I.

*His Repentance, that meant to call Greene to his
aunfweare.*

ALAS that I so hastely should come
To terrifie the man with fatall dread,
That deemed quiet Pennes, or dead, or dum,
And stoutly knock't poore Silence on the head.
Enough can say: dead is the Dog of spite:
I, that for pitie praised him aliue,
And smil'd to hear him gnar, and see him bite,
Am / not with fory carcasses to striue.
The worst I list of Famous him report:
Poules hath the Onely Pregnant Autor lost:
Aihme, quoth Wit, in lamentable fort,
What worthy wight shall now commaund the rost?
Fame heard the plaint: and pointed at A man
As greene as Greene, and white as whitest Swanne.

SONNET II.

*His misfortun, in being spitefully iniuried by some,
whom he partially commended.*

VNLUCKY I, vnhappiest on Earth,
That fondly doting vpon dainty witts,

And deeply rauish'd with their luring fitts,
 Of gentle fauours find so hard a Dearth.
 Is it my Fate, or Fault, that such fine men
 Should their Commender so vnkindly bite?
 That looues to looue, in spite of rankest Spite,
 And hates to hate, with Hart, or Tongue, or Pen.
 Sweet Writers, as yee couet to be sweet,
 Nor me, nor other, nor your selues abuse:
 Humanity doth courteously peruse
 Ech act of frend, or foe, with fauour meet.
 Foule Diuel, and fouler Malice, cease to raue:
 For euery fault I twenty pardons craue.

SONNET III.

His admonition to Greenes Companions.

THE flourishing, and gaily-springing wight,
 That vainely me prouok'd with vile reproch,
 Hath / done his worst, and hath no more to broche:
 Maugre the Diuell of villanous despise.
 I cannot raile, what-euer cause to raile:
 For Charity I louingly imbrace,
 That me for Enuy odioufly deface:
 But in their highest rage extreemely faile.
 I can doe him no harme that is in heauen:
 I can doe him no good that is in Hell:
 I wish the best to his Suruiuours fell,
 Deepely acquainted with his Six; and feauen.

O be not like to Death, that spareth none :
Your greenest Flower, and Peacockes taile is gone.

SONNET III.

The miserable end of wilful desperatnesse.

THE iolly Fly dispatch'd his filly selfe ;
What Storyes quaint of many a douty Fly,
That read a Lecture to the ventrous Elfe?
Yet he will haue his lusty swing, to dy.
Currage, and stirring witt in time do well :
But that same obstinate Desperation,
A furious fiend of selfe-deuouring Hell,
Rushing with terrible Commination,
(What storme so hideous as Rages spell?)
Concludes with horrible Lamentation :
Each blessed tongue accurse malediction,
The vgly mouth of ruthfull confusion.
Nothing so doulcely sweete, or kindly deare,
As sugred lips, and Harts delicious cheare.

SONNET V.

The learned should louingly affect the learned.

I am not to instruct where I may learne :
But where I may persuaſiuely exhort,
Nor ouer-dissolute, nor ouer-sterne,
A courteous Honesty I would extort.

Good loathes to damage, or vpbraid the good ;
 Gentle, how loouely to the gentle wight?
 Who seeith not, how euery blooming budd
 Smileth on euery flower fairely dight,
 And biddeth fowle illfauourdnests God-night?
 Would Alciats Embleme, or sum scarlet whood,
 Could teach the Pregnant sonnes of shiny Light
 To interbrace each other with delight.
 Fine Mercury conducts a dainty band
 Of Charites, and Muses, hand in hand.

SONNET VI.

His Palace of pleasure.

I wott not what thesecutting Huffe-snuffesmeane:
 Of Alehouse-daggers I haue little skill:
 I borrow not my phraze of knaue or queane,
 But am a dettour to the Ciuill quill.
 It is restoratiue vnto my hart,
 To heare how gentle Cheeke, and Smith conuerſ'd:
 No daintier peece of delicateſt Art,
 Then cordiall Stories charmingly rehearſ'd,
 That whilom rudeſt wooddes, and ſtones emperc'd.
 Who now beginnes that amiable part?
 Haddon farewell: and Afcham thou art ſtale,
 And euery sweetnes taſtes of bitter bale.
 Oh, let me liue to interuiew the face
 Of faire Humanity, and bounteous Grace.

SONNET VII.

His unfained wish.

NEUER Ulyffes, or Æneas tyr'd,
 With toying trauailes, and huge afflictions :
 As arrant penne, and wretched page bemyr'd
 With nasty filth of rancke-maledictions.
 I feldome call a fharling Curr, a Curr :
 But wifh the gnarring dog, as sweete a mouth,
 As braueft horfe, that feeleth golden fpurr :
 Or shrilleft Trompe, that foundeth North, or South :
 Or moft enchaunting Sirens voice vncouth.
 Self-gnawing Harts, and gnafhing Teeth of murr,
 How faine would I fee Orpheus reuiu'd,
 Or Suadas hoony-bees in you rehiu'd ?
 O moft-delicious hooney-dewes, infufe
 Your daintieft influence into their Mufe.

SONNET VIII.

A Continuation of the fame wifh.

LET them forgett their cancred peeuiſhnes ;
 And fay to Choller fell : Thou wert our fall :
 Hadſt thou not boilde in fretting waywardnes,
 We might haue laught at Fortunes toſſing Ball.
 Choler, content thy malecontented ſelfe :
 And cleereſt Humour, of right Sanguine pure,

Neately refin'd from that felonious elfe,
 With / iouiall gracioufnes thy felfe enure,
 If euer filuer conduictes were abroche
 Of ftreaming Witt, and flowing Eloquence :
 Yee fluds of milke, and hoony reapproche,
 And bounteoufly poure-out your Quinteffence.
 Gently affemble Delicacies all,
 And sweetely nectarize this bitter gall.

SONNET IX.

*His reuiuall of a former motion: added at the
 instance of an especiall friend.*

WERE I as meete, as willing to aduife :
 I would in amicable termes entreat
 Some forward witts to change their headlong guife,
 And leffe in print, and more in mint to fweat.
 Pithagoras, and Apollonius fage,
 Two woonders of capacity diuine ;
 Trained their followers to temper rage,
 And Tongue with curious filence to refine.
 There is a Time to fpeake : a Time to write :
 But bleffed be the Time, that fees, and heares :
 Let Petty Starres fuppreffe their twinckling light :
 And glorious Sunne aduance his beamy peeres.
 O you of golden mould, that fhine like Sun,
 Display your heauenly giftes ; and I haue dun.

SONNET X.

A more particular Declaration of his intention.

YET let Affection interpret felfe :
Arcadia braue, and dowty *Faery Queene*
 Cannot / be stain'd by Gibelin, or Guelph,
 Or goodliest Legend, that Witts eye hath feene.
 The dainty Hand of exquisiteft Art,
 And nimble Head of pregnantest receipt,
 Neuer more finely plaid their curious part
 Then in thofe liuely Chrifts of conceit.
 Other fair Wittes I cordially embrace :
 And that sweete Mufe of azur Dy, admire :
 And muft in euery Sonnet interlace
 The earthly Soueraigne of heauenly fire.
 A fitter place remaineth to implore,
 Of deepeft Artists the profoundeft lore.

SONNET XI.

His Desire, to honour excellent Perfections in the beft.

Another addition, inserted at the request of one, that might commaunde.

BLACKE Art auaunt: and haile thrife-grace-full
 Grace,
 That whitest white on Earth, or heauen exceeds
 In purity, and fouerainety immense.
 Or locke my mouth: or schoole my infant-lippes,

Resplendent lightes of Milky Way to sing,
 Rare subiectes of thy indulgence supream.
 Yet what should I conspicuous Mirrours sing,
 That radiantly display their beauteous beames
 Of gliftring Vertue, and refhining Witt :
 The Luminaries great of little world ?
 Folly impossibilities attempts :
 Astonishment such brightnesse best becummes :
 Or lend me Pegafus, thy mounting winges :
 And let me heare, how quire of Angels finges.

SONNET XII. /

His Court of Honour.

WERE fine Castilio, the Heire of Grace :
 What gallant port more graciously fine ?
 As dainty Petrarch was sweete Sirens sonne :
 What witching tune more Orpheously sweete ?
 Him, him, the Idee high, and deepe abyffe,
 Of noble Excellence I would proclaime.
 But what should drowfy Muse of Phantoms
 dreame ?
 Cast glauncing eie into Queene Pallas Court,
 And scorne the dimnes of thy dazeled fight,
 Astound with Lord-and-Lady-Graces view :
 Idees how high, Abyffes how profounde,
 Of valour braue, and admirable woorth ?

Poore glimmering Gemmes, and twinckling Stars,
 adieu :
 Here, here the Sun, and Moone of Honor true.

SONNET XIII.

His intercession to Fame.

LIVE euer, valorous renowned Knightes ;
 Liue euer, Smith, and Bacon, Peereles men :
 Liue euer, Walsingham, and Hatton wife :
 Liue euer, Mildmayes honorable name.
 Ah, that Sir Humfry Gilbert should be dead :
 Ah, that Sir Philip Sidney should be dead :
 Ah, that Sir William Sackeuill should be dead :
 Ah, that Sir Richard Grinuile should be dead :
 Ah, that braue Walter Deuoreux should be dead :
 Ah, that the Flowre of Knighthood should be dead,
 Which, maugre deadlyest Deathes, and stonyest
 Stones,
 That / coouer worthiest worth, shall neuer dy.
 Sweete Fame, adorne thy glorious Triumph new :
 Or Vertues all, and Honours all, adieu.

SONNET XIII.

A Repetition of the former Petition.

But Vertues all, and Honours all furuiue :
 And Vertues all, and Honours all inflame.

Braue mindes to platfourme, and redoubted handes
 To doe fuch deedes, and fuch exploites achieue,
 As they, and they couragiously perform'd.
 Egregious men, and memorable Knightes:
 Ay memorable Knightes, whiles Sunne fhall fhine.
 And teach induftrious Worth, to fhine like Sunne:
 To liue in motion, and action hoat:
 To eternize Entelechy diuine:
 Where Plutarches Liues: where Argonautiques
 braue:
 Where all Heroique woonderments concurr,
 Oh, Oh, and Oh a thoufand thoufand times,
 That thirfty Eare might heare Archangels rimes.

SONNET XV.

A continuation of the fame Petition.

Then would I fo my Melody addoulce,
 And fo attune my Harmony to theirs,
 That felleft Fury fhould confefse her felfe
 Enchaunted mightily with charmes diuine:
 And in the fweeteft termes of fared Leagues,
 With pure deuotion reconcile her rage.
 Meane-while I feeke, and feeke, but cannot finde
 That Iewell rare of preciouffeft worth:
 Gentle / Accord and foueraigne Repofe,
 The Paradife of Earth, and bliffe of Heauen.

Be it in Earth, ô Heauen direct my course :
 Be it in Heauen alone, ô Earth Farewell.
 Or well-fare Patience, that sweetens sowre,
 And reares on Hellish Earth an Heauenly Boure.

SONNET XVI.

*His professed Disdain, to aunswear vanity in some,
 or to enuy prosperity in any.*

SOME me haue spited with a cruell spite :
 But Fount of Mercy so recliffe my sinne,
 As I nor them maligne, nor any wight :
 But all good mindes affect, like deereft kinne.
 Small cause I haue to scorne in any sort :
 Yet I extreemely scorne to aunswear some,
 That banish Conscience from their report,
 And ouerwantonly abuse the dumme.
 God keepe Low-Countrymen from high Disdain :
 Yet I disdain with haughtiest contempt
 To enuy any persons Fame, or Gain :
 Or any crooked practise to attempt.
 Iesu, that we should band, like Iohn Oneale,
 That tenderly should melt in mutuall zeale.

SONNET XVII.

His Exhortation to attonement and Loue.

O MINDES of Heauen, and wittes of highest
 Sphere,
 Molten most-tenderly in mutuall zeale :

Each one with cordiall indulgence forbear,
 And Bondes of Loue reciproquely enseale.
 No / rose, no violet, no fragrant spice
 No Nectar, no Ambrosia so sweet
 As gracious Looe, that neuer maketh nice,
 But euery one embraceth, as is meet.
 Magne[t]s, and many thinges attractiue are :
 But nothing so allectiue vnder skyes,
 As that same dainty amiable Starre,
 That none, but grisly mouth of Hell, defyes.
 That Starre illuminate celestially Harts :
 And who, but Rancour, feeleth irkesome smartes?

SONNET XVIII.

John Harueys Welcome to Robert Greene.

COME, fellow Greene, come to thy gaping graue :
 Bid Vanity, and Foolery farewell :
 Thou ouer-long hast plaid the madbräin'd knaue :
 And ouer-loud hast rung the bawdy bell.
 Vermine to Vermine must repaire at last :
 No fitter house for busy folke to dwell :
 Thy Conny-catching Pageants are past :
 Some other must those arrant Stories tell.
 These hungry wormes thinke longe for their repast :
 Come on : I pardon thy offence to me :
 It was thy liuing : be not so aghast :
 A Foole, and a Phisition may agree,

And for my Brothers, neuer vex thy selfe :
They are not to diseafe a buried Elfe.

SONNET XIX.

His Apology of himselfe, and his brothers.

YET fie on lies, and fie on false Appeales :
No Minister in England lesse affectes
Those / wanton kisses, that leaud folly steales,
Then Hee, whome onely Ribaldry suspectes.
Were I a foole, (what man playes not the foole ?
The world is full of fooles, and full of sectes :)
Yet was Iohn neuer spoyled with the tooles,
That Richard made : and none, but none infectes.
The third is better knowne in Court and Schoole,
Then thy vaine Quipp, or my Defence shalbe :
Whose Eie, but his, that sits on Slaunders stoole,
Did euer him in Fleete, or prison see ?
Lowd Mentery small confutation needes :
Avaunt ! black Beast, that fowes such curfed feedes.

SONNET XX.

His Apology of his good Father.

AH my deere Father, and my Parent sweete,
Whose honesty no neighbour can empeach :

That any Ruffian should in termes vnmeete,
 To your discredit shamfully outreach.
 O rakehell Hand, that scribled him a knaue,
 Whom neuer Enemy did so appeach :
 Repent thy wicked selfe, that so didst raue,
 And cancell that, which Slaunders mouth did teach.
 Nor euery man, nor euery trade is braue :
 Malt, haire, and hempe, and sackcloth must be had :
 Truth him from odious imputations faue :
 And many a gallant Gentleman more bad.
 Four Sonnes, him cost a thousand pounds at least :
 Well may he fare : and thou enioy thy rest.

SONNET XXI. /

His charitable hope : and their eternall repose.

LET memory of grosse abuses sleepe :
 Who ouer-shooteth not in recklesse youth ?
 Were finnes as redd, as reddest scarlet deepe,
 A penitentiall Hart preuenteth ruth.
 Well-wishing Charity presumes the best :
 Nothing impossible to powreful Trueth :
 Body to Graue, and Soule to Heauen addrest,
 Leaue vpon Earth, the follies of their youth.
 Some Penury bewaile : some feare Arrest :
 Some Parmaes force : some Spanyardes gold ad-
 dread :

Some vnderly the terrible inquest :
 Some carry a Ielous : some a climbing Head.
 We that are dead, releas'd from liuing woes,
 Soundly enioy a long, and long Repose.

SONNET XXII.

*L'enuoy : or an Answer to the Gentleman, that
 drunke to Chaucer, vpon view of the former
 Sonnets, and other Cantos, in honour of certain
 braue men.*

SOME Tales to tell, would I a Chaucer were :
 Yet would I not euen now an Homer be :
 Though Spencer me hath often Homer term'd :
 And Monsieur Bodine vow'd as much as he.
 Enuy, and Zoilus, two busy wightes :
 No petty shade of Homer can appeere,
 But he the Diuell, and she his Dam display :
 And / Furies fell annoy sweete Muses cheere.
 Nor Martins I, nor Counter-martins squibb :
 Enough a doo to clere my simple selfe :
 Momus gainst Heauen ; and Zoilus gainst Earth,
 A Quipp for Gibeline : and whip for Guelph.
 Or purge this humour : or woe-worth the State,
 That long endures the one, or other mate.

*Robertus Grenus, vtriusq. Academiæ Artium
Magister, de Seipso.*

ILLE ego, cui risus, rumores, festa, puellæ,
Vana libellorum scriptio, vita fuit :
Prodigus vt vidi Ver, Æstatemq̃ furoris,
Autumno, atque Hyemi, cum Cane dico vale.
Ingenii bullam ; plumam Artis ; fistulam Amandi;
Ecquæ non misero plangat auena tono ?

*Gabriel Harueius, desideratissimæ animæ Ioannis
fratris.*

AT Iunioris erat, Seniori pangere carmen
Funebre, ni Fati lex violenta vetet.
Quid frustra exclamem, Frater, fraterrime Frater ?
Dulcia cuncta abeunt : tristia sola manent.
Totus ego Funus, pullato squallidum amictu,
Quamvis cælicolæ, flebile dico vale.

*To the / Right Worshipfull, my singular good frend,
M. Gabriell Haruey, Doct̃or of the Lawes.*

HARUEY, the happy aboue happiest men
I read : that sitting like a Looker-on
Of this worldes Stage, doest note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition :
And as one carelesse of suspition,
Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great :

Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat.
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,
Like a great Lord of peerelesse liberty :
Lifting the good vp to high Honours feat,
And the Euill damning euermore to dy ;
For Life, and Death is in thy doomefull writing :
So thy renowme liues euer by endighting.

Dublin: this xviij of Iuly: 1586.

Your deuoted frend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER.

FINIS.



IV.

A NEW LETTER OF NOTABLE
CONTENTS.

1593.



NOTE.

For the 'Notable Letter' I owe thanks to the Huth Library. It is a small quarto of 16 unpagcd leaves—title-page and A 2—D 3. Mr. J. Payne Collier also reprinted this in his (so-called) Yellow Series, much as he did the 'Foure Letters' and all. It is simple and sorrowful matter-of-fact that in no single case has it been my good fortune to find a consecutive half-page true to the original in any one of his reprints.—G.

A New Letter of
NOTABLE CONTENTS,

With a straunge Sonet, intituled

GORGON,

Or the wonderfull yeare.



LONDON

Printed by Iohn Wolfe,

1593.



TO MY LOVING FRIEND IOHN

Wolfe, Printer to the Cittie.



R WOLFE, *Good Newes* was euer a welcome guest vnto me : and you do well in the current of your businesse, to remember the Italian Prouerbe ; *Good Tidings* would be dispatched to ride post, as *Ill Tidings* may haue good leaue to be a footeman. The nimblest *Bee* is a slowworme in expeditions of importance, or cōgratulation : & the dullest *Snaile* the meetest Ambassadour to be employed in messages of damage, or condolement. You haue lately, (as appeareth by your Indices of the sicknesse, and so many other Nouels) very tidely playde the Bees part : and so continue, as you loue me, or your selfe : vnto whom I wish a rich hiue, and many hony-moones. Since I receaued *Parthenophil*, *Shores Wife*, and the *Articles* of Accorde or truce in France (for which I render

you as many thanks, as there be Articles) : I haue now also this instant of September, perused your quaint, and cunning Discourse of *Remonstrances* to the *Duke de Maine* : with that other new-new Pamflet of the late Turkish assiege of *Syffek in Croatia*, the old *Liburnia*, famous for seruiceable Shippes. And take no lesse pleasure in the founde Declaration of the plaine Germane, a credible Historiographer, then delight in the sly Information of the fine French, a glicking Remembrancer. It is not the externall, but the *internall forme* (call it the Pith, or the marrow, or the life-bloud, or what you list), that / edifieth : and vndoubtedly the Christian world hath pregnant cause to prostrate the seruenteest Zeale of their deuotions to his almighty maiesty, that hath brought *France*, and *Croatia* to those termes of Truce, and Triumph. A happy *Truce*, if a happy truce : and an honorable *Triumph*, if durable. I say *If* and *If*, bicause I haue knowne many a *Truce*, like Scammony, that weakeneth the liuer ; or Cassia, that enfeebleth the raines ; or Agarick that ouerthroweth the stomacke, the stomacke that must worke the feate. And who hath not either by Experience or by heare-say, or by reading, knowne many a *Triumph* like Sena, that breedeth winde ; or Rubarbe, that dryeth ouer-much ; or Euforbium, that inflameth the whole body ; the body that must strike the stroake ?

Take away that ouerthrowing, or weakening property from *Truce* : and *Truce* may be a diuine Scammony, Cassia, or Agaricke, to purge noysome, and rebellious humours. Oh that it might be such a Purge in Fraunce. Correct that ventositie, or inflammation, that accompanieth Triumph ; and Lo the gallantest Phisique, that nature hath affourded, witt deuised, or magnanimity practised, to abate the pride of the enemy, and to redouble the courage of the frende. No Tobacco, or Panacea so mightily vertuous, as that Physique. Oh that it might be such a Physique in Croatia, in Hungary, in Almany, in the whole Christian world. *Immensum calcar gloria*, the goldē spurre of the braue Grecian, & the worthy Romane. *Pollicy* is Politique : & will not easely be coosened with the muske of the Perfumer, though muske be a sweet Curtesfan ; or allured with the sugar, & hony of the Cooke, though sugar, & hony be dainty hypocrites ; or enueigled with the gold-leaues of the Goldsmith, though gold-leaues be eloquēt & bewitching Oratours ; or deluded, that is, betrayed with any / coolerable counterfesance, howsoeuer smoothly enticing, or gloriously pretending. Priuate medicines are often adulterate : but publike medicines will admit no sophistication : and Pollicy must be well-aduised, before it swallow-downe the gilded pilles of flattering pretext. Fraunce hath bene taught

to be cautelous in *Truce*; which hath eftsoones sucked the sweetnesse of a *Iudas kisse*: and Croatia may learne to be prouident in *Triumph*; which hath often fealt the ioyfulnesse of a *Sampsons post*. Neither Fraunce can be too ielous: nor Croatia too preft; nor Hungary too fierce; nor Almaney too hardy; nor any nation too circumspect, that is beleaguered with such puissant, and obstinate foes. The house of *Guise* hath lōg hawked and practised for a great Crowne: the Duke de *Maine* hath chopped vpō a main chāce: Opportunity is a maruelous warriour: The king of *Spaine* a mighty enemy: the *Pope* an vnreconcilable aduersary to a Protestant Prince: the *Turke* a horrible foe to Christian states; and not to be daunted, or dismayed with two, or three petty foiles. *Petty foiles* incense choler, & enrage fury; not allay courage, or disarme power. Were not a man a man in himselfe, and God aboue all; alas, what security in a fallible *Truce*, or what repose in a momētany *Triumph*? Yet euery *Truce* is respectiue wellcome: and euery *triumph* a Pageant of manfull valour, & a Iubile of diuine fauour. For my poore part, (a single Interest in so great affaires) I am as affectionatly glad to find Victory on the better side, as I haue often bene compassionatly fory (or shall I say? stomachously angry), to read how pitteously the Christian hoast hath bene beaten

by the Turkish Army, a braue Army, but Turkish. Whose puiffance hath long bene, and ftill is the difhonour of Chriftendome; and whose Empire cannot waxe, according to their aspiring defeigne, / but Chriftes kingdome muft wane, according to fome lamentable Examples. Surely the Onely-wife (for whofoeuer is comparatiuely wife, He is abfolutely wife) ordaineth all for the beft: and they perifh for, or through, their *owne folly*, that perifh. Homer in humanity hath affirmed it: and the Bible in diuinity hath confirmed it. Howbeit true *Wifdome* is valiant in aduerfity: and right *Valiancy* wife in profperity: both euer like themfelues, and vnlike the puffes, or bubbles of the world; that know how to difguife, or afflict, but not how to redrefse, or folace themfelues. *Hope* neuer difpaireth: and no fuch refolution, as the refolution of *Faith*: a vertue of more wonderfull emproouement by thoufandes, then the moft miraculous graine of muftard-feed: or whatfoeuer *Nature* ingendreth, *Art* frameth, or *Exercife* atchieueth moft powerable. *Zeale* hath bene, & may be, a maruellous Conquerour, euen beyond the braueft *Confidence*, or fierceft *Fury*: and *Faith* was euer the wōder of wonders, where it was. Chrift fauoureth a ftout, and inuincible *Conftancy* in any good caufe: and in his owne caufe, (maugre the maineft forces, or futtleleft Pollicies

of Mahomet, or the Diuell,) he will finally make them victorious, with *Triumphes* and ioy, and *Trophies* of honour, that fight his battailes with the hart of *Zeale*, and the hand of *Courage*. Who honoureth not the glorious memory, and the very name of the renowned *Lepanto* : the monument of Don Iohn of Auftria, the security of the Venetiā state, the Halleluia of Christendome, & the Welaway of Turkey? Christ bleffe his stādard-bearers, with many *Lepantos*, and *Syffecks*; and make his *militant* Church, an hoast *triumphant*. / It hath often bene the meditation of One, that with a politique, and diuine Analysis, hath looked into the succeffiue proceedings, and fatall ouerthrowes of / Tyrannyes: if *Mahomet*, and his *Alcoran* cannot stand, but *Christ*, & his *Euangely* must fall: when the *Great Turke*, continually encroaching, (according to his graund intendiments, and ambitious defeigne,) is busiest in his hoateſt harueſt of engroſing and coheaping kingdomes, and, with a moſt greedy appetite runneth-headlong to deuoure the Chriſtian world at a bit; Lord haue mercy vpon thee, *ô little-little Turke*. *Pride* may exalt his hawty preſumptions, and *Proweſſe* aduaunce his terrible brauery: but there is a God in heauen; and they cannot laugh long, that make the Diuell laugh, and Chriſt weepe. Meane-while it were pittie, *Syffeck* ſhould want the glory of

such an immortall Memoriall, as some noble, and royall witts haue bestowed vpon the euer-renowned *Lepanto*. Excellent *Vertue*, for a due reward, deferueth excellent *Honour*: and braue *Valour*, for worthy imitation, would be brauely extolled: as Orpheus glorified Iafon; Homer, Achilles; Virgill, Æneas; Ariosto, Charlemaine; Tasso, Godfry of Bollen; and so forth. Especially in such an encountring, and surprising Time, as must either flourish, like the Palme of the mountaine; or fade, like the Lilly of the valley. You know, I am not very prodigall of my discourse with euery one: but I know, vnto whom I write: & he that hath read, and heard so many Florentine Discourses, as you haue done, may the better discern, what is what: and he that publisheth so many books to the world, as you do, may frame vnto himselfe, a priuate, & publique vse of such conference. Few they are, that are qualified to surpasse, or equall those singular Prefidents: but they few would be reteined with a golden fee, or interteined with siluer Curtesie. Some I know in *Cambridge*; some in *Oxford*; some in *London*; some *elsewhere*, died in the purest graine of *Art*, & *Exercise*; but a few in either, and not many in all: that vndoubtedly can do excellently well, exceedingly well. And were they thorowghly employed according to the possibility of their

Learning, & Industry, who can tell, what comparison this tongue might wage with the most-flourishing Languages of Europe: or what an inestimable crop of most noble and fouveraine fruite, the hand of *Art*, and the spirite of *Emulation* might reape in a rich, and honorable field? Is not the Prose of *Sir Philip Sidney*, in his sweet Arcadia, the embroidery of finest *Art*, and daintiest Witt? Or is not the Verse of M. *Spencer* in his braue Faery Queene, the Virginall of the diuineſt Muses, and gentleſt Graces? Both delicate Writers: alwayes gallant, often braue, continually delectable, ſometimes admirable. What ſweeter taſt of Suada then the Prose of the one: or what pleaſanter reliſh of the Muses, then the Verse of the Other? *Sir John Cheekes* ſtile was the hony-bee of Plato: and M.^r *Aſchams* Period the Syren of Iſocrates. His, and his breath, the balme and ſpicknard of the delightfulleſt *Tempe*. You may geſſe, whoſe meter I would intitle the harpe of Orpheus, or the dulcimers of Sappho. And which of the Goldē Riuers floweth more currently, then the ſiluer ſtreame of the *English Ariosto*? Oh that we had ſuch an *English Taſſo*: and oh that the worthy *du Bartas* were ſo endeniſoned. The *ſky-coloured Muſe* beſt commendeth her owne heauenly harmony: and who hath ſufficiently prayſed the hyacinthine & azure *die*, but itſelfe?

What colours of astonishing *Rhetorique*, or ravishing *Poetry*, more deeply engrained, thē some of his amazing deuises: the fine dittyes of an other *Petrarch*, or the sweet charmes of pure enchantment. What *Dia-margariton*, or *Dia-ambre*, so comfortatiue or cordiall, as *Her Electuary of Gemmes*, (for though the furious Tragedy *Antonius*, / be a bloody chaire of estate, yet the diuine *Discourse of Life and Death*, is a restoratiue Electuary of Gemmes) whō I do not expressly name, not because I do not honour *Her* with my hart, but because I would not dishonour *Her* with my pen, whom I admire, and cannot blason enough. Some other *Paragons* of bewtifullest Eloquence, and *Mirrours* of brightest witt, not so much for breuities sake, as for like Honours sake, I ouerskip; whose onely imperfection is, that they are touched with no imperfection. Yet *Hope* is a *Transcendent*, & will not easily be imprisoned, or impounded in any Predicament of auncient or moderne *Perfection*; which it may honour with due reuerence, but will not serue with base homage. *Excellency* hath in all ages affected singularity; & *Ambition* how impetuously buckled for the mastery? And albeit *witt* haue a quicke sent, that wil not be coofened, and *Iudgement* a sharpe eye, that cannot be bleared: (the Morning Starre of *Discretion*, and the Euening Starre of *Experience*

haue a deepe insight in the merites of euery cause) : yet still *Hope* hath reason to continue *Hope*, and is a white Angell sent from heauen, aswell to enkindle Vigorous *Zeale*, as to awaken lasie *Slough*. A wan, or windy *Hope*, is a notable breake-necked vnto itselfe ; but the grounded, and winged *Hope*, which I someway perceiue in a few other, no way conceiue in miselfe, is the ascending scale, and *milk-way* to heauenly excellency. When I bethinke me of any singular, or important *Effect*, I am presently drawne into a consideration of the *Cause*, and deeme it a childish vanity, to dreame of the *End* without the *Meanes*. The prompt and pliant *Nature*, is the dawning of the Crimsen morning : the right *Art* as fine a workeman, as Dædalus, & as nimble a Planet, as Mercury : aspiring *Imitation* may climb high : how oft hath *Emulation* won the golden spurres, / and runne his Victorious race, like the shining Sun in his resplendishing Chariot ? Pregnant and incessant *Exercise* hatcheth miracles. *Practise* was euer a curious platformer of rare and quaint Theroickes : and is it not stil possible for *Practise*, to deuise as exquisite patternes, as euer were inuented, and euen to contriue new Ideas of singularity ? The encounter of *Vertue*, is honorable : & what more commendable, then the Conflict of *Art* ? It is onely that diuine *Hope*, embellished with those

Ornaments of skill, and inspired with those blessings of heauen, that must excell itselfe; & aduance the worthiest *Valour*, that euer atchieued *Heroicall Exploits*, or leuyed *Argonauticall Prizes*, by land, or sea. Peerelesse wittes may hound-vp the precious treasure of their *Inuention*, and store-vp the gorgeous furniture of their Eloquence, till *Prowesse* hath accomplished mightier wonders vpon Earth. At this present, what can Admiration finde, either more resolute for courage, or more puissant for valour, or more honorable for succeſſe, or more wōderfull for imitatiō, thē the smal bādes of the braue *Rupertus* against the Turke; or the little troupes of the brauer *French King* against his domesticall and forrein enemyes?

I might say more, were the place fit: but what written Token shall I returne for so many Printed Tokens? One hand washeth an other: and it apperteineth vnto him, that taketh something, to giue something. I am reasonably furnished with choice of other stoare at this instant: but I will not accloy you attonce: and my least, but *Newest Trifle* (for that is the meetest name) shall serue in supply of a small requitall for your greater Newes. I terme it a Trifle for the *manner*: though the *matter* be, in my conceit, superexcellent; in the opinion of the world, most admirable; for priuate consideration, very notable; for publique / vse passing

memorable; for a point, or two, exceeding monstrous. And that is the very disgrace of the *Sonnet*, that the Stile nothing counteruaileth the Subiect, but debaseth a straunge body with vulgar attire, and disguiseth a superlatiue Text with a positiue Gloffe. As it is, it is your owne to dispose, or cancell at pleasure: and albeit the writer promise nothing, (for promise he accounteth an Obligation), yet if he fortune to surprise you with a sorry amendes, let it not be vnwellcome, that commeth in the name of good-will; and such a good-will, as is lesse affraide of the Plague, then of Vnthankefulnesse. He that is desirous with the first, to be continually made acquainted with your publike Intelligences, from, or of whatsoever kingdomes, or States; will haue a mutuall regard of frendly correspondence, by some returne of priuate Nouels, or other recompense; as any his vacation yeeldeth leysure, or any his opportunity presenteth occasion.

Touching his present Exercises, or other actions, you know enough, that know why the *Ass* sleepeeth, & the *Fox* winketh. Or recall to minde our sweet Table-philosophy of the *fordead Libbard*, a very gentle, and filent creature; and you neede no other inckling. Paraduenture, some-body may finde, that the roughest, & awk[ward]est things are not so cūberfome to other, as they may prooue irke-

some to themfelues. There is a learned kinde of *Feare* that preuenteth many mischiefes : and they are iudicioufly wife, (howfoeuer valiant, rich, or powerable,) that dare not vse other otherwise, then themfelues would be vfed. Men may stand vpon brauing termes, and puffe-vp their owne fwelling veynes : but when *wilfulneffe* is in the tide, *Discretion* is in the ebbe. Some haue repented them no leffe then fower and twenty houers in a day, and a night, for one *froward word*. / Suerly a man were better shift his footing, then stand stiffly in his owne light : and who would not rather say to his Tongue, *Tongue thou art a lyer* ; or to his penne, *Penne thou art a foole* ; then vndoe himfelfe vtterly, and shame himfelfe euerlastingly ? You might heare of the new *Treaty, or motiue* : and it is not the first time that I haue discovered a broode of witts, like the famous *well in Idumea* ; whose water one quarter of the yeare, was muddy, as the muddiest kennell ; another quarter, as bloudy, as the bloudiest slaughterhouse ; the third, as greene, as the greenest grasse : the fourth, as cleere, as the cleereft conduict.

Euery exchange for the better, doth well : and it is a good sign, when pudled waters grow cleere, if they grow cleere ; and disordered wittes become tractable, if they become tractable. Haue they not cause to doubt, that know the variable nature

of that *Syrian well*: and haue seen so many dogged things returne to their vomit? A good *bargaine*, and a *gentle Offer* would not bee refused: but he that cōsidereth the fittes of Aprill, and the panges of September, hath reason for a demurrer: and he that hath seene as lunatique creatures, as the Moone, must be pardoned, though he suffer not himselfe to be coosened with the legerdemaine of a iugling conuert. Did I neuer tell you of a grauer man, that wore a priuy coate of interchaungeable colours; and for the Art of Reuolting, or recanting, might read a Lecture to any retrograde Planet in Heauen, or Earth? Is it not possible for a wilde *Affe*, of a fugitiue and renegade disposition, in such a point to resemble the tameſt *Foxe*? Or are not *Bookes* with vnſtayed readers, and running heads like vnto those wondrous waters, that being dronke of birdes, as Theophrastus reporteth, or of sheepe, as Seneca writeth, chaunged them from white to blacke, and from blacke to white?

After / a ſterne and ruthfull *Tragedy*, solemnly acted, who deeplyer plunged in ſober, and melancholy dumpes, then ſome good fellowes; that from a pleaſant, and wanton *Comedy*, liuely played, returne as merry as a cricket, and as light as a feather? When the ſweet Youth haunted *Aretime*, and *Rabelays*, the two monſtrous wittes of their

languages, who so shaken with the furious feauers of the One; or so attainted with the French Pockes of the other? Now he hath a little mused vpon the *Funerall Teares* of Mary Magdalen; and is egged-on to try the suppleneffe of his *Patheticall veine*, in weeping the compassionatist and *diuineſt Teares*, that euer heauenly Eye rained vpon Earth: Iesu, what a new worke of *Supererogation* haue they atchieued! Riotous *Vanitie* was wont to roote so deeply, that it could hardly be vnrooted; and where reckeleſſe *Impudency* taketh poſſeſſion, it vseth not very haſtily to be diſpoſſeſſed. I was ſaying: what ſay you, to a Spring of rankeſt *Villany* in February: and a Harueſt of ripeſt *Diuinity* in May? May they not ſurceaſe to wonder, that wonder how Machiauell can teach a Prince *to be*, and *not to be*, religious?

• An other queſtion, or two of ſharper edge, were at my toungeſ end. But what ſhould we hereafter talke any-more of *Paradoxes*, or *impoſſibilities*, when He, that penned the moſt deſperate and abominable Pamflet of *Straunge Newes*, and diſgorged his ſtomacke of as poiſonous rancour, as euer was vomited in Print; within few moneths is won, or charmed, or inchaunted, (or what *Metamorphoſis* ſhould I terme it) to aſtoniſh carnall mindes with ſpirituall meditations, vpon one of the moſt ſacred and godfull arguments, that the

holiest deuotion could admire, in the profoundest traunce of rapt Seraphicall Zeale? I will not stay to maruell at the miracles of predominant Causes: the Holy/-ghost is an omnipotent Spirite, that can mollifie the flyntyest minde, and breath a soule of Heauen into a hart of Hell. If vn-faynedly he hath stripped-of the snakes skinne, and put-on the *new man*, as he deuoutly pretendeth; let him be constant, and not blaspheme his most reuerend Sauour with counterfait Teares: if he playeth at fast, and loose, (as is vehemently suspected, by strong presumptions) whom shall he cunnycatch, or crosbite, but his Cast-away selfe, as holly, as a holly-hock? But, I thanke God, I haue some-thing else to dispute: and if young Apuleius be not still the sonne of old Apuleius, and Pierce still as diuine, as a wilde Vine, I haue said nothing: but commend the sweet art of relenting Humanity, and embrace the good nature of a good Nature, that sheddeth the pure Teares of Repentance. The more notorious the offence, and the more *vn-satisfiable* the *Iniurie* was; the more fauorable, and liberall he is, that with honest termes, and reasonable conditions may easely be entreated to pardon the same; that is, to bestow a great benefit in steade of a great reuenge, and to loose the exercise of many weekes, to gaine the recouery of one *lost sonne*. The best is, I am not

yet a Fly in the cobweb of the Spider: and in a mating age, none are free from the check, but kinges. Or if kinges peraduenture finde themselues somewhat shrewdly mated, alas we poore subiectes must be content to be checked: & may dayly learne of our betters, to smother with patience, that we cannot quench with order, and will not extinguish with disorder. Socrates professed nothing: and I professe lesse then Socrates: yet this I professe. He that neither cockereth himselfe, nor loueth to be lulled, or smoothed-up of freindes, can lightly put-vp the heauiest load of an enemy: and he can hardly be daunted with nipping wordes, that is not easely dismayed with pinching deedes. An *unguiltie minde* knoweth not what the *trembling of the Hart* meaneth: and a *sounde Conscience* is a brazen wall against the mainest battry of Spite, or Feude. Were there no other philosophie, but *Experience*, and a settled resolution to proceede according to *Reason* in generall, and *Occasion* in speciall: euery guiltlesse eye that seeith any thing, seeith his owne *Confirmation* in the *Confutation* of his guiltie aduersary: whose Vaine *railinges* are fibbe to other *Vanities*, that cannot endure, but either Vanish like smoke in the Ayer; or mealt-away like snow in the Sunne; or grow stale like disguised fashions; or dissolue themselues into their *materiam primam*, that is, into Vanitie, &

shame. Had I founde any one materiall article, or substāciall point against me, I must haue imputed some part of the blame to miselfe: but finding nothing in all those pestilent & Virulent sheetes of waft-paper, but meere-meere forgeries, and the *Diuell in the horologe*; might I not iustly say? I haue cause to vse, as I am used: or haue I not reason to stand vpon termes of consideration? Did I not intende to deale a bountifull almes of Curtesie, who in my case would giue eare to the law of *Obluion*, that hath the Law of *Talion* in his handes; or accept of a silly recantation, as it were a fory plaister to a broken shinne, that could knocke Malice on the head, and cut the windpipe of the railing throate? *Pierces Supererogation*, (that was an arrow in my hād, or clogg in your,) is left beholding to the penknife: *Nashes S. Fame* hath somewhat more of the launcelet: the Reply of *the excellent Gentlewoman* is the fine rasour, that must shaue-away euery ranke haire of his great courage, and little wit. I was long-since aweary with beating the Aier; and take small pleasure in washing the Asses head: or what should I terme that /bootelesse, and irksome businesse? But it is that heauenly Creature (for so she will approue herselfe) that can coniure-downe the mouth of Villany into hell-mouth; & will do it as resolutely, as she can do it peremptorily, Vnlesse a cōpetent

fatisfaction be speedily tendered to my cōtentmēt. It were pittie, that diuine handy-worke should bee employed but to a diuine peece of seruice, either to gaine a relenting foule, or to cast-away an obstinate body. If she be preuented by a voluntary submission of the offendour; to do a thing done, were a superfluous labour; and to vndo a man vndone, an vnmercifull cruelty. A thing as contrary to the shining louelineſſe of her milde disposition, as the bitterest bitter seemeth repugnāt to the sweetest sweet. The *braueſt man* is such a personage, as I haue elsewhere described: A *Lion* in the field, a *Lamme* in the towne: A Ioues *Eagle* in feude, an Apollos *Swanne* in society: A *Serpent* in wit, A *Doue* in life: A *Fury* in execution, an *Angell* in conuerſation. What hath the braueſt man, that she hath not: excepting the *Lion* in the field of Mars, which she hath in the field of Minerua: whose warre she wageth with a courageous minde, an inuincible hand, and the *cunning aray* of the worthy Old-man in Homer. His *talke* was sweet; his *Order* fine; and his whole *menage* braue: and so is hers: but for a dainty *wit*, and a diuine *humanitie*, she is such a Paragon, as may compare with the excellentest of Homers women, and pledge the honorablest of his Goddeſſes. She is a right birde of *Mercuries winged chariot*: and teacheth the liuelyest cockes of the game, to

besturre them early, to crow gallantly, to march comely, to fight valiantly, to comfort kindly, and to liue in any estate honorably. No flower more flourishing, then her *witt*: no fruite more mature then her *iudgement*. All her conceits are illuminate with / the light of *Reason*: all her speeches bewtified with the grace of *Affabilitie*: all her writinges seasoned with the salt of *Discretion*: all her sentēces spiced with wittines, perfumed with delight, tēpered with proffit: no leauen of *Experience* more sauory, thē all her platformes, & actions: nothing more mellow, thē the whole course of her life. In her minde there appeareth a certaine heauenly *Logique*: in her tongue, & pen, a diuine *Rhetorique*: in her behaiour, a refined *Morall Philosophie*: in her gouernemēt, a fouerain *Pollicy*: in euery part of her proceeding a singular *dexteritie*: & what patterne of *skill*, or *Practise*, more admirable then the whole? Let it not seeme incredible, that shall enact & accōplish more, thē is signified. The maner of her *wrath*, or *disdaine*, (yet I beleue, she was neuer froward with any, nor euer angry but with *One*; whō onely she scorneth, & before whō she neuer contemned any,) is somewhat like the counter-tenour of an offended Syren; or not much vnlike the progresse of the resplēdent Sunne in the Scorpion. Her *fauour* is liker triacle for the hart, thē ypocrase for the mouth: her *dis-*

fauour like the Moone withdrawing the cheerly beames of her bounteous light in a cloud: her *hatred* (if she can hate, for I verily thinke she neuer hated, but One) like the flashing weapon of the fiery Aier. She is not lightly moued: but what she refembleth, or representeth, when she is moued, could I as visibly declare, as she cā vigorously vtter, I would deeme miself a peece of an Oratour. And I were more then Tullyes perfect Oratour, if I could display her excellent perfections, whose minde is as full of ritch giftes, and precious Iewells, as New-yeares day. Yet her goodliest ornament, and greatest wonder, is the *sweet humilitie* of that braue courage. But in remembring her, I forget miself: & what a tedious Letter is here for him, that main / taineth a chargeable family by following his busines? Had I not found you desirous of some particularities touching *Nasbes S. Fame*, & the *Gentlewomans Reply*, when you deliuered vnto me *Pierces Supererogation* in Print: I had dispatched ere now. But now you must lend me patience, vntill I haue disbalased my minde cōcerning her *endighting*, whereof I haue already giuē you a tast, or smacke in *Pierces Supererogation*: as in the harmony of her mind, so in the melody of her *Verse*, I seldome or neuer descry any note out off tune: and it is not the first time I haue termed her *Prose* the tinsell of

finest Art, and sweetest nature. What notes I finde about Ela in the One ; & what counterpoints of exquisite workmanship I admire in the other : it shall elsewhere appeare, in a Dialogue, intituled *Pandora*, or the *Mirrour of singularitie*. Might I see the *finest Art*, and *sweetest nature* in person, I would report me to the Censure of their owne souverain mouthes ; the best Iudges in their owne peerlesse faculty. There falleth not a *sentence* from her quill, without sappe, and pith : and every *Periode* of her stile carrieth marmalad and fucket in the mouth : and every *argument* of her inuention, fauoreth of most fauory reason. No chaine so linked, as her *Conclusions* : nor any Cristall so cōspicuous, as her *Method*. Her whole *discourse* is the creame of the milke ; the combe of the hony ; the iuice of the grape ; & the marrow of the bone. The *bestowing of her perfections* at occasion, a dainty choice, & fine marshalling, of every excellency, curiously sorted in their proper places : like the gorgeous *wardrobe of Helena*, or the precious *Jewellhouse of Cleopatra*, or the cunning *stillhouse of Mædea*, or the comely distributing of the *neatest and gallantest furniture* in the ritcheist Oeconomy. What needeth more ? Her *beginning*, like the purest Oyle in the crowne of the / *rondelet* : Her *proceeding*, like the souverainest wine in the midst of the butt : Her *ending*, like the sweetest

hoony in the bottome of the hoony-pot. Her intention was defensiuē, not offensiuē; and had any thing bene tolerable in that scurrilous and villanous declamation, assuredly she would a thousand times rather haue excused the matter, then accused the maker. *Humanity*, is euer willinger to loue, then to hate, & so is she: *Curtesie*, much forwarder to commend, then to dispraise; and so is she: *Clemencie*, infinitely proner to absolue, then to condemne, and so is she. For she is a personall *Humanity*, a meere *Curtesie*, and a *Clemencie* incorporate. But when she sawe the fowle mouth so shamefully runne-ouer, without all respect of *manners*, or regard of *honestie*, or pretence of *Truth*, or colour of *Reason*: *Gentlemen*, quoth She, *though I lacke that you haue, the Art of Confuting*; yet *I haue some suddes of my mother witt, to sowsse such a Dish clowte in*; and if sowsing will not serue the turne, I may hap finde a payre of Pinsons, as sharply cōceited, as *S. Dunstōs* tonges, that led the Diuell by the nose Autem, vp and downe the house, till the roaring beast bellowed out like a bull-beggar. And as for his terrible crackes of *Gunpowder termes*, neuer lend credit to the word of A Gentlewoman, if I make not old *mother-Gunpowder* of the newest of those *ratling babies*. And if steeping in *Aqua fortis*, will infuse courage into his *goose-quill*; why man, I will dowse thee ouer

head, and eares in such a dowty *Collyrium*, as will inspire the Picture of *Snuffe*, and *Fury*, into the Image of *S. Patience*. I haue not bene squattering at my papers for nothing : and albeit I cannot paint with my pen, like fine *Sappho*, yet I can dawbe with my incke, like nine of the *Muses* : and am prettily prouided to interteine *S. Fame* with a homely gallimaufry of *little Art*, to requite her / dainty flaumpaump of *little wit*. A poore kitchin may be as good an Artift for the stomacke, as a poore dairy : (alas, that euer *S. Fame* should be so whitled) : and it shall go hard in my Cookery, but the *fillibub of his stale Inuention* shalbe welcommed with a *supping of a new fashion* & some straunge firrupe *in cōmendā* of his meritorious workes. Though a *railer* hath more learning, thē a shrew : yet *Experiēce* hath a fillip for a Scholler ; *Discretion* a tuck for a foole ; *Honesty* a bobbe for a K : & my *morter*, a pestle for assafetida. Let him be the *Falanta downe-didle* of Ryme ; the *Hayhohalliday* of Prose, the *Walladay* of new writers ; the *kutthroate* of his aduerfaries ; the *gallowes* of his companions ; the onely *broker* of Pamflets ; or what he can for his sweltring hart : my *battring instrument* is resolute, and hath vowed to bray the braying creature to powder. We must haue at least *three Peccauiers* of Pierce Penniles ; and *three Misereres* of the Confuting Tospot ; or

Lord haue mercy vpon thee, *three thousand times-wofull wight*. I am loth to struggle for the *Moon-shine in the pudled water*: but if we must needes buckle for nifles, & grapple for naughtes; though I cannot tell, whither I can bounse him, like a barne doore, or thumpe him, like a drumme of Flushing; yet I may chaūce rattle him, like a baby of parchment, or kneade him like a cake of dowe, or chearne him like a dish of butter, or girke him like a hobling gig, or tatter him like a thing for-spokē, or someway haue my *Penny-worthes* of his *Penniles witt*. Nay, if the *Princock* must be playing vpon them; that can play vpō his warped sconce, as vpon a tabor, or a fiddle: let himselfe thāke himselfe, if he be kindly thummed. Sirrha, I will stāpe an *unknowne grape*, that shall put the mighty *Burdeaux grape* to bed: & may peraduētūre broach a new *Tun of such nippitaty*, as with the very steame of the *nappy liquour* will / lullaby thy fiue wittes, like the fences of the drunkenest sot, when his braynes are sweetliest perfumed. I fit thee with a Similitude for thy capacity: or belch a new Confutation against the long tongues of the *Stilliarde*, and some twenty *Tauernes in London*. I could be content, a *drunken Prose* and a *mad Ryme*, were thy deadlyest finnes. But they are sweet youthes, that tipples their wittes with *quaffing of knauery*, and *carowsing of Atheisme*.

If there be no other iollities at home, or braueries abroad ; it is happy for them, that were borne with those prizes in their throats. *And wellfare a frolike Courage, that will needes be the Tower of Babylonian Conceit, and with a mightie Bullwarke of Supererogation gloriously confounde itselfe.*

The rest of her speaches, and writings, are to be recorded, or suppressed, as it pleaseth the Horne of these pelting sturres : who may haply finde the Trompet of *Peace*, as fuer a Souldiour in case of necessary defence, as the Drumme of *Warre*, or the Swafh of *Feude*. Some that haue perused eloquent bookes, and researched most curious writings, haue not seene goodlier variety of vernished phrases, and burnished sentēces, then in her stile : which was not so gorgeously decked, and so fairely limned for nought. Howbeit as in some publike causes, better a mischief, then an inconuenience : so in many priuate cases *better an inconuenience, then a mischief*. Though an Orient Gemme be precious, and worthy to be gazed vpon with the eye of Admiration, yet better an Orient Gemme sleepe, then the Penitent mā perish : and better a delicate peece of Art should be layd aside, or vnwouen like Penelopes web, then an immortall peece of Nature be cast-away. She loueth not to confute, that confuteth itselfe : & I hate to confound, that confoundeth himselfe. She in

the Court of Ciuility hath lear/ ned to embrace *amēdment* with the armes of *Curtesie*: and I in the schoole of Diuinity am taught, to kisse *repent- aunce* with the lippes of *Charitie*. I affect not any colourable insinuation, in glosing or smoothing termes of formall accord: but misery accompany my actions, and the mercy of heauen be my vnmercifull enemy, if I desire not with a longing hart, to wreake my teene vpon wilde vndiscretiō by requiting *good for bad*, & conuerting the worme-wood of iust offence into the angelica of pure attonement. The onely reason of my demurrer, is my *assurance*: which consisteth rather in *diffidence*, then in *credulitie*, and cannot warrantise itselfe what will be done, vntill it is done. He were very simple, that hauing so heauy causes of diffidēce, and so light causes of credulity, would runne hastily into the trapp, or suffer himselfe to be presently intangled in the snare. *Parly* is a suttle Sophister: *Flattery* a tickling sollicitour: and *Persuasion* an inchaunting witch. I cannot but listen vnto them with an itching eare, and conceiue as it were a tang of pleasure in mine owne displeasure: but, without *legem pone*, wordes are winde, and without actuall performance, all nothing. Had I not more Premisses of distrust, then promises of trust; or were he not euer to be *presumed* a bad fellow, that hath once played

the bad fellow with a witnesse, (nothing but *contrary prooffe* can reuerse that iudgement) : yet Lawyers loue *reall cautions* : and they that would be loth to be enticed by white, and defeated by blacke, are curious of their security. *Truce* was euer a redoubtable freind ; & *Suspicion* hath cause to looke vpon *Reconciliation* with a ielous eye. *Reconciliatiō* is a sweet word : but entire Reconciliation a rare thing, & a straūge restorative: whose sweetnesse lyeth not in the tip of the tongue, or in the neb of the pen, but in the bottome of the *hart*, & in the / bowells of the *minde* ; the minde that daily emproueth itselfe, the onely deepe Polititian, & inscrutable hypocrite. Whose inwardest secrets notwithstanding, are not so profound, or close, especially in the shallow breſt of inconfiderate youth, but they may in ſort be founded, & diſcouered by a cunning obſeruation of Circumſtāces.

Some eſſentiall points I referue to miſelfe : but M. Wolfe knoweth, & who knoweth not? great *Penmen* and Pamflet-marchants play much vpon the aduantage of the *time*, and care not who be the enemy, ſo the *Terme* be their friend. Which of vs can tell, but *there* may lye the drift, & great Pollicy of the new motion? I haue earneſtly, and inſtantly craued perſonall conference : but that ſhould ſeeme to make little for his purpoſe,

or might haue bene graunted with lesse suite. All must be done by the mediation of a third, and a fourth ; and such an intercourse, as I may probably haue in some ielousie, though I conceiue well of the interposed persons. There hath already bene a large expence of *time* : & *charges* continually runne : & matters of *more importance* lye dead in the naft : & the *burned finger* hath reason to startle from the fire : and he that hath bene *once abused*, would not willingly be abused twice : and *Security* cannot be too precise, or scrupulous : and I would there were no Cunnychcatchers in London. Till a *publique iniurie* be publickely confessed, and *Print* confuted in Print, I am one of S. Thomas disciples : not ouer-preft to beleue, but as cause causeth : and very ready to forgiue, as effect effecteth. They that know the daunger of *Truces*, and the couen of *treatyes*, *vi supra*, must begge leaue to ground their repose vpon more *cautels*, then one : and to proceede in termes of *suspence*, or *Pause*, till they may be resolued with infallible *assurance*. For mine owne determination, I see no credible hope of *Peace*, / but in *Warre* : and could I not commaunde, that I desire, I am perswaded, I should hardly obtaine, that I wish. I loue *Osculum Pacis*, but hate *Osculum Iudæ* ; and reuerence the *Teares of Christ* ; but feare the *Teares of the Crocodile*.

Shall I be a little plaine? Methinkes the raung-ing Eyes vnder that lōg haire, (which some would call ruffianly haire) should scarceely yet be bathed in the heauenly Teares of Christ, or washed in the diuine Teares of Penitence. *Irish haire*, and *weeping Irish* are no white Crowes in these countreyes: and although there were no Wolfes in England, yet there be *Foxes in the hole*. I would be loth to aggrauate the least, or greatest particular against a Penitentiall soule: but still to haunt infamous, or suspected houses, tauernes, lewd company, and riotous fashions, as before, (for to this day his behauiour is no turnecoate, though his stile be a changeling) is a greater liberty in my small diuinity, then accordeth with that deuoute and most holy-holy profession.

Lord, how curious was the wiser sort euen of the heathen Philosophers, in the neat, & exquisite choice of their pure diet, vndefiled society, Virgin manners, Vnstained discourses, and vnspotted actions. What so clarified, as their witt: so purified, as their minde: so sweetened, as their conference: so vertuous, as their instruction: so powrefull, as their experiments: so exemplary, as their life: so vnblemished, as their fame? I know not, who weeped the Funerall Teares of Mary Magdalene: I would he that sheddeth the Patheticall Teares of Christ, & trickleth the liquid Teares of Repentance, were

no worfe affected in pure deuotion, then those Philosophers in morall Conuerſation! Were I not content, in ſome little hope of his finall recouery, either in deede, or in ſhewe; to do him a meritorious fauour by concealing his vtter diſcredit: I could eaſily, and would noto/riouſly, make him aſhamed of ſome his late Sayings, and Doinges: ô Lord, how Vnbefeeming the Teares of Chriſt: & alas, how likely to forerunne a miſerable deſtiny? Let him reforme his publique, & redreſſe his priuate enormities, & with a ſincere vowe I ſweare him frendſhip: or let him reſt quiet, & I am quiet. Otherwiſe I may poſſibly be induced, to pay him home with an immortall reuēge, that hath plagued his own tōgue with deſperate *blaſphemies in ieſt*: ô Chriſt, of how horrible cōſequence, without *teares in earneſt*? There is a great diſtance betwixt Hell, and Heauen: the Diuell, and God: Rakehells, and Sainctes: the *Supplication to the Diuell*, and the *Teares of Chriſt*: the *Straunge Newes* of Villany, and the miraculous Newes of Repentance: the Herald of Warre, and the Ambaſſadour of Peace: the publique Notary of Lyes, and the Register of Truth: the *Diuels Oratour*, and *Chriſtes Chauncellour*. Though *Greene* were a Iulian, and *Marlow* a Lucian: yet I would be loth, *He* ſhould be an Aretin: that Paraphraſed the

ineftimable bookes of Mofes, and difcourfed the Capricious Dialogues of rankeft Bawdry : that penned one Apology of the diuinity of Chrift, and another of Pederastice, a kinde of harlatry, not to be recited : that published the Life of the blessed Virgin, and the Legende of the Errant Putana : that recorded the hiftory of S. Thomas of Aquin, and forged the moft deteftable Blacke-booke *de tribus impoftoribus mundi*. O monfter of extremities ; and ô abomination of outrageous witt. It was his glory, to be a *hellhounde incarnate*, and to spoile Origen of his egregious praife : *Vbi benè, nemo meliùs : vbi malè, nemo peiùs*.

Some furmounting fpirites loue to arreare a huge opinion of their exceffiue validity, *pro*, or *contra*. *Hyperbolicall Vertues* (it is Aristotles Epithite) are heauenly miracles ; and / *hideous Excellency* an heroicall wonder, like the Labours of Hercules, and the Bountyes of Errant Knightes : but *superlatiue knauery* is a ranke Villain ; and VGLY BLASPHEMY, a foule Diuell, tormented with his own damnable mouth. It is not puffing, or bluftring in bombasted termes, or Babilonian phrafes : but the fine and sweet *course of Vertue*, of induftry, of Beaudefert, of Valour, of true brauery, that performeth worthy actions, and purchafeth the honour of the world. If *Humanity* will needes grow miraculous, it muft flye with the wing of

Diuinity, not flutter with the plume of *Athzisme*, or hoise the sayle of *Presumption*. Whosoeuer despiseth the *Maiestie of Heauē*, or playeth the *Democritus in Goddes cause*; be his *witt* neuer so capon-crammed in *Vanity*, or his *hart* neuer so toade-swolne in *surquidry*: is the abiectest vermin, and Vilest padd, that creepeth on the earth. If there be no such matter in the world, all the better: if there be, wo be to the *Autours of their own Confusion*: and blessed they that take forth a good lesson from other mens miscarriage. Happy, and ten thousand times happy, that inspired *Heraclitus*, that powreth-out the *most tender affectionate Teares of Christ*, with the flowing eyes of *Zeale*, and the melting eloquence of his *bowells*. Other Oratory would be feeid, as it perswadeth; or thanked, as it edifieth; or honored, as it rauisheth harts with a powrfull impression; or admired, as it stealeth soules with a diuine sacriledge. He is the perfect Oratour, that figureth and representeth euery thing in *Art*, as it is in *Nature*: that dispatcheth light points roundly; handeleth weightier matter more substantially; in the grauest subiect proceedeth with due reuerence; and of faith discourseth faithfully, of heauen heauenly, of diuinity diuinely, of Christ like Christ. *Dalliance* in the sagest, and highest causes, is an absurdity, and / like a ridiculous Vice in a Tragedy, or a

poisonous Serpent in Paradise. *Non est bonum, ludere cum Sanctis: cum Christo ludere, execrabile.* *Aretin* was a reprobate ruffian: but euen *Castilio*, and *Macchiauel*, that were not greatly religious in conscience, yet were religious in pollicy: & there is no kingdome, or Commonwealth vpon Earth so prophane, or barbarous, but either in conscience is, or in Pollicy seemeth, religious, or cannot possibly maintaine any durable state. I would every Autour, that hath done no better, had done no worse: and it were to be wished, that some desperate wittes were not so forward, to disbowell the intrails of their owne impious mindes. *Plinyes*, and *Lucians* religion may ruffle, and scoffe awhile: but extreme *Vanitie* is the best beginning of that brauery, and extreme *Miserie* the best end of that felicity. *Greene*, and *Marlow* might admonish other to aduise themselves: and I pray God, the promised Teares of Repentance, proue not the Teares of the Onion vpon the Theater. If I knew no more, then I vtter; I would hope no lesse, then I wish: but hearing what I heare, & conceiuing what I conceiue, I would be vnfaignedly glad, he should exceede my expectation: and when he hath resolued my incredulity with a little actuall performance, I will not faile to render him right, with extensiué fauour. For my particular, let his professed

Pœnitēt appeare by any reasonable, or tolerable satisfaction, without fraude, or collusion : and I am no way rigorous in reuenge, or obstinate in displeasure. Meanwhile it is haply not amisse, to consider by the way, that *Truth* begetteth hatred ; *Vertue* Enuy, *Familiaritie* cōtempt ; Fauour pride ; *Pardon* recklesnesse ; and *Credulitie* damage, or daunger. A straūge case, that so good Moothers should bring-forth so bad daughters ; but Improbittie, or Iniquitie (or / what should I terme that naughty humour?) is the *fift Element of the world* : and *Consultation* were better to sit safely betweene *Yea*, and *No*, then to fall suddainly with a hasty *No*, or to stand weakely with a simple *Yea*. My *Affection* is ready to subscribe to any indifferent articles of *accorde* : (for *bona fide* I affect agreement), but my *Reason* hath reason to pause awhile ; and a scruple or two of some depēdence, may seeme to say *No*. But euen those two Negatiues (vpon a firme, & vndefeasible security, *sine dolo malo*,) would be conformable enough, to conclude an Affirmatiue, and will not sticke at any Transaction, or Composition, that is not Vnreasonable. To make short, (for no Iett, or Loadstone so attractiue, as Lines, that draw vnto them so many selfe-offering sentences : and I haue already vnmeasurably exceeded my flint) he that longeth to enioy the

fruite of *pruate amitie*, and *publique fauour*, hasteth not to embrace the blossome, or to dote vpon the shaddow. His onely finall request, and affectionate prayer is, that howsoever poore men be vsed, the deare *Teares of Christ*, and the cheape *Teares of Repētāce*, be not abused. All is well, that endeth effectually well: & so in some hast he endeth, that wisheth you entirely well: and for your instruction can assure you, he needeth not to send to Athens for hony, or to Spaine for sugar, or to Italy for Anniseedes, or to the Orient for faunders, or pearles; that may finde as fine, and dainty choice, neerer hand. I can say nothing for miselfe, whose date is expired: but I dare ascertaine you, three drops of the Oyle of roses, or three drops of the Mercury of Buglosse, will enstrengthen the braine, or comfort the hart more, then six, and six ounces of their common firrups. A greater difference betwixt artificiall, and rude stiles, refined, and drossy wittes; skilfull, and ignorant iudge/ments; auailable, and vnprofitable workes; I commend to the consideration of the Presse, with a right-harty Farewell. This 16. of September. 1593. Your assur[ed], wherein he may pleasure you,

Gabriell Haruey.

S O N E T.

Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare.

*St. Fame dispoy'd to cunnycatch the world,
Vprear'd a wonderment of Eighty Eight :
The Earth, addreading to be ouerwhurld,
What now auailles, quoth She, my ballance weight ?
The Circle smyl'd to see the Center feare :
The wonder was, no wonder fell that yeare.*

*Wonders enhaunse thzir powre in numbers odd :
The fatall yeare of yeares is Ninety Three :
Parma hath kist ; De-maine entreates the rodd :
Warre wondreth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to
fee.*

*Braue Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames :
The Christian Neptune Turkish Vulcane tames.*

*Nauarre wooes Roome : Charlmaine giues Guise
the Phy :
Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.*

L'enuoy.

*The hugest miracle remaines behinde,
The second Shakerley Rash-swash to binde.*

A / Stanza declaratiue : to the Louers of Admirable Workes.

*Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare,
With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art,*

*To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare,
 And play the galiard Championesses part.
 Though miracles surcease, yet wonder see
 The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three.
 Vis consilij expers, mole ruit sua.*

The Writer's Postscript : or a frendly *Caueat* to
 the *Second Shakerley* of *Powles*.

*Slumbring I lay in melancholy bed,
 Before the dawning of the sanguin light :
 When Eccho shrill, or some Familiar Spright,
 Buzzed an Epitaph into my hed.*

Magnifique Mindes, bred of Gargantuas race,
 In grisly weedes His Obsequies waiment,
 Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triūph'd on
 Kent,
 Scorning to bate Sir Rodomont an ace.

*I mus'd awhile : and hauing mus'd awhile,
 Iesu, (quoth I) is that Gargantua minde
 Conquerd, and left no Scanderbeg behinde ?
 Vowed he not to Powles A Second bile ?
 What bile or kibe ? (quoth that same early Spright)
 Haue you forgot the Scanderbegging wight ?*

Glosse. /

*Is it a Dreame ? or is it the Higheest minde
 That euer haunted Powles, or hunted winde,*



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*Bereaft of that same sky-surmounting breath,
That breath, that taught the Tempany to swell ?*

*He, and the Plague contended for the game :
The hawty man extolles his hideous thoughtes,
And gloriously insultes vpon poore soules,
That plague themselues : for faint harts plague
themselues.*

*The tyrant Sicknesse of base-minded slaues,
Oh how it dominer's in Coward Lane ?
So Surquidry rang-out his larum bell,
When he had girn'd at many a dolefull knell.*

*The graund Dissease disdain'd his toade Conceit,
And smiling at his tamberlaine contempt,
Sternely struck-home the peremptory stroke.
He that nor feared God, nor dreaded Diu'll,
Nor ought admired, but his wondrous selfe :
Like Iunos gawdy Bird, that proudly stares
On glittering fan of his triumphant taile :
Or like the vgly Bugg that scorn'd to dy,
And mountes of Glory rear'd in towring witt :
Alas : but Babell Pride must kisse the pitt.*

L'enuoy.

*Powles steeple, and a hugyer thing is downe :
Beware the next Bull-beggar of the towne.*

—————Fata immatura vagantur.

FINIS.



ERRATA.

Slight fautes are soone corrected, as that of *fine marshalling* without a Comme, in the leafe C. or any the like : but in the same leafe there escaped a grofe error, to be corrected thus :

Her beginning, like the purest Oyle in the crowne of the rondelet : *Her proceeding*, like the fouerainest wine in the middest of the Butt : *Her ending*, like the sweetest hoony in the bottome of the hoony-pot. [Thus misprinted in the text : "*Her beginning*, like the purest Oile in the crowne of the middest of the rondelet : *her proceeding*, like the fouerainest wine in the butt : *her ending*, like the sweetest hoony in the bottome of the hoony-pot."—Corrected in our text—G.]

FINIS.



END OF VOL. I.

E. W.

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