## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note on the Text</strong></td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Introduction</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Thomas Deloney</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Deloney and the Elizabethan Novel</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. The poetry of Deloney</td>
<td>xxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Iacke of Newberie</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. The Gentle Craft (The first part)</strong></td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. The Gentle Craft (The second part)</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. Thomas of Reading</strong></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI. A Declaration made by the Archbishop of Colleen upon the Deede of his Mariage</strong></td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII. The Proclamation and Edict of the Archbishop, and Prince Elector of Culleyn</strong></td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIII. The Garland of Good Will</strong></td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IX. Strange Histories</strong></td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>X. Canaans Calamitie</strong></td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>XI. Miscellaneous Ballads</strong></td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>XII. Appendix</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Patient Grissell</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Deloney's Lost Work</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. Attributed Ballads</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>XIII. Notes</strong></td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CALAMITIE
Jerusalem's Misery,

OR
The dolefull destruction of faire Jerusalem by Titus, the Sonne of Vespasian
Emperor of Rome, in the yeare of Christ's
Incarnation 74.

Wherein is shewed the woonderfull miseries which
God brought upon that City for sinne, being utterly
over-thrown and destroyed by Sword,
pestilence and famine.

AT LONDON,
Printed for Thomas Bayly, and are to be sold at
the corner-shop in the middle rowe in Holborne,
neere adjoyning unto Staple Inne.
1618.
TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVLL
M. Richard Kingsmill Esquier, Justice of peace
and Quorum in the Countie of Southampton, and
Surveyer of her Maisties Courtes of Wardes
and Liveries. All prosperitie and happines.

Having (Right worshipfull) often heard of your extraordinary favour, shewed in the depth of extremitie, to some poore freindes of mine, remayning in your pleasant Lordship of Highecleere: by meanes whereof, they haue had no small comfort for the recouerie of their wished desire: I haue been studious how I might in some measure declare both their thankfulnesse and mine owne for so great a good. But such is our weake abillity that we cannot requite the least poyn't of that life prolonging kindnes, which the riches of your courtesie did yeeld: neuerthelesse to make apparent, that our poore estates shall not obscure, or clowd with ingratitude, the well intending thoughts of our hearts: I haue presumed to present to your worship this little booke, an vnfaigned token of our good affection, hoping that like the Princely Pertian you will more respect the good will then the gift, which I confesse farre vnworthy so worthy a Patron in respect of the simple handling of so excellent a matter: But a playne stile doth best become plaine truth, for a trifling fable hath most neede of a pleasant pen. Wherefore if it shall please your Worship to esteeme of my simple labour, and to let this passe vnder your favorable protection, I shall haue the end of my desire. And resting thus in hope of your worships courtesie I cease, wishing you all hearts content in this life, and in the world to come eternall felicitie.

Your worships most humblie affectionate:

T. D.
To the Gentlemen Readers health.

Gentlemen, I present you here with the mourning song of Jerusalem's sorrow: whose destruction was Prophesied by our Lord Jesus Christ, while he liued among them: notwithstanding they neither regarded, nor beleued his words. And after they had in the mallice of their hearts compact his death, and that the Judge sought to cleare himselfe of so foule a crime: The cursed Jews cried with one consent saying: his blood be on vs, and one our children. Which wicked wish of theirs the Lord brought to passe within a short time after, as in this following Historie you shall perceiue. At what time both Cittie and Temple was brought to utter confusion: the misery whereof was so extreame as the like was never before, nor since: And you shall perceiue that this destruction came vpon them in the time of their greatest prosperitie, when their gould and Treasure most abounded, when pride excelled, and that the people were bent to all wantonnes. Such was their daintiness and delicase, that they could not devise, with what meate they might best please their nice stomachs, wishing for better bread then could be made of Wheate: abusing in such sort, the blessings of God (which was in great abundance bestowed vpon them) that being glutted with to much wealth and plentie, they loathed every thing that bore not an high price: casting scornfull eyes vpon Gods great blessings: but in reading this Historie, you shall see how soone their state was changed, and the great plagues that followed their peuish and hatefull pride: by whose wofull fall, God graunt vs and all Christians to take example, least following them in the like sinne, we feel the like smart. Vale.

Yours in all courtesie. T. D.
A description of Jerusalem and the Riches thereof.

Like to a Mourner clad in dolefull black,
That sadly sits to heare a heauie tale:
So must my pen proceed to shew the wrack,
That did with terror Syon hill assaile.

What time Jerusalem that Cittie faire,
Was sieg'd and sackt by great Vespatians heire.

A noble Jew Iosephus writes the storie.

Of all the stories euer yet recited,
Neuer could any make the mind more sorie,
Than that which he so dolefully indighthed:

Which sets in sight how for abomination.
That goodly Citty came to desolation.

In all the world the like might not be scene.
To this faire Citty famous to behold,
A thousand Towers stood there the streetes between,
Whose carued stones great cunning did vnfold:
The buildings all, so stately fine and rare,
That with Jerusalem no place might compare.

In mid'st whereof the glorious Temple stood,
Which Nehemia had so faire erected,
Whose Timber worke was all of precious wood,
By Gods appointment wounderously effecte\d:
Where all the People came with one accord,
And offered sacrifice, vnto the Lord.

Three stately walles begirt this Citty round,
Strongly raild vp of gallant squared stone,
Vnpossible in fight foes should them confound,
By warlike Engines seized therevpon.

The spacious gates most glorious to behold,
Were all gilt ouer, with rich burnisht gould.

And round about Jerusalem likewise,
Were pleasant walkes prepar'd for recreation,
Sweet daintie gardens feeding gazers eyes,
With worke of wonder and high admiration,
Where in the midst of sweetest smelling flowers,
They built for pleasure, many pleasant bowers.
The Destruction of Jerusalem. 421

In treasures store this Citty did excell,
For pompe and pride it was the onely place,
In her alone did richest Marchants dwell,
And famous Princes sprung of Royall race:
And fairer Dames did nature neuer frame,
Then in that Citty dwelt and thither came.

Christ's Prophesie of the destruction
of this Cittie and how it came to passe accordingly
within Forty yeares after, shewing the cause that
mooued the Emperour to come against it.

O Vr Sauiour Christ tracing the bordring hilles,
When he on this faire Cittie cast his eye
The teares along his rosiall cheekes distilles:
Mourning for their destruction drawing nie.
O Jerusalem Jerusalem (quoth hee)
My heart bewailes thy great calamitie.

The time shall come and neere it is at hand,
When furious foes shall trench thee round about,
And batter downe thy Towers that stately stand,
All thy strong holds within thee and without:
Thy golden buildings shall they quite confound,
And make thee equall with the lowly ground.

O woe to them that then giues sucke (he sayes)
And lulles their Infants on their tender knees,
More woe to them that be with child those dayes,
Wherein shalbe such extreame miseries:
Thou mightst haue shund these plagues, hadst thou bin wise,
Which now for sinne is hidden from thy eyes.

This dreadfull Prophesie spoken by our Lord,
The stubborne people naught at all regarded,
Whose Adamantine heartes did still accord,
To follow sinne, which was with shame rewarded:
They flouted him for telling of this storie,
And crucifide in spite the Lord of glorie.
Reprochfully they fleered in his face,
That wept for them in tender true compassion,
They wrought his death and did him all disgrace,
That sought their life, and waild their desolation:
Their hardened heartes beleue'd not what was said,
Vntill they saw the siege about them layd.

Full fortie yeares after Christes passion,
Did these proud people liue in peace and rest,
Whose wanton eyes seeing no alteration,
Christs words of truth, they turned to a iest:
But when they thought themselues the surest of all,
Lo then began their neuer raised fall.

Their mounting minds that towred past their strength
Scorning subiection to the Romaine state,
In boyling hatred loath'd their Lords at length,
Dispis'd the Emperour with a deadly hate:
Reiecting his authoritie each howre,
Sought to expell the pride of forraine power.

Which foule contempt the Emperours wrath inflam'd,
Mightie Vespatian hot reueng did threat,
But all in vaine they would not be reclaim'd;
Relying on their strength and courage great:
And hereupon began the deadly iarre,
And after followed bloody wofull warre.

The signes and tokens shewed be-
fore the destruction, alluring the Iewes to repen-
tance, and their little regard thereof, interpre-
ting all things to be for the best, flattering
themselues in their sinnes.

Yet marke the mercy of our gracious God,
Before the grieuous scourge to them was sent,
That they might shun his heauie smarting rod,
And hartely their filthy faultes repent:
Strange signes and wonders did he shew them still,
Fore-runners of their ruine, woe, and ill.
For one whole yeare as well by day as night,
A blazing starre appeared in the skie,
Whose bushie tayle was so excelling bright,
It dim'd the glory of the sunns faire eye,
    And euery one that on this obiect gazed,
    At sight thereof stood wonderous sore amazed.

In right proportion it resembled well,
A sharp two edged sword of mighty strength,
The percing poynt a needle did excell,
And sure it seem'd a miracle for length:
    So strange a starre before was neuer seene,
    And since that time the like hath neuer been.

And ouer right that goodly famous Cittie,
Hung still this dreadfull apparition,
Which might haue mou'd had they bin gracious witty,
For outward follies, inward hearts contrition:
    And neuer did that wonder change his place,
    But still Jerusalem with woe menace.

The wondering people neuer lookt thereon,
But their mistrusting heart suspected much,
Saying great plagues would follow thereupon,
Such priuie motions did their conscience touch:
    But other-some would say it was not so,
    But signe that they their foes would ouerthrow.

Think not (quoth they) that Jacobs God will leaue
The blessed seed of Abraham in distresse,
First shall his Sword the heathens liues bereaue,
As by this token he doth plaine expresse,
    His fierie sword shall shield this holy towne,
    And heaw in heapes the proudest Romains downe.

Thus flattered they themselues in sinfull sort,
Their harts were hard, their deepest judgments blinded
What godly teachers did to them report,
They soone forgot, such things they neuer minded:
    Their chiefest study was delight and pleasure,
    And how they might by all meanes gather treasure.

Men would haue thought this warning had bin faire,
When God his standard gainst them did advance,
His flagge of Justice waued in the ayre,
And yet they count it, but a thing of chance:
This bad them yeild, and from their sinnes conuart,
But they would not till sorrow made them smart.

Then in the ayre God shewed another wonder,
When azurd skies were brightest faire and cleere,
An hoast of armed men, like dreadfull thunder,
With hidious clamours, fighting did appeare:
And at each other eagerly they ran,
With burnisht Falchions murdering many a man.

And marching fiercely in their proud aray,
Their wrathfull eyes did sparkle like the fier,
Or like inraged Lyons for their pray,
So did they striue, in nature and desire:
That all the plaine wherein they fighting stood,
Seem'd to mens sight all staind with purple blood.

This dreadfull token many men amazed,
When they beheld the vncouth sight so strange,
On one another doubtfully they gazed,
With fearefull lookes their coulour quite did change:
Yet all, they did interpret to the best,
Thinking themselves aboue all other blest.

The conquering sort that did with warlike hand,
Suppresse the other in the bloudy field,
Declares (quoth they) that Iudaes sacred band,
Shall make vnhallowed Romaines die or yeeld:
And ouer them we shall haue honour great,
That proudly now vsurpes King Davids seat.

See how the Diuell doth sinfull soules beguile,
Filling the same with vaine imagination,
Thinking themselues cock-sure, when al the while,
They stand vpon the brink of desolation:
All faithfull Christians warning take by this,
Interpret not Gods fearfull signes amisse.

Yet loe the Lord would not giue ouer so,
But to convert them, if that it might bee,
Hee doth proceed more wonders yet to show,
All to reclayme them from iniquitie:
That so he might remoue his plagues away,
Which threatened their destruction euery day.
The Temple gates all made of shining brasse,
Whose massie substance was exceeding great,
Which they with yron barres each night did crosse,
And lockt with brazen bolts, which made them sweat,
Did of themselues start open and vndoe,
Which twenty men of might could scant put to.

Vpon a day most high and festiuall,
The high Priest went after a sacred manner,
Into the glorious Temple most maiesticall,
To offer sacrifice their God to honour:
What time the Lord a wonder did declare,
To all mens sight, prodigious, strange, and rare.

A goodly Calfe prepar’d for sacrifice,
And layd vpon the holy Alter there,
Brought forth a Lambe most plaine before their eyes,
Which filled some mens hearts with sodaine feare:
And sore perplexed the passions of their mind,
To see a thing so farre against all kind.

Soone after this they heard a wailefull voice,
Which in the Temple shreeking thus did say,
*Let us go hence, and no man heere reioyce,*
Thus figuring foorth their ruine and decay,
All men did heare these speeches very plaine,
But saw nothing, nor knew from whence it came.

And foure yeares space before the bloody fight,
One Ananias had a youthfull sonne,
Which like a Prophet cried day and night
About the streets as he did go and runne:
Shewing the people without dread at all,
Most wofull plagues should on the Cittie fall.

And in this sort began his dolefull cry:
A fearefull voyce proceedeth from the East,
And from the West, as great a voyce did fly,
A voyce likewise from blustering winds addrest:
A voyce vpon Jerusalem shall goe,
A voyce vpon the Temple full of woe.

A mournefull voyce on wretched man and wife,
A voyce of sorrow on the people all,
Woe and destruction, mortall war and strife,
Bitter pinching famine, misery and thrall:
The Destruction

In every place these threatnings still he had,
Running about like one distraught and mad.

With lofty voice thus ran he through the towne,
Nor day and night did he his clamours cease,
No man could make him lay these threatnings downe,
By no intreaty would he hould his peace:
Although he was in Dungeon deeply layd,
Yet there his cryes did make them more afraid.

The Maiestrates that most forbade his crie:
And saw his bouldnesse more and more arise,
With grievous scourges whipt him bitterly,
Yet came no teares out of his pleasant eyes:
The more his stripes, the higher went his voyce,
In sorest torment did he most rejoyce.

But when the Iewes perceau'd how he was bent,
And that their eares were cloyed with his cries,
They counted it but sportfull merriment,
A nine dayes wonder that in short time dyes:
So that a fresh their follies they begin,
And for his speech they passed not a pin.

But as the holy Scriptures doe bewray,
To dainty cheere they iocondly sat downe,
And well refresht, they rose againe to play,
In smiling sort when God did fircely frowne:
And neuer more to mirth were they disposed,
Then when the Lord his wrath to them disclosed.

The tydings brought of the enimies approach, and the feare
of the citizens: their provision of victuals for twenty yeares
burnt in one night, by one of their owne captaines, of meere
malice, which caused a sodaine dearth to follow: their sedition
and division betweene themselues while the citie was besieged.

Vt whilst that they their sugred lunkets tasted,
Vnto the City came a tyred post,
Full weake and wearie, and with trauell wasted,
Who brought them word their foes were on their coast:
Which when they knew, their merriments were dashed,
These dolefull newes made them full sore abashed.
Their Cipres Tables then to ground they throw,
Their siluer dishes, and their cups of gould,
For haste to meet the proud inuading foe,
Feare makes them mad, but courage makes them bould:
And to defend the brunt of future harms,
They leaue their Ladies and imbrace their Armes.

Instead of Lutes and sweete resounding Vials,
They sound the Trumpet and the ratling drum,
Their barbed Steeds they put to diuers tryals,
How they can manage, stop, carrie, and run:
Their cunning harpers now must harnesse beare,
Their nimble dauncers war-like weapons weare,

But ere their wrathfull foes approached neere,
The store-houses the Gouerners did fill,
With wholsome victuals which for twenty yeare
Would serue two hundred thousand cast by bill,
But all the same by one seditious Squire
Was in one night consum'd with flaming fire.

For why the Cittizens to discord fell,
So giddy headed were they alwaies found,
And in their rage like furious fiends of hell,
In murdering sort they did each other wound:
And when they entred in this diuellish strife,
They spared neither Infant, man, nor wife.

Into three parts the people were deuided,
And one against an other hatred bore,
The chiefest sort sediciously were guided,
Whereby vnciuell mutines vext them sore:
So that the sorrow of the forreine warre,
Was nothing to their bloody ciuill iarre.

And so malicious did their rancor rise,
That they the holy Temple did defile,
All such as came to offer sacrifice,
They murdered straight, remorce they did exile:
The Sacrificer with the sacrifice,
Both bath'd in blood, men saw before their eyes.

Thus did they make the sacred Temple there,
The slaughter house of many a humane soule,
So that the marble pauement euery where,
Was blacke with blood like to a butchers bowle:
The Destruction

And with the fat of men so slippery made,
That there for falling, none could goe vnstayd.

And by this wicked meanes it came to passe,
The streets and temple full of dead-men lay,
With wounds putrified, where no buriall was,
Which rais'd a grievous pestilence that day:
So hot, and fell, that thereof dyed a number,
Whose foule infection all the towne did cumber.

And that which was more heauie to behold,
As men and women past along the street:
Their weeping eyes did to their hearts vnfold,
A mappe of Murder at their trembling feete:
Some saw their Fathers fetching deadly groanes,
Some their Husbands braines scattered on the stones.

Here lay a woman stabbed to the heart,
There a tender Infant one a soldiiers speare,
Strugling with death, and sprawling with each part:
The channels ran with purple blood each wheare:
A thousand persons might you daily see,
Some gasping, groaning, bleeding fresh to bee.

Lo, all this mischiefe was within the towne
Wrought twixt themselues in wonderous hatefull sort,
While noble Tytus beat their bulwarkes downe,
And at their walles did shew them warlike sport:
But by distresse to bring them vnto thrall,
He brake their pipes, and stopt their cundits all.

A description of the horrible Famine within
the Cittie of Ierusalem.

For true report rung in his royall eares,
That bitter Famine did afflict them sore,
Which was the cause of many bitter teares,
And he to make their misery the more,
Depriu'd them quit of all their water cleere,
Which in their want they did esteeme so deere.
Alack, what pen is able to expresse?
The extreame miserie of this people then? 320
Which were with Famine brought to great distresse,
For cruell hunger vext the welthiest men:
   When night approacht, well might they lye & winke,
   But cold not sleepe for want of meat and drinke.
For by this time full Fourteene monthes and more,
Had warlike Titus sieg'd that famous towne,
What time the Iewes had quite consum'd their store,
And being staru'd, like Ghosts went vp and downe:
   For in the markets were no victuals found,
   Though for a Lambe, they might haue twenty pound. 330
When bread was gone, then was he counted blest,
That in his hand had either cat or dogge,
To fill his emptie maw: and thus distrest,
A dozen men would fight for one poore frogge,
   The fairest Lady lighting one a mouce,
   Would keepe it from her best friend in the house.
A weazell was accounted daynty meate,
A hissing snake esteem'd a Princes dish,
A Queene vpon a moule might seeme to eate,
A veanom neawt was thought a wholesome fish:
   Wormes from the earth were dig'd vp great & small,
   And poysoned spiders eaten from the wall.
A hundred men vnder this grieuous crosse,
With hunger-starued bodies wanting food,
Haue for a morsell of a stinking horse,
In deadly strife, shed one an others blood:
   Like famisht Rauens, that in a shole doe pitch,
   To seaze a caryon in a noysome ditch.
But when these things were all consumed quite,
(For famines greedy mawe destroyeth all,)
Then did they bend their study day and night,
To see what next vnto their share might fall:
   Necessitie doth seeke an hundred wayes,
   Famines fell torment from the heart to rayse.
Then did they take their horses leather raigned,
And broyling them suppos'd them wonderous sweete,
A hungry stomack naught at all refraines,
Nor did they spare their shooes vpon their feete:
The Destruction

But shooes, and bootes, and buskins, all they eate,
And would not spare one morsell of their meate. 360

But out alas my heart doth shake to show,
When these things fail'd, what shift these wretches made,
Without salt teares how should I write their woe,
Sith sorrowes ground-worke in the same is layd:
All English hearts which Christ in armes doe hem,
Marke well the woes of fayre Jerusalem.

When all was spent, and nothing left to eate,
Whereby they might maintaine their feeble life,
Then doth the wife her husband deere intreat,
To end her misery by his wounding knife:
Maides weepe for foode, & children make their moane,
Their parents sigh when they can giue them none.

Some men with hunger falleth raging mad,
Gnawing the stones and timber where they walke,
Some other staggering, weake and wonderous sad,
Dyes in the streetes, as with their friends they talke?
And other some licks vp the vomit fast,
Which their sick neighbours in their houses cast.

Nay more then this, though this be all to much,
Josephus writes, that men and maidens young
The which of late did scorne brown-bread to touch,
Sustain'd themselues with one an others doong.
Remember this you that so dainty bee,
And praise Gods name for all things sent to thee.

All things were brought by famine out of frame,
For modest Chastitie to it gaue place,
High honoured Virgins that for very shame,
Would hardly looke on men with open face,
One bit of bread neuer so course and browne,
Would winne them to the foulest knaue in towne. 390
The seditious Captaines Schimion & Iehocanan search all the houses in the Citty for Victuals, they take from a noble Lady all her provision, leaving her and her Sonne comfortlesse, shewing the great moane she made.

The curst seditious Captaines and their crue, When they perceiu’d the famine grow so great, In all mens houses would they search, and view, In euery corner both for bread and meat: If any did their bould request denie, On murdering swords they were right sure to dye.

Among the rest where they a searching went, Vnto a gallant Ladyes house they came, And there before her victuals quite was spent, With hardened hearts, and faces void of shame: They tooke her store with many a bitter threat, And left her not one bit of bread to eate.

The noble Lady on her tender knees, With floods of teares distilling from her eyes, Their crueltie when she so plainely sees, In mournefull sort vnto them thus she cries: Vpon a wofull Lady take some pittie, And let not famine slay me in this Cittie.

Of all the store which you haue tooke away, Leaue one browne loafe, for my poore child and me: That we may eat but one bit in a day, To saue our liues from extreame misery. Thus holding vp her lillie hands she cried, The more she crau’d the more she was denied.

If you (quoth she) cannot afford me bread, One dried stock-fish doe one me bestow, For my poore Infants life I greatly dread, If thus distrest you leaue me when you goe: Braue men of might, shew pittie for his sake, And I thereof a thousand meales will make.

O call to minde my childe is nobly borne, Of honorable blood and high degree, Then leaue vs not braue Captaines thus forlorne, Your countries friend one day this child may bee:
The Destruction

O let me not this gentle fauour misse,
I may one day requite far more then this.

Then answered they in harsh and churlish sort,
Tut tell not vs of honourable state,
And if thou wilt we'll cut thy Infants throat,
So shall he neede no meate, then cease to prate:
Men must haue meate, let children dye and starue,
Yf we want foode, in warres how can we serue.

With bended browes they stroue to get away
But she vpon her knees did follow fast,
And taking hould on their confus'd aray,
This sad complaint from her hearts pallace past:
Renouned Lords, our Citties sure defence,
O let me speake once more, ere you goe hence.

Yf you lack money, see I haue good store,
Wherein great Cesars Image is portrayde,
Therefore of gift, I will demaund no more,
To buy me foode, let me not be denayd.
For fiue red herrings, ten Crownes shall you haue,
Ile pay it downe, with vantage if you craue.

That damned coyne (quoth they) wee doe detest,
And therewithall thy selfe, which all this while,
Hast kept our foes foule picture in thy chest,
Which seekes this holy Citty to defile:
Thou getst no foode, and therefore hold thy tounge
Hang, starue, & dye, thou canst not dye more young.

O pardon yet (quoth she) my earnest speech,
Do not my words to poysen so convent,
Take heere my chaine, I humbly doe beseech,
Of pearle and Diamonds for one silly sprat:
One sprat (sweete men) cast but vpon the ground,
For this faire chaine, which cost a thousand pound.

Talke not to vs (quoth they) of Iems and chaines,
Of Diamonds, Pearls or precious rings of Gould,
One sprat to vs is sweeter gotten gaines,
Then so much siluer, as this house can hold:
Gould is but drosse, where hunger is so great,
Hard hap hath hee, that hath but gould to eate.
With that the testie Souldiers get them out,
Proud of the purchast pray which they had got,
The woefull Ladye did they mocke and flout,
Her plaints and teares regarding not a iott :
   Shee sighes, they smile, she mournes, and they reioyce,
   And of their pray they make an equall choyce,

But Megar famine couetous of all,
Enuying those that should thereof haue part,
In sharing out there purchasse bread a brawle,
Wherein one stabd the other to the heart :
   This fellow said the other did deceiue him,
   He swore againe enough they did not leauie him.

Lo thus about the victuals they did fight,
Looke who was strongest bore away the prize,
And for a crust of bread, in dead of night,
They cut their Fathers throats in wofull wise :
   The mother would her childrens victuals snatch,
   And from his wife, the husband he did catch.

How the noble Lady and her young Sonne went
out the dung of beasts to eate, being ready to dye with
hunger, and could finde none: shewing what moane
they made comming home without,

Bvt now of Miriam's sorrow will I speake,
Whom the seditious Souldiers so distrest,
Her noble heart with griefe was like to breake,
With gnawing hunger was she sore opprest,
   No kind of foode had she, then to relieue her,
   Nor for her child : which most of all did grieue her.

Alas (quoth she) that euer I was borne,
To see these gloomie daies of griefe and care,
Whome this false world hath made an open scorne,
Fraught full of miserie passing all compare :
   Blest had I been if in the painefull birth,
   I had receiued sweete sentence of my death.
Why hath the partiall heauens prolong'd my life,
Aboue a number of my dearest friends,
Whose blessed soules did neuer see the strife,
How happy were they in their happy ends:
   Great God of Abraham heare my mournefull crie,
   Soone rid my life or end this miserie.

With that her little sonne with eager looke,
Vnto his wofull mother crying came,
His pretty hands fast hold vpon her tooke,
Whose presence brought her praying out of frame:
   And to his Mother thus the child did say,
   Giue mee some meate, that eat nothing to day.
   I am (deere Mother) hungry at the heart,
   And scalding thirst makes me I cannot speake,
   I feele my strength decay in euery part,
One bit of bread for me good Mother breake,
   My lesson I haue learnd, where you did lay it,
   Then giue me some-what: you shall heere me say it.

The sighing Ladie looking quite a-side,
With many sobs sent from her wofull soule,
Wroung both her hands, but not one word replide,
Sighes stopt her toung, teares did her tongue controul,
   Sweete Lady mother, mother speake (quoth he)
   O let me not with hunger murdered bee.

Deere child (she said) what wouldst thou haue of me:
   Art thou a thirst, then come and drinke my teares,
   For other succour haue I none for thee,
The time hath been, I could haue given thee peares:
   Rose coulered apples, cherries for my child,
   But now alas, of all wee are beguild.

But come (quoth she) giue me thy little finger,
And thou and I will to the back-yard goe,
And there seeke out a Cow-cake for thy dinner,
   How saist thou sonne art thou contented so?
   The ioyfull child did hereat giue a smile,
   When both his eyes with water ran the while.

Then vp and downe with warie searching eye,
In euery place for beasts dung doth she seeke,
   As if a long lost Iewell there did lye,
Close hidden in some narrow chink or creeke:
When she lookt and nought at all had found,
Then downe she coucheth on the sluttish ground.

And with her faire white fingers fine and small,
She scrapes away the dust and draffe togeather,
And so doth search through out the Oxes stall,
For dung or hoofes, or some old piece of leather:
    But when in vaine her paines she did bestow,
    She paid her heart the interest of her woe.

And lifting vp with sorow her bright eyes,
She cald her little Sonne to come away,
Who sought as fast for spiders, wormes and flies,
As she for Ordure mongst the mouldy hay,
    O stay a while good mother did he cry,
    For heere euen now I did a maggot spie.

At which sweete sight my teeth did water yet,
Euen as you cald, she fell her in the dust,
An hower were well spent, this prize to get,
To let her slip, I thinke I was accurst:
    My hungry stomacke well it would haue stayd,
    And I haue lost her I am sore afford.

I, I, my Sonne, it may be so (quoth shee)
Then come away: let vs togeather dye,
Our lucklesse starres alots it so to be,
Peace my sweete boy, alack why dost thou cry,
    Had I found any thing, thou shouldst haue seen,
    That therewithall we would haue merry been,

Then be thou still (my sonne) and weepe no more,
For with my teares, thou kilst my wounded heart,
Thy neede is great, my hunger is as sore,
Which grieues my soule, and pinches euery part:
    Yet hope of helpe alack I know not any,
    Without, within, our foes they are so many.

Deare mother heare me one word and no moe,
See heere my foote so slender in your sight,
Giue me but leaue to eate my little toe,
No better supper will I aske to night:
    Or else my thumbe: a morsell small you see,
    And these two ioynts, me thinks may spared be.
The Destruction

My sonne (quoth she) great are thy cares God wot,
To haue thy hungry stomack fil'd with food,
Yet all be it we haue so hard a lot,
Dismember not thy selfe for any good:
   No brutish beast, will doe so foule a deede,
   Then doe not thou gainst nature so proceed,
But O my sonne, what shall I doe (quoth she)
My griefe of hunger is as great as thine,
And sure no hope of comfort doe I see,
But we must yeild our selues to starue and pine:
   The wrath of God doth siege the Citty round,
   And we within fell famine doth confound.
The sword without intends our desolation,
Consuming pestilence destroyeth heere within,
Ciuell dissention breedes our hearts vexation,
The angry heauens the same hath sent for sinne,
   Murders, and ruine through our streetes doe run,
   Then how can I feede thee, my louing sonne?
Yf pale fac't famine take away my life,
Why then, with whome should I trust thee my sonne
For heer's no loue, but hate and deadly strife,
Woe is that child, whose parents dayes are done:
   One thee sweete boy no person would take pitty,
   For milde compassion hath forsooke the citty.
Once I retaynd this ioyfull hope of thee,
When ripened yeares brought thee to mans estate,
That thou shouldst be a comfort vnto me,
Feeding my age, when youthfull strength did bate:
   And haue my meate my drinke and cloth of thee,
   Fit for a Lady of so high degree.
And when the span length of my life was done,
That God and nature claim'd of me their due,
My hope was then, that thou my louing Sonne,
In Marble stone my memorie should renew:
   And bring my corpes, with honour to the graue,
   The latest dutie men of children craue,
But now I see (my sweete and bonny boy)
This hope is fruitlesse, and these thoughts are vaine,
I see grim death hath seaz'd my earthly ioy,
For famines dart hath thee already slaine:
Thy hollow eyes and wrinkled cheekes declare,
Thou art not markt to be thy Fathers heire.

Looke on thy legges, see all thy flesh is gone,
Thy iollie thighes are fallen quite away,
Thy armes and handes, nothing but skin and bone
How weake thy heart is, thou thy selfe canst say:
   I haue no foode to strengthen thee (my child)
   And heere thy buriall would be too too vile.

Wherefore my Sonne least vgly Rauens and Crowes
Should eate thy carcasse in the stincking streetes,
Thereby to be a scorne vnto our foes,
And gaule to me, that gaue thee many sweets:
   I haue preapaird this my vnsotted wombe,
   To be for thee an honourable Tombe.

Then sith thou canst not liue to be a man,
What time thou mightst haue fed thy aged mother,
Therefore my child it lyes thee now vpon,
To be my foode, because I haue no other:
   With my one blood, long time I nourisht thee,
   Then with thy flesh, thou oughtst to cherish mee.

Within this wombe thou first receiuedst breath,
Then giue thy mother, that which she gaue thee,
Here hadst thou life, then lye here after death,
Sith thou hadst beene so welbeloude of me:
   In spight of foes, be thou my dayly food,
   And saue my life, that can doe thee no good,

In blessed Eden shall thy soule remaine,
While that my belly is thy bodyes graue,
There is no taste of famine woe or paine
But ioyes eternall, more then heart can craue:
   Then who would wish, in sorrow to perseuer,
   That by his death might liue in heauen for euer.
The Lady with hunger is constrain’d to kill her best beloved and only Sonne, and eate him:
whose body she Roasted.

When this was said, her feeble child she tooke,
And with a sword which she had lying by,
She thrust him through turning away her looke,
That her wet eyes might not behold him die:
And when sweete life was from his body fled,
A thousand times she kist him being dead.

His milke white body staind with purple blood,
She clensd and washt with siluer dropping teares,
Which being done, she wipte it as she stood,
With nothing else, but her faire golden haires:
And when she saw his little lims were cold,
She cut him vp, for hunger made her bold.

In many pieces did she then deuide him,
Some part she sod, some other part she rosted,
From neighbours sight she made great shift to hide him,
And of her cheere, in heart she greatly bosted:
Ere it was ready, she began to eate,
And from the spit, pluckt many bits of meate.

The smell of the meate is felt round about: the seditious Captaine thereupon came to the Lady, and threatens to kill her for meate. Whereupon the Lady, sets part before them.

The sent thereof was straight smelt round about,
The neighbours then out of their houses ran,
Saying, we smell roast-meat out of all doubt,
Which was great wonder unto euery man:
And euery one like to a longing wife,
In that good cheer did wish his sharpest knife.

This newes so swift in each mans mouth did flie,
The proud seditious heard thereof at last,
Who with all speed unto the house did hye,
And at the doores and windowes knocked fast:
And with vilde words & speeches rough and great,
They askt the Lady, where she had that meat.
Thou wicked woman how comes this (quoth they)
That thou alone hast roast-meat in the towne?
While we with griping famine dye each day,
Which are your Lords, and leaders of renowne:
    For this contempt, we thinke it right and reason,
    Thou shouldst be punisht as in case of treason.
The lovely Lady trembling at their speech,
Fearing their bloody hands and cruel actions,
They would not enter into further factions:
    But listen to her words and she would tell,
    The certaine truth, how every thing befell.
Be not (she said) at your poore hand-maid grieved,
I haue not eaten all in this hard case,
But that your selues might something be relieued,
I haue kept part to giue you in this place:
    Then sit you downe, right welcome shall you be,
    And what I haue, your selues shall tast and see.
With diligence the Table then she layde,
And siluer trenchers on the boord she set,
A golden salt, that many ounces wayde,
And Damask napkins, dainty, fine, and neate:
    Her guests were glad to see this preparation,
    And at the boord they sat with contentation,
In massie siluer platters brought she forth
Her owne Sonnes flesh, whom she did loue so deere,
Saying my maisters take this well in worth,
I pray be merry: looke for no other cheere:
    See here my child's white hand, most finely drest,
    And here his foote, eate where it likes you best.
And doe not say this child was any others,
But my owne Sonne: whome you so well did know,
Which may seeme strange vnto all tender Mothers,
My owne childes flesh, I should deuoure so:
    Him did I beare, and carefully did feed,
    And now his flesh sustaines me in my need
Yet allbeit this sweet relieuing feast,
Hath dearest beene to me that ere I made,
Yet niggardize I doe so much detest,
I thought it shame, but there should some be layde
In store for you: although the store be small,
For they are gluttons which consumeth all.

Herewith she burst into a flood of teares,
Which downe her thin pale cheekes distilled fast,
Her bleeding heart, no sobes nor sighes forbears,
Till her weake voyce breath'd out these words at last:
O my deere Sonne, my pretty boy (quoth she)
While thou didst liue, how sweet wast thou to me?

Yet sweeter farre, a thousand times thou art,
To thy poore mother, at this instant howre,
My hungry stomake hast thou eas'd of smart,
And kept me from the bloody Tyrants power,
And they like friends doe at my table eat,
That would haue kild me for a bit of meate.

When this was said, wiping her watery eyes,
Vnto her self fresh courage then she tooke,
And all her guests she welcom'd in this wise,
Casting on them a courteous pleasant looke:
Be mery friends, I pray you doe not spare.
In all this towne, is not such noble fare.

The Captaines and their company were so amazed
at sight of the childs limbes being by his mother set upon
the table in platters, that wondring thereof, they
would not eat a bite, for the which the Lady
reproues them.

The men amazed at this vncothu sight,
One to another cast a steadfast eye,
Their hard remorcelesse hearts full fraught with spight
Were herewithall appalled sodenly,
And though their extreame hunger was full great,
Like senselesse men they sat and would not eate.

O why (quoth she) doe you refraine this food,
I brought it forth vnto you for good will,
Then scorne it not (deere friends) for it is good:
And I euen now did thereof eate my fill:
Tast it therefore and I dare sweare you'll say,
You eate no meate, more sweete this many a day.
Hard hearted woman, cruell and vnkind
Canst thou (quoth they) so frankly feed of this?
A thing more hatefull did wee neuer finde,
Then keepe it for thy tooth, loe there it is.
   Most vild and odious is it in our eye,
   Then feed on mans flesh, rather would wee dye.

Alack (quoth she) doth foolish pitty mooue ye,
Weaker then womans, is your hearts become,
I pray fall too, and if that you doe loue me,
Eate where you will, and ile with you eat some:
   What greater shame to Captaines can befall,
   Then I in courage should surpasse you all,

Why, wast not you, that did with many a threat,
Charge me with eager lookes to lay the cloth:
And as I lou'd my life to bring you meate,
And now to eate it doe you seeme so loath?
   More fit I should, then you, heerewith be moued,
   Since twas his flesh whom I so deerly loued.

It was my sonne and not yours that is slaine.
Whose roasted limbes lies here within the platter,
Then more then you I ought his flesh refraine,
And ten times more be greeued at this matter,
   How chance you are more mercifull then I,
   To spare his flesh, while you for hunger dye.

Yet blame not me for this outrageous deed,
For wast not you that first did spoyle my house?
And rob me of my food in my great need,
Leauing not behind a ratt or silly mouse:
   Then you alone are authors of this feast,
   What need you then this action so detest?

The starued Iewes hearing this dolefull tale,
Were at the matter smitten in such sadnesse,
That man by man with visage wan and pale,
Dropt out of dores, accusing her of madnesse,
   And noting well, their famine, warre and strife,
   Wisht rather death, than length of mortall life.
The Destruction

And hereupon, much people of the Citty
Fled to the Romanes secret in the night,
Vpon their knees desiring them for pitty
To saue their liues, that were in wofull plight,
And finding mercie, tolde when that was done,
How famine forc't a Lady eate her Sonne.

_Tytus_ the Romaine Generall wept at the report of
the famine in Ierusalem, especially when he heard
of the Mother that did eate her Childe.

_The_ Romaine Generall hearing of the same,
_Tytus_ I meane, _Vespasians_ famous Sonne,
So grieu'd thereat, that griefe did teares constraine,
Which downe his manly cheekes did streaming runne,
And holding vp to heauen his hands and eyes
To this effect, vnto the Lord he cries.

Thou mighty God, which guides this mortall round,
That all hearts secrets sees, and knowes my heart,
Witness thou canst, I came not to confound
This goodly Cittie: or to worke their smart:
I was not author of their bloudie iarrs,
But offred peace, when they imbraced wars.

These eighteene moneths, that I with warlike force
Besieged their Cittiy: (Lord thou knowest it well,) My heart was full of mercy and remorce,
And they alwayes did stubbornely rebell:
Therfore good Lord, with their most hatefull rage,
And wondrous deeds do not my conscience charge.

My eyes doe see, my heart doth likewise pity
The great calamitie that they are in,
Yet Lord, except thou wilt yeeld me the Cittie,
I'le raise my power, and not behold more sinne:
For they with famine are become so wilde,
That hunger made a woman eate her childe.

When Noble _Titus_ thus had made his moane,
All those, that from _Ierusalem_ did fly,
He did receaue to mercy every one,
And nourisht famisht men at poynt to dye:
But cruell Schimion that seditious Iewe,
And Proud Iehocanan, more mischiefe still did brew.

For albeit braue Tytus by his power,
And warlike Engines, brought vnto that place,
Had layde their strong walles flat vpon the flower,
And done their Citty wonderfull disgrace.
Yet stubbornly they did resist him still,
Such place they gaue to their seditious will.

Tytus ouerthrowing the walls of Jerusalem enters the
Cyty and Temple with his power burning downe the silver
gate thereof, which led the way to the Sanctum Sanctorum
and setteth Souldiers to keepe it from further hurt.

About that time with wonderous dilligence,
They rais'd a wall, in secret of the night,
Which then was found their Citties best defence,
For to withstand the conquering Romaines might:
Which once rac't the Citty needs must yeld,
And Iewes giue place to Romaines sword and shield,

Renowned Tytus well perceiuing this,
To his best proued Captaines gaue a charge,
That new rais'd wall, the Iewes supposed blis,
Should scattered be, with breaches wide and large:
And herupon, the troopes togethier met,
And to the walles their battering Engines set.

The feare of this made many a Iewish Lord,
That ioynde themselues with the seditious traine,
To steale away, and all with one accord,
At Tytus feete, sought mercie to obtaine:
Whose milde submission he accepted then,
And gaue them honour mong'st his noble men.

By this, the mellow wall was broke and scaled,
With fierce allarms the holy towne was entred,
Romaines tooke courage, but the Iewes harts failed,
Thousands lost their liues, which for honour ventred:
Schimion, Iehocanan, all did flie for feare,
Iewes mournd, and Romaines triumpht euery where.
The Destruction

The faire Temple, Gods holy habitation,
The worlds non parallel, the heathens wonder,
Their Citties glory, their ioyes preseruation,
To the Romaine power must now come vnder:

There many Isralites for liues defence,
Had lockt themselues, & would not come from thence.

The famous Citty being thus subdued,
The Romaines heads with glad-some baies wer crowned
For blesfull victory on their side ensued,
While on the Jewes the worlds Creator frowned:
The Captaines of the foule seditious rout,
To hide their heads did seeke odd corners out,

The Romaines resting in triumphant state,
Vnto the holy Temple turned their course,
And finding shut the siluer shining gate,
They fir'd it, retayning no remorce:

And when the fiers flame did sore abound,
The melting siluer streamd along the ground.
Their timber worke into pale ashes turning,
Downe dropt the goodly gate vpon the flower,
What time the wrathfull Romaines went in running,
Shouting and crying with a mighty power:
The glory of which place, their bright sight drew,
To take thereof a wondring greedy view.

Yet did that place but onely lead the way,
Vnto the holyest place, where once a yeare,
The high Priest went, vnto the Lord to pray,
The figure of whose glory did there appeare:
Sanctum Sanctorum so that place was called,
Which Tytus wondring mind the most appalled.

Which holy holyest place, when Tytus sawe,
Hauing a view but of the outward part,
So glorious was it that the sight did draw
A wounderous reverence in his soule and heart:

And with all meeknesse on his Princely knees,
He honours there the Maiestie he sees.

This place was closed in with goulden gates,
So beautifull and super excellent,
That Princely Tytus and the Romaine states
Said sure this is Gods house omnipotent:
And therefore Tytus who did loue and feare it, 
Commanded straightly, no man should come nere it.

And through his Camp he made a proclamation, 
That whosoeuer did come neere the same, 
He should be hanged vp, without compassion, 
Without respect of birth, desert, or fame: 
And more, a band of men he there ordained, 
To keepe the Temple not to be prophaned.

The seditious set vpon the Romaine guard that kept 
the Temple, and sodenly slew them: whereupon the 
Romaine souldiers set fire on the golden gate of Sanctum 
Sanctorum, and spoyled the holy place with fire. Titus 
sought to quench it but could not, for which he made 
great lamentation.

Wile quiet thus the Romaine prince did ly; 
Without mistrust of any bloudy broyle, 
Proclaiming pardon, life and liberty, 
To euery yeelding soule, in that faire soyle: 
A crew of trayterous Iewes, of base condition, 
Assayled the Romaine guard, without suspition.

All Tytus gallant Souldiers which he set, 
So carefully, the Temple gates to keepe, 
Vpon a sodaine, they against them get, 
In dead of night, when most were falne a-sleepe: 
And there without all stay, or further wordes, 
Each man they murdered on their drawn swordes.

Not one escap'd their bloody butchering hands, 
Which noble Tytus hearing, grieued sore, 
And thereon rais'd his best prepared bandes, 
Slaying those Iewes, and many hundreds more. 
And with such fury, he pursu'd them still, 
That who escap't, fled vp to Syon hill,

But yet the Romaines full of hot reuenge, 
For this vile deede, by wicked Iewes committed, 
Troopt to the Temple, with a mighty swinge: 
And hauing all things for their purpose fitted:
Did in their rage, set on the fier's flame,
Those goodly goulden gates, of greatest fame,

And as the flaming fier gather'd strength,
Great spoyle was practis'd by the Romaine rout,
The melting gould that streamed downe at length,
Did gild the marble pauement round about:

The gates thus burn'd with a hidious din,

Sanctum Sanctorum Romaines entred in.

Who hauing hereby won their hearts desier,
With mighty shootes they shewed signes of ioy,
While the holy place (was) burn't with flaming fier,
Which did earthes heauenly paradise destroy:

This woefull sight when Tytus once did see,
He sought to quench it: but it would not be.

For many wicked hands had busie beene,
'To worke that holy house all foule disgraces,
Which Tytus would haue sau'd as well was seen,
But it was fier'd in so many places:

That by no meanes the spoyle he could preuent,
Which thing he did most grievously lament.

He ran about and cri'd with might and maine,
O stay your hands, and saue this house I charge yee,
Fetch water vp, and quench this fire againe,
Or you shall smart, before I doe enlarge yee,

Thus some he threatned, many he intreated:
Till he was hoarse, with that he had repeated.

But when his voyce was gone with crying out,
He drew his sword, and slew the disobedient,
Till faint and weary, running round about,
He sat him downe, as it was expedient:

And there twixt wrath and sorrow he bewayled,
With froward Souldiers, he no more preuayled.

The Priests & Iewes that earst themselues had hidden
Within the compasse of that holy ground,
Against the Romaines fought: and had abidden,
For to defend it many a bleeding wound:

But when they saw, there was no way to fly,
They lep't into the fier, and there did die.

917 on the fiers 1677: on fiers 1618
1618, 1677
920
927 was burn'd] place burn't

The Destruction
So long they fought, vntill the parching fier,
Did burne the clothes, from off their sweating backes,
The more they fought, the more was their desier,
For to reuenge the Temples wofull wrackes:
   They layd about, as long as they could stand;
   Or moue a legge, or lift a feeble hand.

And all this while did noble Tytus mourn,
To see Sanctorum spoyled in such sort,
Layde on the ground, there did he tosse and turne:
And smote at such as did to him report,
   The woefull ruine of that holy place,
   And from his sight, with frownes he did them chace.

*Titus* with great reverence, entred into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and greatly wondred at the beautie thereof, affirming it to be the house of the God of heauen.

The cruell fire hauing wrought her worst,
When that at length the fury thereof ceast,
*Titus* arose, all open and vntrust,
Of many teares vnburndned and releast:
   With head vncovered, mild and reuerently,
   Into *Sanctorum* humbly entred he.

And seeing the glorie and magnificence,
The wondrous beautie of that sacred place,
Which there appeared, for all the vehemence
The flaming fier made, so long a space:
   *Tytus* did stand amazed at the sight,
   When he considered euery thing a right.

And thereupon into this speech he broke,
How came I in this Paradice of pleasure?
This Place Celestiall may all soules Prouoke,
To scorne the world, and seeke no other treasure:
   Doe I from earth ascend by eleuation?
   Or see I heauen by diuine reuelation?

956 from off their 1618: from their 1618
Vndoubtedly the mightie God dwelt here,
This was no mortall creatures habitation,
For earthly Monarkes, it was all to deere,
Fit for none, but him who is our soules saluation:
   O earthly heauen or heauenly Saintes receauer,
   Thy sweete remembrance shall I keepe for euer.
Now well I wot, no maruell t'was indeed,
The Iewes so stoutly stood in fence of this:
O who could blame them, when they did proceed,
By all deuices to preserue their blis:
   Since first I saw the Sunne, I neuer knew,
   What heauens ioy ment, till I this place did view.
Nor did the Gentiles, without speciall cause,
From fardest partes both of the East and West,
Send heapes of gold by straight commaund of lawes,
This sacred place with glory to inuest:
   For rich and wunderous is this holy seat,
   And in mans eye the Maiesty is great.
Far doth it passe the Romaine Temples all,
Yea all the Temples of the world likewise,
They seeme to this like to an Asses stall,
Or like a stie where swine still grunting lies:
   Great God of heauen, God of this glorious place,
   Plague thou their soules that did thy house deface.
Tytus, thus wearied, gazing vp and downe,
Yet not satisfied, with the Temples sight,
Departed thence, to lodge within the towne:
Things out of frame, to set in order right,
   Where while he stayd the stubborne hартed Iewes,
   Did there most wicked actions dayly vse.
For when they saw that fier had so spoyled,
Sanctum Sanctorum in such pitious sort,
Their diuillish harts that still with mischiefe broyled,
The treasure houses all, they burnt in sport,
   And precious Iewells wheresoeuer they stood.
   With all things else that should doe Romaines good.
The rest of the Temple, likewise did they burne,
In desperat manner, without all regard:
Which being wrought, away they did returne,
But many scapt not without iust reward:
of Jerusalem.

The Romaine Souldiers, quickly quencht the fier,
And in the Temple wrought their heartes desire.

Where they set vp their heathen Idolls all,
Their sence-lesse Images, of wood and stone,
And at their feete, all prostrate did they fall,
Their offering sacrifice to them alone:
   In plaine derision of the conquered sort,
   Of whom the Romaines made a mocking sport.

A false Prophet arose among the Iewes, telling them
that the Temple should againe be builded by it selfe, with
out the helpe of mans hand, willing therefore to destroy
the Romaines: which they going about to doe, brought
further sorrow upon themselues.

A False and lying Prophet then arose,
   Among the Iewes, at faire Jerusalem,
Which then an absurd fancie did disclose,
Among them all, who thus encourag'd them:
   Most valiant Iewes play you the men and fight,
   And God will shew a wonder in your sight.
Against the cursed Romaines turne againe,
And beate the boasting heathen to the ground,
For God will shew vnto your sights most plaine,
His mightie power: if you doe them confound,
The Temple by it selfe shall builded be,
   Without mans hand or helpe, most gloriously.
That Jacobs God thereby may shew his power,
To those proude Romaines: which doe glory so,
In there one strength: tryumphing euerie hower,
In this our spoyle, and wofull overthrow:
   Then fight O Iewes, the Temple sanz delay,
   Shall by it selfe be builded vp this day.
The wilde seditious, beleeuing this lye,
Did set a fresh vpon the Romaine band,
In such fierce sort, that many men did dye,
But yet the Romaines got the vpper hand:
   Who in new wakened wrath, that late did sleepe,
   Slew downe the Iewes like to a sort of sheepe.
Schimion and Iehocanan come to seeke peace with Tytus, but refuse to be in subiection to the Romaines: whereupon Tytus will shew them no favour, but presently assayled them with his power, whereupon Schimion and Iehocanans followers, by some and some, forsake them, leaving them in distresse: who there-upon hid them-selues in Caues.

Then came false Schimion and Iehocanan, Chiefe Captaines to the seditious trayne, With many followers, weapned euery man, Requiring peace, if peace they could obtaigne: To whome Prince Tytus with his chiepest state, Did thus reply you seeke this thing to late.

How comes it now that yee intreate for life, After so many mischiefes by you wrought, When you haue slaine and murthred man and wife, And thousand thousands to destruction brought: Who then as faint as euuer he could stand, Came to submit himselfe, to Tytus hand.

How oft haue I intreated you to peace, And offered mercie, without all desert, When you refusing it, did still increase Your trayterous dealings, your chiepest smart: It pittied me to see your woefull case, With your innumerable men dead in each place.

How can I pardon these outragious acts, Your many murders and false sedition, With diuers other abominable facts, For which I see in you no hearts contrition: You seeke for peace, yet armed do you stand, You craue for pardon, with your swords in hand.

First lay a side your swords and weapons all, And in submissiue manner ask for grace, So shall you see what fauour may befall, Perhaps I may take pitty on your case: And graciously withall your faults suspense, And giue you pardon, ere you goe from hence.
Of Jerusalem.

With bended browses proud Schimion then did looke
On gentle Tytus: Iehocanan likewise
In scornfull manner all his speeches tooke,
And both of them disdainefully replies:
   By heavens great God, we both haue sworn (quothe they)
   To make no servile peace with thee this day.

For neuer shall earths misery prouoke
Our vndaunted heartes to stoope vnto thy will,
Or bend our neckes vnto the Romaine yoake,
While vital breath our inward parts doth fill:
   Then vnto vs this fauour doe expresse,
   To let vs part and liue in wildernes.

At this contempt was Tytus greatly moued,
And doth your pride continue yet (quothe he)?
Will not your impudence be yet reproued?
Nor yet your stubborne heartes yet humbeld be?
   And dare you say that you will sweare and vow,
   That to the Romaine yoke you will not bow?

At this his wrath was wounderous sore inflamed,
Who hereupon gaue straight commandement,
By strength of sword to haue those rebels tamed,
On whom the Romaines set incontinent:
   Who chac'd the Iewes and scattered them so sore,
   That they were found to gather head no more.

For secretly the Iewes from Schimion fled,
By some and some they all forsooke him quite,
With false Iehocanan which so misled,
And forct them against them selues to murderous fight:
   Who leauing them, to noble Tytus came,
   Desiring grace, who graunted them the same.

Iehocanan and Schimion seeing this,
They were forsaken, and left post alone,
In their distresse lamented their amisse,
Closse hid in caues, they lay and made their mone:
   Where they remained perplext with famine great,
   Till they were ready, their owne flesh to eate.
The Destruction

Iehocanan inforced by hunger comes out of his caue & submits him-selfe to Tytus, who caused him to be hanged.

A length out of a deepe darke hollow caue,
With bitter hunger Iehocanan was driuen,
Like to a Ghost new risen from his graue,
Or like Anatomy of all flesh beryuen:
Who then as faint as euer he could stand,
Came to submit himselfe, to Tytus hand.

Into this Princely presence when he came,
With all submission fell he at his feete,
Saying, O King of most renouned fame,
Here am I come as it is right and meete:
To yeeld my selfe into thy Princely hand,
Whose life doth rest, vpon thy great command,

My disobedience doe I sore repent,
That euer I refus'd thy offered grace,
Bewayling my lewd life, so badly bent,
And my foule actions, gainst this holy place:
Yet with thy mercy shadow my amisse,
And let me tast what thy compassion is:

Not from my selfe, did all my sinne proceede,
Though I confesse my faults were too too many,
But was prouokt to many a bloody deed,
By him that yet was neuer good to any:
Blood-thirsty Schimeon led me to all euill,
Who doth in malice far exceed the Diuell.

Too long alasse, he ouer-ruld my will,
And made me actor of a thousand woes,
What I refus'd his outrage did fulfill,
And his deuise did make my friends my foes:
Then worthy Victor mittigate my blame,
And let thy glory ouer-spread my shame.

No more (quoth Tytus) stay thy traiterous tounge,
Infet vs not with thy impoysoned breath,
Ile doe thee right that hast done many wrong,
Thy end of sorrow shall begin thy death:
And by thy death shall life arise to such,
To whom thou thoughtst a minutes life too much.
With that he wild his Captaines take him thence,
When he with yron chaines was fettered fast,
And afterward (meete meed for his offence)
Through all the Campe they led him at the last,
That he of them might mockt and scorned be,
And then in chaines they hangd him one a tree.

This was the end of proud Iehocanan,
That in Jerusalem did such harme,
And this likewise was that accursed man,
That in his malice with a fierce alarume
Burnd all the Victuals laide in by the Peeres,
That was inough to serue them twenty yeeres.

Which was the cause, that in so short a space,
So great a famine fell within the towne:
Yea this was he burnt King Agrippaes place,
And in the Temple slew so many downe:
But not long after he was gone and dead,
Out of his den did Schimion shew his head.

Schimion in like sort being driuen with hunger out
of his den, apparelling himselfe in princely attire, desired
to be brought before Titus, supposing he would haue saved
his life: but he commanded his head to be stricken off,
and his body to be cut in peces and cast to the dogges.

Who staring vp and down with fearfull lookes,
Least any one were nigh to apprehend him,
Like to a Panther doubting hidden hookes,
That any way might lye for to offend him:
Driuen out with famine, hungry at the hart,
He sought for succour of his earned smart.

And hauing drest himselfe in Kingly tire,
In richest manner that he could deuise,
That men at him might wonder: and desire
To know what Monarke did from earth arise,
Farre off he walked as it were in boast,
And shewd himselfe vnto the Romaine hoast.
For his great heart could not abide to yeeld,
Though gnawing hunger vext his very soule:
Thus faintly walkt he vp and downe the field
With lofty thoughts, which famine did controule,
Supposing firmely, though he liu'd in hate,
He should finde fauour, for his high estate:

For though (quoth he) I did the Romaines wrong,
Yet in my deeds, I shewed Princely courage,
Bearing a heart, that did to honour throng,
And thereupon their Campe so oft did forage,
To haughty acts all Princes honour owes,
For they must thinke that war hath made vs foes.

Considering this, Prince Tytus may be proude,
To such an enemie he may fauour shew,
And herein may his action be allowd,
That magnanimitie he will nourish so:
And by his mercie make a friend of him,
That in his warres so great a foe hath beene.

While in this humour, hee him selfe did flatter,
Of him the Romaines had a perfect sight,
And round about him they themselues did scatter,
Yet were afraid to come within his might:
And that they fear'd this was the onely reason,
They knew his craft, and doubted hidden treason.

But Schimion seeing that they shund him so,
He cald vnto them in couragious wise,
Maiestically walking to and fro,
And in this sort, his speech to them applies:
If any gallant Captaine with you be,
Let him approch, and talke one word with me.

With that stept out a braue couragious Knight,
With weapons well prouided euery way,
A noble Romaine of great strength and might,
Who with his weapon drawne these words did say
Tell me, who art thou that in such attire,
Walkes in this place, and what is thy desire?
I am (quoth he) vndaunted Schimeon,
The wrathfull Captaine of seditious Iewes,
That slew the Romaines, in their greatest throng,
The deed whereof I come not to excuse:
   Nor doe I passe what you can say thereto,
   I am the man made you so much a doe.

Yet let me thus much fauour craue of thee,
As to conduct me to great Tytus sight,
Thy noble friend, but enemie to me:
Yet doubt I not, but he will doe me right:
   Bring me to him, what chaunce so ere I finde,
   That he may heare, and I may shew my mind.

The Romaine Captaine his request fulfild,
To Tytus royall presence was he brought,
Whose hatefull person, when the Prince beheld,
He did refuse to heare him speake in ought,
   Away with him (he sayd) let him be bound,
   For of all woe this villaine was the ground.

And like a Captiue first let him be led,
About the Camp to suffer scoffes and scornes,
And after that strike of his hatefull head,
The mansion house of mischieves pricking thornes:
   And let his carcase be in peeces torne,
   And euery gobbet vnto dogges be throwne.

What Titus charg'd was put in execution,
And in this sort was Schimions hatefull end,
Who went to death with wonderous resolution,
Not like a man, but like an hellish fiend:
   Thus Titus conquer'd that most pretious Iem,
   The beautious Citie faire Jerusalem.
The number of those that had bin slaine at the siege of Jerusalem, and the number of the Prisoners that Titus caried with him to Rome.

The perfect number of the people there, The which with hunger & with sword was slaine A leauen hundred thousand did appeare, As booke of records did declare it plaine: Beside all such as did vnburied lye, And diuers moe that did in fier dye.

And when to Rome the Conqueror went his way, The number of his prisoners were full great, Full sixteene thousand men that instant day, Were carried captiue to the Romaine seat: Among the rest the man that wrote this story, Who by his wisedome purchast endless glory.

Thus Christs prophesie truely came to passe, Which Forty yeares before he had expressed, But with the Iewes of small account it was, Till they did finde themselues so sore distressed: He soght their life, his death they wrought with spite, Wishing his blood on them and theirs to light.

The which according to their owne request, The Lord in wrath did perfectly fulfil, There channels ran with blood and did not rest, Their blood was spilt, that Jesus blood did spill: God grant we may our hatefull sins forsake, And by the Iewes a Christian warning take.

FINIS.
MISCELLANEOS BALLADS

A proper newe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles (a market towne in Suffolke), which was in the great winde vpon S. Andrews eue last past most pittfully burned with fire, to the losse by estimation of twentie thousande pound and vpwarde, and to the number of foure score dwelling houses, r586.

To Wilsons Tune.

WITH sobbing sighes, and trickling teares, My state I doe lament, Perceiuing how Gods heauie wrath Against my sinnes is bent; Let all men viewe my woefull fall, And rue my woefull case, And learne hereby in speedy sort Repentaunce to embrace.

For late in Suffolcke was I seen To be a stately towne, Replenished with riches store, And had in great renowne; Yea, planted on a pleasant soyle, So faire as heart could wish, And had my markets, once a weeke, Well storde with flesh and fish.

A faire fresh riuier running by, To profite me withall, Who with a cristall cleered streame About my bankes did fall; My fayres in somer welthely For to increase my store; My medowes greene and commons great,— What could I wish for more?
But now beholde my great decay,
Which on a sodaine came;
My sumptuous buildings burned be
By force of fires flame:
A careless wretch, most rude in life,
His chymney set on fire,
The instrument, I must confess,
Of Gods most heauie ire.

The flame whereof increasing stil
The blustering windes did blowe,
And into divers buildings by
Disperst it to and fro;
So, kindling in most grieuous sort,
It waxed huge and hie;
The riuver then was frozen, so
No water they could come by.

Great was the crye that then was made
Among both great and small;
The wemen wept, and wrong their handes,
Whose goods consumed all;
No helpe was founde to slacke the fyre,
Thyer paines was spent in vaine;
To beare theyr goods into the fieldes
For safegarde they wereayne.

And yet, amid this great distresse,
A number set theyr minde,
To filch, and steale, and beare away
So much as they could finde;
Thyer neighbors wealth, which wasted lay
About the streetes that time,
They secretly conveyde away,—
O most accursed crime!

Thus, from the morning nyne a clocke
Till four aclocke at night,
Fourescore houses in Beckles towne
Was burnd to ashes quite;
And that which most laments my heart,
The house of God, I say,
The church and temple by this fyre
Is cleane consumde away.
The market-place and houses fayre,  
That stood about the same,  
Hath felt the force and violence  
Of this most fearefull flame;  
So that there is no Christian man  
But in his heart would grieue,  
To see the smart I did sustaine  
Upon saint Andewes eue.

Wherefore, good Christian people, now  
Take warning by my fall,—  
Liue not in strife and envious hate  
To breed each other thrall;  
Seeke not your neighbors lasting spoyle  
By greedy sute in lawe;  
Liue not in discord and debate,  
Which doth destruction draw.

And flatter not yourselves in sinne,  
Holde not Gods worde in scorne,  
Repine not at his ministers,  
Nor be not false forsworne;  
For, where such vices doth remaine,  
Gods grace will neuer be;  
And, in your health and happie state,  
Haue yet some minde on me,—

Whose songes is changd to sorrowes sore,  
My ioyes to wayling woe,  
My mirth to mourning sighes and grones,  
The which from griefe doth growe;  
My wealth to want and scarsetie,  
My pleasure into payne,  
All for the sinne and wickednesse  
Which did in me remaine.

If then you wish prosperitie,  
Be louing meeke and kinde,—  
Lay rage and rancour cleane aside,  
Set malice from your minde;  
And liue in loue and charitie,  
All hatefull pride detest,  
And so you shall with happie dayes  
For euermore be blest.
And thus I ende my wofull song.
Beseeching God I may
Remaine a mirrour to all such
That doe in pleasure stay;
And that amongest their greatest mirth
And chiefest ioye of all,
They yet may haue a heart to thinke
Of Beckles sodaine fall.

FINIS. T. D.

At London:
Imprinted by Robert Robinson, for Nicholas Colman[n], of Norwich, dwelling in S. Andrewes church yard.

A most ioyfull Songe,
made in the behalfe of all her Maiesties faithfull and louing Subjectes:
of the great ioy, which was made in London at the taking of the late trayterous Conspirators, which sought opportunity to kyll her Maiesty, to spoyle the Cittie, and by forraigne invaision
to ouerrun the Realme: for the which haynous Treasons,
fourteen of them haue suffered death on the 20 & 21
of Sept. Also a detestation against those Con-
spirators and all their confederates, giuing
God the prayse for the safe preseruation
of her maiesty, and their subuersion.
Anno Domini. 1586.

To the tune of: O man in desperation.

The names of vij traitors whiche wer executed on the xx of Sep-
tember beyng Tuesday 1586

O H Englishmen with Romish harts, what Deuil doth bewitch you,
To seeke the spoyle of Prince and Realme, like Traytors most vntrue?
Why is your dutie so forgot, vnto your Royall Queene,
That you your faith and promise breake, O viperous broode vncleene?
Blessed be God who knew your thought, and brought your treason out:
And your destruction now hath wrought that made vs so in doubt.
For if you might haue had your wills to make your bloudie day,
Many a widowe and fatherlesse childe, had then cryed well away.

Many a Citie had beene sakk, whose houses had beene firde,
Yea, many a Peere had lost his life, these fruits you all desirde, 10
But now fourteen of you haue felt, that death you haue deserved,
And God (in mercie) from your hands, our prince and vs preserued.

And would you seeke your Countries spoyle, your Mother and your Nurse,
That fostred you and brought you vp, what treason may be wurse?
Why is your false and poysoned harts, surprized with such hate,
That you must needes by forraigne power, supresse your happy state?

Why do you beare such foolish loue vnto the Ragges of Rome,
That you would seeke sweete England’s spoyle, and Princes deadly doome?
Will nothing serue your deuillish turne in this your deadly strife,
But euen the blood of your good Queene, and her to reaue of life?

Doo you not know there is a God, that guides her night and day,
Who doth reveale her foes attempts, and brings them to decay?
O wicked men with Tygers harts, nay Monsters I should say,
That seekes to spoyle so good a Queene, as none the like this day.

Her tender loue procures your hate, her mercie makes you bolde,
Her gentle sufferaunce of your pride, presumptuous vncontrolde,
Doth make you to forget your God, your selues and dueties all,
Whereby you bend your busie braines to mischiefe and to thrall.

Know you not who her highnes is? King Henrys daughter deere,
The mightiest Monarche in his dayes, or hath beene many a yeere:
She is our Prince and soueraigne Queene, annointed by Gods grace,
To set forth his most sacred word, his enimies to deface,
Haue you not holy scriptures read, how byrds with fluttering winges,
A Traytours thought they will betray against annoynted Kinges,
God will no secret treason hide, against a wicked Prince,
Much more, for safety of the good, their foes he will convince.

Therefore you cruellTankred crue, why seeke you mischiefe still,
For to attempt with violent handes, Gods chosen for to kill.
How dare you once in hollow hart, thinke ill of such a Queene,
Whom God himselfe doth favour so, as like was neuer seen.

Haue you such wicked hatefull hartes, in thirsting after blood,
That with false Iudas you can bear two faces in one hoode?
Too often hath her Maiestie behelde without mistrust,
The outwarde smiles of Crokadiles, whose harts were most vnjust.

O liuing Lord who would suppose that vnder veluets fine,
Such Tankred poyson should be hid, as hath beene found this time.
Is this the precious faithfull fruite, which doth from Papists spring?
Are these the workes whereby they thinke Gods Kingdome for to win?

Is not their greedie thirsting throates yet satisfied with blood?
When as it streamde doune Paris streets, much like to Nylus flood.
Or are they not yet drunke enough, in quaffing bloody bowles,
But looke they for a second draught among vs English soules?

O England, England, yet reioice, thy God beholdeth all,
And he hath giuen for euermore thy foes a shamefull fall.
By him all kinges and Princes rainge, he giues them life and breath,
He hath set vp and will maintaine our Queene Elizabeth.

The secret drift and ill intent of her late hatefull foes,
Vnto all faithfull Subiects ioyes, the Lord did well disclose,
Yea many Traytors false of faith, through his most mighty power,
Are taken in most happy time, and sent vnto the Towre.
Which happy sight for all to see, did glad eche Subiect true,
And many thousands ranne apace, those Caytiues vile to viewe,
Whom when the people did espie, they cryed lowde and shryll,
There goe the Traytors false of faith, which sought our Queene to kill.

There goe the wretched wicked ones, her Citie meant to spoyle,
And murther all her Citizens, but now they haue the foyle.
There go the enimies of the Realme, did thinke to ouerrunne
All England: to let in the Pope, but now Gods will is doone.

God sent them now their due deserts, as they in hart conspyrde,
To take away our gracious Queene, and Citie to haue fyrde. 70
God graunt we neuer liue to see, that dismall day to haue,
Who blesse our noble Queene and Realme, and eke her Citie saue.

And thus the people still did cry, both men and women all,
And children yong did shout alowde, and Traytors Traytors call.
Yea thousands trudging to and fro, to meete them still did runne,
And some stoode fasting all the day, till that daylight was doone,

To see these Traytors taken so, their harts for ioy did spring,
And to declare this perfect ioy, some ranne the Belles to ring.
The Belles I say did brauely ring, that day and all the night,
And throughout stately London streetes reioyced euery wight. 80

And when the day was past and gone, and that the night drewe neere,
The worthy Citizens many a one, prepared their good cheare.
And Bondfyres did they merely make, through all the streetes that time,
And in the streetes their Tables stoode, prepared braue and fine.

They came together gladly all, and there did mery make,
And gaue God thankes with cheerefull hartes, for Queene
Elizabeths sake.
In solempne Psalmes they sung full sweete the prayse of God on hie,
Who now and euer keepes our Queene from Traytors tyranny.

But when our noble gratious Queene did vnderstand this thing,
She writ a letter presently, and seald it with her Ring. 90
A Letter such of royall loue, vnto her Subiectes cares,
That mooued them from watry eyes, to shed forth ioyfull teares.
O noble Queene without compare, our harts doth bleed for woe,
To thinke that Englishmen should seeke, thy life to ouerthroe.
But here wee humbly do protest, oh gracious Queene to thee,
That Londoners will be loyall still, whilst life in them shall be.

And all that would not gladly so, spend forth their dearest
bloode,
God giue to them a shamefull ende, and neuer other good.
And Lord with hart to thee we pray, preserue our noble Queene,
And still confound her hatefull foes, as they haue alwayes
beene.

FINIS. T.D.

Printed at London by Richard Iones

A proper new Ballad
breely declaring the Death and Execution of fourteen
most wicked Traitors, who suffered death in
Lincolnes Inne feelde neere London:
the 20 and 21 of September,
1586.

To the tune of Weep, weep.

Rejoyce in hart, good people all
sing praise to God on hye,
Which hath preserved vs by his power
from traitors tiranny;
Which now haue had their due desarts,
in London lately seen;
And Ballard was the first that died
for treason to our Queene.

O praise the Lord with hart and minde,
sing praise with voices cleere,
Sith traiterous crue haue had their due,
to quaile their parteners cheere.
Next Babington, that caitife vilde,
was hanged for his hier:
His carcasse likewise quartered,
and hart cast in the fier.
Was euer scene such wicked troopes
of traytors in this land,
Against the pretious woord of truthe,
and their good Queene to stand?

_O praise, &c._

But heer beholde the rage of Rome,
the fruits of Popish plants;
Beholde and see their wicked woorks,
which all good meaning wants;
For Savage also did receaue
like death for his desert;
Which in that wicked enterprise
should then haue doon his part

_O praise, &c._

O cursed catifes, void of grace!
will nothing serue your turne,
But to beholde your cuntries wrack,
in malice while you burne?
And Barnwell thou which went to view
her grace in each degree,
And how her life might be dispatcht,
thy death we all did see.

_O praise, &c._

Confounding shame fall to their share,
and hellish torments sting,
That to the Lords anointed shall
deuise so vile a thing!
_O Techburne!_ what bewitched thee,
to haue such hate in store,
Against our good and gratious Queene,
that thou must dye therefore?

_O praise, &c._

What gaine for traitors can returne,
if they their wish did win;
Or what preferment should they get
by this their trecherous sinne?
Though forraine power loue treason well,
the traitors they despise,
And they the first that should sustaine
the smart of their devise.

_**O praise, &c.**_

What cause had _Tilney_, traitor stout,
or _Abbington_ likewise,
Against the Lords anointed thus
such mischeef to devise:
But that the Deuill inticed them
such wicked woorkes to render;
For which these seuen did suffer death
the twentith of September.

_**O praise, &c.**_

Seauen more the next day following
were drawn from the _Tower_,
Which were of their confederates,
to dye that instant hower:
The first of them was _Salsburie_,
and next to him was _Dun_,
Who did complaine most earnestly
of proud yong _Babington_.

_**O praise, &c.**_

Both Lords and Knights of hye renounne
he ment for to displace;
And likewise all our towers and townes,
and cities for to race.
So likewise _Jones_ did much complaine
of his detested pride,
And shewed how lewdly he did liue
before the time he died.

_**O praise, &c.**_

Then _Charnock_ was the next in place
to taste of bitter death,
And praying vnto holy Saints,
he left his vitall breath.
And in like maner _Trauers_ then
did suffer in that place,
And fearfully he left his life
with cursing breast and face.

O praise, &c.

Then Gage was stripped in his shirt,
who vp the lather went,
And sought for to excuse him selfe
of treasons false intent.
And Bellamie the last of all
did suffer death that daye;
Vnto which end God bring all such
as wish our Queenes decay!

O praise, &c.

O faulce and foule disloyall men!
what person would suppose,
That clothes of veluet and of silke
should hide such mortall foes?
Or who would think such hidden hate
in men so faire in sight,
But that the Deuill can turne him selfe
into an angell bright?

O praise, &c.

But, Soueraigne Queene, haue thou no care,
for God which knoweth all,
Will still maintaine thy royall state,
and giue thy foes a fall:
And for thy Grace thy subiects all
will make their praiers still,
That neuer traitor in the land
may haue his wicked will.

O praise, &c.

Whose glorious daies in England heere
the mighty God maintaine,
That long vnto thy subiectes ioye
thy Grace may rule and raigne.
And, Lord! we pray for Christes sake,
that all thy secret foes
May come to naught which seeke thy life,
and Englands lasting woes.

O praise the Lord with hart and minde, &c.

H h 2
The names of the 7 Traitors who were executed on Tuesday being the xx of September. 1586
Iohn Ballard Preest.
Anthony Babington.
Iohn Sauage.
Robert Barnwell.
Chodicus Techburne.
Charles Tilney.
Edward Abbington.

The names of the other vij which were executed on the next day after
being the xx of September.
Thomas Salsbury.
Henry Dun.
Edward Ihones.
Iohn Trauers.
Iohn Trauers.
Robert Gage.
Harman Bellamy.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London at the Long Shop adjoyning vnto Saint Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie by Edward Allde.

A joyful new Ballad,
Declaring the happie obtaining of the great Galleazzo, wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was the chiefe, through the mightie power and prouidence of God, being a speciall token of his gracious and fatherly goodnes towards vs, to the great encouragement of all those that willingly fight in the defence of his gospel and our good Queene of England.

To the Tune of Monseurs Almaigne.

O Noble England, fall downe vpon thy knee:
And praise thy God with thankfull hart which still maintaineth thee.
The forraine forces, that seekes thy vetter spoile:
Shall then through his especiall grace be brought to shamefull foile.
With mightie power they come vnto our coast:
To ouer runne our countrie quite, they make their brags and boast.
In strength of men
tyey set their onely stay:
But we, vpon the Lord our God,
will put our trust alway.

Great is their number,
of ships vpon the sea:
And their prouision wonderfull,
but Lord thou art our stay.
Their armed sooldiers
are many by account:
Their aiders eke in this attempt,
doe sundrie waies, surmount.
The Pope of Rome
with many blessed graines:
To sanctify their bad pretense
bestowed both cost and paines.
But little land,
is not dismaide at all:
The Lord no doubt is on our side,
which soone will worke their fall.

In happy houre,
our foes we did descry:
And vnder saile with gallant winde
as they cam passing by.
Which suddaine tidings,
to Plymouth being brought:
Full soone our Lord high Admirall,
for to pursue them sought.

And to his traine,
coragiously he said:
Now, for the Lord and our good Queene,
to fight be not afraide.

Regard our cause,
and play your partes like men:
The Lord no doubt will prosper vs,
in all our actions then.

This great Galleazzo,
which was so huge and hye:
That like a bulwarke on the sea,
did seeme to each mans eye.
There was it taken, 
vnto our great reliefe: 
And diuers Nobles, in which traine 
Don Pietro was the chiefe. 
Stronge was she stuft, 
with Cannons great and small; 
And other instruments of warre, 
Which we obtained all. 
A certaine signe, 
of good successe we trust: 
That God will ouerthrow the rest, 
as he hath done the first. 

Then did our Nauie 
pursue the rest amaine: 
With roaring noise of Cannons great; 
till they neere Callice came: 
With manly courage, 
they followed them so fast: 
Another mightie Gallion 
did seeme to yeeld at last. 
And in distresse, 
for saugard of their liues: 
A flag of truce they did hand out, 
with many mournfull cries: 
Which when our men, 
did perfectly espie: 
Some little Barkes they sent to her, 
to board her quietly. 

But these false Spaniards, 
esteeming them but weake: 
When they within their danger came, 
their malice forth did breake. 
With charged Cannons, 
they laide about them then: 
For to destroy those proper Barkes, 
and all their valiant men. 
Which when our men 
perceiued so to be: 
Like Lions fierce they forward went, 
to quite this injurie.
And bourding them,  
with strong and mightie hand:  
They kild the men vntill their Arke,  
did sinke in Callice sand.

The chiefest Captaine,  
of this Gallion so hie:  
Don Hugo de Moncaldo he  
within this fight did die.  
Who was the Generall  
of all the Gallions great:  
But through his braines, with pouders force,  
a Bullet strong did beat.  
And manie more,  
by sword did loose their breath:  
And manie more within the sea,  
did swimme and tooke their death.  
There might you see  
the salt and foming flood:  
Died and staind like scarlet red,  
with store of Spanish blood.

This mightie vessell,  
was threescore yards in length:  
Most wonderfull to each mans eie,  
for making and for strength.  
In her was placed,  
an hundreth Cannons great:  
And mightily prouided eke,  
with bread-corne wine and meat.  
There were of Oares,  
two hundreth I weene:  
Threescore foote and twelue in length,  
well measured to be scene.  
And yet subdued,  
with manie others more:  
And not a Ship of ours lost,  
the Lord be thankt therefore.

Our pleasant countrie,  
so fruitfull and so faire:  
They doe intend by deadly warre.  
to make both poore and bare.
Our townes and cities,
    to rack and sacke likewise:
To kill and murder man and wife,
    as malice doth arise.
And to deflower
    our virgins in our sight:
And in the cradle cruelly
    the tender babe to smite.
Gods holy truth,
    they meane for to cast downe:
And to depriue our noble Queene,
    both of her life and crowne.

Our wealth and riches,
    which we enjoyed long:
They doe appoint their pray and spoile,
    by crueltie and wrong.
To set our houses
    a fier on our heads:
And cursedly to cut our throates,
    As we lye in our beds.
Our childrens braines,
    to dash against the ground:
And from the earth our memorie,
    for euer to confound.
To change our ioy,
    to grief and mourning sad:
And neuer more to see the dayes,
    of pleasure we haue had.

But God almighty
    be blessed euermore:
Who doth encourage Englishmen,
    to beate them from our shoare.
With roaring Cannons,
    their hastie steps to stay:
And with the force of thundering shot
    to make them flye away.
Who made account,
    before this time or day:
Against the walles of faire London,
    their banners to display.
But their intent,
the Lord will bring to nought:
If faithfully we call and cry,
for succour as we ought.

And you deare bretheren,
which beareth Arms this day:
For safegarde of your native soile,
marke well what I shall say.

Regarde your dueties,
thinke on your countries good:
And feare not in defense thereof,
to spend your dearest bloud.

Our gracious Queene
doth greete you euery one:
And saith, she will among you be,
in euery bitter storme.

Desiring you,
true English harts to beare:
To God, and her, and to the land,
wherein you nursed were.

Lord God almighty,
whch hath the harts in hand:
Of euerie person to dispose
defend this English land.

Bless thou our Soueraigne
with long and happie life:
Indue her Counceil with thy grace,
and end this mortall strife.

Give to the rest,
of Commons more and lesse:
Louing harts, obedient minds,
and perfect faithfulness.

That they and we,
and all with one accord:
On Sion hill may sing the praise,
of our most mightie Lord.

T. D.

FINIS.
The Queenes visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie with her entertainment there.

To the Tune of Wilsons wilde.

Within the yeare of Christ our Lord a thousand and five hundreth full:
And eightie eight by iust record
the which no man may disannull.
And in the thirtieth yeare remaining,
of good Queene Elizabeths raigning,
A mightie power there was prepared
by Philip, then the king of Spaine:
Against the maiden Queene of England,
which in peace before did raigne.

Her Royall ships to sea she sent,
to garde the coast on euerie side:
And seeing how her foes were bent,
her realme full well she did prouide.
With many thousands so prepared:
as like was neuer erst declared,
Of horsemen and of footemen plentie,
whose good harts full well is seen:
In the safegarde of their countrie,
and the seruice of our Queene.

In Essex faire that fertill soile,
upon the hill of Tilsbury:
To giue our Spanish foes the foile,
in gallant campe they now do lye.
Where good orders is ordained,
and true iustice eke maintained,
For the punishment of persons,
that are lewde or badly bent.
To see a sight so straunge in England,
t'was our gracious Queenes intent.

And on the eight of August she,
from faire St. Iames tooke her way:
With many Lords of high degree,
in princely robes and rich aray.
And to bardge vpon the water,  
being King *Henryes* royall daughter,  
She did goe with trumpets sounding,  
and with dubbing drums apace:  
Along the Thames that famous riuver,  
for to view the campe a space.  

When she as farre as *Grauesend* came,  
right ouer against that prettie towne:  
Her royall grace with all her traine,  
was landed there with great renowne.  
The Lords and Captaine of her forces,  
mounted on their gallant horses,  
Readie stood to entertaine her,  
like martiall men of courage bold:  
Welcome to the campe dread soueraigne,  
thus they said both yong and old.  

The Bulworkes strong that stood thereby,  
well garded with sufficient men:  
Their flags were spred couragiously,  
their cannones were discharged then.  
Each Gunner did declare his cunning,  
for ioy conceiued of her coming.  
All the way her Grace was riding,  
on each side stood armed men:  
With Muskets, Pikes, and good Caleeuers,  
for her Graces safegarde then.  

The Lord generall of the field,  
had there his bloudie auncient borne:  
The Lord marshals coulors eke,  
were carried there all rent and torne.  
The which with bullets was so burned,  
when in Flaunders he soiourned.  
Thus in warlike wise they martched  
euen as soft as foote could fall:  
Because her Grace was fully minded,  
perfectly to view them all.  

Her faithfull souldiers great and small,  
as each one stood within his place:  
Vpon their knees began to fall,  
desiring God to saue her Grace.
For ioy whereof her eyes was filled,
that the water downe distilled.
Lord blesse you all my friendes (she said)
but doe not kneele so much to me:
Then sent she warning to the rest,
they should not let such reuerence be.

Then casting vp her Princely eyes,
vtnto the hill with perfect sight:
The ground all couered, she espyes,
with feet of armed soouldiers bright.
Whereat her roayll hart so leaped,
on her feet vpright she stepped.
Tossing vp her plume of feathers,
to them all as they did stand:
Chearfully her body bending,
wauing of her roayll hand.

Thus through the campe she passed quite,
in manner as I haue declared:
At maister Riches for that night,
her Graces lodging was preparde.
The morrow after her abiding,
on a princely paulfrey riding.
To the camp she cam to dinner,
with her Lordes and Ladies all:
The Lord generall went to meete her,
with his Guarde of yeomen tall.

The Sargeant trumpet with his mace,
And nyne with trumpets after him:
Bare headed went before her grace,
in coats of scarlet colour trim.
The king of Heralds tall and comely,
was the next in order duely.
With the famous Armes of England,
wrought with rich embroidered gold:
On finest veluet blew and crimson,
that for siluer can be sold.

With Maces of cleane beaten gold,
the Queens two Sargeants then did ride,
Most comely men for to behold,
in veluet coates and chaines beside.
The Lord generall then came riding,
   and Lord marshall hard beside him.
Richly were they both atired,
   in princele garments of great price:
Bearing still their hats and fethers
   in their handes in comely wise.

Then came the Queene on pranceing steede
   atired like an Angell bright:
And eight braue footemen at her feete,
   whose Ierkins were most rich in sight.
Her Ladies, likewise of great honor,
   most sumpteuously did waite vpon her.
With pearles and diamonds braue adorned,
   and in costly cales of gold:
Her Guarde in scarlet then ride after,
   with bowes and arrowes stoute and bold.

The valiant Captaines of the field,
   meane space them selues in order set:
And each of them with speare and sheelde,
   to ioyne in battaile did not let.
With such a warlike skill extended,
   as the same was much commended.
Such a battaile pitcht in England,
   many a day hath not beene seene:
Thus they stood in order waiting,
   for the presence of our Queene.

At length her grace most royally
   receiued was and brought againe:
Where she might see most loyally
   this noble hoast and warlike traine.
How they cam martching all together,
   like a wood in winters weather.
With the strokes of drummers sounding,
   and with trampling horses than:
The earth and aire did sound like thunder,
   to the eares of euerie man.

The warlike Armie then stood still,
   and drummers left their dubbing sound:
Because it was our Princes will,
   to ride about the Armie round.
Her Ladies she did leaue behind her,
and her Guarde which still did minde her.
The Lord generall and Lord marshall,
did conduct her to each place:
The pikes, the colours, and the lances,
at her approch fell downe apace.

And then bespake our noble Queene,
my louing friends and countriemen:
I hope this day the worst is seen,
that in our wars ye shall sustain.
But if our enimies do assaile you,
neuer let your stomackes faile you.
For in the midst of all your troupe,
we our selues will be in place:
To be your ioy, your guide and comfort,
euen before your enimies face.

This done the soldiers all at once,
a mightie shout or crye did giue:
Which forced from the Assure skyes,
an Ecco loud from thence to drue.
Which filled her grace with ioy and pleasure,
and riding then from them by leasure,
With trumpets sound most loyally,
along the Court of guard she went:
Who did conduct her Maiestie,
vtnto the Lord chiefe generals tent.

Where she was feasted royally,
with dainties of most costly price:
And when that night aproched nye,
Her Maiestie with sage aduice,
In gracious manner then returned,
from the Campe where she soiourned.
And when that she was safely set,
within her Barge, and past away:
Her farewell then the trumpets sounded,
and the cannons fast did play,

FINIS.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe
for Edward White. 1588.
A new Ballet

of the strange and most cruel Whippes which the Spanyards
had prepared to whippe and torment English men
and women: which were found and taken
at the overthrow of certaine of the
Spanish Shippes, in July
last past, 1588.

To the tune of the valiant Soldiour.

All you that list to looke and see
what profit comes from Spayne
And what the Pope and Spanyards both,
prepared for our gayne.

Then turne your eyes and bend your eares,
and you shall heare and see,
What courteous minds, what gentle harts,
they beare to thee and mee.

They say they seek for England's good,
and wish the people well:
They say they are such holie men,
all others they excell.

They bragge that they are Catholikes,
and Christes only Spouse:
And what so ere they take in hand,
the holi Pope allowes.

These holie men, these sacred Saints,
and these that thinke no ill:
See how they sought, against all right,
to murder, spoyle, and kill.

Our noble Queen and Countrie first,
they did prepare to spoyle:
To ruinate our liues and lands,
with trouble and turmoyle.

And not content by fire and sword
to take our right away:
But to torment most cruelly
our bodies night and day.

Although they ment with murdring hands
our guiltlesse bloud to spill:
Before our deathes they did devise
to whip vs first their fill.
And for that purpose had preparde
of whips such wondrouse store,
So straungely made, that sure the like
was neuer seene before.
For neuer was there Horse, nor Mule,
nor dogge of currish kinde,
That euer had such whips deuisde
by any sauadge minde.

One sorte of whips they had for men,
so smarting fierce and fell:
As like could neuer be deuisde
by any deuill in hell.
The strings whereof with wyerie knots,
like rowels they did frame,
That euery stroke might teare the flesh
they layd on with the same,

And pluck the spreading sinewes from
the hardned bloudie bone,
To prick and pearce each tender veine,
within the bodie knowne.
And not to leaue one crooked ribbe,
on any side vnseen:
Nor yet to leaue a lumpe of flesh
the head and foote betweene.

And for our seelie women eke,
their hearts with griefe to clogge,
They made such whips wherewith no man
would seeme to strike a dogge:
So strengthned eke with brasen tagges,
and filde so rough and thin,
That they would force at euery lash
the bloud abroad to spinne.
Although their bodies sweet and fayre
their spoyle they ment to make:
And on them first their filthie lust
and pleasure for to take.
Yet afterward such sower sauce
they should be sure to finde
That they shoulde curse each springing braunch
that cometh of their kinde.

49. pluck] pluckt
O Ladies fayre what spite were this, 
your gentle hearts to kill:
To see these deuilish tyrants thus 
your childrens bloud to spill.
What grieve vnto the husband deere, 
his louing wife to see
Tormented so before his face 
with extreame villainie.

And thinke you not that they which had 
such dogged mindes to make
Such instruments of tyrannie, 
had not like hearts to take
The greatest vengeance that they might 
upon vs euery one:
Yes, yes, be sure, for godlie feare 
and mercie they haue none.

Even as in India once they did 
against those people there,
With cruel Curres, in shamefull sorte 
the men both rent and teare:
And set the Ladies great with childe 
vpright against a tree,
And shoot them through with pearcing darts, 
such would their practise bee.

Did not the Romans in this land, 
sometime like practise vse,
Against the Brittains bolde in heart, 
and wonderously abuse
The valiant King whom they had caught 
before his Queene and wife,
And with most extreame tyrannie 
despatcht him of his life?

The good Queene Voadicia, 
and eke her daughters three:
Did they not first abuse them all 
by lust and lecherie:
And after stript them naked all, 
and whipt them in such sorte:
That it would grieue each Christian heart 
to heare that iust reporte.
And if these ruffling mates of Rome
did Princes thus torment:
Think you the Romish Spanyards now
would not shew their desent.
How did they late in Rome rejoyce,
in Italie and Spayne:
What ringing and what Bonfires,
what Masses sung amaine.

What printed Bookes were sent about,
as filled their desire:
How England was, by Spanyards wonne,
and London set on fire.
Be these the men that are so milde,
whom some so holie call:
The Lord defend our noble Queene
and Countrie from them all.

FINIS. T.D.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin and
Thomas Gubbin, and are to be solde
in Paternoster-row, ouer against
the blacke Rauen
1588.

The Lamentation of Mr. Pages Wife
Of Plimouth, who, being forc'd to wed him, consented to his
Murder, for the loue of G. Strangwidge: for
which they suffered at Barnstable
in Deuonshire.

The Tune is Fortune my Foe, &c.

Unhappy she whom Fortune hath forlorne,
Despis'd of grace that proffered grace did scorne,
My lawlesse loue hath lucklesse wrought my woe,
My discontent content did ouerthrowe.

My lothed life to late I doe lament,
My wofull deedes in hearte I doe repent:
A wife I was that wilfull went awry,
And for that fault am here preparde to dye.
In blooming yeares my Fathers greedy minde,  
Against my will, a match for me did finde:  
Great wealth there was, yea, gold and siluer store,  
But yet my heart had chosen one before.

Mine eies dislikt my fathers liking quite,  
My hart did loth my parents fond delight:  
My childish minde and fancie told to mee,  
That with his age my youth could not agree.

On knees I prayde they would not me constraine;  
With teares I cryde their purpose to refraine;  
With sighes and sobbes I did them often moue,  
I might not wed whereas I could not loue.

But all in vaine my speeches still I spent:  
My mothers will my wishes did preuent.  
Though wealthy Page possesst the outward part,  
George Strangwidge still was lodged in my hart.

I wedded was and wrapped all in woe;  
Great discontent within my hart did growe;  
I loathd to liue, yet liude in deadly strife,  
Because perforce I was made Pages wife.

My closed eies could not his sight abide;  
My tender youth did lothe his aged side:  
Scant could I taste the meate whereon he fed;  
My legges did lothe to lodge within his bed.

Cause knew I none I should dispise him so,  
That such disdaine within my hart should growe,  
Saue onely this, that fancie did me moue,  
And told me still, George Strangwidge was my loue.

Lo! heere began my downfall and decay.  
In minde I musde to make him strait away:  
I that became his discontented wife,  
Contented was he should be rid of life.

Methinkes the heauens crie vengeance for my fact,  
Methinkes the world condemns my monstrous act,  
Methinkes within my conscience tells me true,  
That for that deede hell fier is my due.
My pensiue soule doth sorrow for my sinne,
For which offence my soule doth bleed within;
But mercy, Lord! for mercy still I crye:
Saue thou my soule, and let my bodie dye.

Well could I wish that Page enioyde his life,
So that he had some other to his wife:
But neuer could I wish, of low or hie,
A longer life then see sweete Strangwidge die.

O woe is me! that had no greater grace
To stay till he had runne out Natures race.
My deedes I rue, but I doe repent
That to the same my Strangwidge gaue consent.

You parents fond, that greedy-minded bee,
And seeke to graffe vpon the golden tree,
Consider well and rightfull judges bee,
And giue you doome twixt parents loue and mee.

I was their childe, and bound for to obey,
Yet not to loue where I no loue could laye.
I married was to muck and endlesse strife;
But faith before had made me Strangwidge wife.

O wretched world! who cankered rust doth blind,
And cursed men who beare a greedy minde;
And haplesse I, whom parents did force so
To end my dayes in sorrow, shame and wo.

You Denshire dames, and courteous Cornwall knights,
That here are come to visit wofull wights,
Regard my griefe, and marke my wofull end,
But to your children be a better frend.

And thou, my dear, that for my fault must dye,
Be not affraide the sting of death to trye:
Like as we liude and loude together true,
So both at once we'le bid the world adue.

Vlalia, thy friend, doth take her last farewell,
Whose soule with thee in heauen shall euer dwell.
Sweet Sauior Christ! do thou my soule receiue:
The world I doe with all my heart forgiue.

55 ? add most after but or doe.
And parents now, whose greedy mindes doe show
Your harts desire, and inward heauie woe,
Mourn you no more, for now my heart doth tell,
Ere day be done my soule shalbe full well.

And Plimouth proude, I bid thee now farewell.
Take heede, you wiues, let not your hands rebel;
And farewell, life, wherein such sorrow showes,
And welcome, death, that doth my corps inclose.

And now, sweete Lord! forgive me my misdeedes.
Repentance cryes for soule that inward bleedes:
My soule and bodie I commend to thee,
That with thy bloud from death redeemed mee.

Lord! blesse our Queene with long and happy life,
And send true peace betwixt eche man and wife;
And giue all parents wisedome to foresee,
The match is marrde where mindes doe not agree.

T. D.


A most sweet Song of an English-Merchant
Born in Chichester.

To an Excellent New Tune.

A Rich Merchant man there was
that was both graue & wise,
Did kill a man at Embden Town
through quarrels that did rise,
Through quarrels that did rise,
the German being dead,
And for that fact the Merchant man,
was judg'd to loose his head.
A sweet thing is loue,
it rules both heart and mind,
There is no comfort in this world,
to women that are kind.
A Scaffold builded was,  
within the market place,  
And all the people far and near,  
did thither flock apace,  
Did thither flock apace,  
this doleful sight to see,  
Who all in Velvet black as jet,  
vtto the place came he.  

A sweet, &c.

Bare-headed was he brought,  
his hands were bound before,  
A cambrick ruff about his neck,  
as white as milk he wore:  
His stockins were of silk,  
as fine as fine might be,  
Of person and of countenance,  
a proper man was he.  
A sweet, &c.

When he was mounted vp,  
upon the Scaffold high,  
All women said great pitty it was  
so sweet a man should dye:  
The Merchants of the Town,  
from death to set him free,  
Did proffer there a thousand pound  
but yet all would not be.  
A sweet, &c.

The prisoner hereupon,  
began to speak his mind,  
(Quoth he) I haue desperued death,  
in conscience I do find,  
Yet sore against my will,  
this man I kill'd (qd. he),  
As Christ doth know, which of my soul  
must only Sauiour be.  
A sweet, &c.

With heart I do repent,  
this most vnhappy deed,  
And for his wife and children small  
my very heart doth bleed:
The deed is done and past,  
my hope of life is vain,  
And yet the loss of this my life,  
to them is little gain.  
*A sweet, &c.*

Vnto the widow poor,  
and to the Babes therefore,  
I give a hundred pound a piece,  
their comforts to restore,  
Desiring at their hands,  
no one request but this,  
They will speak well of English men  
though I haue done amiss.  
*A sweet, &c.*

This was no sooner done,  
but that to stint the strife,  
Four goodly maids did proffer him  
for loue to saue his life:  
This is our Law (qd. they),  
we may your death remoue,  
So you in lieu of our good will  
will grant to vs your loue.  
*A sweet, &c.*

Brave English-man (quoth one),  
'tis I will saue thy life,  
Nay (quoth the second) it is I,  
so I may be thy wife:  
'Tis I (the third did say),  
nay (quoth the fourth) tis I,  
So each one after the other said,  
still waiting his reply.  
*A sweet, &c.*

Fair Maidens euery one,  
I must confess and say,  
That each of you well worthy is  
to be a Lady gay:
And I vnworthy far,
   the worst of you to haue,
Though you haue proffer'd willingly
   my loathed life to saue.
   A sweet, &c.

Then take a thousand thanks,
   of me a dying man,
But speak no more of loue nor life,
   for why my life is gone,
To Christ my soul I giue,
   my body vnto death,
For none of you my heart can haue,
   sith I must loose my breath.
   A sweet, &c.

Fair Maids lament no more,
   your Country Law is such,
It takes but hold vpon my life,
   my goods it cannot touch:
Within one Chest I haue
   in Gold a thousand pound,
I giue it equal to you all,
   for loue that I haue found.
   A sweet, &c.

And now dear friends farewell,
   sweet England now adieu,
And Chichester where I was born,
   where first this breath I drew;
And now thou man of death,
   vnto thy weapon stand,
O nay (another Damsel said)
   sweet Headsman hold thy hand.
   A sweet, &c.

Now hear a maidens plaint,
   brave English-man (quoth she)
And grant me loue for loue again,
   that craues but loue of thee:
I wooe and sue for loue,
   that had been woo'd e're this,
Then grant me loue, & therewithal
   she proffered him a kiss;
   A sweet, &c.
I'le dye within thy arms,
if thou wilt dye (quoth she)
Yet liue or dye sweet English man,
i'le liue and dye with thee:
But can it be (quoth he)
that thou dost loue me so,
Tis not by long acquaintance Sir
whereby true loue doth grow,
A sweet, &c.

Then beg my life (quoth he)
and I will be thy own,
If I should seek the world for loue
more loue cannot be shown:
The people at that word
did giue a joyful cry,
And said great pitty it was,
so sweet a man should dye;
A sweet, &c.

I go my Loue (she said)
I run, I flye for thee,
& gentle Headsman spare a while,
my Louers head for me;
Vnto the Duke she went,
who did her grief remoue,
& with an hundred Maidens more,
she went to fetch her Loue:
A sweet, &c.

With musick sounding sweet,
the foremost of the train,
The gallant maiden like a bride,
did fetch him back again;
Yea hand in hand away they went,
vnto the Church that day,
And they were married presently,
in sumptuous rich array;
A sweet, &c.

To England came he then,
with his fair Lady Bride,
A fairer woman neuer lay
by any Merchants side;
Where we must leave them now,
in pleasure and delight,
but of their names & dwelling place
I must not here recite.
A sweet, &c.

FINIS.

Printed for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray,
and T. Passinger.

Salomons good houswife, in the 31 of his
Proverbes.

He that a gracious wife doth find,
Whose life puts vertue chief in vre,
One of the right good huswife kind,
That man may well himselfe assure,
And boasting say that he hath found
The richest treasure on the ground.

Who so enjoyeth such a loue,
Let him resolue with hearts consent,
She euer constantly will proove
A carefull nurse, want to preuent,
With diligence and painefull heed,
Preuenting tast of beggers need.

And while she liues will still procure,
By true and faithfull industrie,
T'increase his wealth, and to insure
His state in all securitie:
To seeke his quiet, worke his ease,
And for a world no way displease.

Her houshold folke from sloth to keepe,
Shee will endeavoure with good heed,
At worke more wakefull then asleepe,
With flaxe and stuffe, which houswiues need
To be employd, her hands also
The way to worke will others show.
Her wit a common wealth containes,
Of needments for her houshold store,
And like a ship her selfe explaines,
That riches brings from forraine shore,
Arriving, with a bounteous hand
Dispersing treasure to the land.

Before the day she will arise
To order things, and to prouide
What may her family suffice,
That they at labour may abide,
If she haue land, no paine shall want
To purchase vines, set, sow, and plant.

No honest labour shee'le omit,
In ought she can attaine vnto,
But will endeavour strength and wit,
Adding the utmost she can do:
And if that profit comes about,
By night her candle goes not out.

A willing hand to the distrest
She lends, and is a chearefull giuer:
Come winters cold and frostie guest,
When idle huswiues quake and quiuer,
She and her households cloathed well,
The weathers hardnesse to expell.

Her skill doth worke faire Tapistrie,
With linnen furnish'd of the best:
Her needle workes do beautifie,
And she in Scarlet costly drest,
When Senators assembled be,
Her husbands honor there shall see.

Her spinning shall her store increase,
The finest cloth shall yeeld her gaine,
And dayly profit shall not cease,
Which her vnidle hands maintaine:
Her clothing shall her worth expresse,
And Honors yeares her end possesse.

Her mouth shall neuer opened be,
But wisdome will proceede from it:
Miscellaneous Ballads.

And such mild gracious wordes yeelds shee,
Sweetnesse vpon her tongue doth sit:
In age she will her care addresse,
To eate no bread of idlenesse.

Her children shall their dutie show,
Most reverent to her all their life,
Her husband blesse, that he did know
The time to meete with such a wife:
And vtring forth his happinesse,
Her vertues in this wise expresse.

I know t'is true that more then one
Good huswife there is to be found:
But I may say, that thou alone
Aboue all women dost abound,
Yea I protest in all my daies,
Thou art the first, and thee ile praise.

What thing is faouour but a shade?
It hath no certaine lasting hower,
Whereof is wanton beautie made,
That withers like a Sommers flower?
When these shall end their date in daies,
She that feares God shall liue with praise.

And such a wife of worthie worth,
Due glories lot will to her fall,
And great assemblies will giue forth,
What vertues shee's adorn'd withall,
Her lifes renowne to fame shall reach,
Her good example others teach.

May bachelors of each degree,
In choosing of a beauteous wife,
Remember, what is ioy to see
May lead to wofulnesse and strife:
Beauty is not a brave outside;
Beauty within is beautys pride.

FINIS.
APPENDIX.

I. PATIENT GRISSELL.

The ballad of Patient Grissell was printed in a setting of prose as a complete little book about 1630 (part of the date has been cut away in the British Museum copy). Although there is no actual proof that the prose is Deloney's the style suggests his authorship. 'The feast that continued fourteene dayes, to the comfort of the Commons' may be compared with Jacke of Newberie's wedding 'that endured ten dayes to the great reliefe of the poore'. The title page and prose setting are added below; the ballad itself does not differ materially from the version in the Garland of Good Will.

THE PLEASANT AND SWEET HISTORY of patient Grissell.

Shewing how she from a poore mans Daughter, came to be a great Lady in France, being a patterne for all vertuous Women.

Translated out of Italian.

London printed by E. P. for John Wright, dwelling in Giltspurstreet at the signe of the bible. 16
Appendix I.

Chapter I.

How, and in what place, the Noble marquesse was dwelling.

In the Countrey of Salusa, which lyeth neere Italy and France, there liued a noble and wealthy Prince, named Gualter, Marquesse and Lord of Salusa, a man of such vertues that the world did ring of: beloved of his subjectts for his good parts, that before his dayes nor since, was very few the like, for his continuall care of his subjectts good, and they in their dutifullnesse, sought to out-strip him in loue. From his youth his onely exercise was hunting, wherein he tooke such delight, that nothing was more pleasing vnto him: withall the subjectts loyalty to this worthy Prince, in their carefullnesse that such excellent vertues should not faile for want of issue, intreated him by humble petition to marry, that from his loynes their children might enjoy the like happinesse. This speech thus spoke to the prince draue such loue and affection into his minde, that most graciously he made them answer, that when it should please God, that hee should see one that he could loue, hee most willingly would fulfill their good and honest request: withall this answer gaue them such content, that they prayed earnestly to see that day.

Chapter II.

Of the good and honest life of faire Grissel, and her old father Ianicola.

Ere to the famous city of Saluse, was a poor village named Clue, in the way going to a great and spacious Forrest, where the Noble Marquesse vsest daily his pleasure in hunting; the poorer sort got their liuing, som by spinning, som carding, others keeping sheep. Amongst the rest of the inhabitants, there was an old man named Ianicola, whose wife being dead, shee left him one onely Daughter, named Grissell, who, by the Countrey manner, was named the faire. These two liued contentedly together, the aged Father goest to get wood for fire, the Maid makes his bed, gets his breakfast ready against his coming home, driues her sheepe to the common, sets her house in order, and failes to her ordinary worke of spinning: when the old man comes home, she sets his meate, makes much of him, shewes al the obedience that may be to the aged man; he in requital of her loue, as an incouragement to all obedient children, powrs out his hearty prayers in her behalf, praying the Almighty God to blesse her, & to giue her that happines which belongs to so good a child. No doubt but his petition was heard, for God gaue a blessing to her, as you may hear by the happy coming of the Marquesse that way, which may seeme suddenly after.

[Here the ballad is printed, practically as in the text, pp. 346-50.]

Chapter X.

Of the great feast that was made for patient Grissel, and her children, and old Ianicola.

The Lords and Gentlemen being astonished, looked one vpon another, and seeing no remedy, but that the noble Marquesse had an unremoueable loue vpon her, besought her to pardon them of their
enuy towards her, and to take them into her fauour, which she with a modest behauiour promised to doe; the noble Marquesse seeing all in peace, ordained a great and sumptuous feast, where patient Grissel sat Mistresse of the feast, the Marquesse on her right hand, on her left her aged Father, old Ianicola; her two children betweene them both, the Lords and Gentlemen doing them service. This feast continued fourteene dayes, to the comfort of the Commons.

When this solemne feast was ended: the Marquesse, to shew his loue to his Grissell, made her Father one of his counsel, and Gouernour of his Palace, where for many yeares he liued in the loue of the whole Court: the noble Marquesse and his faire Grissell, liued almost thirty yeeres, saw their childrens children, and then dyed, beloued and bewayled of their subiects.

Chapter XI.

The Authors persuasion to all Women in Generall.

Thus you may see by this History, you that are women, the great good which commeth by patience and humility, for had this vertuous woman bin of a churlish and crabbed disposition, she had lost that great estate which she had, besides the happy loue of a worthy and louing husband: Therefore, ye women, as you are helpers for men, & were so created for that vse, giue no distaste to your lousing husbands: & men likewise, be not bitter to your wiues, for the world hath not many Grissels. for man and Wife, liuing lousingly and peaceably in this world, shal dye with a good conscience, and enjoy the happinesse of the world to come, which shall haue no end

II. DELONEY'S LOST WORK.

There can be no doubt that a great many of Deloney's ballads have perished with the fragile sheets upon which they were printed, or if still extant, cannot now be identified. There is also some reason to suppose that larger compositions either in prose or poetry have shared the same fate. Sir Stephen Slany, in his letter to Lord Burghley (see p. ix), ascribes to Deloney:

[1] 'A certain Ballad, containing a Complaint of Great Want and Scarcity of Corn within the Realm... bringing in the Queen, speaking with her People Dialogue wise, in very fond and undecent sort.'

[2] 'A Book for the Silk Weauers', which had also given the authorities some annoyance.

Nash, writing in 1596 in Haue with You to Saffron-Walden, ascribes to Deloney:

[3] 'an epistle of Momus and Zoylus'
[4] 'Jigge of Iohn for the King'
[5] 'The Thunderbolt against Swearers'
Appendix II.

[7] 'The strange Judgments of God.' Kempe, writing in 1600, ascribes to him:

[8] Ballads on the Morrice dance from London to Norwich. No trace can be found of [8], [2] or [3]. A ballad of *John for the King* was entered at Stationers' Hall, Oct. 24, 1603, as *A newe ballet, called IOHN FOR THE KING to the tune of Hey downe derrye*; and ballads of this title are referred to and perhaps parodied in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, Act III, Sc. i,

*John for the King has been in many ballads.*
*John for the King down derro;*
*John for the King has eaten many sallads,*
*John for the King sings hey ho.*

Ballads like No. 5 against swearing, and No. 7 on the judgements of God, are entered with great variety in the *Stationers' Registers* and some survive, but none can be attributed to Deloney with any certainty.

To judge by the title, *The Thunderbolt of GODS Judgments* assigned from Mistress Pavier to E. Brewster and R. Birde on Aug. 4, 1626, seems to be most probably the ballad referred to by Nash.

[1] Two ballads are entered in the *Stationers' Registers* on the scarcity of corn about 1595.

*XVI Octobris (1594)*


*XIX Die Aprilis (1595)*

Thomas Millington. Entred for his copie vnder thande of Master Warden Binge, a ballad entituled a warninge to England with speed to Repente for the great scarssetye and want that now is and like this year ensuinge to be &c.

Neither of these ballads seems to answer very closely to Slany's description, and neither is extant.

[6] *Repent, England, Repent* was a common ballad burden of the time and gives no very certain guide to the ballad referred to.

The following possible entries of Deloney's ballad occur in the *Stationers' Registers*.

*Secundo die Augusti (1594)*

To Iohn Danter. *A call to Repentaunce to all true Englishe hartes.*

*XIX° die Aprilis (1595)*

The ballad described above dealing with the 'scarssetye and want'.

*VIII Iunii (1603)*

*A warninge or Lamentacon to London of the Dolefull Destruccon of fayre Jerusalem.*

This ballad appears to be extant in the Rawlinson Collection, 40, 566, fol. 190, and has a burden similar to that mentioned by Nash, while the subject is that which Deloney treated at some length in *Canaans Calamitie* (1598). It is accordingly printed here.
CHRISTS TEARES OVER IERVSALEM.

OR,

A Caueat for England to call to God for Mercy, lest we be plagued for our contempt and wickedness.

To the tune of, The Merchant,

When Christ our Lord drew nigh, unto Jerusalem,
Foreseeing all the miseries
the which should fall on them;
And casting of his looks
upon that beauteous Town,
For very grief the bitter tears
from his fair eyes fell down.
Repent fair England, now repent,
repent while you have space,
And do not like Jerusalem,
despise Gods proffered Grace.

Alas Jerusalem,
Jerusalem (quoth he)
Which kil'd the Prophets of the Lord
when they were sent to thee;
How oftentimes would I,
haue kept thee from all ill?
Euen as the Hen her Chickens keep,
but thou art stubborn still.

O that thou hadst but known,
at least in that thy day,
The things which did concern thy peace
but now 'tis hid away:
Yea, from thine eyes 'tis hid,
thou shalt not see the same;
And for thy sorrows coming on,
thy self do only blame.

Therefore the days shall come
thy enemies shall rise,
And trench thee in on euery side
regarding not thy crys:
Thy strong and stately Towers,
in wrath they shall confound,
And make thy sumptuous buildings all,
lie equal with the ground.

And such shall be their rage,
they shall not leaue in thee,
One stone vpon another stone
which shall not spoiled be:
Because thou knewest not,
the seasonable day,
Wherein the Lord did visit thee,
to wash thy sins away.

*The Second Part, to the same Tune.*

Thus Christ without the Town
did weep for their distress,
While they within, triumph in sin,
and use all wickedness:
No whit they would believe
the words which he did say,
But enviously did practise still,
to take his life away.

He mourned and wept full sore,
to think upon the smart,
While they full stout did go about
to pierce his tender heart:
And for his pains they stript him,
and whipt him through the town,
And with a wreath of pricking thorns
his holy head did crown.

They scoff and laugh at him,
they dash him in the face,
They call'd him gracious Lord and king
in flouting and disgrace:
And throw his hands and feet
they nail him to the Cross
Between two lewd and wicked thieues,
but few lament his loss.

They gave him for to drink,
sharp Vinegar and Gall,
And with a Spear they pierc'd his side,
till his heart blood did fall:
Yet patiently and mild,
he suffered every thing,
And prayed his Father not to charge
them with this grievous sin.

When thus they had dispatcht,
the Living Lord of might,
Full safely then they thought themselves,
from Sorrow, care and strife:
But within few years space,
as Christ before had told
The mighty Emperor of Rome,
came thither with courage bold.

And with a mighty Host
he did besiege them round,
By Sword and Famine e're he went
he did them quite confound:
Yea, Dogs and Cats they eat,  
Mice, Rats, and every thing,  
For want of food, their Infants young  
into the Pot they bring.

No pity could they find  
at this their enemies hand,  
But Fire, Sword, and cruel death  
before them still did stand,  
Their famous City fair,  
he set upon a flame,  
He burnt their Temple unto Dust,  
that stood within the same.

And those that scap'd the Sword  
and fury of his hand,  
He made them slaves and bond-slaves all  
within a foreign Land:  
Thus fair Jerusalem  
was cast unto the ground,  
For their great sin and wickedness  
the Lord did it confound.

Awake England I say,  
rise from the sleep of sin,  
Cast off thy great security  
which thou hast liued in,  
Thy God hath often call'd,  
and offered thee his grace,  
His Messengers have shown his will  
to thee in every place.

Great wonders he hath shown  
to thee by Sea and Land,  
And sent strange tokens in the air  
to make thee understand:  
He is offended sore  
at thy great wickedness  
And that except thou dost repent,  
thy plagues shall he express.

Remember how of late,  
the Spaniard he assail'd,  
And how by Gods especial power,  
they ne'r a whit preuaild:  
And all was for to try  
if thou wouldst sin forsake,  
And to an upright holy life,  
thy self at last betake,

But soon has thou forgot  
his favour in the same,  
Which afterwards most grievously  
his wrath did so enflame:  
That then he plagued thee  
with Pestilence and Death,  
Whereby in Country and in Town  
a number lost their breath.
Appendix II.

Yet wilt thou not forsake
thy wickedness and ill,
But in thy pride and covetousness
thou hast continued still:
Prouoke not God to wrath
with thy most loathsome sin,
But speedily to amend thy life,
with Prayers now begin.

And therefore now O England,
at last for mercy cry,
And grieue the Lord thy God no more,
through thy iniquity;
Lest he forsake thee quite,
and turn away his face,
Because like to Jerusalem,
thou dost despise his Grace.

Repent therefore O England,
repent while thou hast space,
And do not like Jerusalem,
despise God's proffered Grace.

FINIS.


But The Wandering Jew (Roxburghe Collection, iii. 718) has almost exactly the same refrain and may be the ballad referred to, by Nash.

The Wandering Jew:
or, the Shoemaker of Jerusalem.

Who liued when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was Crucified, and by him appointed to Live till his Coming again.

When as in fair Jerusalem,
Our Saviour Christ did liue,
And for the sins of all the world,
His own dear life did giue;
The wicked Jews with scoffs and scorns
Did daily him molest;
That never till he left this life,
Our Saviour could have rest.

Repent therefore, O England!
Repent while you have space;
And do not like the wicked Jews
Despise God's proffer'd grace.

When they had crown'd his head with thorns,
And scourg'd him with disgrace;
In scornful sort they led him forth
Vnto his dying place.
Where thousands thousands in the street
Did see him pass along;
Yet not one gentle heart was there,
That pity'd this his wrong. Repent, &c. 20
Both old and young reuiled him,
As thro' the streets he went;
And nothing found but churlish taunts
By ever'y one's consent.
His own dear cross he bore himself.
A burden far too great;
Which made him in the streets to faint,
With blood and water sweat. Repent, &c.
Being weary, thus he sought for rest,
For to ease his burthen'd soul,
Upon a stone; the which a wretch
Did churlishly controll.
And said, Away, thou king of Iews,
You shall not rest you here:
Pass on; your execution-place
You see now draweth near. Repent, &c.
And thereupon he thrust him thence,
At which our Saviour said,
I sure will rest, but thou shalt walk,
And have no journey staid.
With that this cursed shoemaker,
For offering Christ this wrong,
Left wife and children, house, and all,
And went from thence along. Repent, &c.
So when he had the precious blood
Of Jesus Christ thus shed,
And to the cross his body nail'd
Away with speed he fled.
Without returning back again
Vnto his dwelling-place;
And wand'reth vp and down the world,
A renegade most base. Repent, &c.
No resting could he find at all,
Nor ease, nor heart's content;
No house, nor home, nor dwelling place,
But wandering forth he went.
From town to town, in foreign lands,
With grieued conscience, still
Repenting for the heinous guilt
Of his fore-passed ill. Repent, &c.
Thus after some ages had past,
With wandering vp and down,
He once again desired to see
Ierusalem's fair town.
But finding it was quite destroy'd,
He wandered full of woe;
Our Saviour's words which he had spoke,
To verify and shew: Repent, &c.

59 gift Rorb.
I'll rest (said he) but thou shalt walk,
So doth this Wandering Iew,
From place to place, but cannot stay,
For seeing countries new.
Declaring still the power of him,
Where'er he comes or goes,
And of all things done in the East,
Since Christ his death he shows. Repent, &c.
The world he still doth compass round,
And sees those nations strange,
Who hearing of the name of God,
Their idol Gods do change.
To whom he hath told wond'rous things
Of time fore-past and gone;
And to the Princes of the world
Declar'd his cause of moan. Repent, &c.
Desiring still to be dissolu'd
And yield his mortal breath;
But as the Lord had thus decreed,
He must not yet see death.
For neither looks he old or young,
But as he did those times
When Christ did suffer on the cross,
For mortal sinners crimes. Repent, &c.
He passed many foreign lands,
Arabia, Egypt, Africa,
Greecia, Syria and Great Thrace,
And quite thro' Hungary.
Where Paul and Peter preached Christ,
Those blest apostles dear,
Where he hath told our Saviour's words,
In the countries far and near. Repent, &c.
And lately in Bohemia,
With many a German town;
And now in Flanders, as 'tis thought
He wandereth vp and down.
Where learned men with him confer,
Of those his lingering days,
And wonder much to hear him tell
His journeys and his ways. Repent, &c.
If people giue this Iew an alms,
The most that he will take
Is not aboue a groat a day,
Which he for Jesus sake
Doth kindly giue vnto the poor,
And therefore makes no spare,
Affirming still that Jesus Christ
Of him hath daily care. Repent, &c.
He was not seen to laugh or smile,
But weep and make great moan,
Lamenting still his miseries,
And days far spent and gone.

76 did shew Roxb. 
95 Grece Roxb.
Deloney's Lost Work.

If he hears any one blaspheme,
Or take God's name in vain;
He tells them that they crucify
Our Saviour Christ again. Repent, &c.

If thou had'st seen grim death (said he)
As these mine eyes have done,
Ten thousand thousand times would ye
His torments think upon.
And suffer for his sake all pains,
All torments and all woes,
These are his words, and this his life,
Where e'er he comes or goes. Repent, &c.

Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Bow-Church-Yard,
London.

III. ATTRIBUTED BALLADS.

The following ballads have been attributed to Deloney, on insufficient grounds.

(1) Evil May Day, by Ebbsworth, who seems to follow J. P. Collier. Collier in his reprint of the ballad in Blackletter Broadsides asserts that it is included in the 1607 edition of Strange Histories. It is not.

(2) The Lamentacon of Christofer Tomlinson, horse corser commonly called KYTT with the wry mouthe, whoe killed his wife with a Dagger, and was executed for the same, the 4th Day of December, 1592 at Tyborne; entered Dec. 6th, 1592. J. P. Collier, in his communications to Notes and Queries on the Stationers' Registers, remarks:

'This ballad is extant with the initials T. D. for Thomas Deloney at the end of it. The tune assigned to it is "Fortune", and it begins:

'Well may I groan and sigh
For my most cruel crime:
My life hath been awry
And I misspent my tyme.'

'It afterwards notices the defect of his mouth, mentioned in the entry, but the only copy known is in so mutilated a state that we hope the extract we have may lead to the discovery and identification of a more perfect copy.'

There is no other evidence for the existence of this ballad or its ascription to Deloney.

(3) Jane Shore (Rox. Coll. i. 163), by Ebbsworth, without any evidence and with no apparent reason.

(4) A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely wooing of the faire Maid of London by King Edward (Rox. Coll. i. 58), by Ebbsworth. No evidence.

(5) A pleasant new Ballad of two Louers (Rox. Coll. i. 316), by Ebbsworth, on the ground that it is included in the 1681 edition of the Royal Garland of Love and Delight. But the authentic work of Deloney in the Royal Garland is very much cut down and altered, and several new poems are added of an obviously Restoration character. Hence the evidence is very weak.
Appendix III.

(6) An excellent new Medly. To the Tune of the Spanish Pauin (Rox. Coll. i. 14). It is subscribed with the initials F. D., which Ebbsworth thinks may be in error for T. D.


(8) The Lamentation of George Strangwidge, by Ebbsworth, apparently because the subject is the same as that of The Lamentation of Mr Pages Wife (p. 482). Neither the Crawford, Roxburghe, nor Allde copies are signed, but in the Crawford collection the Lamentation of George Strangwidge is printed side by side on the same broadside with the Lamentation of Mr Pages Wife. This seems to favour the supposition that Deloney wrote both of the ballads. Accordingly the Lamentation of George Strangwidge is reprinted here from the Roxburghe copy (i. 183).

The Lamentation of George Strangwidge, who, for consenting to the death of Master Page of Plimmouth, suffered Death, at Barnstable.

The man that sighes and sorrowes for his sinne,
The corps which care and woe hath wrapped in,
In dolefull sort records his Swan-like Song,
Then waits for Death, and loathes to liue so long.

O Glandfield! cause of my committed crime,
Snared in wealth, as Birds in bush of lime,
What cause hadst thou to beare such wicked spight,
Against my good, and eke my Loues delight.

I would to God thy wisedome had beene more,
Or that I had not entered in the doore;
Or that thou hadst a kinder Father beene
Vnto thy Child, whose yeares are yet but greene:

The match vnmete which thou for muck didst make,
When aged Page thy Daughter home did take,
Well maist thou rue with teares that cannot dry,
Which was the cause that foure of vs must dye.

Vlalia faire, more bright than Summers Sunne,
Whose beauty had my heart for euer won,
My soule more sobs to thinke of thy disgrace,
Than to behold mine owne vn及时ly race.

The deed late done, in heart I doe lament;
But that I lou’d, I cannot it repent;
Thy seemely sight was euer sweet to me,
Would God my death would thy excuser be.

It was for me (alas!) thou didst the same;
On me, of right, they ought to lay the blame:
My worthlesse loue hath brought my life in scorne,
Now, woe is me that euer I was borne!
Farewell, my loue, whose loyall heart was seen:
Would God thou hadst not halfe so constant beeene!

Farewell, my Loue, the pride of Plimmouth Towne!
Farewell, the Flower, whose beauty is cut downe!

For twenty yeares great was the cost, I know,
Thy vnkind Father did on thee bestow;
Yet afterward, so sore did fortune lowre,
He lost his joy and child within an houre.

My wrong and woe to God I doe commit:
His was the fault, by matching them vnfit:
And yet my guilt I cannot so excuse,
I gaue consent, his life for to abuse.

Wretch that I am, that I consent did giue!
Had I denied, Vlalia still should liue:
Blind fancy said, her suite doe not denie;
Liue thou in blisse, or else in sorrow die.

O Lord! forgiue this cruell deed of mine;
Vpon my soule let beames of mercy shine:
In Justice Lord! doe thou no vengeance take;
Forgiue vs both for Iesus Christ his sakes.

FINIS.
NOTES

IACKE OF NEWBERIE

Date. The following entries occur in the Stationers’ Registers for 1596-7:

7 Marcij.
Thomas Millington Entred for his copie a booke called Jack of Newbery. So that he haue yt lawfully Authorised. vjd.

25 Maij.
Humfrey Lownes Assigned ouer to hym for his copie from Thomas Myllington A booke called Iacke of Newbery, with this condicion that yt be laufully Authorised.

Hence Iacke of Newberie must have been written by March 7, 1597, and, originally entered to Thomas Millington, was assigned over to Humfrey Lownes on May 25th. The fact that a ‘ballad intituled the first parte of Iacke of Newberye’ was entered to Thomas Millington, July 8, 1597, seems to show that the book attained instant popularity. This ballad, very probably by Deloney, does not now appear to be extant.

Extant Editions.

[A] 1626. The pleasant Historie of IOHN WINCHCOMB, In his yonguer yeares called IACK OF NEWBERY, The famous and worthy Clothier of England; . . . Now the tenth time Imprinted, corrected and enlarged by T. D. . . . LONDON, Printed by H. LOWNES, and are to be sold by Cuthbert Wright in S. Bartholomews, neer the entrance into the Hospitall. 1626. (Bridgewater House.)


[C] 1633. . . . now the ninth time Imprinted by Robert Young. (British Museum.)

[D] 1672. Now the 13th time imprinted, . . . by E. Crowch for Thomas Passenger. (Bodleian.)


[G] No date. Title page missing. (Bodleian.)

[H] 1775. Printed by J. Willis on the Bridge, Newbury. (Bodleian.)

Hazlitt mentions an edition of 1619, but the earliest traceable edition is that of 1626, in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere, which is now reprinted here. The 1775 edition has been modified beyond recognition, and concludes its account of Jacke by the following: ‘Mr. Winchcombe lived many years, an ornament to society and a great promoter of the cloathing branch. He built the tower, with all the western part of Newbury Church, and died Feb. 15, 1519, as appears by his epitaph still remaining in the church.’

Note on Sources. The story of Iacke of Newberie seems to be almost entirely derived from tradition. In the dedication to ‘the famous Cloth Workers in England’ Deloney speaks of his ‘rude worke, which hath raised out of the dust of forgetfulnesse a most famous and worthy
man’, whereby perhaps intimating that his was the first printed account of the worthy clothier. Throughout the novel Deloney shows a detailed knowledge of Newbury, its surroundings, and the county families of Elizabethan Berkshire, which could only have been obtained by an actual residence there, and the Pleasant Historie of John Winchcombe is probably in the main little more than a literary re-shaping of a vivid tradition not more than fifty or sixty years old. The Newbury of to-day still cherishes the memory of its sixteenth-century hero, and modern topography and the Elizabethan chronicles alike bear out Deloney’s story in the essential details.

Historical evidence is not lacking as to John Winchcombe’s life and works. Fuller, in his Worthies, gives the following account of him, which, although drawn in part from the present novel, gives a first-hand description of his house.

‘John Winscombe, called commonly Jack of Newbury, was then the most considerable clothier (without fancy and fiction) England ever beheld. His looms were his lands, whereof he kept one hundred in his house, each managed by a man and a boy. In the expedition to Flodden-field, against James, King of Scotland, he marched with an hundred of his own men (as well armed and better clothed than any) to shew that the painful to use their hands in peace, could be valiant, and employ their arms in war. He feasted King Henry the Eighth and his first queen Katharine at his own house, extant at Newberry at this day, but divided into many tenements. Well may his house now make sixteen clothiers’ houses, whose wealth would amount to six hundred of their estates. He built the church of Newberry from the pulpit westward to the tower inclusively; and died about the year 1520; some of his name and kindred of great wealth still remaining in this country.’ Works (1840), vol. i, p. 137.

Winchcombe’s will, dated January, 1519, is still preserved in Somerset House, making mention of his first wife Alice and his second wife Joan, bequeathing £40 to Newbury Parish Church and legacies to each of his servants. His epitaph, which still remains in Newbury Church, runs as follows:

Of your Charite pray for the 
Soule of John Smalwood, alias 
Winchom, and Alice, his wife, 
Which John died the 15th day of 
February An. Dom. 1519

‘Some of his name and kindred of great wealth’ survived until the eighteenth century. Thus Swift writes to Stella of St. John (Letter XXVII, Aug. 1711): ‘His house is in the midst of near three thousand pounds a year he had by his lady, who is descended from Jack of Newbury, of whom books and ballads are written; and there is an old picture of him in the room.’

For further details of the historical John Winchcombe see Money’s History of Newbury, and Newbury and its Environs (1839).

Into the biography of his clothier hero, Deloney has woven several other stories from the sources, more or less obscure, which were open to the enterprising novelist of the sixteenth century.

The story of how Mistress Winchcombe turned the tables on her husband, who had locked her out for the night, is practically identical with Novella 4, Giornata VII, in the Decameron, which was afterwards used by Molière for George Dandin. Apparently no direct translation into English existed in the sixteenth century, but there were
the French versions of du Premierfait (1485) and Le Maçon (1545),
and the story itself appears to have been widely diffused, appearing
among the tales of the Disciplina Clericalis.

The story of Benedict's amorous disappointment, like that of Sir
George Rigley's marriage, is merely a variation of the common type
of novella, where the whole plot turns on the substitution of one person
for another. Painter's version (1566) of Novella 9, Giornata III, of the
Decameron (used by Shakespeare for All's Well that Ends Well)
might very well have given the hint for the former, and Belleforest's
Histoires tragiques (1582), Partie I, Nouvelle 20 (used for Much Ado
about Nothing), has a sufficiently general resemblance to have suggested
the latter. But Deloney really needed no other source than his own
acquaintance with the floating mass of popular Elizabethan literature.

The story of Randoll Pert, the substantial merchant fallen to decay,
yet rising again to his former prosperity, is retold with slight variations
of Tom Dove (in Thomas of Reading) and of the Greene King of
St. Martin's (in The Gentle Craft, Part II).

PAGE 2. 24-6. This seems to indicate that Deloney had already
planned Thomas of Reading; which must have been published between
the date of the registration of Jacke of Newherie (March 7, 1596-7)
and April, 1600, when it is mentioned by Kempe.

PAGE 3. 3. broad cloth Weauer. 'I have been informed that
Jack of Newberry was the first that introduced it (i.e. broad-cloth) into
this country.' Fuller, Worthies (1840), vol. i, p. 112.

PAGE 4. 1. The Sunday haunting of alehouses is attacked in The
Times Whistle (1614?):

For olde & young i' th' country frequently
Vpon that day do vse most luxurie.
Each one[er] must then vnto an alehouse run
Drink drunk, act any sinne vnder the sunne.

II. 547-50 (E.E.T.S.).

2. The Maypole was often a permanent fixture, as the one
erected in the Strand, which was not removed till 1717, when it
was taken down by Sir Isaac Newton. (See Stow-Strype, Book IV.)

3. Salamander. The nature of the salamander was an Eliza-
bethan commonplace. Cf. Shakespeare: 'I have maintained that
salamander of yours with fire any time this two-and-thirty years.'
1 Henry IV, III, iii. 52-4.

PAGE 5. 21. Wallingford. Tanning was an old Berkshire in-
dustry. See Fuller, Worthies, under Berkshire, and also the Victoria
County History of Berks, vol. i, p. 397.


PAGE 6. 8. Speenham-land. Now Speenhamland, a suburb of
Newbury.


PAGE 7. 20. Solemnnesse, i.e. weariness.

25. Gratis the Sheepheard. 'The Shephered Cratis being fallen
in love with a shee Goat, her Bucke for jealouisie beat out his braines
as hee lay asleepe.' Florio's Montaigne, Book IIII, ch. v. But
Florio's translation was not published till 1603, hence either Deloney
read the original or both writers drew on a common source.

40. Acteon. A common title for a cuckold. Cf. Conceits,
Clinches, Flashes, and Whimsies (1639), No. 271: 'A citizen going out
of towne with some of his neighbours to hunt: preethee sweetheart
(sayes he to his wife) pray that I meet not a Diana, and so come home
like to Actaeon horn'd.... His wife, thinking he had closely jeer'd her, and thinking to be revenged, said; truly, husband, whether you meet Diana or no, 'I'll take order you shall not want.'

Page 8. 40. quills were pieces of reed or cane on which the weavers wound the thread. Being light work this winding seems to have been generally performed by women or boys. Cf. the old jest book of Robin Goodfellow: 'One day Robin Good-fellow walking throw the street found at a door setting a pretty woman; this woman was wife to a weaver, and was a winding of quills for her husband.' (New Shakspere Society Reprint, p. 135.)

Page 9. 5. kindely, i.e. according to its kind or nature, which appears to be that of the turtle-dove in Barthomaeus Anglicus (Trevisa, 1535), xii. 34: 'Yf he lesyth his make, he sekith not company of any other, but gooth alone, and hath mynde of the felyship that is lost. And gronyth alway and louyth and chesyth soltary place, and fleeth moche company of men.'

41. sure, i.e. betrothed. Cf. Gentle Craft, Part I, p. 126, l. 26, where Haunce and Florence arrange to plight troth in the garden. So in A Description of Love (1625), p. 147 (verso):

> Cinna loved Rosa well, thinking her pure,
> And was not quiet till he made her sure.

Cotgrave gives 'accordailles, f., the betrothing, or making sure of a man and woman together'.


7. Fayring. A present given at a fair. Cf. R. Johnson in the Crowne Garland of Golden Roses:

> My comfort and my joy,
> This fairing I do send;
> Let not unkindnesse him destroy
> That is thy faithfull friend.

(Percy Society Reprint, p. 55.)

27. shot, i.e. the bill.

34. noise of Musitians. 'Noise' was used in the same sense as we use 'band' nowadays. Cf. Dekker's Bel man of London (1608): 'These terrible noyes with threadbare cloakes, that live by red lattices and ivy bushes, having authority to thrust into any man's room, only speaking but this—will you have any musick?' They seem to have especially haunted the mixed company of men and women. 'If you desire not to be haunted with Fidlers,' says Dekker, 'bring then no women along with you.' Guls Horn Book (ed. Grosart, p. 258).

Cf. also the description of Anthony Now-now in Chettle's Kind-hartes Dreame, quoted in the Note on Sources of Gentle Craft (11), p. 535.

For information regarding the music of ancient Berkshire cf. the Records of Reading, vol. ii, p. 179.

39. The beginning of the World, or Sellenger's Round, was a country dance of great popularity often performed round the maypole. See Chappell, Popular Music, vol. i, p. 71.

47. corner cap. The square cap of the sixteenth-century parson, as seen in Tudor monuments.

Page 11. 40. Clarewine and Sugar. The Elizabethans commonly sugared their wine. Cf. Falstaff in 1 Henry IV, ii. iv. 524, 'If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked!'

Page 12. 27. cuts of curious needle worke, i.e. ornamental scissor work, against which the worthy Harrison protests in Holinshed's
Chronicle (1587), vol. i, p. 172: 'What should I saie of their doublets with pendant cod-peeces on the brest full of sags and cuts.'

Page 14. 21. Parsons are but newly suffered to have wiues. By Stat. 2 & 3 Ed. VI, c. 21.

29. dry bobs, i.e. biting jests. Cotgrave gives 'Ruade seiche, a drie bob, yeast or nip'.

Page 15. 18. The plucking off of shoes and stockings appears to have been a kind of amorous invitation. Thus in Tarlton's Jests (Shakespeare Society Reprint, p. 39): 'Tarlton... askt her which of those two beds were big enough for them two. This, said she: therefore, goe to bed, sweet-heart, Ile come to thee. Masse, saies Tarlton, were my bootes off, I would, indeed. Ile help you, sir, saies she, if you please. Yea, thought Tarlton, is the wind in that doore?'

27. starued, i.e. to die of exhaustion, not necessarily by hunger, as still in modern dialect.

33. linke. It is a winter's morning, so the widow carries a torch. Cf. Stow-Strype (1720), Bk. V, p. 329: 'When Apprentices and Jourymen attended upon their Masters and Mistresses in the Night, they went before them carrying a Lanthorn and Candle in their Hands.'

36. Saint Bartholomewes Chappell. 'An ancient chapel, with a house adjoining, situate at the end of Bartholomew Street, is attached to the almshouses and hospital of St. Bartholomew.' History of Newbury (1839), p. 88. A sketch of the 'ancient chapel' may be found on p. 89 of the same book.


Page 17. 35. Constable. 'Any of these Officers' (i.e. 'Constables, Borsholders, Tythinginen, &c.') 'may also arrest such straye persons as doe walke abroad in the night season.' Lambard's Duties of Constables (1599), p. 12.

40-8. Jack regales his wife with advice in the seasonable manner of Euphues. Cf. Falstaff's mock reproof to Prince Hal, in which he parodies the speech of the king (1 Henry IV, ii. iv).

Page 18. 23-4. The Spright of the Buttery is properly speaking spirit of wine (see Oxford English Dict.), but as Stubbes says in the Anatomy of Abuses (Furnivall's edition, p. 107), 'the spirite of the buttery is drunknes and exesse.'


12-13. This habit of the spider was a well-known fact of Elizabethan natural history. Cf. The Printer to the Reader, prefixed to B. Rich's Farewell to the militarie Profession:

The fragrant Rose can make no choyse,
Who shall upon hym light,
The spraulying Spyder turnes to gaule,
The Bee to honey right.

17-18. Starlings, that will burst their gall, &c. Source untraced.

19. the Fish Sclopendra. See Pliny, Nat. Hist., Lib. IX, c. xliii, where it is mentioned with other 'torpedo fish'.

26. the Pelican. Cf. Nash's Have with You to Saffron Walden (Works, edit. M'Ckerrow, vol. iii, p. 124): 'A true Pelican he is, that pierceth his breast and lets out all his bowels to give life to his yong.'

Page 20. 27. Stammell. A kind of coarse red cloth which was a popular substitute for the expensive and fashionable scarlet. Nares quotes B. Jonson, Underwoods:
Red-hood, the first that doth appear
In Stamel. Scarlet is too dear.

Cf. also p. 236, l. 12.

33. lin, i.e. cease. Cf. Marriage of Witt and Wisdome (New Shakspere Society), p. 30, l. 30: 'If wantonnis knew this, she would never lin scorninge.'

PAGE 21. 1. Shearemen, i.e. cloth workers.

4. Rowers. Those that smooth down the cloth with rollers.

7. fulling Mill. This was at Bagnor, a hamlet of Speen. 'There was formerly a large Fulling Mill, which is said to have belonged to the Jack of Newbury; and is supposed to have been where the present corn-mill stands. The waste ground adjoining this mill is called the "Rack Marsh" and so late as in the end of the last century the old posts, which formed the frame work for drying the cloth were observable.' Newbury and its Environs (1839), p. 171.

33. The dialect is of course only the conventional corruption of speech used by Elizabethan writers to represent dialect, e.g. by Shakespeare in Lear. But in Thomas of Reading Deloney makes a real attempt at Northern English. The country man's mispronunciations recall Dogberry and Verges in Much Ado about Nothing (1599).

36. What will you bestow with her? Tell-Trothes New Yeares Giff (1593), Pt. II, p. 61 (Shakespeare Society Reprint), explains this: 'Fie, fie! marriages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children ... Why it is a common practice to aske the father what hee will give with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an oxe.' See also p. 219, ll. 19-31, and the Lamentation of Mr. Page's Wife, printed on p. 482. Furnivall, in Child-marriages (E.E.T.S.), has published some unpleasant evidence as to the character and results of this sort of bartering.

PAGE 22. 1-26. This is, of course, the locus classicus for the Elizabethan wedding, and could be endlessly elaborated from contemporary authors.

4. sheepes russet. The rustic holiday attire.

He borrow'd on the working daies his holy russets oft.

Albions England, iv. 20.

5. billiment. The Oxford English Dictionary explains this by a quotation from J. G. Nicholls: 'the jewelled fronts of the ladies headresses, as we see them in the portraits of Queen Anne Boleyne.'

7. haire ... curiously combed and pleated. So Stubbes complains in the Anatomy of Abuses (Furnivall), p. 67: 'the trimming and tricking of their heds, in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frisled and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreaths and borders from one ear to another.'


9. The bride-laces are mentioned in the Bride's Burial (Percy's Reliques):

My bride-laces of silk,
Bestowed, for maidens meet,
May fitly serve when I am dead
To tye my hands and feet.
Rosemary, 'that's for remembrance' (Hamlet, iv. v. 174), was for that reason used at weddings.

10. Sir Thomas Parry was Queen's Treasurer and Master of the Wards in 1520. His seat was at Hampstead Marshall in Berkshire (Magna Britannia; Berks, i. 286).

11. Sir Francis Hungerford. The Hungerfords were an old Berkshire family, 'of Buscott and Reading' in Ashmole's Visitation of Berks.


21. Stillyard. 'a place for marchants of Almaine', as Stow says, was on the site of the present Cannon Street Railway Station.

27. Elizabethan weddings occasioned long-sustained festivities. So in Midsummer Night's Dream (v. i. 376-9) the Duke says:

Sweet friends, to bed.—
A fortnight hold we this solemnity,
In nightly revels, and new jollity.

In Greene's Vision (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xii, p. 228) we are told, 'and honney moone it was for a moneth after' for the 'reliefe of the poore'. Cf. Patient Grissel, p. 493.

PAGE 23. 6-15. Deloney might have relied on Grafton's Chronicle for the account of the Scottish invasion. Grafton mentions the French war, the oath-breaking, and the Queen's camp in Buckinghamshire. But local tradition might have supplied all that was wanted. In the History of Newbury (1839), p. 138, verses of a Newbury ballad are quoted, which, if really traditional as alleged, show a very definite tradition as to the part played by Newbury men at Flodden:

Come Archers learne the News I telle
To the Honour of youre Arte,
The Scottyshe kinge at Flodden felle
By the poynte of an Englyshe Darte.
Though Fyre and Pyke dyd wond'rous thynges,
More wonders stille dyd wee,
And ev'ry Tonngue wythe rapture syngs
Of the Laddes of Newberrie.

7-8. falsly breaking his oath. 'Not withstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the Sacrament to kepe the peace.' Grafton (1809), vol. ii, p. 269.

12. Jack is apparently called out on a Tudor Commission of Array.

39. the Stork. Probably a reference to Psalm civ. 17, 'As for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.'

PAGE 24. 5. Sir Henry Englefield. The Englefields were a prominent Berkshire family (see Fuller's Worthies, under Berks). Sir Thomas Englefield was the Sheriff of Berkshire in Henry VIII's reign.

22. Rents. In the old sense of yearly revenues, as contrasted with 'purchase', i.e. what one makes.

35. Cynomolgy. From Pliny originally, who puts them in India (Lib. VII, cap. ii). Maundeville (1582, chap. lxi) mentions 'Macumeran, which is a great Isle, and a faire, and the men and women of that
country have heads like houndes'. Cf. also Golding's Solinus (1587, p. 138) and Batman upon Bartholome (1582, Book XV, c. 73).

38. Basilisks. The 'nature' of the basilisk was a fact traditional from Pliny: 'Plinius also sayth there is a wilde beaste called Catoble-tas great noyeng to mankinde; for all that see his eyen should dye anone, and the same kinde hath the cockatrice.' Batman Barth., Lib. XVIII, c. 16. Deloney has transferred the power from the eyes to the breath.

40. spirit of Mogunce. Mogunce is from the Latin form, Moguntia, i.e. Mainz. The Nuremberg Chronicle, under DCCL, has the following entry, which completely explains the reference: 'Hujus tempore in Brixa Ytaliae tres dies & noctes sanguis pluit, & in Parochia Majuncia malignus spiritus parietes domorum concutiebat tanquam cum malleis, discordiam seminando & loquendo, & ubi intra-vit exuritum domus: sacerdotes orando & aquam benedictam contra eum proiciendo ipse denuo cum lapidibus jactabant.' (Vol. i, p. 357 b.) But the same incident is reported in Belleforest's Des Histoires Prodigieuses (1597, vol. ii, p. 101): 'Cest an (à scautoir 858) la Cité de Magonce fut estrangemé, & miserablement affligée durant l'espace de trois ans par vn Demon, & malin esprit, lequel comme il a laissé Dieu, & se eltuant de son Seigneur & le nostre ne cerche que les moyens de luy despleaire.... Au commencement que ceste ombre, & fantasome feit ses ieux il n'y avoit personne que la peut voir, seulement sentoit-on les assaults, & manifeste tyrannie, entant qu'elle ruoit des pierres à chascun & alloit de nuit heurtant par les portes des maisons de chacun citoyen, les trompant en ce que les ayâs appellez & mettans la teste en fenestre ilz ne voyoient rien.'

PAGE 25. 8-11. 'after thys noble victorie the Erle wrote first to the Queene (which had raysed a great body to resist the sayde King of Scottes) of the wynning of the battayle... she yet beyng at the towne of Buckyngham.' Grafton (1809), vol. ii, p. 277.

26. trayerous practise. This characteristic of the Scots Deloney, together with Shakespeare, seems to have found noted in the Chronicles. Grafton says: 'When the Kyng of Englande was determined... to passe the sea,... he and his counsaill forgate not the olde pranke of the Scottes which is euer to invade the realme when the king is oue of the realme.' (1809, vol. ii, p. 269.)

37. The Song is almost certainly a traditional ballad made by 'the Commons of England'. Child (English and Scottish Ballads) gives three other traditional versions from the Kinloch, Motherwell, and Buchan MSS. respectively. It is difficult to decide what hand Deloney had in the present version, or whether he merely wrote it down verbatim from memory.


That cocke with the fether
Is gone on huntynge.

Boke of Mayd Emlyn, circa 1520 (Percy Society, vi, p. 17).

PAGE 27. 6. progresse into Berkshire. The History of Newbury (1839), p. 139, regards the tradition that Henry the Eighth visited Jack at his house 'as deserving of credit'. Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 837) says: 'This summer' (1515) 'the king tooke his progresse westward, and visited his townes and castels there, and heard the complaints of his poore commonaltie.' Money, in the History of Newbury (p. 202), thinks the date was September, 1516.
10. *welt* or *guard*. These were ornamental trimmings, the difference between which it is now difficult to make out. Grosart says a *welt* is a border turned down, and a *garde* a facing or trimming. The phrase is of constant recurrence in contemporary literature.

11-12. *a great codpiece, whereon he strucke his pinnes*. On this use of this strange piece of apparel cf. Two Gentlemen of Verona, II. vii. 56, 'a cod-piece to stick pins on.'


PAGE 28. 1-2. ‘Whether a lion be also afraid of a cock’ is discussed in Sir T. Browne’s *Vulgar Errors*, Book III, chap. xxvii, §7. The original source appears to be Pliny: ‘Atque hoc tale et tam saevum animal rotarum orbes circumacti currusque inanes et gallinaeorum cristae cantusque etiam magis terrent.’ (Lib. VIII, c. 19.)

4-5. Perhaps a reference to I Kings ii. 3, ‘And keep the charge of the Lord thy God... as it is written in the law of Moses.’

35. The parable of the Anthill is of course directed against Wolsey; *especially against Easter* is difficult to explain. Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 877) gives April 20, 1523, as the date when Wolsey demanded the great subsidy of one-fifth of all goods. Grafton is very explicit on the opposition in Berkshire to Henry’s exactions through the Cardinal. ‘It happened in this time at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the commissioners sat for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt part: but of their awne mere minde, for the loue they bare to the king, they graunted the twelth part.’ (1809, vol. ii, p. 377.)

36-7. *snuffe in the nose*, i.e. took it in bad part. Cf. ‘Her second sister taking the matter in snuffe... fel into these chollerick passions.’ *Penelope’s Web* (Greene’s *Works*, edit. Grosart, vol. v, p. 280).

PAGE 29. 5. *Peacocke*. ‘Dooth the Peacocke glory in his foule feete,’ says Nash (Christ’s *Tears; Works*, edit. McKerrow, vol. ii, p. 112); but cf. *Batman Upon Bartholome* (1582): ‘He wondreth of the fairenesse of his fetters, & areareth them vp, as it were a circle about his head, and then he looketh to his feet, and seeth the foulness of his feet, and lyke as he wer ashamed, he leteth his fethers fall sodeinlye.’ (Book XII, chap. 31.)

12-36. This description of Henry’s reception at Newbury has a good deal of likeness to the actual entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Norwich in 1579, as recorded by Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 1289). Deloney might very well have then been present in a town with which, as Nash assures us, he had a strong connexion. Certainly the poetical description of the clothing trade closely resembles that presented by the Norwich burgesses. When ‘hir maiestie come, the child representing the commonwealth, spake to her highnesse the words following:

The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serue his need
But good aduise hath taught these little hands
To rend in twaine the force of pining bands.

From combed wooll we draw this slender thread,
From thense the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And thense againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall works which skilfull art dooth frame.

(p. 1290.)

Cf. also the notes on page 43, l. 42, and page 241, ll. 35-7.
41–6. The quarrel between the Cardinal and the merchants is amply set forth in contemporary chronicles. Holinshed says (1587, vol. ii, p. 895): 'The English merchants liked the matter nothing at all, that there should bee anie warres betwixt the Emperor and the King of England.' Hall might have been the actual source of Deloney's knowledge: 'The warr with the Emperor was displeasent both to Merchants and Clothiers, for the Merchants durste not aventure into Spaine siith Aprill last past, and now was come the xi daie of March, wherfore all brode Clothes, Kersels & Cottons laye on their handes. In somuch as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolk & other shires which vse cloth makynge, brought clothes into Blackewell hall of London to be sold as thei were wont to do: fewe Merchante or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put from them their spinners, carders, tuckers & such other that liue by cloth-workyng, whiche caused the people greatly to mormor.' (1809, p. 745.)

Page 30. 6. Tapestry. Cf. Harrison’s England (Holinshed, 1587, vol. i, p. 187): 'The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths.'

8–9. The luxury of replacing the ordinary sedge or rushes by cloth is well illustrated by the satire of Times Whistle, 1614 (E.E.T.S.), ii. 1042–4:

When she doth vprear
Herselfe vpon her feet, there must be spread
Rich cloths of Arras wher she goes to tread.

13. all in glasse. ‘As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, jugis, bols of siluer in noblemens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes.’ Harrison’s England, in Holinshed (1587, vol. i, p. 166).

Page 31. 3. Will Sommers, the jester of Henry VIII, was a popular traditional figure in Elizabethan times and till much later. A little book published in 1676, The Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers . . . with the entertainment that his Cousen Patch gave him at his Lord’s House, is obviously a re-issue of a much earlier tract. It clearly shows how Deloney followed tradition in the ‘flytings’ of Sommers and Wolsey.


17. The Weavers Song. Collier reprints this poem in Blackletter Broadsides from a broadside said to be printed for E. White.

21. Conscience went not selling Broome. The selling of broom was looked upon as the meanest of occupations. ‘Broome boyes, and cornecutters (or whatsoever is more contemptible) . . .,’ says Nash in Foure Letters Confuted (Works, edit. McKeerow, vol. i, p. 280). Conscience the broom-seller, was a common Elizabethan figure of speech. So in Greene’s Quippe (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xi, p. 238): ‘Then Conscience was not a broome man in Kent Strete, but a Courtier.’ In the London Prentice Songs (Percy Society, p. 69) is a ballad of Robin Conscience . . . His progress through court, city and country, with his bad entertainment at each several place.

31. speares like Weavers beams. A reminiscence of 1 Samuel xvii. 7: ‘And the shafe of his speare was like a weavers beame.’ Geneva Bible, 1560.

32. iron beds. A reference to Deuteronomy iii. 11: ‘For onelie Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of the gyants, whose bed was a bed of yron.’ Geneva Bible, 1560.
Page 32. 33. Four Buckes out of Dunington Parke. 'The King gave the weavers permission to take four bucks out of Donnington Park for their annual feast,' says Money in the History of Newbury (p. 202), 'which latter is still continued, but the gift of venison, if it ever existed, has become obsolete.'

Page 33. 6. As Bulls do eate their meate. 'Boves animalium soli et retro ambulantes pascuntur,' Pliny, Nat. Hist., Lib. VIII, cap. 70. Fulcherius Carnotensis ascribes the same interesting habit to the 'Appotamus', and gives an explanation: 'Noctibus segetes depascitur, ad quas pergit aversus, astu doloso, ut fallente vestigio revertenti nullae insidia praeparentur.' Historia Hierosolymitana, Lib. III, p. 931, C.D. But the Elizabethan source is Batman, Lib. XVIII, cap. 13: 'Plinius speaketh of Oxen, and sayth that . . . among beastes that goe backward onely Oxen be fed with foder.'

12. Master Kingsmills seller. I have found no account of what happened in 'master Kingsmills seller'. Undoubtedly Master Kingsmill was some relation to the Mr. Richard Kingsmill to whom Canaans Calamitie is dedicated. The Kingsmills lived at Kingsclere, near Newbury, and the story came down to Deloney amongst the other Newbury traditions. See p. 418 and the Introductory Note to Canaans Calamitie.

14. Sir Amie Poulet. The story is given in Stow's Annales (1600), and refers to the time when Wolsey was tutor to the Marquis of Dorset's sons: 'One sir Amias Poulet knight dwelling thereabout, tooke an occasion of displeasure against hym, vpon what ground I know not, but sir by your leauie he was so bold to set the schoolemaster by the feete, during his pleasure, which after was neither forgotten nor forgien.' (pp. 834–5.) Cavendish also refers to the incident in his Life of Wolsey, 1825, p. 6.

22. The Maidens Song. This is the earliest known version of what appears to have been a traditional ballad. How far Deloney was a faithful transcriber of tradition and how far he altered his original it is impossible to say. For the later versions see Child's Ballads, vol. i, p. iii.

Pages 36–7. Deloney is only reproducing in fiction the Tudor love of pageantry. The pages of Holinshed's Chronicle are crammed with details of costly pageants, e.g. those at the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509, and later at that of Anne Boleyn in 1533.

Page 37. 37. a ... Gilliflower, after the manner of the Persians. The Persian custom of appearing before the king with a gift is alluded to by Thucydides (Book II, 97) in speaking of the Odrysian Empire: κατοστήσαντο γὰρ τοξαντίων τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τῶν νόμων, δότα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θρακίς, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἡ διόνυα. Deloney refers to the same custom in the dedication of Canaans Calamitie, p. 418, l. 19.

Page 38. 5. iumpt, i.e. agreed. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes Gabriel Harvey (Letter Book, p. 27, Camden Society), 'Al this iumpid wel together.'

33–4. a mans minde is a Kingdome to himselfe. From the well-known song, My mind to me a kingdome is, printed in William Byrd's Psalmes and Sonets, 1558.

Page 40. 1–2. The elephant's fear of the sheep is alluded to by Nash (Works, edit. McKerrow, vol. i, p. 185): 'His Armadoes fled from the breath of our cannons as vapors before the sun, or as the Elephant flies from the Ram.' McKerrow quotes from Sextus Empiricus (Pyrr. Hypotyposes, i. 14. 58), φεύγει δὲ κρόνω μὲν ἀλέφας.

38–9. Pictures . . . covered with Curtaines. Cf. Troilus and Cressida, III. ii. 47, 'Come, draw this curtain and let's see your picture.'
Elizabethan pictures were usually curtained off. Jack was not singular in his choice of a series of pictures illustrative of one point of view. It seems to have been usual to collect pictures into sets. Thus in Taylor’s *Wit and Mirth* (Tale 103), we are told of a ‘Parlour, which was fairly hung with Tapestry hangings, and in every one of the hangings was the figure of a fool wrought’. In *Conceits, Clinches, Flashes, and Whimsties* (1639) ‘a fellow’ is mentioned who ‘had the pictures of the five senses stolne out of his house’. Deloney probably borrowed all these characters from one of the numerous and popular books of examples, such as Boccaccio’s *de Casibus Virorum et Foeminarum Illustrium. Iphicrates* and *Eumenes* occur in Cornel. Nepot. *Vitae*. Of *Viriathus* (p. 40, l. 42) Pliny says, ‘Legimus Viriatum primum in Hispania fuisse pastorem.’ (*De Viris Illustribus*, cap. lxxi.)

Page 43. 9–23. Cf. Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 906): ‘By this means the trade of merchandise was in maner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the commonwealth suffered great decaie and great numbers of spinners, carders, tuckers, and such other that liued by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impouerishment.’

42. Belinus and Brennus. The story of Belinus and Brennus occurs in nearly all the Tudor chroniclers. Curiously enough, both heroes appeared, together with Donwallo (cf. p. 72, l. 5), in the pageant played before Queen Elizabeth at Norwich in 1578, which Deloney might very probably have witnessed. The reference in the text bears some resemblance to the rhyming version in Hardyng’s *Chronicle* (1812 reprint, p. 62):

> With wordes peteuse, and mothers naturesse,  
> Shewyng her pappes and wombe with great beautie;  
> ‘Lo here the wombe that bare you with syckenesse,  
> As womanhode would and femynitee;  
> Lo here the pappes, as was necessitee,  
> That fed you ofte in your tendre age,  
> For my loue nowe let be all this outrage.’


> Wo be to him that with the oyle  
> of angels me intis’d.


Page 45. 10. *Duke of Sommerset*. The Duke of Somerset visited Newbury in 1537 and lodged at the house of Jack of Newbury’s son. His largesse to the carders on that occasion was seventeen shillings and sixpence (see Money’s *History of Newbury*, p. 206). Hence tradition probably represented him to Deloney as a friend of the clothing trade.

19–21. For the part that Henry VIII played in the quarrell between Wolsey and the clothiers, cf. Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 906): ‘The emperours ambassadours intreated not so earnestlie to mooue the king to have peace with their maister, but the French ambassadours sollicited the king as earnestlie to enter into the warre against him, and suerlie they had the cardinall on their side. But yet the king wiselie considering with other of his counsell, what damage should insue therby vnto his subiects, and speciallie to the merchants and clothiers, would not consent.’ Lord Herbert, in his *Life of
Notes.

Henry VIII, gives the king's regulations for the clothiers (1649 edition, p. 146).


28. 'White hall... was first a lodging of the archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Woolseie, and finallie enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight.' Harrison's England (Holingsh, 1587, vol. i, p. 195).

33-4. herein doe men come neerest vnto God, in shewing mercy and compassion. A reminiscence of the Merchant of Venice (1594):
And earthly power doth then shew likest God's
When mercy seasons justice. (IV. i. 196-7.)

Page 47. 22. Coromandce. Reference untraced,
30. Taprobana. 'Toward the East side of Prester John's Land is an Ile that men call Taprobane,' says Mandeville (chapter c, 1705). But I do not find he mentions earliness, any more than Batman does (Book XV, ch. 158).

37. Frog, i.e. English-Italianate for 'frock', not 'frog', which is of post-Elizabethan origin.


18-19. the monsters of Tartaria. According to Golding's Solinus, Tartary has rich lands, but 'whereas they abound in gold and precious stones; the Gryffons possesse all, a most fierce kind of foule, and cruel beyond all cruellnesse' (1587 edition, p. 84). Mandeville also describes them in the 'land of Bactry'.

22. water in Boetia. This is from Batman, with the sense inverted (Lib. XV, c. 29): 'In this lande (Boetia) is a lake of madnesse, so that who that drinketh thereof, he shall burne in woodnesse of lecherie.'


29. stones in Pontus. Reference untraced.

Page 50. 3. Occupiers. The 1672 edition replaces 'occupiers' by 'traders', explaining the original word and illustrating the scandalous degeneration it underwent in the seventeenth century. Cf. 2 Henry IV, II. iv. 158-61: 'A captain! God's light, these villains will make the word captain as odious as the word occupy, which was an excellent good word before it was ill sorted.'

19. Bucephalus. This story originates in Plutarch's Life of Alexander, and is found in North's translation.

Page 51. 9. Mars and Venus. 'To dance in a net' is to plot under a pretence, as is evident from Greene's use of the phrase: 'So I to preuent that, had a nette where in to daunce, and diuers shadowes to colour my knauries withall.' Life and Death of Ned Browne (Works, edit. Grosart, p. 10). For the special use of the phrase: 'But at last being Venus scholler, and therefore daring with hir to daunce in a net.' Perimedes (ibid., p. 36).

Page 52. 12. A partlet was a kind of ruff. Cf. Heywood's Rape of Lucrece (Percy Society, No. 27, p. 140), 'Your partlets turn into rebatoes.'

36-7. gray sparkling eyes, and thy Lilly white hands. The
medieval ideal of beauty. Chaucer's prioress has 'eyen greye as glass', and Shakespeare makes Mercutio say, 'Thisbe, a grey eye or so, but not to the purpose' (Romeo and Juliet, II. iv. 45).

Page 53. 21. mutton. Mutton was the cant word for a light woman. Cf. Two Gentlemen of Verona (I. i. 101-2), 'I a lost mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton.' See also p. 218, l. 44.

26. shock = Jack, i.e. a common fellow; as in the dietary injunction for the nursery, 'Gentleman upon Jack, not Jack upon gentleman.' But cf. Nash's Anatomie of Absurditie (Works, edit. McKerrow, p. 7), 'Distinguish a gentleman from a barking Jack.'


hog nose bud. Hog's nose bleed (?)

Page 54. 35, 37. French hood and chain. The 'french hood' was a sixteenth-century head-dress of some dignity. Similarly the chain has always been a mark of distinction, and was so worn by physicians and usurers. Ben Jonson notes the same bourgeois ambition in Bartholomew Fair, I. ii.: 'Win would fain have a fine young father's law, with a feather: that her mother might hood it, and chain it, with Mistress Overdo.'

Page 55. 28. at Whitsontide. Even nowadays the date for the poorer girls to put on their new summer frocks. Cf. p. 146, ll. 5-6.

Page 56. 7. browne bread was made of wheat mixed with bran. For the whole passage cf. Harrison's Description of England (Holinshead, 1587, vol. i, p. 168): 'of bread made of wheat we have sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, wheat of the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread... The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we have two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the flour are any whit diminished... The other hath little or no flour left therein at all... and it is not onelie the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for servaunts, slaues and the inferior kind of people to feed vpon.'

9-10. rye mingled with pease. 'In champagne countries much rie and barlie bread is eaten.' Harrison (Holinshead, 1587), p. 169. So in Times Whistle, ll. 3137-8 (E.E.T.S.):

But lives one rootes like a Diogenes,
With poor thin drink, and course bread made of pease.

13. points, i.e. corners, and so odd bits, fragments.
18. gathers, i.e. entrails.
33. ortes, i.e. bits, as in Timon of Athens, IV. iii. 402: 'It is some poor fragment, some slender ort of his remainder.'

Page 57. 7. coy, here certainly means 'disdainful'. Cf. Taming of the Shrew, II. i. 237-8:

I find you passing gentle.

'Twas told me you were rough, and coy, and sullen.

27. ketha. A variant of 'quotha'.

40-1. Walling-streete. 'At this present, the inhabitants thereof are wealthy Drapers, retailers of woollen cloathes both broad and narrow.' Stow's Survey (Kingsford), I. 346. Cf. also Thomas of Reading, p. 234, l. 33.

Page 58. 16. neckenger, i.e. neckercher.

buckes were dirty linen, hence Falstaff's discomfort in the 'buck-basket' (Merry Wives of Windsor). Cf. Locrine, II. iii. 64, 'the ashes are left for the countrie wives to washe buckes withall.'

35-6. The spread Eagle at the 'beginning of the liberties of West-
minster’ (Stow) was the inn where Long Meg was at service in the Gentle Craft (Part II). ‘Itiebridge in the high street which had a way vnder it, leading doun to the Thames,’ says Stow in the Survey (Kingsford, ii. 96). It was destroyed by the extension of the Hotel Cecil. (See Kingsford’s note.)

**PAGE 59.** 3. The points were the tagged laces used to secure the breeches. Cf. 1 Henry IV, ii. iv. 242–3:

*Fal.* Their points being broken,—

*Poins.* Down fell their hose.

**PAGE 60.** 28. Burchin-lane. The well-known Elizabethan emporium for second-hand clothes. So, in The Serving man’s Comfort (p. 138, Roxburghre reprint): ‘Northern carseys that are now wearable in Breetches, for it will shrinke, and the fashion is now to have Venetians of the largest sise; yf they will not holde a bushell a breetch, they are not saleable in Birchen Lane.’


34. Pert’s name does not appear in the List of the Mayors and Sheriffs appended to Northouck’s History of London.

**PAGE 61.** 21. *powdred beef*, i.e. salted or pickled. So Falstaff (1 Henry IV, v. iv. 111–3), ‘If thou embowle me to-day, I’ll give you leave to powder me, and eat me too, to-morrow.’

**PAGE 62.** 1. Othat I were a yongue wench for thy sake. Cf. Shallow’s exquisite compliment to Ann Page in the Merry Wives of Windsor (1598?) i. i. 270, ‘Would I were young, for your sake, Mistress Anne.’ Shakespeare may have remembered the phrase. On the other hand it may have been a proverbial compliment.

17. Cherries and Collings. Elizabethan luxury in the matter of cherries and collings (young apples) is copiously illustrated in contemporary literature. Nash, in Pierce Penniless (Works, edit. McKerrow, p. 173), speaks of ‘a marchants wife, that wil eate no Cherries, for sooth, but when they are at twenty shillings a pound ’; and Dekker, in the Batchelars Banquet (Huth edition, vol. i, p. 173), thus describes the ‘nice huswif’s and the tribulations of her husband: ‘She must have Cherries, though for a pound he pay ten shillings, or greene Pescods at foure Nobles a peck; yea he must take a horse, and ride into the Countrey to get her green Codlings, when they are scarcely so big as a scotch button.’


**PAGE 63.** 12. Market Crosse. The Market cross at Newbury existed as late as 1686, when the Leet Jury of the Court Baron requested ‘the Lords of the said Mannor to repaire the Market Crosse at the South end of the Guildhall’ (Money, History of Newbury, p. 307).

30. Fuller (Worthies) says that Jack of Newbury’s house still existed in his time on the east side of Northbrook Street and ‘now makes sixteen clothiers’ houses’. The Jack of Newbury inn is supposed to partly occupy the site at the present day.

47. *cucking stool*. ‘Scolds are ducked upon cuckingstoolees in the water,’ records Harrison dryly (Holinhed, 1587, vol. i, p. 185).

**PAGE 64.** 6. Morlesse. The taking of Morlaix is described in Holinhed, and perhaps Deloney found the name Rigley there. ‘When
the lord admerall (i.e. Surrey) had thus woone the towne of Morleis, he
called to him certeine esquiers, and made them knights, as sir Francis
Brian, sir Anthonie Browne ... sir John Reinsford ... sir Edward
Rigleie and diverse others’ (Holinshed, 1587, vol. ii, p. 874).
13. coyne. Perhaps merely coin, but more probably a spelling of
the past participle coying, meaning ‘disdaining’. For this meaning cf.
note to p. 57, l. 7.

Page 66. 11–12. Tearme time. Saltonstall, in Picturae Loguentes
(1631), explains: ‘the tearme is a time when Justice keeps open court
for all commers ... It is called the Tearme because it does end and
terminate business.’ The Tearmes were held at Westminster. Cf.
p. 158, l. 11, and note.
12–13. mistress Loueless. The widow who had law business at
term time was well known to Elizabethan satire. Nash includes her
with the other ladies of faded reputation in Christs Tearaes (Works,
McKerrow, p. 152): ‘Bee shee of middle yeares, shee is a widow that
hath sutes in Lawe here at the Tearme.’
28–9. one man before, and another behinde. The Elizabethan
lady was thus commonly guarded. Cf. Greene’s Ned Browne (Works,
edit. Grosart, p. 22): ‘I saw a brave countrey gentlewoman comingalong
from St. Bartholomews in a satin goun and four men attending upon
her.’

THE GENTLE CRAFT, PART I.

Date. The first mention of The Gentle Craft occurs in the Stationers’
Registers, October 19, 1597:
‘Raphe Blore. Entred for his copie vnder thandes of master Dix
and master Man a booke called the gentle crafte intreatinge of Shoo-
makers. vjd.’
This entry certainly applies to the first part, which would not be
distinguished as such until after the publication of the second. But
the book is mentioned specifically in the transfer to Thomas Pavyer on
the 14th August, 1600, as The fyrste parte of the gentill Crafte. On the
death of Pavier his widow assigned it to Edward Brewster and Robert
Birde on August 4, 1626. (Stationers’ Registers.)
Extant Editions.
[A] 1648. THE GENTLE CRAFT A DISCOURSE, ... shewing
what famous men have beene SHOOMAKERS ... LONDON, printed for John
Stafford and are to be sold at his house in Saint Brides Churchyard
1648. (British Museum.)
[B] 1652. ... Printed for John Stafford and are to be sold at his
house at the sign of the George at Fleet Bridge. 1652. (Bodleian.)
[C] 1675 (?) ... Printed for H. Rhodes at the Star, the Corner of
Bride-Lane, Fleet Street. (British Museum.)
[D] 1678. ... London, Printed by T. M. for William Thackery in
Duck Lane, near West-Smith-field, 1678. (British Museum.)
[E] 1680 (?) Title page lost. (British Museum.)
[F] 1690 (?) ... Printed for H. Rhodes, at the Star, the Corner of
Bride-Lane, Fleet street. (British Museum.)
[G] 1696. ... Printed by W. Wilde and solde by P. Brooksby at the
Gold Ball, &c. (Bodleian.)
[H] n. d. ... Printed for H. Rhodes at the Star, &c. (defective).
(Bodleian.)
Notes.

[1] n. d. . . . Printed for H. Rhodes at the Star, the corner of Bride Lane. Fleet Street. (Bodleian.)

The edition reprinted here is that of 1648.

Note on Sources. The first part of The Gentle Craft consists of three main stories: (1) St. Hugh and St. Winifred, (2) Crispin and Crispianus, (3) Sir Simon Eyre.

(1) The story of St. Winifred appears to be a blending of the Life of St. Ursula and the Life of St. Winifred, both of which are found in Caxton's Golden Legend. The story of St. Ursula is as follows: 'In Britain was a Christian king named Notus or Maurus, which engendered a daughter named Ursula . . . And the king of England which then was right mighty, . . . heard the renomee of her, and said that he would be well happy if this virgin might be coupled to his son by marriage. And the young man had great desire and will to have her. And there was a solemn embassy to the father of Ursula, and promised great promises, and said many fair words for to have her; and also made many menaces if they returned vainly to their lord. And then the King of Britain began to be much anxious, because that she that was enobled in the faith of Jesu Christ should be wedded to him that adored idols . . . And she, that was divinely inspired, did so much to her father, that she consented to the marriage by such a condition, that . . . he should give to her space of three years for to dedicate her virginity, and the young man should be baptized, and in these three years he should be informed in the faith sufficiently, so that by wise counsel, and by virtue of the condition made, he should withdraw from her his courage. But this youngling received this condition gladly . . . and was baptized and commanded all that Ursula had required should be done.' Golden Legend (Dent's Reprint), vol. vi, p. 62.

Other details Deloney takes from the Legend of St. Winifred (ibid, pp. 127–9): 'This holy maid . . . was so inflamed with . . . holy doctrine that she purposed to forsake all worldly pleasancies and to serve Almighty God in meekness and chastity . . . And then it fortuned upon a Sunday she was diseased, and she abode at home, and kept her father's house while they were at Church. To whom there came a young man for to defoul her.'

The young man, however, does nothing more than cut off her head, giving opportunity for the miracles which Deloney uses.

'And in the same place whereas the head fell to the ground, there sprang up a fair well giving out abundantly fair clear water . . . And many sick people having divers diseases have been there cured and healed . . . And in the said well appear yet stones besprinkled and speckled as it were with blood . . . and the moss that groweth on these stones is of a marvellous sweet odour, and that endureth unto this day.'

The adventures of St. Hugh are merely the conventional doings of the knight of romance who wishes to convince the lady of his worthiness. Such contemporary literature as Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick and the Seven Champions of Christendom present practically the same incident and the same sentiment.

(2) Similarly the story of Crispin and Crispianus is a blending of Caxton's Legend with the romance of knight errantry: 'In the time when the furious persecution of Christian men was made under Diocletian and Maximinian, together running, Crispin and Crispianus . . . came to the city of Soissons, . . . where they followed the steps of
The Gentle Craft, Part I.  523

S. Paul, the apostle, that is to say to labour with their hands for to provide to them necessarily to live, and exercised the craft of making of shoes.' Golden Legend (Dent), vol. vi, p. 69.

Perhaps the account of the British wars in France was suggested by Grafton's Chronicle: 'Maximianus or Maximus, the sonne of Leonyn and Cosyn Germain to Constantine the great, tooke upon him the government of this lande of Briteyn. This man was strong and mightie, but for that he was cruell against the Christians, he was called Maximianus the Tyraunt.... Finally, he was provoked and excited to make warre upon the Galles, through which counsayle, he with a great hoste of Britons sayled into Armorica that now is called little Briteyn, where he bared him selfe so valiantly that he subdued that Countrie unto his Lordship.' (1809, vol. i, p. 71.)

But Deloney certainly had also in mind the story of Romeo and Juliet. Shakespeare's play was presented in 1596, and Crispine and Ursula are bourgeois imitations of its hero and heroine. They also are the children of rival noble houses, who fall in love with each other in spite of the family enmity, and they also employ a kindly friar to marry them secretly in his cell. Deloney, however, avoids the tragic issue so alien to the spirit of his domestic romanticism.

(3) The story of Sir Simon Eyre was probably derived from London tradition, reinforced perhaps by the account given in Stow's Survey: 'Simon Eyre, Draper, Maior, 1436 builded the leaden hall for a common Garner of corne to the use of this Citie and left five thousand markes to charitable uses.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 110.

'Certain Evidences... doe specify the sayd Granarie to be builded by the sayde honourable and famous Marchant, Simon Eyre, sometime an Vpholster, and then a Draper, in the Year 1419. He builded it of squared stone in the forme as now it sheweth, with a fayre and large chapell in the East side of the Quadrant, over the Porch of which hee caused to be written Dextra Domini exaltavit me, The Lord's right hand exalted me.'

'Within the sayde Church on the North Wall was written Hono-randus famous Mercator Simon Eyre, huius operis, &c. In English thus: The honourable and famous Marchant, Simon Eyre founder of this worke, once Maior of this Citie, Citizen and Draper of the same, departed out of this life, the 18. day of September, the yeare from the incarnation of Christ 1459, and the 38th yeare of the raigne of king H. the sixt. He was buried in the parish Church of Saint Mary Wolnoth in Lumbard streete: he gane by his Testament, which I haue read, to be distributed to all prisons in London, or within a mile of that Citie, somewhat to reliefe them.' Ibid., vol. i, pp. 153-4.

It seems as though Deloney had set to work to explain the inscription 'Dextra Domini exaltavit me' as he strove to explain 'Tom Drum's Entertainment' and the custom of the cheeses at Blossom's Inn.

The rivalry of the Dutch, French, and English journeymen in Eyre's workshop must have easily suggested itself to one, like Deloney, who had spent his life among the cosmopolitan artisans of Elizabethan Norwich and London. (See Introduction, p. vii.)

Dekker's Pleasant Comedie of the Gentle Craft (1599, printed 1600) is based upon this story of Sir Simon Eyre, and Dekker's obligation is by no means slight. Some comparison of the novel and the play will be found in Lange's edition of the Gentle Craft (Palaestra, xvii).

PAGE 72. 2. Most of the geography and history of this preface is
Notes.


5. *Donwallo*. Speaking of ‘this Prouince Tegena’ Lhuyd writes (p. 68): ‘Theyr last prince called Dunwallon, forsaykyng his kingdome, when the Danes afflicted all Britayne: departed to Rome, the yere after the incarnation, 971, where shortly after he died.’

*Tegina*. ‘The towne whiche they call Flynt, standyng vpon the water Deua: is knowne not only to be the head of Tegena, but also ye whole shore.’ Ibid., p. 69.


11. *Sichnaunt*. ‘And not far from this place, is the famous Fountayne takynge name of the superstitious worshippynge of the Virgin Wenefride, which boyling up sodenly, out of a place which they call Sychnant, that is to say a drie vallye: raiseth forth of it self a great streaume, which runneth immediately into Deuarus.’ Ibid. But Harrison, in his *Description*, speaks of ‘A medicinable spring called Schinant of old times, but now Wenefrizes well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed’. Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 30.

PAGE 73. 8–9. Perhaps Deloney remembered *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1591), II. vii. 25–6:

The current that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou know’st, being stopp’d impatiently doth rage.

The simile is repeated in Gentle Craft, Part II, p. 151, ll. 33–4.

PAGE 75. 13. *tongueless like a stock*. While stock may very well be correct, I believe ‘stork’ is what Deloney wrote. Cf. *Thomas of Reading*, p. 252, l. 23, ‘I would I had beene like the Storke tonguelesse,’ and see note thereon.

PAGE 78. 16. *Venice* focussed the allurements of Italy for the sixteenth-century Englishmen. Hence the attack of Barnaby Rich in *Don Simonides* (1581): ‘O Venice a wonder it is, that the sea swalloweth thee not up for thy synne, whyche retainest so many brothell houses, and wicked baudes.’ Greene, in the *Defence of Conny Catching* (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xi, p. 73), makes the *Defence as companion* speak thus: ‘Then wil he roue to Venice, & with a sigh discover the situation of the citie ...: and to set the young gentlemen teeth an edge, he will make a long tale of La Strado Courtizano, wher the beautifull Courtizans dwel, describing their excellency, & what angelical creatures they be & how amorously they will entertaine strangers.’

PAGE 80. 15. *drenched*. The causative verb from *drown*. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 6, ‘condemned to be drent.’

19–25. A typical piece of Renaissance bad taste. Similarly Barnes in *Parthenophil* (Sonnet 63) aspires to be

That sweet wine, which down her throat doth trickle,
To kiss her lips, and lie next to her heart.

34–5. ‘In one of these yles are men that haue but one eye, and that is in the middest of theyr front.’ Maundeville (1568), cap. lxii.

PAGE 81. 14. *Elephant with stiffe joynts*. ‘Scandinavia ... breedeth a beast, which like the oliphant boweth not the nether joyntes
of his legs.' Golding's Solinus (1587), p. 101. So Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, ii. iii. 114-6, 'The elephant hath joints, but none for courtesy: his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure.' Sir Thos. Browne discusses the question in Vulgar Errors, Book III, chap. i.

30-2. The natural enmity of dragons and elephants was a well-established fact of Elizabethan natural history. Apparently Pliny (Nat. Hist. viii. 12) is the original authority, but Batman has all the details: 'Betweene Elephants and Dragons is everlasting fighting, for the Dragon with his tayle bindeth and spanneth the Elephant, and the Elephant with his foote and with his nose throweth downe the Dragon, and the Dragon with his tayle, bindeth and spanneth the Elephants legges and maketh him fall: but the Dragon buyeth it full sore, for while he slayeth the Elephant, the Elephant falleth uppon him & slayeth him.' See also Golding's Solinus (1587), chap. xxxvii.

38-9. kind nature. The benevolence of the elephant is thus described in Batman, Book XVIII, chap. 42 (1582): 'If Elephants see a man comming against them that is out of the way in wildernes, for that they wold not a fray him, they will draw themselves somewhat out of the way, & then they stint, & passe little & little before him, and teach him the way.'

PAGE 82. 15. Dioclesian. 'After that Britaine was thus recovered by the Romans, Dioclesian and Maximian ruling the Empire, the Iland tasted of the crueltie that Dioclesian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities.' Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 61.

27-8. 'Full cruell Bulls become milde anone, if they be tied to a fig tree.' Batman on Bartholme (1582), Book XVII, chap. 61.

29. Charchedonis. Pliny mentions the carchedonia (Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 30). It does not appear to have the virtue of Deloney's Charchedonis.

PAGE 84. 5. complement, i.e. completion, hence pleasures complement means perfect pleasure. Cf. Henry V, ii. ii. 133-4:

Constant in spirit, not swerving with the blood,
Garnish'd and deck'd in modest complement.

20. stain, i.e. distain, a beautiful and useful word that we have unfortunately lost in modern English. To distain is to take the colour out of one thing by the juxtaposition of another. Cf. Fletcher's Purple Island, vi. ix, 'These lights the Sunne distain.' Cf. also p. 347, l. 35.

PAGE 86. 14. To shadow is to colour, and is so used constantly by Greene, e.g. 'the painter, who shadowed the worst pictures with the freshest colours.' (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. iii, p. 202.) Cf. also p. 406, l. 12.

36. gore blood. Gore simply means clotted or thick. North uses the compound word in his translation of Plutarch (Julius Caesar), 'His wife Porcia ... gave herself a great gash withal in the thigh, that she was straight all of a gore-blood.'

PAGE 88. 26. Mugwort. 'Plinie saieth: it is good against serpents, and holsome for trauelling men, if they carry it.' Wm. Bulleyne's Gouernement of Healthe, fol. lxviii. Brand (Pop. Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 608) quotes Cole's Art of Simpling, p. 70: 'If a Footman take Mugwort and put into his Shoes in the morning, he may goe forty miles before noon, and not be weary.' The other charms in this passage are un traced.

31-2. 'If the herb Housleek, or Syngreon, do grow on the House-
top, the same House is never stricken with lightning or Thunder, 'Hyll's Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions (1581), Hazlitt-Brand, vol. iii, p. 271.

33. Mother Bumby. Perhaps a proverbial name for a witch; at any rate the name of the 'cunning woman' in Lyly's Mother Bumby, written about 1590, and 'sundrie times played by the Children of Powles',

45. sort, i.e. a company, as in Richard II, iv. ii. 245, 'A sort of traitors here.' Cf. also The Gentle Craft, Part II, p. 208, l. 37, 'a sort of Emits.'

Page 89. 29. Saint George . . . of his horse. St. George always appeared inseparable from his horse on alehouse signs. So in Euphues Part II (edit. Bond, p. 260, l. 26), 'lyke Saint George, who is euer on horse backe yet never rideth.' Cf. also King John, ii. i. 288-9:

Saint George, that swindged the dragon, and e'er since Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door.

31. Posie. Of course the 'motto' of The Gentle Craft, like those engraved on wedding rings, &c. Hence Hamlet, III. ii. 163, 'Is this a prologue, or the posy of a ring?'

35. three mans Song, i.e. a round for three voices. Elizabethan cobbler's were notable singers. In the Cobbler of Canterbury the cobbler sits 'in the shop, wher he sung like a nightingale'. Similarly in Dekker's Raven's Almanac (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. iv, p. 197), 'A mery cobler there was, who for joy that he mended mens broken and corrupted soles, did continually sing, so his shop seemed a verrie bird-cage.'

38. colt, i.e. a green hand. Hence in The Merchant of Venice i. ii. 43-4, 'Ay, that's a colt indeed, for he doth nothing but talk of his horse.'

Page 90. 3. Logria was apparently applied to the whole of Britain. But Lhuyd, in the Breuiarie (p. 12), says that Hengest and the 'luthi vsurped the same countrie which wee call Lhoegria,' i.e. Kent.

10. Durouernum. 'Durouernum, the same Englishmen do call Cantorbury, that is to say: the court of the Kentishmen.' Lhuyd's Breuiarie, p. 15.

Page 93. 5. Colchester Castle. Apparently local knowledge that Deloney had picked up on his travels in East Anglia. Cf. also note on p. 191, l. 42. The story of Cateratus is in Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 39.

13. Apparitions in the ayre. This seems a reminiscence of Josephus's description of the fall of Jerusalem, which Deloney used for Canaans Calamitie. See p. 424, ll. 140-50.

Page 94. 21. Cofetua. Although the ballad of King Cophetua and the Beggar-maid does not appear in print until Richard Johnson's Crowne Garland of Golden Roses (1612), it was certainly well known at a much earlier date. Don Armado, in Love's Labour's Lost, asks, 'Is there not a ballad, boy, of the King and the Beggar?' (i. ii. 115-6.)

Page 95. 19. a bright starre shooting in the Element. Perhaps reminiscent of the popular Venus and Adonis (1593), ll. 815-6:

Look, how a bright star shooteth from the sky, So glides he in the night from Venus' eye.

38. Musculus. Sir Thomas Elyot defines the Musculus in his Dictionarie as 'a lytell fysch, whyche guydeth the whale that he do
not runne on rockes.' L. Andrewes, in the Noble Lyfe (1531), gives the following account: 'Musculus is a fishe that layth harde shellsis, and of it the great monster balena receyueth her nature, and it is named to be the cocke of balena.' Furnivall's reprint of Russell's Boke of Nurture (E.E.T.S.), p. 235.

42-4. For the 'nature' of palm-trees cf. Batman upon Bartholome (1582): 'And hee (Plinium) setteth double kinde of Palmes, male and female: and the male bloometh first, and after the female buddeth and bloometh. And the female beareth not fruit, but if she be so nigh the male, that the smell of the male may come with the winde to the female.' Book XVII, chap. 116. Wilson, in the Art of Rhetorique, has a very similar passage: 'I will not speake now of Trees, wherein (as Plinie most certainly writeth) there is found Mariage ... that except the houseband Tree, doe leane with his boughes ... vpon the women Trees, growing round about him: they would els altogether waxe bairaine.' Edit. Mair, p. 46. The original is Pliny's famous passage upon pollination (Lib. XIII, cap. 7).

PAGE 97. 31. Christ Church, i.e. the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.


PAGE 99. 9. 'For, when Britayne, by Maximinus the Tyranne, was bereft of all the youth, a great parte whereof was slayne with him at Aquileia: the residu stoutly invaded, and possessed a parte of Franunce called Armorica.' Lhuyd's Breuiarie of Britayne, p. 10.

PAGE 103. 6. biggins, i.e. children's caps. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes from The Connoisseur 80 (1774), iii. 71, 'Such a store of clouts, caps ... biggins as would set up a Lying-in hospital.'

7. Crossie-clothes. Apparently cloth bands wound round babies' heads. Cf. 'the Nurses also of Sparta use ... to bring up their children without swaddling ... or having on their heads Cross-clothes.' North's Plutarch (1676), p. 41 (O.E.D.).

8. crickets, i.e. foot-stools (Nares).

9. The posnet was a little cup (Fr. poçonet). Halliwell (Dict. Archaic Words) quotes Cotton:

Then skellets, pans and posnets put on, To make them porridge without mutton.

PAGE 104. 2. A wagtaile was always 'wanton'. So in Lyly's Mida: 'If therefore thou make not thy mistresse a goldfinch, thou mayst chance to find her a wagtaile' (Works, edit. Bond, vol. iii, p. 118, l. 53).

PAGE 105. 29-32. Rutupium, Aurugagus, Doris. 'There were in Kent, in olde time: three famous ports, well knowne to the Romanes: Doris, Rhutupis, and Lemanis. Doris vndoubtedly is the same, whiche both Englishmen, and Britaynes, reseruinge the auncient name, at this daye doo call Douer ... And I am not ignorant, that the Douarians stoutly defende, that theyr towne, heretrofore was called Rutupium, and that Aruiragus kyng of Britaynes, builded there a noble castle. Lhuyd's Breuiarie, p. 14. Harrison speaks of the River 'Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne and castell of Douer did sometime take the name'. Description, Holinshed (1587), vol i,
Notes.

p. 53. Hence, as the 'fifth man' says, 'And all this is but Dover.' Cf. also Strange Histories, p. 383, ll. 17–20.

Page 108. 7–8. three dayes before the feast of Simon and Jude, October 25.

Page 110. 10-11. 'Anciently it was the general Use & Custom of all Apprentices in London . . . to carry Water Tankards, to serve their Masters Houses with Water, fetched either from the Thames, or the common Conduits of London.' Stow-Strype (1720), Book V, p. 329. Cf. also p. 195, ll. 14–20.

45. 'Of the foreigners born, that flocked over into England not far off from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, many were of this Occupation of Shoemakers.' Stow-Strype (1720), Book V, p. 213.

Page 111. 8–14. Stow has a note upon the earlier English fashion in shoes: 'Since the fift of Richard the 2 (when he tooke to wife Anne daughter to Vesalans King of Bohem) by her example the English people had used pike shoes, tied to their knees with silken laces, or chaynes of silver gilt.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 351. Stow-Strype (1720) expands this, so as to illustrate Deloney's reference more explicitly: 'There were in those Times three sorts of Shoes worn . . . one of these three sorts covered the Legs, or at least some part of the Leg, as others were for the Feet. And those perhaps for the Legs were the Huseaus, somewhat like it may be to the Buskin, or perhaps rather to the High Shoes, which Countrymen wear in some dirty miry Countries . . . The shoes, Goloshes &c. were with Toes of an extraordinary length, and sharp . . . The People, especially the better Sort so affected the wearing them, that an Act was fain to be made to restrain the Length of these Pykes to a certain Measure.' Book V, p. 213.

Page 114. 28. the George. 'Then have ye Lombard streete, so called of the Langobards and other Marchants, strangers of diuers nations, assembling there twice every day.' Stow's Survey (edit. Kingsford), p. 201.

40. foynes were ornaments made of weasel fur. See Oxford English Dictionary.

46. The ring was emblematic of the London alderman. Cf. Mercutio's description of Queen Mab (Romeo and Juliet), I. iv. 56–7:

In shape no bigger than an agate stone
On the forefinger of an alderman.

Page 117. 15. the two Chains. Apparently those that surrounded St. Paul's Churchyard. See Ordish's Shakespeare's London, p. 230. There is a reference to these chains in Pills to Purge Melancholy (1682):

Vulcan after made a train
Wherein the god of war was tae'n,
Which ever since hath been call'd Pauls Chain
Which nobody can deny.

Songs of the London Prentices, p. 127.

Page 118. 2–4. For the alien artisans in England in the sixteenth century see note on p. 110, l. 45, and Introduction, p.vii. In Stow-Strype (1720, Book V, p. 333) it is noted that the apprentices 'in the beginning of 1586 . . . made a formidable Insurrection . . . against the French and Dutch.'

Page 119. 2. An excursion to Islington 'to eat cream' was
The Gentle Craft, Part I. 529

a favourite Elizabethan jaunt. The author of Times Whistle (1614) is possibly a little hard on the merrymakers.

It was my fortune, with some others moe,
On[e] summers day a progresse for to goe
Into the countrie, as the time of year
Required to make merrie with good cheer.
Imagine Islington to be the place,
The jorney to eat cream. Vnder the face
Of these lewd meetings on set purpose fitted
Much villanie is howerly committed.
But to proceed; some thought there would not be
Good mirth without faire wenches companie,
And therefore had provided, a forehand,
Of wiues & maides a iust proportioned band
In number to the men of vs; each on[e]
Might have his wench vnto himselfe alone.

ll. 2599-612 (E.E.T.S.).

35. ‘Cream’ was also to be had at Hogsdon (Hoxton). In Tell-Trothes New Yeares Gift a troop of Hogsdon lovers is fully described. Gosson, in the School of Abuse, is more explicit: ‘Venus nunnes in a cloyster at Newington, Ratcliffe, Islington, Hogsdon, or some such place’ (Shakespeare Society edition, p. 26).

Page 120. 20-2. The entertainment at Islington is thus described in Times Whistle (1614):

By this time we th' appointed place attaine,
Where straight with welcomes we were entertaind.
Musick was sent for, & good chear preparde,
With which more like to Epicures we farde
Than Christianes; plenty of wine & creame
Did euen vpon our table seeme to streame,
With other dainties. Not a fidlers boy
But with the relicks of our feast did cloy
His hungry stomach.

ll. 2667-75 (E.E.T.S.).

47-8. A de put in corroy a meshant. Cotgrave explains John's abuse: 'pute: f., a wench, lasse, girle, modder; (especially one that is no better then shee should be).’ Corroy is coron, i.e. corner, used in a definitely bad sense. ‘Ah, the puss in the corner!’ might be a mild translation of the whole phrase.

Page 121. 5. stockfish, i.e. dried fish. Cf. Stow (Survey, edit. Kingsford, vol. i, p. 85): '68oo stockfishes, so called, for dried fishes of all sorts, as Lings, Habardines, & other.' Cotgrave gives ‘Ie te frottery à double carillon. I will beate thee like a stockfish, I will swinge thee while I may stand over thee’.

33-44. Apparently Deloney is thinking of the inscription which Eyre had inscribed over Leadenhall: Dextra Domini exaltavit. See Note on Sources, p. 523.

Page 125. 13. Combred, i.e. cumbered.

Page 126. 2. pulard, i.e. pouillard, lowsie (Cotgrave).

14. ten bon, i.e. ten bones, ten fingers.

24. The Garden as a favourite place for lovers' meetings had aroused the indignation of Philip Stubbes: ‘And for that their Gardens are locked, some of them have 3 or fower keyes a peece, whereof one they keep for themselves, the other their Paramours have to goe in before them, least happely they should be perceived, for then were
Notes.

all their sport dasht. ... These Gardens are excellent places, & for the purpose; for if they can speak with their dearlynges no where els, yet, thei maie be sure to meete them.' Anatomy of Abuses (edit. Furnivall), p. 88. Contemporary references seem to show that Stubbes's reproaches were not altogether unmerited; e.g. in Heywood's If you know not me, you know nobody (New Shakspere Society), p. 132: Hobson. Is not this a lady? John. No, by my troth master; such as in the garden alleys. Holland's Leaguer, the well-known Southwark brothel, was surrounded by gardens 'for doing a spell of embroidery or fine work'. 26. to make themselves sure together. See note on p. 9, l. 41. 

Page 129. 8. The Abbey of Graces was in Smithfield, the east of Tower Hill. See Stow-Strype (1720), Book II, p. 13. 17. borne through the nose with a cushion. The phrase is obscure. Dr. Bradley kindly supplies me with the following note: 'To borne through a person's nose is to cheat him. (See Nose in Oxford English Dictionary.) Perhaps cushion (= cushion) is a stupid joke like the favourite rustic one about cutting one's throat with a tallow candle.' 40-41. The Dutchman was a famous drunkard in Elizabethan literature. Cf. Dekker's Knights Conjuring (Percy Society, V), p. 37: 'Drunkenesse, which was once the Dutchman's headake, is now the Englishman's;' and B. Jonson's Alchemist, IV. vi: I do not like the dulnesse of your eye, It hath a heavy cast, 'tis upsy Dutch. 

Page 130. 8. ged, i.e. gad. 10. willow Garland. Cf. p. 162, l. 20, and note thereon. 24. For the Tower Postern and its constable see Stow's Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 28. 35. to a woman's labour. Apparently a common pretence of light wenches and wives, and any women on secret missions. Cf. Nash in Christ's Teares over Jerusalem (Works, edit. M'Kerrow, p. 151): 'Watchman, what seest thou? what seest thou in London by night? ... I see a number of wives cuckolding their husbands, under pretence of going to their next neighbours labour.' Dekker, in the Seven Deadly Sins, says of Candlelight that 'he walkes up and downe the streetes squiring olde Midwives to anie house (verie secretly) where any Bastards are to be brought into the worlde.' 

Page 132. 24. Ebon-tree. 'Hebenus a tree, whereof the woode is black as leate, and beareth neither leaves nor fruite.' Batman on Bartholme, Book XVII, chap. 52. 40. There seems nothing to warrant Deloney in ascribing the institution of the Pancake Bell and the Shrovetide holiday to Sir Simon Eyre. But Shrove Tuesday was always esteemed the particular holiday of apprentices (see Brand's Popular Antiquities). The pancake bell was rung as late as 1795 in Newcastle, and it is still rung at the present day in Buckingham.

THE GENTLE CRAFT, PART II.

Date. 'The fyrste parte of the Gentill Craft' is mentioned in the Stationers' Registers, August 14, 1600. The Gentle Craft, with no distinction as to the part, was entered on October 19, 1597. If this be taken to apply to the first part, as it probably does, the second part of
The Gentle Craft was perhaps printed in 1598, and thus the need for qualifying the title in the entry of 1600.

**Extant Editions.** The only extant edition is that from which the present reprint is made.

[A] The GENTILE CRAFT, The second Part... London, Printed by Elizabeth Purslow, dwelling neere Christ Church 1639. (British Museum; Bodleian.)

**Note on Sources.** The second part of The Gentle Craft consists of three main stories, (1) Richard Casteler, (2) Lusty Peachey and his men, (3) The Green King of St. Martinus.

(1) The History of Richard Casteler is a skilful blending and elaboration of two separate stories, the first represented by nothing more than a short entry in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and the second by a popular jest-book entitled *Long Meg of Westminster*, printed in 1582. Of Richard Casteller himself we read in Holinshed: 'There was one Richard Castell alias Casteller, shoemaker, dwelling in Westminster, a man of great travell and labor in his facultie with his owne hands, & such a one as was named the Cockey of Westminster, for that both Winter & Summer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus trulie and painefullie labouring for his living, God blessed and increased his labours so abundantlie that he purchased lands and tenements in Westminster to the yearelie value of fortie and foure pounds. And having no child, with the consent of his wife (who survived him & was a vertuous & good woman) gave the same lands whole to Christs hospital afore said, to the relief of the innocent and fatherlesse children, and for the succor of the miserable, sore and sicke harbored in the other hospitals about London, whose example God grant manie to follow.' *Chronicle* (1587), vol. ii, p. 1083. A similar account is also given in Gratton's *Chronicle* (1569), p. 1323.

*The Life and Pranks of Long Meg of Westminster.* Imprinted at London for Abraham Veale, dwelinge in Paul's church yeard at the signe of the Lambe (1582) may be found in the British Museum. It is little more than a jest-book of the ordinary Elizabethan kind; a collection of crude physical jokes attributed to an Amazonian maiden of Lancashire in service at a London tavern. From this little tract Deloney obtained the outline of a coarse strong personality and a few details of Meg's birth, size, and strength, the name of the Eagle Inn where she served, and her part in the Boulogne war. The rhyming Dr. Skelton suggested the Round Robin of *The Gentle Craft*, and the courtship of the mistress of the Eagle perhaps gave a hint for the story of Mistris Farmer (see infra).

But Deloney's use of printed sources must not be over-emphasized. Richard Casteler was probably well known to London tradition as a recent benefactor, and Long Meg is a byword in contemporary literature. Indeed, while Abraham Veale's account makes the latter end her days as an honest married woman and exemplary tavern keeper in Islington, Deloney assures us she 'became common to the call of euery man till such time as all youthfull delights was banished by old age. And in the end she left her life in Islington, being very penitent for all her former offences' (p. 166, ll. 32–5). The weight of evidence abundantly confirms the report of poor Meg's frailty.


Harvey mentions her in terms of dubious praise: 'Phy, long Megg
of Westminster would have bene ashamed to disgrace her Sonday bonet with her Sattiday witt. She knew the rules of decorum: & although she were a lustie bousing rampe, somewhat like Gallemella, or Maide Marian, yet was she not such a roinish rannell, or such a dissolute Gillian flurtes, as this wainscot-faced Tomboy.' Pierce's Supererogation (1600), pp. 145-6.

In Jonson's Fortunate Isles (1626) Skelton is made to say of her:

... Westminster Meg
With her long leg,
As long as a crane;
And feet like a plane:
With a pair of heels,
As broad as two wheels;
To drive down the dew;
As she goes to the stew:
And turns home merry
By Lambeth ferry.

Vaughan, in the Golden Grove (1608), is more explicit: 'It is said, that long Meg of Westminster kept alwayes 20 Courtizans in her house, whom by their pictures she sold to all commers.' (Book II, Q 3.)

Hollands Leagur (1632) mentions Long Meg's brothel in Southwark: 'It was out of the citie, yet in view of the citie, only divided by a delicate River; there was many handsome buildings, and many hearty neighbours, yet at the first foundation, it was renouned for nothing so much as for the memory of that famous Amazon, Longa Margarita, who had there for many yeeres kept a famous infamous house of open Hospitality.'

Thus Deloney followed common report as much as the printed authority of the jest-book, and in converting the unpleasant creature of fact into his own pleasant heroine he provided her with a companion from his own imagination in Gillian of the George.

(2) The stories attached to Lusty Peachey and his men are derived from more various and complex sources. The name Peachey is apparently taken from Holinshead, where Sir John Peachey appears as a courtier and soldier of some note, serving with credit in the French wars and escorting Henry VIII's sister on her marriage with the French king (1587 edition, pp. 803, 822, 832, and passim). This name also appears in Stow's Survey. While it is much to be doubted whether this Tudor courtier followed the Gentle Craft of shoe-mending the S. P. Dom. Hen. VIII supply evidence of his close connexion with the city of London. In vol. iii, pt. ii, doc. 854 (1520), § 17, we find granted to 'John Garrard of London, draper, alias Vinter, Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petche, deputy of Paris'; and the same volume contains several similar grants to London grocers, haberdashers, silkmen, &c., which seem to show conclusively that Peachey recruited his retinue from the ranks of London artisans. This fact, probably traditional in Elizabethan London, would be sufficient warrant for Peachey's admission to Deloney's Gentle Craft and for his position as master-shoemaker and the centre round which are grouped the adventures of Tom Drum, Harry Nevell, Abridges, and Sir John Rainsford.

Of these names, Nevell, Abridges, and Rainsford were well known in Newbury. Sir Henry Neville was Sheriff of Berkshire in 1560. Sir Richard Abridges and Sir William Rainsford officiated at the trial of Julius Palmer for heresy at Newbury in 1556 (Fox's Acts and Monu-
ments, 1870, vol. 8, pp. 214–9); and Fox's account shows that both Abridges and Winchcomb, if not Rainsford, had a certain amount of sympathy with the accused. Deloney's story of the burial of a 'Massing Priest alive' would perhaps indicate that Rainsford was also distinctly inclined to Protestantism. Sir Richard Abridges was M.P. for Berkshire in 1554 (Money, History of Newbury, p. 210), and Sir William Rainsford, of Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, was connected by marriage with the village of Thatcham, near Newbury.

Stukeley and Strangwidge were two well-known heroes of Elizabethan ballad literature. Stukeley had appeared in Elizabethan drama in the play of Captain Stucley and Peele's Battle of Alcazar (1588?). Full details of his meteoric career may be found in Simpson's School of Shakespeare, vol. i. Born in London of a Devonshire family, he married the daughter of a rich London alderman, who, according to the Roxburghe ballad account,

...was no sooner tomb'd—but Stucley he presum'd,
To spend a hundred pound a day in waste.
The greatest gallants in the land—had Stucley's purse at their command
Thus merily the time away he past.
Taverns and ordinaries—were his chief braveries,
Golden angels there flew up and down;
Riots were his best delight—with stately feasting day and night
In Court and City thus he won renown.

Not only were these swashbuckling humours of his famous in London, but he was known, and probably well remembered, in Newbury as well. In May, 1560, Elizabeth took musters all through England in view of the French and Scots wars, and Stukely was then associated with Sir Thomas Parry, the Master of the Wards, (cf. p. 22, l. 10, note), and Sir Henry Neville, the Sheriff of Berkshire, to superintend the Berkshire levies. His duties as Parry's agent took him to Newbury, whence he dates a letter, May 23, 1560 (School of Shakespeare, vol. i, p. 28). It is possible that Deloney was in Newbury at the time; in any case he must have heard of him later from Newbury folk who had actually seen him.

Stukeley's pirating expedition to Florida took place in 1563, and in 1584 Holinshed notes: 'Out of Ireland ran awaie one Thomas Stukeleie a defamed person almost throughout chrisseendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable pirasies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable.'

Strangwidge was another Elizabethan sea-captain, who was eventually killed in an attack on the French coast. His wild life and death are described in a ballad by William Birch (Percy Society, vol. i, p. 41):

In deede of birth he was borne bace; Although of worshipful kyn
In youth he sought to runne the race Where he might prowes wyn.

In his yong yeares he walked wyde, And wandred oft a stray:
For why blynd Cupid did him guyde To walk that wyldsome way.
Notes.

But when he had the course out run
Where pyrates prict the carde,
Twyse at the least he thought undone,
And looked for his rewarde.

For by legall lawes he was condemd,
Yet mercy bare the mace,
And in respect he wold amend,
He found a princes grace.

And in that state he vowed to God,
And to his righteous queene,
He wolde no more deserve such rod,
Nor at justice barre be seene.

And then occasion served just
That martiall men must trudge:
He vaunced himself with valiaunt lust;
To go he did not grudge.

And to the sea he sought a charge
Where he might take his chaunce,
And therewith spred his sayles at large
To seke a porte in Fraunce.

Where as he caught a deadly wound,
Yet his courage never quayled,
But as he had been safe and sound,
On his way forth he sayled.

Then Atropos did him assayle,
That al Adam's kynd doth call;
Against whose force may none prevayle
But subject to him all.

Perhaps the contest between Peacheys's men and Stukeley and Strangwidge reflects some quarrel which occurred between the local gentry and Stukeley during the latter's sojourn in Newbury. In this connexion cf. the note on p. 173, ll. 45-7.

The story of Sir John Rainsford appears to be drawn from a local tradition which Leland has attached to the town of Brackley in Northamptonshire: 'In the churche yarde lyethe an image of a priest revestid; the whiche was vicar of Barkeley, and there buried quike by the tyranny of a lord of the towne for a displeasure that he tooke with hym for an horse taken, as some say, for a mortuarie. But the lord, as it is there sayde, went to Rome for absolution, and toke great repentauns.' Itinerary (edit. Toulmin-Smith), vol. ii, p. 37.

' Ther was of late a place of Crossyd Friers, and that one Nevill a great gentilman there was buried. And that one Neville apon a tyme kyldyd in the churche at Brakeley a priest and buried hym in his sacrd vestiments: and that this Nevill toke there an other prist and buried hym quike.' Ibid., vol. v, p. 224.

Deloney probably picked up this story on his journeying about the Eastern counties, and attributed it to Sir John Rainsford, while he utilizes the name Neville for another character. But an almost exactly similar story occurs in Bandello (Novelle, 1554? La Terza
Parte, Novella xxv): 'GIAN MARIA VISCONTE, SECONDO Duca di Milano, fa interrare un Parrocchiano uiuo, che non uoleua sepellire un suo Popolano, se non era da la Moglie di quello pagato.'

The first part of the story, with its mention of the widow and her children, is strikingly like Deloney's version: 'Dicoui adunque, che caualcando esso Duca per Milano, s'abbatté a passare per vna via, oue in vna picciola casetta senti vn gran lamento, con vn pietrosa lagrimare, che quiui entro si faceua, con batter di mani, & alte strida, come talhora soglion fare le Donne mezzo disperate. Vdendo il Duca così fatto vluare, comandò ad vno de i suoi staffieri, che in casa entrasse, & intendesse la cagione di così fiero pianto. Andò lo staffiero, e non dopo molto, à l'aspettante Duca ritornò, e si gli disse. Signore; quà dentro è vna pouera Femina con alcuni figliuoli, che piange amarissimamente vn suo Marito, che ha dinanzi morto, e dice che il Parrocchiano non lo vuol sepellire, se non lo paga, ma che ella non ha vn patacco da dargli.' But in the Italian the priest and the corpse are bound together and thus buried in one grave.

Tom Drum's adventures seem to be founded upon the popular saying 'Tom Drum's entertainment, which is to bale a man in by the head, and to thrust him out by both the shoulders' (Holinshde, quoted by Nares). The phrase was continually used to denote a hostile reception, and Deloney accepts the proverb and builds up a story to explain it. Cf. Note on Sources of Thomas of Reading, p. 549, and Introduction, p. xxix. Tom Drum's character, with its exaggeration and comic self-assurance, is without doubt a faint reflection of the noonday glory of Falstaff, whose words Deloney parodies directly on p. 162, ll. 25-34. See also note on p. 181, l. 7.

The story of Mistress Farmer and her suitors bears a strong resemblance to the earlier chapters of Jacke of Newberie; but the rivalry of Dr. Burket and Alderman Jarvice was perhaps suggested by that of Dr. Skelton and Sir James of Castille in the Life and Pranks of Long Meg of Westminster. Dr. Burket was a well-known physician, and is thus described in Chettle's Kind-Hartes Dream: 'The one, which was the elder, seeming more severe, was in habite like a doctor; in his right hand hee held a Compendium of all the famous Phisitions and Surgions workes beelonging to Theorike, in his lefte hand a table of all instruments for man's health, appertaining to practise ... I lookte him in the face, and beheld him to bee maister Doctor Burcot (though a stranger, yet in England for phisicke famous).' Kind-Hartes Dreame, p. 11 (edit. Rimbault, Percy Society, vol. v).

Rimbault quotes an entry in the Harleian MS. (No. 315, 6395) of 'a story that goes upon one Dr. Burcott's wife, was not true by her but by one Dr. Matthias his wife, a German, and famous phisitian that liv'd in Norwich' (Percy Society, vol. v, p. 66).

(3) The story of the Greene King of St. Martins is a repetition of Deloney's favourite motif (cf. Note on Sources of Jacke of Newberie, p. 508). Anthony Now-now appears to have been a ballad singer of some celebrity in Elizabethan London, and in Chettle's Kind-Hartes Dreame he is described as a typical ballad-singer: 'The first of the first three was an od old fellow, low of stature, his head was couered with a round cap, his body with a side skirted tawney coate, his legs and feete trust vppe in leather buskins, his gray haires and furrowed face witnessed his age, his treble viol in his hande, assured me of his profession. On which (by his continual sawing, hauing left but one string) after his best manner, hee gave me a hunts-vp : whome, after a little musing, I assuredly remembered to be no other but old Anthony Now-now.' (Percy Society,
His 'treble violl' and his partiality for the 'hunts-up' appear again in Deloney's story (p. 209, ll. 12-13).

There seems no reason to identify Antony Now-now with Anthony Munday. Now O Now was originally the name of a dance tune, to which at a later date words were written by various authors, amongst others by Dowland in the *First Book of Songs* (1597): 'Now, O now, I needs must part,' &c.

PAGE 139. 18. Lange's surmise (*Palaestra*, xviii) that an original address to the reader prefixed to the first part was omitted after the publication of the second seems to explain this reference. No such promise appears in extant editions of Part I.

23. Apparently Deloney contemplated a third part to *The Gentle Craft*.

PAGE 140. 19. *you cannot come in under a groat.* Apparently a groat was the price at which the original edition was sold. Deloney imitates the theatre cry on the arrival of a gallant who was willing to pay sixpence for a seat on the stage. Cf. Dekker's *Guls Horne Book,* 'have a good stool for sixpence' (1612 reprint, p. 140). A 'groundling' was admitted for twopence, at least in the inferior theatres. Prynne's *Histriomastix* gives the prices as 'twopence, threepence, fourpence, sixpence, and a shilling'.


And in the church, to tell you true
Men cannot serve God for looking on you.

Westminster was particularly ill-famed for the lightness of its daughters, and hence perhaps the frankness of Margaret of the Spread Eagle and Gillian of the George. Cf. Nash's *Pierce Penniless* (*Works*, edit. M'Kerrow, vol. i, p. 216): 'Westminster, Westminster, much maydenhead hast thou to answer for at the day of Judgment.' So also in *Tell-Trothes New Yeares Gift* (E.E.T.S.), Part II, p. 90: 'Walk but in Westminster,—a place, in faith, where constancy is as little used as wit in Bedlam.'

38. *Gillian* is evidently named from her character. Cf. the courtezan's expostulation in Vaughan's *Golden-Grone* (1608): 'Sir you mistake your marke, I am none of your wanton Gilles, you abuse my credit' (Book II, Q 3).

PAGE 143. 15. The whistle was used in place of the modern bell for calling the servant. In Scott's *Redgauntlet* (Wandering Willie's Tale) Sir Robert Redgauntlet is described as still using it in this way.

48. *Master Cornelius of the Guard* was a real contemporary character. See Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. ii, p. 123: 'From the entry into Totehill field, the streete is called Petty France, in which, and upon S. Hermits hill, on the South side thereof, Cornelius van Dun (a Brabander borne, Yeoman of the Guard to King H. the 8, King E. the 6, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth) built 20 houses, for poore women to dwell rent free.'

Van Dun was buried at St. Margarets', Westminster, and Stow-Strype gives his epitaph (1720, Book VI, p. 42): 'Cornelius Vandun lieth here, borne at Breda in Brabant, Souldier with King Henry at Turney, Yeoman of the Guard, and Usher to King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth: Of honest and vertuous Life, a careful Man for poore Folke. Who in the End of this Toune did build for poore Widowes twenty Houses of his owne cost.
The Gentle Craft, Part II. 537

'Obiit Anno. Dom: 1577. Buried the 4. of September Aetatis Suae 94.'

The Life . . . of Long Meg of Westminster relates how Meg's mistress gave her a suit of white satin 'that was one of the guards that lay at her house'. Deloney has seized the opportunity of introducing a well-known local figure in the shape of the long-lived Yeoman.

Page 145. 10. penny fathers, i.e. niggards. Cf. Nash's Pierce Penniless (Works, edit. M'Kerrow, p. 160): 'he hath much a doo (poore penny-father) to keep his vtnfrith elbowes in reparation.'

Page 146. 31. fired, i.e. set on fire.


Page 147. 4. Crinkler, i.e. a trickster. To crinkle is to go back upon one's word, and in this sense still occurs in dialect. Cf. Jonson's Alchemist, III. v.:

He that hath pleas'd her grace thus farre
Shall not now crinkle for a little.

22. round Robin is apparently named from his characteristics. 'Of him whom we see very lively, and pleasantly disposed, we say, his head is full of jolly Robbins.' Merchandise of Popish Priests, 1629 (quoted in Reed's Shakespeare).

Page 148. 26. gownes, i.e. green-gowns. Cf. 'At length he was so bold as to give her a greene gowne when I fear me she lost the flower of her chastity.' A. Munday, quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary.

Page 149. 13. 'Posset is hot Milk poured on Ale or Sack, having Sugar, grated Bisket, Eggs, with other ingredients boiled in it, which goes all to a curd.' R. Holmes, quoted in Furnivall's notes to John Russell's Boke of Nurture.

16. Pope John was an accepted historical fact in the sixteenth century. When James I visited Sir William Pope in Oxfordshire, Pope's little daughter gave the occasion for a pretty pun on the subject:

A female Pope, you'll say; a second Joan?
No, sure; she is Pope Innocent, or none.

Page 150. 3. aporne, i.e. apron. Cf. Greene's Vision (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xii, p. 226), 'smugged herself up with her harding Aporne.'

14. stammel, i.e. red cloth, used in a derogatory sense, as 'petticooat' for a woman in modern English. Cf. p. 20, I. 27, and note.

16. betrice. Beatrice was the common nickname for a brazen, 'robustious' woman. Cf. 'Pierce Pandor, and baudie Betrice his
Notes.

wife,' Maroccus Extaticus, 1505 (Percy Society, vol. ix, p. 16); ‘Bold Betteresse braues and brags it in her wiers,' Tom Tel Troths Message, 1600 (E.E.T.S., p. 121); ‘Such another old Bettresse haue I at home,' Dekker’s Batchelors Banquet (Grosart, p. 176).

39. ‘Hypocras was made with either white or red wine in which different aromatic ingredients were infused; and took its name from that particular sort of bag, termed Hippocrates's sleeve, through which it was strained.' Furnivall's note to Russell's Boke of Nurture (E.E.T.S.), p. 204.

over my naile. Cf. Nash's Pierce Penniless (Works, edit. McKerrow, p. 205): ‘He is no body that cannot drinke super nagulum, carouse the Hunters hoop, quaffe upsey freeze crosse...’ To drink ‘super nagulum’ is to finish off a draught completely, so that, on the glass being turned upside-down, only a single small drop will trickle on the thumb-nail.


31. rounding, i.e. whispering. Cf. Winter's Tale, 1. ii. 217: ‘They're here with me already, whispering, rounding.’

PAGE 158. 14. office, i.e. the servants' quarters. Cf. the modern degenerate use of the term in the language of estate-agents.

PAGE 154. 7. Ajax. The pun upon Ajax (= a jakes, i.e. privy) seems to have had eternal charms for the Elizabethan. Round this joke centres Harrington's Metamorphosis of Ajax; but cf. also Love's Labour's Lost, V. ii. 577: ‘Your lion, that holds his poll-axe sitting on a close-stool, will be given to Ajax: he will be the ninth Worthy.’

12. trenchmore. The trenchmore was a rousing, boisterous dance. Chappell (Popular Music of the Olden Time, p. 82) quotes Selden: ‘The Court of England is much alter’d. At a solemn dancing, first you had the grave measures, then the Corantoes and the galliards, and this kept up with ceremony; and at length to Trenchmore and the Cushion Dance: then all the company dances, lord and groom, lady and kitchen maid, no distinction. So in our court in Queen Elizabeth's time, gravity and state were kept up. In King James's time things were pretty well, but in King Charles's time, there has been nothing but Trenchmore and the Cushion Dance, omnium gatherum, tolly polly, hoite come toite.’

PAGE 158. 39. To jet is to strut or trip along proudly. It is so used of Malvolio in Twelfth Night (II. v. 36), 'how he jets under his advanced plumes.'

PAGE 158. 8. 'To play mum-budget' is cant for keeping secret. Cf. Merry Wives of Windsor (v. ii. 6): ‘I come to her in white, and cry, "mum"; she cries, "budget."’

11. a good Term, i.e. a law term, when Westminster was crowded with those 'having suits at the term.' See Dekker's Dead Term (1608); cf. also p. 66, l. 11 and note.

30. braided wares are soiled goods. Hence the clown in Winter's Tale (IV. iii. 204) asks, 'Has he any unbraided wares?'

37. out of all cry, i.e. out of all estimation. Cf. Dekker's Patient Grissel, III. i. (New Shakspere Society, p. 20, l. 3): ‘By cod, Sir Emulo, Sir owen is clad out o' cry.’

PAGE 159. 5. Tuttle-field lay to the west of Westminster Abbey, where its name is yet perpetuated in a street.

12. quaint excuse, i.e. a cunning excuse. Portia 'like a fine bragging youth' intends to tell
quaint lies,
How honourable ladies sought my love.

(Merchant of Venice, III. iv. 68–9.)

33. *Margaret of the Spread Eagle.* The original reads *Crane,* but cf. p. 141, l. 36. Deloney is apparently confusing Meg with 'Katherine of the Crane' mentioned on p. 144, ll. 25–6, as a warning to all who desire a reputation for veracity.


PAGE 161. 41. *Jack Coomes.* I know no other references to this apparently proverbial hero.

PAGE 162. 5. *morin,* i.e., murrain.

20. For the *Willow* as an emblem of the forsaken lover see the Percy Ballad of *Harfalus:*

His clothes were black and also bare,
As one forlorne was he;
Upon his head always he ware
A wreath of willow-tree.

But, of course, cf. Desdemona's song in *Othello,* iv. iii.


26–35. There can be no doubt that in these questions and answers Deloney is parodying one of the old popular courting games. A traditional children’s game was played in London twenty years ago in which almost the same questions were asked of a girl by a boy, and all answered by a refusal until the critical interjection, ‘Your sweetheart's waiting outside for you!’ Many analogues will suggest themselves from the Folk Lore Society’s collection of folk games, but I have been able to find none exactly parallel.


PAGE 166. 28–35. See Note on Sources, pp. 531–2.

PAGE 167. 6. *pricksong,* sight-singing, from the pricks or dots used in notation.

19. *pumps* were low slippers and *pantofles* were ‘chopines’ or high-heeled shoes. Here they both seem to be worn together.

42. The Chroniclers, and especially Holinshde, give long accounts of Henry VIII’s Christmas revels.

45. *amate.* A common Old English word meaning to dismay or
cast down, from the French amater. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes Sidney, Ps. cxix; 'Terror shall your minde amate.'

Page 168. 3. The Song of the Winning of Bullen. Grafton describes both the taking of Boulogne and that of Tournaï, and Deloney, in round Robin's song, seems to have confounded them together. ‘The fourteeene day of July the kings maiestie in his royal person passed the seas from Douer to Calice, and the sise and twentye day encamped himself before Bulleyne... the which towne he so sore assaulted & so besieged with such abundance of great ordainace, that neuer was there a more valaunter assault made.’ Grafton (1809), vol. ii, p. 278. This incident is referred to also by Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 824.

Page 189. 18–19. ‘On Sunday the second of October, the king entred the Citie of Tournaï... & afternoone he came to the Marketplace.’ Grafton (1809), vol. ii, p. 278. The inscription on Tournaï gates is referred to by Nash in Jack Wilton, p. 209 (Works, edit. McKerrow), ‘When Turnin lost her maidenhead, &c.’

Page 170. 12–20. See Note on Sources, p. 531.

22. Peachey. Deloney has apparently borrowed this name from Holinshed. Sir John Peachie was a courtier and soldier of some consideration, who attended Henry VIII's sister Mary on her marriage with the King of France. He was probably innocent of any connexion with The Gentle Craft. See Holinshed (1589), pp. 803, 822, 832, et passim, and Note on Sources, p. 532.

28–34. For Peachey's troop of retainers cf. Harrison's England, p. 187 (Holinshed, vol. i, 1587) : 'I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of seruing menials, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuellall luieries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleeues, whereby it is known to whome they apperteine.' Douce (Illustrations, 1835, p. 206) quotes Fynes Moryson: 'The servants of gentlemen were wont to waere blew coates, with their masters badge of silver on the left sleeve, but now they most commonly waere clokes garded with lace, all the servantes of one family wearing the same livery for colour and ornament.'

36. Stucley was also a retainer of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Simpson, School of Shakespeare).

43. squaring; quarrelsome. Cf. Midsummer Night's Dream, II. i. 28–30.

And now they never meet in grove, or green,
By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen,
But they do square.

Page 171. 11. Stuteley is probably a misprint for Stucley or some such form of the name.

13. watched silk thrumb hats. Watchet, a word we have unfortunately lost, means light blue. Cf. Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, ii. 3.

As in the rain bows many-colour'd hew,
We see the watchet deepened with a blew.
A thrumb-hat or thrummed hat was a hat furnished with thrums or tufts of very coarse cloth (see Nares). Cf. Merry Wives, iv. ii. 82, ‘There’s her thrummed hat.’

Page 172. 35. goodman flat-cap. ‘Goodman’ was a term of contemptuous familiarity. Cf. Romeo and Juliet, i. v. 80-1:

He shall be endur’d;
What, goodman boy!—I say, he shall.

‘The ancient Habit of the Apprentices of London, was a flat round cap . . . whom the Pages of the Court in Derision called Flat Caps.’ Stow-Strype (1720), Book V, p. 329.

40. dudgin haft, i.e. with a hilt made of boxwood (Nares).


42-3. butter whores. An abusive epithet apparently derived from the character of the women who brought butter to market. Nash uses the same word in Foure Letters Confuted (Works, edit. McKerrow, p. 299).

45-7. if I strike below the girdle, call me Cut. Bishop Carleton says of a Londoner, one Rowland York: ‘He was famous among the Cutters of his time, for bringing in a new kind of fight, to run the point of a rapier into a man’s body . . . when in England before that time the use was with little bucklers, and with broad swords to strike, and not to thrust, and it was accounted unmanly to strike under the girdle.’ Thankfull Remembrancer (1625), p. 117.

Strangwidge and Stukeley apparently use the new kind of fighting, while Master Peachey and his men carry the old-fashioned broad sword and buckler.

47. Cut, i.e. knave, metaphorically from a horse. Cf. Twelfth Night, ii. iii. 205, ‘If thou hast her not in the end, call me cut.’

Page 174. 12. Aqua vitae was usquebaugh, not brandy, says Douce, and quotes the recipe from Cogan’s Haven of Health, 1612 (Illustrations to Shakespeare, 1835, p. 43).

32. quoystrels. A coystrel originally was a groom, then any base fellow. Cf. Twelfth Night, i. iii. 43, ‘He’s a coward and a coystrel that will not drink to my niece.’

Page 175. 17. cogging. To cog is to cheat. Cf. Much Ado about Nothing, v. i. 93-4:

out-facing, fashion-monging boys,
That lie, and cog, and flout.


30. wager, i.e. wage. Probably a misprint.

39. a Stand of Ale, i.e. a beer-barrel. Ogilvy quotes Beaumont and Fletcher, ‘This stand of royal blood shall be abroach, atilt.’

Page 176. 1. Kerbfoord is almost certainly a misspelling for Kirdford, a village five miles north of Petworth.

15-16. With hey tricksie, &c. A similar burden occurs in the Ballad of Stukeley, printed in Simpson’s School of Shakespeare, vol. i, p. 151:

In Plymouth town, in a threadbare gown
And money never a deal,
Hey trixi trim, go trixi trim,
And will not a ballad do well.

Page 177. 17. Nowne substantiue. The distinctions of formal
Notes.

grammar are often thus employed in contemporary prose. Cf. Christis Teraes oyer Jerusalem (Nash's Works, edit. M^s) Kerrow, p. 119: 'Wilt thou ratifidely affirme that God is no God, because (like a Noun substantive) thou canst not essentially see him, feele him or heare him?' In Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters, a 'timist' is defined as 'a noune adjective of the present tense'.


PAGE 178. 25. the Image of Bred-streete corner. Perhaps that mentioned by Stow: 'Monumentes to be noted here, first at Breadstreet corner the north East end, 1595. of Thomas Tomlinson.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 34.

26. The Sarazines-head was near St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn. Stow (Survey, edit. Kingsford, vol. ii, p. 34) calls it 'a fayre and large Inne for receipt of travellers, and hath to signe the sarasens head.' Nevills treatment of Tom Drum recalls Falstaff's stratagem of persuading his followers to tickle their noses with sword grass to make them bleed, after the adventure on Gad's hill (1 Henry IV, ii. iv).

31. towne-Malin. The modern Malling is about five miles west of Maidstone.

PAGE 179. 8. mistery, in the old sense of métier. Cf. 'The Mystery of the Plaisterers.' Stow-Strype (1720), Book V, p. 300.

24. Clement carry lye. The Elizabethan writers were past masters of the quaint art of character naming. Cf. the alliterative names, Sir Davie Debit, and Henrie Hadland in the Serving-mans Comfort.

38. men headed like Dogs. Cf. note on p. 24, l. 35.

40-1. Othersome ... that one of their legs hath been as good as a penthouse are described in Mandeville. 'The Ethiope are such men that have but one foote ... & that is a large foot that the shadow thereof covereth the body from Sun or raine when they lye upon their backs' (1568, cap. i). Pliny is apparently the original authority: 'Sciapodas vocari ... quod in maiore aestu humi iacentes resupini umbra se pedum protractant' (Nat. Hist., Lib. VII, c. 2). But cf. also Golding's Solinus (1587), p. 196.

PAGE 180. 2. Sweathland. Sweden, as in G. Markham's Cauelrice (1607).

10-11. For the length of the day in North Britain cf. Greenwey's Tacitus (1596), p. 189: 'The length of the dayes much above the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthest part of the Iland so short, that between the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived, and when clouds doe not hinder they affirme that the sunshine is seene in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth but passeth along.' So also Golding's Solinus (1587): 'Thule is the furthest of, wherin, at such time as the sun is at the hyghest in sommer ... there is almost no night at all' (p. 84).

PAGE 181. 7. vermin. The same joke as in 2 Henry IV, iii. ii, where Falstaff, having regard to the condition of Francis Fleeble, 'cannot put him to a private soldier, that is the leader of so many thousands.'

30. Sir John Rainsford. See Note on Sources, pp. 532-5.

PAGE 182. 2. Sir John. Commonly used of a parish priest. Nares quotes from Latimer: 'And, instead of a faithfull and painefull teacher, they have a Sir John, who hath better skill in playing at tables, or in keeping a garden, then in God's word.'

14-15. chollericke as a guaile. Cf. Antony and Cleopatra, ii. iii. 36-8:
His cocks do win the battle still of mine,
When it is all to nought; and his quails ever
Beat mine, in hoop'd, at odds.

18. Saint Charity. Sancta caritas became Saint Charity, just as Sanctum Sepulchrum became Saint Sepulchre.

PAGE 183. 23. blind bayard. Bayard originally meant a bay horse, and then a horse of any kind. Blind Bayard was a proverbial phrase for an over-hasty person. Cf. Match at Midnight (Old Plays, vii. 435): 'Do you hear, Sir Bartholomew Bayard, that leap before you look?'

PAGE 184. 1. The Dean had ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the head of a sub-division of the archdeaconry.

42–4. an halter . . . an Ill word foure times a year at Newgate, i.e. at the assizes.

PAGE 185. 1. The 'masterlesse man' has ever been considered identical with the vagabond in England. Cf. the Penniles Parliament of Thred-Bare Poets, 1608 (Percy Society, vol. vii, 40): 'what day soever St Pauls church hath not, in the middle aile of it, either a broker, masterless man, or a pennyless companion, the usurers of London shall be sworn by oath to bestow a new steeple upon it.'


45–6. French-men . . . landed in the Ile of Wight. Holinshed (1587, vol. ii, p. 969) gives an account of the attack on the Isle of Wight in 1545, and some note as to forces raised by the City of London to aid Henry VIII in his French wars: 'Also in the beginning of this moneth (August) the ciete of London set forth a thousand soldiers of archers, harquebutters, pikes and bils, which went to Dover and so passed over unto Calis, to serve the king in his wars on that side the seas.'

PAGE 186. 37. dogs-nose. A term of abuse. Cf. 'Call me Cut', p. 173, l. 47. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes a similar phrase from Hobbes's Iliad: 'Whereof no notice (Dogshad) now you take.'

PAGE 187. 1. For Elizabethan love charms cf. the character in Greene's Ned Browne (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xi, p. 28): 'He will persuade you hee hath twentie receiptes of Loue powders: that hee can frame a Ring with such a quaint devise, that if a Wenche put it on her finger, she shall not choose but followe you vp and downe the streeties.'

12–14. Another and similar turtle-dove charm is given in Letting of Honours Blood in the Head Vaine (1600), quoted by Hazlitt-Brand (vol. iii, p. 261):

take me a Turtle Doue,
And in an ouen let her lie and bake
So dry, that you may powder of her make:
Which being put into a cup of wine,
The Wenche that drinkes it will to loue incline.

8. East-Cheape. 'The streete of great Eastcheap is so called of the Market there kept in the East part of the City.' Stow's Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 216. It was celebrated for its meat and cooks.

36. checkquerd pavement, that made with inlaid tiles, as in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pictures of interiors.

42. siluer forke. The well-known passage in Coryats Crudities
(1611 edit., p. 90) seems to show that forks for individual use were not introduced into England till the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Here, of course, Mistress Farmer is merely using the silver fork for serving, and Tom Drum seems to regard that as a mark of great gentility.

Page 188. 5. Apostle spoons were made in sets of twelve, each spoon having a little head at the handle. They were a common christening present. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman* (quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 16):

I'll be a gossip, Bewford,
I have an odd Apostle Spoon.

10–11. *charing Crosse.* 'Which crosse, builded of stone, was of old time a fayre piece of worke there made by commandement of Edward the first.' Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. ii, p. 100. It was destroyed in the time of the Commonwealth.

Page 189. 19. I have been unable to find any references to an *Alderman Jarvice.* For *Doctor Burkel* see Note on Sources, p. 535.

Page 190. 7. *good honesty,* i.e. good honest man. Cf. Shakespeare's beautiful use of the same idiom of the abstract for the concrete in *Coriolanus*, ii. i. 194, 'My gracious silence, hail!'

11. The casting of water was a favourite operation of Elizabethan physic. In *Twelfth Night* (iii. iv. 116) Fabian suggests it for Malvolio's benefit, 'Carry his water to the wise-woman.' So in 2 *Henry IV*, i. ii. 1–5:

Falstaff. Sirrah, you giant, what says the doctor to my water?

Page. He said, sir, the water itself was a good healthy water; but, for the party that owed it, he might have more diseases than he knew for.

31. as glad... as one had given her a rush, i.e. pleased nothing at all. A rush was an emblem of worthlessness, and so a rush ring was the fitting symbol of a hedge-marriage. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well* (ii. ii. 23–5): 'As fit as ten groats is for the hand of an attorney, as your French crown for your taffeta punk, as Tib's rush for Tom's forefinger.'

42. *Tom Drums entertainment.* See Note on Sources, p. 535.


Page 191. 4–5. 'In the same chase were slaine to the number of ten thousand men, some saie about fourteene thousand... The prisoners reckoned in the marshal's booke were numbered to aboue fifteene hundred.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 988.

42. *Swinborne.* The Swinborne family occupied Little Horkesley Hall, five miles from Colchester, and very little removed from the Colchester high road (see Wright's *History of Essex*, vol. i, p. 444). Deloney had perhaps picked up the name on his journeying between Norwich and London. Cf. also his reference to Colchester Castle in *Gentle Craft*, Part I, p. 93, 1. 5.

Page 193. 5. *voyding beere,* i.e. the beere drunk at 'voiding' or departing. Cf. *voiding-cup*.


42. Closets were often built so as to give a view upon the kitchen and dining hall, and so enable masters and mistresses to keep a watchful eye upon the household, without themselves being seen. In *Henry VIII* the King and Butts enter, 'at a window above' (v. ii.),
and watch Cranmer holding 'his state at door, 'mongst pursuivants, Pages and footboys'. Drake quotes Parker's letter of 1573 from Reed's Shakespeare, vol. xvi, p. 184: 'If it please Her Majestie, she may come in through my gallerie, and see the disposition of the hall at dynner-time, at a window opening thereunto.'

PAGE 186. 43. Ware is about five miles from Hertford.

45. Black-wall. Now, of course, a part of London East.

PAGE 187. 3. it cost me three crownes, i.e. in christening presents. Cf. Howe's edition of Stowe's Chronicle (1631), p. 1039: 'At this time and for many years before, it was not the use and custome (as now it is) for godfathers and godmothers, generally to give plate at the Baptisme of children . . . but only to give little christening shirts.'

7. The velvet cap was the distinctive cap of the physician:

The physick-cap to dust may bring,
Without controull the greatest king.


44. white manchets, fine white bread. Cf. note on p. 56, l. 7.

46. Red wine usually accompanied oysters. 'In like manner we think it fit, that red wine should be drank with oysters.' Pennibales Parliament, 1608 (Percy Society, vol. vii, p. 39).

PAGE 188. 22. Bridewell was the house of correction for the apprentices of the city of London.

PAGE 200. 9. make sure. See note on p. 9, l. 41.

PAGE 202. 7. Master Baltazar was a Portuguese who came over in the retinue of Don Antonio in 1594 (Besant's Tudor London, p. 203). Dyson, in his History of Tottenham High Cross, describes the almshouses he founded there, and adds some interesting details. But cf. the following passage from The Beauties of England and Wales (1816): 'Balthaser Sanches, who was a Spaniard born, and who is supposed to have been the first person that exercised the trade of a confectioner, or Comfit Maker, in this country, founded, in his life time, eight almshouses, for four poor men and the same number of poor women. The buildings were completed in 1600.' Vol. x, part iv, p. 702.

30. a freeman, i.e. of the Worshipful Company of Cordwainers.

PAGE 204. 18. Martin. Cf. Dekker's Wonderful Year (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. i, p. 95): 'That same 88 that had more prophecies waiting at his heels, than ever Merlin the magitian had in his head.'

22. firkin barrel, i.e. a small barrel.

44. Billingsgate to take Barge. See note on p. 146, l. 41.

45. firkin, i.e. firking, meaning quick and 'fidgety'.

48. a crash was a piece of music or dance (Chappell).

PAGE 205. 10. Salutation.

There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,
Besides beere, and ale, and ipocras fine,
In every country, region, and nation
But chiefly in Billingsgate, at the Salutation.

West's Newes from Bartholomewe Fayre (1606).

PAGE 206. 35. Proffer him the wine, i.e. invite him to drink with them. Cf. p. 16, l. 14.

PAGE 207. 8-7. Saint Martins begger. Reference untraced.

33. a fat Pig. Roast pig was a common dainty at Elizabethan fairs, and hence in Jonson's Bartholomew Fair: 

917.6
Purecraft. A longing to eat pig?
Littlewit. Ay, sir, a Bartholomew pig; and in the fair.

42. The point of the Greene King’s joke lies in the fact that there were two St. James’s Fairs, one held at Bristol and the other at Westminster, and both on the same day, July 25th. (See Harrison’s England, in Holinshed, 1587, vol. i, p. 245.) Stow notes the Westminster fair (Survey, edit. Kingsford, vol. ii, p. 101): ‘King Edward the first . . . granted a Fayre to be kept on the Eve of Saint James, the day, the morrow, and four days following.’ In Tarlton’s Jests (p. 29, New Shakspere Society) we read that ‘when the queenes players were restrained in summer, they travelled down to S. James, his faire, at Bristowe.’ Of course the Greene King’s wife and the shoemakers take it for granted that he means the Westminster Fair, and only discover their mistake later on, when the one is called on to walk and the others to pay.

Page 208. 36. as passes. For this old use of as as a relative cf. Romeo and Juliet, ii. 1. 35–6:

that kind of fruit
As maids call medlars.

37–8. sort of Emits, i.e. a crowd of ants. See note on p. 88, l. 45.
Page 209. 12–13. treable viall. ‘The Viole: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, according to its magnitude: These have only Sixe stringes a peece, and are played uppon with a Bowe.’ Quoted from a commonplace book of Sir Philip Leycester’s in Furnivall’s edition of Laneham’s Letter.
13. hunts-up, i.e. music to wake the morning. See Chappell’s Popular Music of the Olden Time, p. 61.
13–14. good morrow master, &c., is of course the watchman’s cry.
35. Brainford, or Brentford, was a favourite pleasure resort of Elizabethan Londoners. See the Jests of George Peele.
41. Colebrook. Harrison (Holinshed, 1587, vol. i, p. 248) gives the road to Bristol through Colnbrooke, Maidenhead, Reading, &c.
Page 210. 1. Sir Michaell Musgrawe. ‘Now after the battell, among other questions, one was moued who killed the first man that daie in the field, the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would gladlie haue had, . . . how beit it was after well tried that Cuthbert Musgrae, a gentleman of the earle of Warwiks, deserued the praise of killing the first enimie that died that daie.’ Holinshed’s Chronicle (1587), vol. ii, p. 989.
13. Tom Trotter. ‘Thornton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who vpon summons given him to render the house, lockt up a sixeene poore souls like the soldiars of Dunglas fast within the house, tooke the keies with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which should be on the morrow with munition and releefe: and this doone, he and his prickers prickt (as saith Maister Patten) quite their waies.’ Ibid., p. 981.
16. Parson Ribble is really Parson Keble. ‘At the time of the onset, which the English horsemen gaue, there came eastward five hundred of the Scottish horsemen . . . straight vpon the English ordinance and cariage. The lord protector . . . caused a peece or two to be turned toward them, with a few shots whereof they were soone turned also and fled to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpose, they were provided for accordinglie. For one parson Keble a chapleine of his graces, and two or three other, by and by discharged
The Gentle Craft, Part II. 547

foure or fiue of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrows, to as manie as came; so that of carters and other, there were soone weaponed about a thousand, whome parson Keble and the other did verie handsomlie dispose in arraie, and made a pretie muster.' Ibid., p. 988. Perhaps Deloney confused Keble with John de Ribaud, who occurs on p. 982, and so obtained the hybrid 'Ribble'.

THOMAS OF READING.

Date. Thomas of Reading is not entered in the Stationers' Registers, neither is the date of the first edition known. It was certainly written after Iacke of Newberie, which was entered on March 7, 1596-7, for in the dedication of that novel Deloney promises to 'set to sight the long hidden History of Thomas of Redding' (p. 2, ll. 24, 25, and note). But The Gentle Craft was entered on October 19, 1597. Hence if Thomas of Reading was written immediately after Iacke of Newberie and before The Gentle Craft, Part I, we must ascribe three of Deloney's novels to the same year, i.e. 1597, and all three must have been written between March 7 and Oct. 19. If this was so, Deloney must have had an unusually busy year, but it seems more probable that after writing Iacke of Newberie he left the weavers for a while to deal with the shoemakers, and only returned to them again in Thomas of Reading, written in 1598 or 1599. Kempe mentions the novel early in 1600 (see p. xiii), and on April 19, 1602, A booke called THOMAS of Reading was assigned to Thomas Pavier from Thomas Millington. (Stationers' Registers.)

The matter of the novel soon attracted the attention of the dramatists, for entries in Henslowe's Diary for Oct. 12, June 8, &c., 1601, show that Haughton, Hathaway, and Smith were engaged together upon a play called the 'six clothiers', or the 'vij yeomen', which was extended in the same year to a second part. Neither part of this play is now extant.

Extant Editions.

[A] 1623. THOMAS of READING. Or, The sixe worthie Yeomen of the West ... LONDON, Printed by W. I. for T. P. (Bridgewater House.)

[B] 1632. Printed by Eliz. Alde for Robert Bird. (British Museum and Bodleian.)

[C] 1672. LONDON, Printed for William Thackeray and are to be sold at his shop in Duck-lane. (Bodleian.)

[D] No date. Printed for B. Deacon, at The Angel in Gilt Spur Street. (A worthless edition, much cut down.) (Bodleian.)

Hazlitt, apparently after Ritson, mentions an edition of 1612, 'printed at London for T. P.' (i.e. Thomas Pavier). This I have been unable to trace. The present text is from the edition of 1623.

Note on Sources. The Six Yeomen of the West are probably fictitious characters. In the address to the 'famous Cloth Workers in England' prefixed to Iacke of Newberie, Deloney promises 'to set to their sight the long hidden Historie of Thomas of Redding, George of Glocester, Richard of Worcester and William of Salisbury with divers others' (p. 2, ll. 24-5). In the present novel, which fulfils that promise, these names are changed, with the single exception of that of Thomas of Reading; George of Glocester appears as Gray, Richard of Worcester

N n 2
as William, and William of Salisbury as Sutton. The alliteration of these and the names newly introduced, such as Cuthbert of Kendall, Hodgekens of Halifax, and Martin of Manchester, confirms the suspicion that in the Six Yeomen Deloney freely invented characters of his own, around which he arranged a history of the clothing trade, drawn chiefly from tradition and Holinshed, but illustrated by stories of his own invention or selection. Thomas Cole of Reading has been taken quite seriously by some writers, but even of him the wise Fuller has probably said the last word:

‘Thomas Cole, commonly called the rich clothier of Reading. Tradition and an authorless pamphlet make him a man of vast wealth, maintaining an hundred & forty menial servants in his house besides three hundred poor people whom he set on work: insomuch that his wains with cloth filled the highway betwixt Reading & London, to the stopping of King Henry the First in his progress; who notwithstanding (for the encouraging of his subjects’ industry) gratified the said Cole, & all of his profession, with the set measure of a yard, the said king making his own arm the standard thereof, whereby drapery was reduced in the meeting thereof to a greater certainty.

‘The truth is this; monks began to lard the lives of their saints with lies, whence they proceeded in like manner to flourish out the facts of famous knights (King Arthur, Guy of Warwick, &c.); in imitation whereof some meaner wits in the same sort made descriptions of mechanics, powdering their lives with improbable passages, to the great prejudice of truth; seeing the making of broad cloth in England could not be so ancient, and it was the arm (not of King Henry) but King Edward the First, which is notoriously known to have been the adequation of a yard.

‘However, because omnis fabula fundatur in Historia, let this Cole be accounted eminent in this kind; though I vehemently suspect very little of truth would remain in the midst of this story, if the gross falsehoods were pared from both sides thereof.’ Worthies (Works, 1840, vol. i, p. 137).

Fuller, while obviously referring to Deloney’s novel, has probably not inaccurately suggested the manner of its genesis. But while the Six Yeomen cannot be regarded as strictly historical personalities Deloney has assigned them to such counties as were the real centres of the clothing trade in Tudor times. Fuller, in his Church History of Britain, gives these as Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Westmoreland (Kendal), Lancashire (Manchester), Yorkshire (Halifax), Berkshire, Hampshire, and Somersetshire.

Furthermore, the Fitzallens were actually settled at Oswestry and concerned with the weaving industry from the earliest times, and the activity of the Byrom family in the woollen trade of the sixteenth century is sufficiently attested by documentary evidence (see notes on p. 213, ll. 26–32).

The historical setting of the novel is drawn from Holinshed’s account of Henry I’s reign, and by connecting Duke Robert with a fabulous daughter of the Earl of Salisbury Deloney has constructed a romance of the conventional Elizabethan kind. Into this he has worked other stories: (1) Hodgkins and Halifax Law, (2) Sir William Ferrers, (3) The Murder of Old Cole.

(1) The Halifax Gibbet is described in Harrison’s England (see note on p. 246, l. 32), and the ‘notable Theefe named Wallis’ appears to be none other than the Scots champion, to whom an adventure of Robert Bruce, as given in Holinshed, has been transferred (see notes
Thomas of Reading.

549

on pp. 243–4). But Deloney might have obtained the story of the friar’s ‘gin’ from any comrade of the Elizabethan travelling fraternities, who regarded ‘Hell, Hull, and Halifax’ as synonymous terms.

(2) The trick played upon Sir William Ferrers resembles that played upon the unfortunate Calandrino in the Decameron (Giornata IX, Novella 3): ‘Maestro Simone... fa credere a Calandrino che egli è pregno: il quale per medicine dà al predetto capponi e denari, e guarisce senza partorire.’ The device of the bladder of blood is common enough, e.g. in Bandello (Parte I, Novella 17).

(3) The story of the murder of old Cole is a curious example of the wide diffusion of popular stories. It bears a very close resemblance to the story of Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, which is usually traced back to an early nineteenth-century French source, and it is probably nothing more than the artistic making up of the details of a contemporary or traditional crime. The circumstantiality of Deloney’s account, besides his own habits of composition, are altogether against the supposition that he invented the story himself. The Crane Inn, where old Cole is made to meet his death, is without doubt that now known in Colnbrook as the Ostrich, and local tradition, from the mouths of old women and school children, still retells the story of the crime with almost the exact detail of Deloney’s narrative. The present landlord is very ready to give every particular of the murders (she asserts the exact number to be sixty-one) and to exhibit the fatal bedroom to the courteous visitor. The falling floor no longer exists, but, in compensation, the good lady shows a beam in the back of the house, where she asserts a vain attempt was made to burn it down.

The Idler of April, 1899, contains a short article by R. Waybrook upon the Ostrich Inn, which gives the whole story almost verbatim from Thomas of Reading, although the writer quotes no authority. It seems most likely that Deloney himself picked the story up at Colnbrook, and the Colnbrook traditions have either changed very little, or Deloney has influenced and fixed them, although on this latter point there appears to be no obtainable evidence.

The story of Cutbert and old Blossom’s wife is evidently Deloney’s attempt to explain a custom at Blossom’s Inn ‘that... evry yeere once all such as came thither to ask for cheeses should be so serued: which thing is to this day kept.’ The story of Tom Drum in The Gentle Craft (II) originates in a similar attempt (see Note on Sources, p. 535).

PAGE 213. 4. Court of Parliament. ‘From this Henrie (the first) it may be thought the first use of the parlement to haue proceeded.’ Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 38.

26–32. See Note on Sources, pp. 547–8.


Fitzallen. The Fitzallens were connected with Oswestry from the earliest times. The Fraternity of Weavers in Oswestry was incorporated in 1262 by grant from John FitzAlan, lord of Arundel (Victoria History of Shropshire, p. 430). See also p. 243, l. 4, and note thereon.

31. Martin Byram is at any rate a veracious traditional figure. The Byrums, or Briams, were a well-known family in Lancashire from 1300 onwards, and a younger branch of the family settled at Salford as merchants in the latter years of Henry VII’s reign. Adam Byrom ‘of Salforde’ is designated ‘merchant’ in a legal document of Nov. 24, 1557, and from the fact that Raufe Byrom in 1598 is found in

1 Deloney says sixty (p. 260, l. 8).
Notes.

possession of 'a moiety of a water mill and fulling mill' it may be concluded that the Salford branch of the family were concerned in the Manchester clothing trade. (See Cheetham Society's Publications, vol. ii, part ii.) R. Hollingworth, the seventeenth-century antiquary, is evidently merely following Deloney in his Mancunianiis, as the Victoria County History merely follows Hollingworth.

Page 214. 2. Bosome Inne was in St. Laurence's Lane, near Cheapside. 'Antiquities in this Lane', says Stow, 'I find none other, then that among many faire houses, there is one large Inne for receipt of travellers, called Blossoms Inne, but corruptly Bosoms Inne, & hath to signe S. Laurence the Deacon, in a Border of blossomes or flowers.' Survey, edit. Kingsford, vol. i, p. 271.

6. larrats Hall was at the end of Basing Lane, near Bread Street. The crypt remained, according to Kingsford, till 1852, when it was built into the Crystal Palace. Stow gives the following account of it in the Survey (Kingsford, vol. i, p. 348): 'The same is now a common Ostrey for receipt of travellers, commonly and corruptly called Gerrardes hall, of a Gyant sayd to haue dwelled there. In the high roofed Hall of this House, sometime stood a large Firre Pole, which reached to the roofoe thereof, and was sedy to bee one of the staues that Gerrarde the Gyant vsed in the warres to runne withall. There stooed also a ladder of the same length which (as they say) serued to ascend to the toppe of the Staffe... The Hostelar of the house sayde to me, the Pole lacked half a foote of fortie in length : I measured the compasse thereof and found it fifeteene inches. Reason of the Pole, could the master of the Hostrey give me none, but bade me reade the great Chronicles, for there he heard of it.'

12-24. 'Henrie the youngest sonne of William the first, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the first of that named that ruled heere in England, & for his knowledge in good literature surnamed Beaucrke... This prince had aforehand trained the people to his humor and veine, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceive a maruellous eul opinion of his brother duke Robert... Moreover, he caused to be reported for a certeine truth, that the same Robert was alreadie created king of Ierusalem.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 28. 'When christian princes had woone Hierusalem, they met together... to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie,... in which conuent duke Robert was chosen... But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him.' Ibid., p. 29. 'The king studied by all possible meanes how to gratifie all the states of his realme.' Ibid., p. 28.


Page 216. 12. Moraigne seems to be a slip for Montaigne, probably a printer's error.

17-24. 'Diuerse in Normandie desired nothing more than to set the two brethren at square, & namely Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewesbure, with William earle of Montaigne: these two were banished the realme of England. The earle of Shrewesbure for his rebellious attempts... and the earle of Montaigne left the lande of his owne willful and stubborn mind, exiling himselfe onelie vpon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earldome of Montaigne in Normandie, and the earldome of Cornewall in England, he made sute also for the earldome of Kent.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 32.

34. Colebrook, i.e. Colnbrook. See note on p. 209, l. 41.
38. **Tom Doue.** Perhaps Tom Dove or Jack Dove was a proverbial name for a light-hearted fellow. A Roxburghe Ballad (vol. i, p. 475) is entitled:

'A new Song, called Jack Doue's Resolution, by which he doth show
That he cares not a rush how ere the world goe.'

'It he laugh and be fatte for Care kils a Catte,
And I care not how ere the world goe.'

But Chappell thinks this song belongs to the time of James I, and the ballad-writer may have taken the name from Deloney's popular novel. Curiously enough, Thomas Dove occurs as the name of a tenant of Bartholomew Street (West Part) in the Survey of the Manor of Newbury, Oct. 10, 1608. (See Money's *History of Newbury*, p. 233.) Perhaps Deloney took the name and character from a local celebrity of his own acquaintance.

**PAGE 217.** 7. **yellowe hose,** the emblem of jealousy. Cf. Ritson's *Old Ballads* (1829), vol. ii, p. 20:

If he be merie and toy with any,
His wife will frowne, and words geve many:
Her yellow hose she strait will put on.

So also, in Evan's *Old Ballads* (1810), vol. i, p. 187:

A merry jest of John Tomson, and Jackaman his wife,
Whose jealousy was justly the cause of all their strife,
the burden of which is,—

| Give me my yellow again, |
| Give me my yellow hose, |
| For now my wife she watcheth me, |
| See yonder where she goes. |

34−5. A common Elizabethan reflection. Cf. Greene's *Philomela* (*Works*, edit. Grosart, p. 150) : 'Women that are chast while they are trusted, proue wantons being suspected causeless.'

**PAGE 218.** 19. **the hall,** i.e. Blackwell Hall. See note on p. 234, l. 38.

| shrinks as bad as Northern cloth. Cf. Roxburghe Ballads, vi. 486: |
| Before we can drink |
| be sure it will shrink |
| far worser than North-country cloth. |

44. **mutton,** such as was laced in a red petticoate. See note on P. 53, l. 21.

46. **Bosomes Inne.** Stow explains *Bosomes* as a corruption of *Blossoms.* (See note on p. 214, l. 2.) Deloney invents a character to explain the name.

**PAGE 219.** 1. **figuring forth a description of cold winter.** Elaborate descriptions of personified winter, summer, &c., are common in Elizabethan prose. See, for example, Dekker's *Workes for the Armourers.* Lodge's *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madness* (1596) is an allegorical portrait-gallery of 'Leviathan's brood of incarnate devils', such as 'Boasting', 'Avarice', 'Usury', &c. But very probably Deloney had in his mind a picture such as Shakespeare refers to in *Cymbeline,* v. iv. 183−4: ‘Your death has eyes in's head then; I have
not seen him so pictured.' Books of emblems illustrated by engravings were quite common; see, for instance, Nicolai Revisneri Leorini Aureolorum Emblematum Liber Singularis, in the Bodleian, with its symbolic pictures of Aurea Libertas, Amor Coniugalis, Lex Mundi, Justitia, &c.


35. byas. A metaphor from the game of bowls. So in Richard II, III. iv. 4-5: 'Twill make me think the world is full of rubs, And that my fortune runs against the bias.

PAGE 220. 13. The Chamberlaine is merely the inn attendant, as in Milton's epitaph On the University Carrier:

In the kind office of a chamberlain
Showed him his room where he must lodge that night.

28. Reior. 'About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of saint Bartholomewes by Smithfield was begun by Raier one of the kings musicians (as some write) who also became the first prior thereof.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 31. Stow also mentions the 'priere of S. Bartilmenew founded also by Rahere, a pleasant witted Gentleman, and therefore in his time called the kinge's Minstrell. About the yeare of Christ, 1102. he founded it, . . . himself became their first Prior, and so continued till his dying day.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. ii, p. 25.

PAGE 221. 17. The foule evill was a disease of the same character as the good years in King Lear. Cf. Dekker's Worke for the Armourers (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. iv, p. 97): 'Diseases now as common and as hurtful to them as the Foul Euil to a Northern Man, or the Fox to a French man.'

PAGE 222. 5-10. The old hiring fair of this sort has not yet entirely disappeared. It is still held at Derby, among other places, where 'the Statute' (cf. p. 223, l. 4) is the ordinary name for it. See also Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 316.

PAGE 225. 23. harbour, i.e. harbour her emotion.

PAGE 226. 5-6. 'He (Henry I) had in singular favor above all other of his Councill, Roger the bishop of Salisbury, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whom he committed the gouernement of the realme most commonlie whilst he remained in Normandie.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 45.

13. feare. First used transitively, = to make afraid, and then with its modern meaning.

PAGE 227. 3. borderers, i.e. those living on the borders of England and Scotland. Cf. the entry in the Stationers' Registers (May 15, 1612): 'A true report of the most lamentable and bloody murther committed . . . by Robert Carlisle a Scotish borderer and one James Irwenge an English borderer.'

15. 'He (Henry I) ordeined also that one length of measuring should be used through this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 28.

24-5. 'When he (Henry I) heard that such pieces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongst the people, although the same were good and fine siluer, he caused all the coine in the realme to be either broken or slit.' Ibid., p. 45.
34-5. *faule eule.* See note on p. 221, l. 17.
36. *cragge,* i.e. neck, as still in dialect.
38. *lizar,* i.e. lazar.

craking, a variety of croaking; perhaps it means bullying or threatening. See the *Oxford English Dictionary.*

41. "And (as one author hath written) he (Henry I) ordained that thees should suffer death by hanging." Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 45.

Page 228. 17-18. *Justices of peace.* The humour of Hodgekins's remark lies in the fact that Elizabethan Justices of the Peace were the subject of universal opprobrium. Cf. Shakespeare's attitude to them in *Henry IV, Part II,* and The Merry Wives.

Page 229. 34. A figge, according to Chappell, is a 'song written to a tune of strongly marked metre', 'jig' originally being the name for a dance. *Popular Music of the Olden Time.*

48. bully was an Elizabethan term of endearment or comradeship. Cf. *Henry V,* iv. i. 47-8:

> From heartstrings
>
> I love the lovely bully.

Page 231. 21. *gag-tooth,* i.e. with projecting teeth. The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes from Higins' translation of Junius' Nomenclator: 'Dentes exerciti, gag teeth or teeth standing out.'

39. A *capcase* was a kind of travelling bag. Cf. Greene's *Ned Browne* (Works, edit. Grosart, vol. xi, p. 18): 'At his saddle bow a capcase well stuff with crowns.' Cf. p. 255, l. 24, 'his male or capcase.'

Page 232. 13. *louer.* From the French *l'ouvert,* the opening in a building to let out the smoke, hence the chimney. Nares quotes from *Withal's Dictionarie* (1638), 'A louer where the smoke passeth out, fumarium.'

Page 233. 18-21. See Note on Sources, p. 549.

Page 234. 30-3. *Goldsmithes Rowe* in Chepe . . . to be noted, the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes that bee within the Walles of London.' Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 345. The mercers were already beginning to migrate to London Bridge. 'For where as Mercers, and Haberdashers used to keepe their shoppes in West Cheape, of later time they helde them on London Bridge.' Ibid., p. 81.

33. Of *Watlingsstreet* Stow says: 'True it is, that at this present, the inhabittants thereof are wealthy Drapers, retailers of woollen cloathes both broad and narrow, of all sorts more then in any one streete of this citie.' Ibid., p. 346.


34-5. *Saint Nicholas* shambles were near St. Nicholas Church in Farringdon Ward Within. Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 317.

35. *Old Change.* 'The kinges Exchaunge at London, was neare vnvo the Cathedrall church of Sainte Paule, as is to this daye commonlie called the olde Chaunce.' Ibid., p. 81.

These weavers of Candlewright street being in short time worn out, their place is now possessed by rich Drapers, sellers of woollen cloth, &c.'

37. Iewes street. Apparently Old Jewry, in the Coleman Street Ward.

38. Blackwell hall. In Basinghall Street. 'Bakewell Hall corruptly called Blackwell Hall.' Stow's Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 516. Stow says (ibid., p. 288) : 'It hath beene long since employed as a weekly Market place for all sorts of Woollen clothes, broade and narrow, brought from all parts of this Realme, there to be solde.'

Page 235. 2. Cripble-gate. 'So called of the Cripples begging there.' Survey, vol. i, p. 33. Deloney, as usual, has hitched a story on to the local name.

3-10. the Tower of London. 'It hath beene the common opinion: and some have written (but of none assured ground) that Julius Caesar, the first conquerour of the Brytains, was the originall Author and founder ... thereof'. Ibid., vol. i, p. 44. I have met no other references to the solidified wine and the leather money kept in the Tower.

31. the fault was in their legges. Because, of course, the treadles were used in weaving. Cf. p. 3, l. 35.

Page 236. 20. Cf. the note from Stow on p. 234, l. 36.

28. Bishops downe. Almost certainly Bishopstone, 'a small village about four miles to the north-west of Salisbury ... remarkable for two stone coffins in its church, which are generally supposed to have contained the relics of two ancient bishops, and to have given name to the place.' Beauties of England and Wales, vol. xv, part ii.

31. woad, that makes all colours sound. Todd's edition of Johnson's Dictionary gives 'Woad. A plant cultivated for the dyers, who use it for the foundation of many colours.'

Page 237. 9. Eagle's nest. The Eagle's nest was Shaftesbury. Cf. Drayton's Polyolbion:

Now tow'rd's the Solent sea as Stour her way doth ply,  
On Shaftesbury (by chance) she cast her crystal eye,  
From whose foundation first, such strange reports arise  
As brought into her mind the Eagle's prophecies.

Second Song, ll. 149-152.

Selden adds the following learned note: 'Concerning Shaftesbury ... you shall heare a piece out of Harding:

CAIRE PALADOURE THAT NOW IS SHAFTESBURY  
WHERE AN ANGELL SPAKE SITTING ON THE WALL  
WHILE IT WAS IN WORKING OVER ALL.

I recite it, both to mend it, reading AIGLE for ANGELL, and also that it might then, according to the British story, help me to explain the Author.'

25. cannas Prophet, i.e. the prophet in coarse working clothes, as we might use 'corduroy' nowadays.


Page 240. 42. 'Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortlie committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 33.

43. 'Duke Robert ... found no ... fauour; saue onlie libertie to
walke abroad in the king's forests, parks and chases neere the place where he was appointed to remaine.' Ibid.

Page 241. 20-1. His (Henry I's) bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowed in his lifetime.' Ibid., p. 45.

35-7. the Bishop . . . attended on his Grace to his palace. So when Elizabeth visited Norwich in 1579 she was met by a pageant and lodged at the Bishop's palace. Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 1289. Cf. also note on 'Jacke of Newberie, p. 43, l. 42.

Page 242. 20-1. Augustus. Cf. H. Lhuyd's Breviarie (1573), p. 18: 'Their principall Citie is Isca, called also Augusta, . . . but now of the Englishmen, Excestre.'

28-9. Gloucester. 'Claudia, commonly called Glocester, . . . builded by Glovy a Britayne, who, after that the Romanes were druen thence: reynged there.' Lhuyd's Breviarie of Britayne (1573), p. 19.

31-3. Rithin. Lhuyd thus describes the valley of Clwyd in Denbigh: 'In the entrance of whiche Valley: Ruthyn an aucnient towne, and Castle of the Grayes, from whence the moste noble famely amongst the Englishmen tooke begininge: is to be seen.' Breviarie, p. 67.

44-6. 'About this season (i.e. 11th year of the reigne) the king . . . made his said sonne earle of Glocester.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 37.

Page 243. 4. Oswestrie. 'Oswestry, a noble Market, and enwalled rounde, at the charges of the Fitzalanes, a moste aucnient famely of Englande, whose inheritaunce it is.' Lhuyd's Breviarie (1573), p. 72.

10-13. Deloney connects the two FitzAlwins of London (successively first and second Mayors of the city) with the Fitzalan family of Oswestry. Stow writes: '1189 Their I. Maior was H. Fitz Alwin Fitz Liefstane, Goldsmith, pointed by the said king (i.e. Richard I) and continued maior from the first of Richard the first, vntill thefifteenth of King John, which was 24 yeares and more.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. ii, p.149. From 1190 to 1211 Stow gives 'Maior Henry Henry Fitz Alwin.' Ibid., p. 150.

42. Deloney's Wallis appears to be none other than the hero of Scottish history. Cf. Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 209: 'William Wallase—a yoong gentleman of so huge stature and notable strenght of bodie, with such skill and knowledge in warlike enterpris, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found.'

Page 244. 31-40. The story of this ingenious ruse really belongs to the life of Robert Bruce. It is given in Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 213: 'Whereupon he causing a smith to shoo three horsses for him, contrarilie with the Calkins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horses . . . departed out of London about midnight.' The calkin, or cakin, is the turned-up rim of the shoe.

Page 246. 32. gin, i.e. ingenium, or device. Harrison, in his Description of England, gives a full account of it. 'There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that whosoever dooth commit anie fellionie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirteene pence halfe penie, he is foorth with beheaded vpon one of the next market daies . . . The
engine wherewith the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and doone in a slot, rabet or reigall betweene two pieces of timber, that are framed and set vp right of five yarde in height. In the neathermost of the sliding block is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne up to the top of the frame is there fastned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samson’s Post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth doone among the people, so that when the offender hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke over the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present dooth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true justice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened dooth fall down with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sundre at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance.’ Holinshed (1587), vol. i, p. 185. Hence the beggar’s litany; ‘From Hell, Hull, and Halifax, Good Lord deliver us.’ For further information and an engraving of the ‘gin’, see Fletcher’s History of Yorkshire, vol. iii, pp. 53-6.

Page 247. 30-1. ‘About this season (i.e. 1107) a great part of Flanders being drowned by an erudation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England.’ Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 34.

40. danger. To be in danger is to stand within some one’s power, and hence to be liable to action at law. Cf. Merchant of Venice, iv. i. 180:

You stand within his danger, do you not?

Cf. also p. 390, l. 20.

Page 248. 13. Sanctuary. At the Abbey Church, Westminster. Cf. Stow-Strype (1720), Book VII, p. 38: ‘This Church hath had great Privilege of Sanctuary within the Precinct thereof... From whence it hath not been lawful for any Prince, or other, to take any Person that fled thither for any Cause.’

37. maggat-a-pie, i.e. magpie. This form of the word occurs in Cotgrave and Shakespeare (Nares).

38. spinner, spider.

Page 249. 4. Charlemaine in mount Albon. See Caxton’s translation of the Four Sons of Aymon (about 1489). Charlemagne foolishly lets Reynawde build a strong castle on Mont Alban. ‘The King behelde well the fayr worke, that was so playsaunt and so strong wythall... And thenne he called reynawde, & sayd to hym, good frende reynawde, how shall this castell be called?... Certes sayd the kynge, the place is praty and fayre and I wyll that it be called Mont alban.’ Four Sons of Aymon (E.E.T.S.), pp. 149-50.


33-4. The story of Thales is related in Witty Questions and Quicke Answers (1567), Tale 25: ‘Laertius writeth, that Thales Milesius went out of his house vpon a time to beholde the starres for a certayn cause: and so longe he went backewarde that he fell plump into a ditch ouer the eares; wherefore an olde woman, that he kepte in his house laughed and sayde to him in derision: O Thales, how
shuldest thou have knowledge in heauenly thinges aboue and knowest not what is here benethe vnder thy feete.'

Page 251. 3.  *A bird was never seen in Pontus. ' Perdices non transvlorel Boetiae fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponto insula qua sepultus est Achilles sacratam ei aedem.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* Lib. X, c. 41.

5.  *Abiston. ' Neither is the stone to be despised which Arcady sendeth. The name thereof is Abest. It is the colour of yron: and beeing sette on fire it cannot be quenched.'* Golding's *Solinus* (1587), p. 53. So in *Barthol. Anglicus,* xvi. 12.

14-15. *thunder ... is driven away by ringing of belles.*

If that the thunder chaunce to rove, and stormie tempest shake,
A wonder is it for to see the wretches how they quake,
Howe that no fayth at all they have, nor trust in any thing,
The clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring:
With wondrous sound and deeper farre, than he was wont before,
Till in the loftie heavens darke, the thunder bray no more.'

*Googe's Popish Kingdom,* fol. 41 b (quoted by Brand, *Pop. Antiquities*).


22. *Lutes,* i.e. Lotos, ' the meat thereof is so sweet and pleasant 
... that they forget their own native soile, for the love they have to this fruit.' Holland's *Pliny,* Book XIII, c. 17.

Page 252. 18. *stub-footed. 'Stub is a form of 'stump', hence 'stub-footed' is 'club-footed'.*


Page 255. 30. *ore eue,* over-night.

40. *curtall,* a docked horse.


30. *Bleeding at the nose was always taken as a sign of impending ill-luck. Cf. Tarlton's News out of Purgatory (New Shakspere Society),* p. 101: ' Methought there was a villain that came secretly into my house, with a naked poniard in his hand, and hid himselfe, but I could not finde the place; with that mine nose bled, and I came back.' The Roxburgh ballad, *A Warning to all Murderers,* is almost certainly derived from Deloney's account of Old Cole's murder:

His heart was heauie in the day,
Yet knew no reason why;
And oft as he did sit at meate
His nose, most suddenly,
Would spring and gush out crimson blood,
And straight it would be dry.

*Roxburghe Ballads,* vol. iii, p. 139.
Notes.


33-4. Screech-owls and ravens were the regular attendants at tragic death-beds.

Now owles and night ravens are

11l fortune's prophecies;

When faithlesse spirits stare

If any storm arise.

Friar Bakon's Prophesie (Percy Society, vol. xv, p. 20.)

Cf. also the epigram on Deloney in Skialethia (quoted in Introduction, p. xiii).

Like to the fatal ominous Rauen which tolls
The sicke mans dirge within his hollow beake.

Page 260. 31. Churchings were usually celebrated with some festivity. Cf. Berners, Translation of Froissart (quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary): 'His wife ... was as than newly churched of a fayre sonne. And he thought at her Churchyng to kepe a great feest at Thoulouse.' Cf. also note on p. 377, ll. 63-4.

Page 262. 45. Camels of Bactria. 'Out of Bactria come strongest Cammels.' Golding's Solinus (1587), p. 188. But cf. also Batman, Book XVIII, c. 36: 'Dromedes goeth an hundred miles and twentie and more in one daie.'

Page 263. 2. Austria for ambling horses. Gervase Markham says of the Hungarian horse, 'hee is of temperate courage, & will abide much hardnesse.' Cauelrice (1607), pp. 15-16.

6. ambling gennet of Spaine. 'I have seene many ambling horses bredde from lenets of Spaine.' G. Markham's Cauelrice (1607), p. 19.

20. Galino breeds no Serpents. Batman (1582) gives this advantage to 'Creta'. 'There are no Serpents nor noyfull Worms.' Book XV, c. 42.

24.—Page 264. 10. 'But duke Robert ... found no such fauour, saue only libertie to walke abroad in the kings forests, parks, & chases neere the place where he was appointed to remaine; so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horsse & with all post hast rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped; howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue & crie, & at length ouertooke him in a medow, where he had laide his horsse vp to the bellie in a quae mire.' Holinshed (1587), vol. ii, p. 33.

Page 265. 1-4. 'Then being brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison,advertising the king of his demeanour; whereupon he commanded that the sight of his eies should be put out, but so, as the balles of them should remaine vnbroken, for the avoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glasse tunicles should take hurt.' Ibid., pp. 33-4.

36-7. Apium Risus. According to Gerarde's Herbal (1636), 'the Passe Flower or anemone'. Batman, de Api, says, 'if it be eaten or dronke in great quantitie it slayeth a man with laughing.' Book XVII, c. 13.

45. the eie continue faire. Cf. note on ll. 1-4.

Page 266. 10-11. the Hart reneweth his age by eating the serpent. This sagacious habit of the hart was well known to medievalism. Cf. Richard the Redeless:
And whanne it happeth to the herte to hente the edder,
He putyth him to peyne as his pray asketh,
And fledith him on the venym his stille to anewe,
To leve at more lykynge a longe tyme after.
Passus III, ll. 22–5.

But Batman is a nearer authority: Gesner writeth, when the Hart is sicke, and hath eaten manye Serpents for his recouerie . . . he hasteth to the water, and there couereth his body to the very eares & eyes.' Book XVIII, c. 30.

45–6. For the goat's natural hatred of Basill, see Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. XX, c. 48: 'Ocimum quoque Chrysippus graviter increpuit inutile stomacho ideology capras id asperrarn.'

Page 267. 31. Batman, de Aspide (1582), gives many diverse effects and dooings, to noy and to grieue, which this creature employs, but does not mention tickling. Book XVIII, c. 10.

Page 268. 26–8. This story is in Elyot's Governour, which Deloney had read (see note on p. 338). 'As Gellius remembreth out of the historie of Appion howe a lyon, oute of whose fote a yonge man had ones taken a stubbe and clensed the wounde, wherby he waxed hole, after knewe the same man beinge caste to him to be deouerued, and wolde not hurte him.' Book II, c. 13.

Page 269. 22–3. God Almighty's ideots. The fool was always recognized as being under the more especial protection of Providence, hence the proverbial saying.

25. shales, i.e. husks. Cf. Henry V, iv. ii. 17–18:
And your fair show shall suck away their souls,
Leaving them but the shales and husks of men.

Page 271. 37. handwreasts, i.e. simply 'wrists'. See the Oxford English Dictionary.

39–40. For the pleasant custom of ornamenting the outside of houses with green boughs, see Stow's description of London festivals: 'On the Vigil of Saint John Baptist, & on Saint Peter and Paul the Apostles, euery man's doore being shadowed with greene Birch, long Fennel, saint John's Wort, Orpin, white Lillies, & such like, garnished vpon with Garlands of beautifull flowers, had also Lampes of glasse with oyle burning in them all the night.' Survey (edit. Kingsford), vol. i, p. 101.

Page 272. 23–7. Holinshed gives a more matter-of-fact account of Duke Robert's death: 'He refused . . . to eat or drinke, and so pined awaie, and was buried at Glocester.' (1587, vol. ii, p. 44.)


35–6. In the same way, Sir Thomas White, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, left money to be lent out to poor clothiers in twenty-one towns. See Kingsford's Stow, vol. i, p. 113.

40–2. Elizabethan charity often took the form of presenting poor couples with a sum of money upon which to start their married life. Stow says of Sir Hugh Witch (Survey, edit. Kingsford, vol. i, p. 283), 'He gaue to his third wife three thousand pound, and to maides marriages five hundred marks.'

42–3. 'It is said that Martin Beron, a Clothier, who realised a large property in Manchester, left a considerable sum towards the erection of The Free School.' Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools, vol. i, p. 684. Deloney's novel seems to have created a kind of tradition (see note on p. 213, l. 31). The High-Master informs me that no such benefaction is on record.
A DECLARATION MADE BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF COLLEN, &c.

THIS and the following tract are interesting as indicating the keen interest taken by the English people in the Cologne War of 1582-3. Gebhard's attempt to throw off papal influence created an enormous sensation, and indeed had it been successful would have widely extended the influence of Dutch Protestantism and severely shaken the power of Roman Catholicism in Germany. Henry of Navarre and Queen Elizabeth, both anxious for the unity of the Reformed Churches, supported Gebhard, but he was excommunicated by the Pope, and swept out of his duchy by Duke Ernest of Bavaria. Gebhard's reasons for resistance were strictly non-moral and irreligious. The wife whom he purposed to join to himself 'for the better observing & accomplishing the vowe of chastitie, which I made vnto Jesus Christ', was his former mistress, Countess Agnes of Mansfield, whom he wished to legitimate while retaining his Archbishopric. His character is perhaps not unfairly summed up by Moser (quoted by Janssen, vol. ix): 'This luxurious hypocrite did his utmost to cheat God, the Pope, the Emperor, the Empire, his friends, and his kinsfolk—but most of all himself.' But to earnest and sincere Protestantism at large, and to Deloney in particular, he appeared a 'worthy Prince' whose heart had been 'opened, and his eyes cleared', the type of truth militant against the Antichrist at Rome.

Date. The tract is not entered in the Stationers' Registers, but from the date on the title page the translation must have been made in 1583.

Extant Editions. Only one edition exists, and that without doubt the first. The copy in the British Museum from which the present reprint is made is apparently unique.


The declaration of Jan. 16, 1583, is described by Lossen (Deutsche allgemeine Biographie) as a repetition and enlargement of the proclamation of the previous December. The Letter of Gregory XIII to Gebhard, together with Gebhard's reply, (both in Latin) may be found in Ausschreiben und Gründlicher ... Bericht unser Gebhards ... Erzbischöffs zu Cöln, &c. (Strasburg? 1583, pp. 56-63), a copy of which is in the British Museum.

PAGE 282. 36. 83. distinction, the second cannon, 'nemo quippe in Ecclesia nocet amplius, quam qui perverse agens nomen vel ordinem sanctitatis et sacerdotis habet.'


27. Bernard exposed the Ecclesiastical Courts and other abuses of the Church in the Libri de Consideratione.

Nicolas of Cues (on the Moselle), created cardinal in 1448, argued (De Concordantia Catholica) that the Pope was subordinate to the Oecumenical Council, and attacked Constantine's Donation, urging church reform.

PAGE 284. 2. 'Quoniam nec tantas de nobis laudes Apostolus protulisset dicendo, Quia fides vestra praedicatur in toto mundo
A Declaration, &c. 561

(Rom. i. 8) nisi iam exinde vigor iste radices fidei de temporibus illis mutuatus fuisset; quarum laudum et gloriae degenerem suisse maximum crimen est; Cleri Romani ad Cypriannum Episclla xxxi. § II (Migne, P. L. iv. 316).

15. 'Id itaque esse verum et dominicum, quod prius sit traditum; falsum, quod posterius.' Lib. de Praescriptionibus, cap. xxxi. (Migne, P. L. ii. 54).

41. 15. distinction of ye third canon. Probably the first canon is meant. 'Sancta Romana ecclesia post illas veteris testamenti et novi scripturas, quas regulariter suscipimus, etiam has suscipi non prohibet, sanctam synodum Nicenam,' &c.

Page 285. 13. The Master of Sentences is Peter Lombard, 'quaeritur, utrum sit perium ubi non est mendacium? quod quibusdam videtur ex auctoritate Hieronymi dicentis 'advertendum est quod iusiurandum tres habet comites veritatem judicium et iustitiam; si ista defuerint, non erit iuramentum sed periumur', Sententiarum. lib. iv distinctio xxxix.

[The reference to Jerome is Comm. in Hieremian, iv. 2 (Vallarsi iv. 864.)


16. 'In malis promissis rescinde fidem, in turpi voto muta decretum, quod incauto voivisti, ne facias, impia est promissio quae sclerare adimpletur', Gratian, Decreti Secunda pars Caussa xiiii. quaestio iv. c. 5.

22. 'Non solum in iurando, sed in omni quod agimus, haec est moderatio observanda, ut si in talem forte lapsem versati hostis inciderimus insidiis ex quo sine aliano peccati contagio surgere non possimus; illum potius evadendi aditum petamus, in quo minus periculi nos perpessuros esse cernimus,' Ibid., c. 7.


Page 286. 19. Γαμηγέων οὖν πάνω και τῆς πατρίδος ἕνεκα, καὶ τῆς τῶν παδῶν διαδοχῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου, τὸ σῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, συντελεῖσθεωσ, Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum Lib. ii, cap. 23 (Migne, P. G. viii, 1089).

20. 28. Distinction, Chap. 11: 'Si se cuiquam mulier duplici coniugio, presbyteri, vel diaconi relicta coniunxerit, aut separatur; aut certe, si in crimini intentione persisterit pari execonomizatione plectatur.' Chap. 12: 'Si qua vidua episcopi vel presbyteri, aut diaconi maritum acceperit; nullus clericus, nulla religiosa persona cum ea convivium sumat; nunquam communicet; mörienti tamen ei sacramentum subveniat.'

27–30. Paphhunitus = Paphnuntius of Thebais, who opposed the celibacy of the clergy at the Council of Nice. 'Dissuasu Paphnuntii Nicolaena Synodus non constituit, quod presbyteri cum suis uxoribus non dormirent. Ei castitatem esse dicens cum propria coniuge concubitum.' Distinction xxi, c. xii.

31. Stricius was Pope 384–398. His Epist. ad Himerium Episc. Tarraconensem is the earliest decretal aiming at the celibacy of the clergy.

42—Page 287. 10. A letter from Udalricus (Abbas Ursurgensis) to Aeneas Silvius, containing this complaint and the story of the babies' heads, may be found in Chronicu Ekkehardi Uragiensis (edition 1609, pp. 316–7). It also occurs in Fox's Acts and Monuments (1583), vol. i, p. 137.

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Notes.

Page 287. 12. 'Cum apud Brixinam Noricam triginta episcoporum conventus necnon et optimatum exercitus, non solum Italiea sed et Germaniae, iussu regis Heinrici congregaretur, factus est omnium consensus adversus Hiltibrandum papam cognominatum Gregorium septimum ... huius decrctio conclusio haec est ... "qui inter con-
cordes discordiam ... inter coniuges divortia ..."

Chronica Ekkehardi Urangiensis Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (1844) vi, p. 203 (A.D. 1080).

Bresse Nove appears to be Brixen in the Tyrol.

Page 288. 1. 'Υμέτρεν δὲ, ὡς αἴρει λόγος, ἀκούοντας, ἀγαθοὺς εὐρι-
σκεθαι κριτᾶς. 'Αναπολογιστὰν γὰρ λαπτὸν μαθοῦσιν, ἣν μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιή-
σητε, ἐπάρξει πρὸς θεόν, Ἀπολογία Ι. πρὸ Christianis, c. 3. (Migne,
P. G. vi. 332).

16–7. A reference to Plutarch's Moralia; De discernendo adulatore
ab amico.

THE PROCLAMATION AND EDICT OF THE
ARCHBYSHP, AND PRINCE ELECTOR OF CULLEYN.

Date. The tract is entered in the Stationers' Registers (1582–3).

Decimo sexto die februarii.

Richard Jones Licensed vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of
London and both the wardens The Edict of Tharchbishop and elector of
Cullen touchinge the bringinge in of the exererce of Christian religion
within his Jurisdiction ... vjd.

There are no strong grounds for assigning this tract to Deloney,
though Ebbsworth appears to regard it as his (Dict. Nat. Biography).
The first part of the preceding tract, the declaration of Gebhard, Jan.
16, 1583, appears to be a translation of the same document, though
perhaps from a Latin original, while the present translation is from the
'High Dutch'. The previous tract is undoubtedly Deloney's, bearing
his name in the dedication, and it is extremely improbable that when
he had once translated the proclamation from one version he would
translate it again from the 'High Dutch' for another and separate
pamphlet. Hence it may be fairly concluded that the present transla-
tion is not by Deloney, but its intimate connexion with the preceding
document may serve to justify its inclusion.

Extant Editions. The copy in the Lambeth Palace Library, from
which this reprint is made, is apparently unique.

THE GARLAND OF GOOD WILL.

Date. The Garland of good Will is first mentioned by Nash in
Haue with You to Saffron Walden, 1596 (see Introduction, p. xii). But
the following entry occurs in the Stationers' Registers of 1592–3 :

Vto MARCIJ.

John Wolf Entered for his copie. Vnder the hand of
Edward White the bishop of London and master warden
the xxvij of
August 1596 Styrrop; a book intituled The garden
of goodwill. vjd.
There can be little doubt that the clerk wrote 'garden' in mistake for "garland" and that this is the actual entry of Deloney’s "Garland of good Will." If this is so, it fixes the date of composition as before March 5, 1593. The Dialogue betweene Truth and Ignorance and Holofernes had been entered separately in 1588, and without doubt a great many of the ballads here included had been in broadside circulation before they were incorporated into the book. To these Deloney added other ballads, probably those of the more distinctive narrative kind, which were needed to bring the volume up to the required size.

Extant Editions. Ebbsworth speaks of 'fragments of a 1604 edition', and J. P. Collier professes to have seen a complete copy. Neither, however, gives any references. The only accessible extant editions appear to be the following:—

[A] 1631. The GARLAND OF Good Will. Divided into three parts: ... Imprinted at London for Robert Bird, at the Bible in Saint Lawrence Lane 1631. (Bodleian.)

[B] 1659. Printed for J. Wright; formerly in the possession of J. A. Repton, Esq., Springfield House, Chelmsford. [Dixon.] The Bodleian copy, Wood 79. 5. (title page missing), is probably of the same edition and is entitled B in the collations.

[C] 1678. Printed for F. Wright at the sign of the Crown on Ludgate Hill. (Bodleian.)

[D] 1688. Printed by Fr. Clark for George Conyers; at the Ring on Ludgate Hill 1688. (Bodleian.)

[E] circa 1700 (?) Printed for G. Conyers in Little Britain. (Bodleian.)

[F] 1696 (?) Printed by G. Conyers, at the Sign of the Golden-Ring in Little Britain. (British Museum.)

[G] 1709 (?) Printed by G. Conyers at the sign of the Golden-Ring in Little Britain. (British Museum.)

To all the editions later than that of 1631 new poems have been added by the printer which are certainly not by Deloney. The present reprint is from the edition of 1631, and perhaps even in the present volume the last 3 poems are by another hand. (cf. note on 6, A Farewell to Loue, p. 378).

I. A MOURNFULL DITTHE, ON THE DEATH OF ROSAMOND, &C. (Page 297.)

The earliest known copy of this ballad is that added to the 1607 edition of Strange Histories. A complete collation with that version will be found at the end of these notes. Other copies exist: Roxb. iii. 714; Pepys, i. 498; Wood, 401. fol. 7, &c., and in the Crowne Garland (1659).

Source. It is difficult to trace the exact source of this ballad. Holinshed gives the following account of Rosamond’s death: ‘He (i.e. Henry II) delibered most in the companie of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose of the world (the common people named her Rosamund) for her passing beautie, propernesse of person, and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and peerelasse peece in those daies. He made her an house at Woodstocke in Oxonshire, like a labyrinth, with such turnings and windings in and out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find her nor come to her, except he were instructed by the king ... But the common report of the people is, that the queene in the end found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had drawne after him out of hir chamber.
with his foot, and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that she liued not long after. She was buried in the nunnerie of Godstow beside Oxford.' (1587, vol. ii. p. 115.) Grafton's account differs very little from that in Holinshed. But the tragedy of Fair Rosamond was also dealt with by three other contemporary poets: (1) By Drayton in the Heroical Epistles (1597); (2) By Warner in Albions England (1586); (3) By Daniel in the Complaint of Rosamond (1592). The knight to whom is confided the custody of the bower appears in both Drayton's and Warner's version, but the likeness between Warner's poem and Deloney's appears too close to be quite accidental. The following extracts from Albions England, chap. 41, illustrate the similarity:—

25-36. Not Sibils caue at Cuma, nor
The Labyrinth in Creaut,
Was like the bower of Rosamond
For intricate and great.

The pellicane theare neasts his bird
And sporteth oft with her,
Conducted by a clew of thread,
Els could he not but err.

Besides her maydes, a knight of trust
Attended on her theare,
Who suffred for hir beautie, long
Concealing it for feare.

141-8. That while the knight did issue out,
Suspecting no assault,
He was assailed, and from him
His guiding clew they caught.

The beautie and the braueness of
The person and the place
Amazed her, and hers who stoode
At gaze a certaine space.

153-6. Faire Rosamond surprised thus,
Eare thus she did suspect,
Fell on her humble knees, and did
Her fearefull hands erect.

181-4. Ten thousand times farewell to thee:
My God whom I offended,
Vouchsafe me mercy; saying which,
Her life she sweetly ended.

117. pearles of Gold, i.e. little drops of gold. See Oxford English Dictionary under Pearl. But the reading of CDE may possibly be the correct one.

The Garland of Good Will. 565

145 eyes: eye S. H. 149 Cast off thy Robes from thee: Cast off from thee thy Robes S. H. 151 thee: thou S. H. 153 knee: knees S. H. 157 on: of S. H. 166 were: was S. H.

2. A New Sonnet, containing the Lamentation of Shores Wife, &c. (Page 302.)

Perhaps this is the ballad entered in the Stationers' Registers, June 16, 1593, to John Wolfe, the abuse of beauty, represented under the title of SHORES WIFE.

It is almost certainly that entered to William White, June 11, 1603, 'of ye Lamentacon of mistres JANE SHORE,' and again assigned over to Pavier on Dec. 14, 1624, as 'Jane Shore'.

Source. A good deal of information about Jane Shore may be found collected in Percy's introduction to the Pepys Ballad on the same subject, printed in the Reliques. The original account of her is contained in Sir Thomas More's Richard III, but the Chroniclers appropriated More's description verbatim, and probably Deloney followed Holinshed, who writes: 'This woman was borne in London, worshipfullie friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well married, sauing somewhat too soone, hir husband an honest citizen . . . of good substance. But forasmuch as they were coupled yer she were well ripe, she not verie feruentlie loued him, for whom she never longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetitie, when he required hir. Howbeit the respect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pearse a soft tender heart.' (1587, vol. ii, p. 724.)

31-3. 'Finallie, in manie weightie sutes she stood manie a man in great stead, either for none or verie small rewards.' (Ibid., p. 725.)
40-9. 'The protector spoiled hir of all that euer she had . . . and he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse vnpon a sundaie.' (Ibid., p. 724.)

62. clacke and dish, the usual stock in trade of the mediaeval and Elizabethan beggar. Cf. Measure for Measure, III. ii. 137: 'Your beggar of fifty; and his use was, to put a ducat in her clack-dish.'

3. A New Song of King Edgar, &c. (Page 305.)

Another copy in Percy Folio.

Source. Probably Grafton's Chronicle. 'Edgar, thus ruling the lande, after the death of his first wife, Egelfidea, worde was brought to him of the bewtie of a young Damsell named Elfrida, or Estrilid, daughter of Orgarus Erle of Deuonshire: wherefore he sent a knight of his Courte named Ethelwalde, to espie whether the Mayde were of such bewtie, as shee was reported of or not, charging him, if shee were so bewtiffull, that then he should aske her to wyfe for him. But this knight hauing sight of this Mayden, was so wounded with the darte of blinde Cupide, that he forgate his truth and allegiance, which he did owe to his Master and souereigne, and returned, shewing to the king, that she was nothing of the bewtie as she was reported to be, but of meane fayrenesse as other women are. Wherefore he besought the king, considering she was her father's Heyre and a good mariaige, that he would be so good Lorde vnto him, as to write vnto her father, that he might haue her vnto Wyfe. The which the king granted, and at the last he obteyned her and maryed her. In processe of tyme the
fame of this woman sprang so wyde, that at the last it came to the vnderstanding of king Edgar: wherewith the king notwithstanding, he were in his mind discontented with Ethelwold, which had so deceyued him, yet kept he good countenance and made semblance as though he had nothing forced of that matter at all. And vpon a tyme, as it were in game, warned this Ethelwold that then was an Erle by reason of his wyfe, or otherwise, that he woulde one night come and lodge in his house, and appointed the tyme when it should be. The Erle being nothing contented with this monition, ranne home almost dead for feare, and prayed his wyfe of helpe in that tyme of neede, and that shee would in all that she might make herself as foule and as vnseeemly as shee could, and shewed to her all the residue of the matter. Then the woman cast in her minde, the great displeasure that might ensue towards her against God, to make that foule, which he had made goodly and fayre, and also to her Lord and husbande against the king, thinking that he should cause her thus to do, to the entent to mocke and deceyue him. Wherefore, in consideration of the premisses, she trimmed and decked her selfe in most costly and showing apparell. And ouer that, if Dame Nature had anything forgotten or misprinted in her, she left not what might be done by womans help to haue it amended and reformed, and at the kings comming receyued him with all ioye and gladnesse. By which meanes, this yong amorous king was soone caught in the Deuils snare, so that he set reason aparte and followed his awne sensualitie. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he kept forth a countenance as he had bene well contented with all thing, and desyred the Erle, that he would ryde with him on hunting, into the wood of Weluerley, that now is called Horsewood, where he awayting his tyme, strake the Erle, thorow the body with his shaft, so that he dyed soone after. And then he maried this Elfrida or Estrild shortly, and had by her Egelredus.' (1809, pp. 124-5.) But the story also occurs in Fox's Acts and Monuments and in Holinshed's Chronicle (1587, vol. i, p. 160). Holinshed, however, gives the name of the Duke of Cornwall as 'Horgerius' and that of his daughter as 'Alfred'.

4. How Coventry was made free by Godiva, &c. (Page 309.)

*Source.* Holinshed does little more than refer to the story (1587, vol. i, Historie of England, p. 193). Deloney seems to have used Grafton's account of 'the good Erle Leofricus Erle of Mertia and of Chester'. 'This man purchased manye great priuileges for the towne of Couentrye & made it free from any maner of Tolle, except onely of Horsse. For the which also to haue free, the common fame telleth, that after long request made to the king by his wyfe named Godiuia he graunted her to haue it thereof freed, if that shee woulde ride naked thorow the Towne, which she did, by meane whereof it was freed... But (she) also called in secret maner... all those that then were Magistrates and rulers of the sayde Citie of Couentrie... requiring of them for the reuereence of womanheded, that at that day and tyme that she should ride... that streight commaundement should be geuen throughout all the City, that euerie person should shut in their houses and Wyndowes, and none so hardy to looke out into the streetes, nor remayne in the streetes vpon a great paine, so that when the tyme came of her out ryding none sawe her, but her husbande.' Grafton's Chronicle (1809), pp. 147-8.
5. HOW THE DUKES DAUGHTER OF CORNWALL BEING MARRIED UNTO KING LOCRINE, WAS BY HIM PUT AWAY, &C. (Page 311)

Another copy in Percy Folio.

Source. The story occurs in Fabian's Chronicle (1811, p. 12), but the source appears to be Grafton's Chronicle. 'In the tyme of the reyne of this Locryne, there was a certeyne Duke (... named Humber) who warred sore vpon Albanactus, ... and slue Albanact in plaine battaile. ... after he had thus subdued Albanactus, he helde the lande of Albania, vntill that Locrinus ... gathered a great power of men of Armes together, and went against him, and by strength of the Britons chased and subdued the sayd Hunes so sharply, that many of them with theyr king were drowned in a Riuer which departeth England and Scotland ... And it so came to passe that after the aforesayde victory had against the king of the Hunes ... that Locryne fell in great phancy and loue with a faire Damosell named Estrild, who was also the daughter of the aforesayde Humber ... and Locryne kept her vnlawfully a certeyne tyme ... He made a Cauæ under the ground in the Cité of Troynonuant and enclosed her therein ... For ... he durst not vse her company openly, but ... priuily and by stealth ... But at length it came so to passe that Estrild was great with childe and deluyered of a verie faire daughter, whom he named Habren. At the same season also Gwendolena was brought a bed of a man child. ... When, in processe of time Corineus (the D. of Cornwall) was dead, Locryne put away his wife Gwendolyn, and caused Estrild to be crowned Queene. The which thing Gwendolyn being maruellous wroth withall, went into Cornewall, and assembling together the power of the youth of the country, began to disquiet Locryne and to warre vpon him. At the length they ioyned battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stooore, where the sayde Locryne was slaine with an Arow. Then incontinent after his death, Gwendolyn folowing the raging passions of her father, tooke vpon her the gouerne-ment of this realme, commaunding Estrild with her daughter Habren to be cast both hedlyng into the riuer Seuerne ... And further made a proclamation throughout all the whole realme of Briteyn, that the same water should be euermore called Habren, after ye Mayden's name, for so euuen at this day is Seuerne called in the Welsh tongue.' Grafton's Chronicle (1809), vol. i, pp. 28-39.

6. A SONG OF QUEENE ISABEL, &C. (Page 313.)

Also in Percy Folio.

1-30. 'When the Queene ... perceyued the pride of the Spencers and howe they preuyled with the king, and had caused him to put to death the greatest part of the nobles of his realme of Englande, and also that they bare towarda hir a sower countenance, and she fearing least they should haue put something into the kinges head, that might haue beene to the perill of her lyfe, was therefore desyrous to be out of this feare ... The Queene therefore purposéd nowe to flye the Realme and to go into Fraunca, and therefore did fanye her selfe that shee would go on pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Caunterbury, from whence she tooke hir way to Winchelsey, and in the night entred
into a ship . . . and then hauyng wind at will, they arriued shortly at
the hauen of Boleyn in Fraunce . . . But the French king her brother, . . .
had sent to meete her dyuers of the greatest Lordes of his realme . . .
who honorably did receaue her . . . When the Noble King Charles of Fraunce had heard his sisters lamentation who with teares had
expressed her heauie case, he most comfortably spake vnto her and
sayd: fayre sister quiet your selfe, for by the fayth I owe to God and
Saint Denise, I shall right well prouyde for you some remedy.’ (p. 317.)
‘And not long after, the sayde Charles . . . assembled together a great
number of the greatest Lordes and Barons of his realmes . . . And they
concluded, yt the king might coveniently ayde her with Golde and
Syluer . . . Who (Charles) answered her and sayd . . . Take of my men
and subiectes . . . I will cause to be deliuered vnto you, golde, and
siluer so muche as shall suffice you.’ (p. 318.)
31–6. ‘The Frenche king and all his preueie counsale were
as colde and as straunge to help the Queene forwarde to her
voyage as though they had never talked of the matter. And
the French king brake that voyage, and made proclamation, com-
mandyng all his subiects vpon paine of banishment, that none
should be so hardie, as to go with the Queene.’ (p. 318.)
37–48. ‘When this tidinges was brought to the Queene, she was
at her wittes ende, and knew not what to do . . . She and her sonne . . .
departed from Paris and rode towarde Henault . . . And Sir John
of Henault was certified of the tyme when the Queene came . . . and
did to the Queene all the honour and reuereuce he could devise.’
(p. 319.)
49–60. ‘The Queene who was right sorowfull, declared (com-
playnyng most piteously) vnto him with wepyng eyes her miserable
case, whereof the sayd Sir John had great pitie . . . and sayd, fayre
Lady, behold me here your awne knight, who will not fayle to die for
you in the quarrell . . . And I and such other as I can desyre, will put
our lyues and goods in adventure for your sake.’ (pp. 319–20.)
64–7. ‘They . . . tooke shypping, and set forward on their passage
by Sea . . . A tempest toke them in the sea . . . wherein God wrought
mercifully for them.’ ‘The maryners . . . landed on the sands . . .
nerc vnto Harwich.’ (p. 321.)
68–150. ‘Erle Henry came vnto the Queene with a great company
of men of warre. And after him came . . . Erles, Barons, Knights and
Esquiers with so many people that they thought themselues out of all
perill. So sone as king Edward had knowledge of the landyng of
the Queene his wife . . . and heeryng also how the Barons and Nobles
of the realme resorted vnto her . . . beyng then at London, left
the sayde Citie vnder the gouernment and order of Maister Walter
Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter. The king himselfe accompanied with the
Spencers . . . taketh his way vnto Wales. But when he came to
Bristowe, he caused that towne to be fortyfied. But the Bishop vsed
such stoute wordes in the kings name, to the Maior and Citizens, who
had an euill opinion of him, for bearyng with the Spencers, whom the
people hated as euill as the Deuill . . . that the sayde Citizens in a rage
and fury toke the sayde Byshop . . . and him . . . beheaded at the
standard in Chepe. The maior sente vnto the Queene . . . with
promise . . . that the Citie was quiet and at their commaundement.
(pp. 322–3.) Then the Queene and all hir companie . . . tooke the
right way to Bristowe . . . and besieged the towne round about as nere
as they might. When the people of the towne saw that they could
haue no peace otherwise, neyther saue the towne, their goodes, nor
their lyues . . . they agreed to the Queene, and opened the Gates. Then Sir Hugh Spencer, and the Erle of Arondell was taken and brought before the Queene. Then the sayd knight cousaysied with others, that is to say, with the Barons, and Erles and knightes there present, and then he reported their opinions and judgements. The which was . . . First to be draune and after to be headed, and then their bodyes to be hanged on a Gibbet . . . So was it executed before the Castell gate of Bristow. And after thys execution, the king and the yong Spencer . . . beyng wythout hope of any comfort . . . entred into a little Vessell behinde the Castell, thinking to have fled . . . But whatsoeuer they did, the winde was so contrary with them . . . they were brought againe within a quarter of a myle of the sayde Castell. At the last it happened Sir Henry Beaumond . . . to enter into a Barge . . . and rowed after this Vessell so long, that the Vessell wherein the king was, could not make any great way before them, but at the last they were ouer taken, & so brought agayne to the Towne of Bristowe, and deluyered to the Queene . . . as prisoners . . . Then the king by the counsayle of all the Barons and knights was sent vnto the strong Castell of Barkeley . . . Then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was deluyered to Sir Thomas Wage, Marshall of the hoste . . . the Queen set forward towards London . . . that at the last they came to the City of Harfford. And in all the waye, Sir Thomas Wage had caused Syr Hugh Spencer to be bounde and to be set upon a lewde Iade . . . and he had put vpon him a Taborte, such as Traytors & theeeues were wont to weare, and thus he passed thorough the townes with Trumpes and Pipes of Reedes blowen before him. And when the Queene was come to Herfford . . . Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne who was nothing beloued, was brought forth before the Queene and all the Lordes and knights . . . And so was he then judged by playne sentence . . . because he had conspired treason and was a false traytor.’ (pp. 324–5.)

151–6. ‘And when the sayd articles were read and made known to all the Lordes, Nobles, and Commons of the realme . . . they concluded . . . that such a man was not worthie to be a king, nor to weare a croune royall. And therefore they all agreed that Edward his eldest sonne, should be crowned king in steed of his father, so that he would take about him, sage, true and good counsaile.’ (pp. 325–6.)

7. A SONG OF THE BANISHMENT OF TWO DUKES, &c. (Page 318.)

Also in Percy Folio.

Source. The accounts of the banishment of Hereford and Norfolk given by Grafton and Holinshed are almost exactly the same. 1On a daye beyng in the company of Thomas Mowbry . . . he (Hereford) beganne to breake his minde vnto him . . . rehearsing how king Richard little esteemed the Nobles of hys Realme. And after . . . he (the Duke of Norfolk) declared to the king . . . what he had heard: and to aggravate, and to make the offense the greater, he added much thereunto. The king . . . was content to here both parties together, and therefore called vnto him the Duke of Lancaster, who was chief of his counsayle, and both the Dukes of Herfford and Norffolke, and caused the accuser openly to declare what he had heard the Duke of Herfford speake. The Duke of Herfford . . . declared worde by worde what he had sayde . . . denyeng all the other matters that the Duke of Norffolk had added thereunto, and sayde further vnto the king, that if it would please hys grace to suffer hym, he would
prooue his accuser vntrue, and a false forger of lyes by the stroke of a speare and dent of a sworde... He (the King) graunted them the battayle, and assyned the place to be at Couentre, in the moneth of August next ensuyng... They beyng armed, entred on horseback the one after the other into the Listes... Now the time beyng come, these two noble men, eche hauyng his speare in rest, and readie to ioyne the battaile, the king cast downe his warder, and commaundd them to stay, and then the king and the Lordes went to counsaile, and they toke vp the matter: And after great deliberation, the king by the mouth of the king of Heraults, pronounced sentence in this sort, first that Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Herfford Appellant, and Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolke defendant, haue honorably and valiantly appered here within the listes this day, and haue bene redy to darreyne the battaile, lyke two valiant knihteis, and hardie Champions: But because the matter is great and weightie betwene these two great Princes, this is the order of the king and his counsaile. That Henry Duke of Herfford for dyvers considerations... shall within xv dayes depart out of the realme, for the terme of ten yeres, without returnyng... and that vpon paine of death... That Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Northfowke... because he had sowen sedicion in the realme by his wordes, whereof he can make no proofe, shall aduoyde the realme of England... neuer to return againe into the same vpon paine of death... And then they called before him the two banished persons, and made them swere, that ye one should neuer come into the place where the other was... The Duke of Norfowke... departed sorrowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at last came to Venice, where for thought he died. The Duke of Herfford... toke his iourny, and came to Calice, and so into Fraunce, where he continued a while... King Charles... receyued him gently and honorably entertyned him.... But while the king was thus occupied in Irelande, the Duke of Herford by the provocation of Thomas Arondell, Archebishop of Caunterbury, returned nowe into England.' Grafton's Chronicle (1809), vol. i, pp. 469-71. Perhaps the beautiful verses put in the mouth of the exiled Norfolk were faintly suggested by Norfolk's farewell to his country in Richard II, i. iii. 154-72.

8. THE NOBLE ACTS OF ARTHUR OF THE ROUND TABLE. (Page 323.)

Other copies: Roxb. iii. 25; Bagford, ii. 14-15; Pepys, ii. 100; Wood, 401. fol. 62; Percy Folio; British Museum, c. 40. m. 10.

This ballad was also entered in the Stationers' Registers (1603):

8 JUNIL.

Edward Aldee. The noble Actes now newly found of ARTHURE of the round table.

It was assigned over to Pavier, Wright, and others on Dec. 14, 1624 (Stationers' Registers). In 2 Henry IV, ii. iii, Falstaff sings a stave of the ballad 'When Arthur first in court... And was a worthy king.'

Source. The ballad is simply a paraphrase of a passage in Malory's Mort Arthure (The Booke of Sir Launcelot du Lake). Wright's edition, vol. i, chaps. c-cviii. Chap. c: 'Anon after that the noble and worthy King Arthure was come from Rome into England, all the knights of the Round Table resorted unto the king, and made many justs and tournerments, and some ther were that were good knights, which
increased so in armes and worship that they passed all their fellows in prowisse and noble deedes, and that was well proved on many, but especially it was proved on Sir Launcelot du Lake. ... Thus Sir Launcelot rested him a long while with play and game; and then hee thought to prove himselfe in strange adventures.' Chap. cvi: 'And so Sir Launcelot departed, and by adventure came into the same forrest where as he was taken sleeping. And in the middest of an hieway hee met with a damosell riding upon a white palfrey ... "Fair damosell," said Sir Launcelot "know yee in this countrey any adventures?" "Sir Knight" said the damosell to Sir Launcelot "here are adventures neere hand, and thou durst prove them". "Why should I not prove adventures?" said Sir Launcelot "as for that cause come I hither" "Well," said the damosel, "thou seemest well to be a right good knight, and if thou dare meete with a good knight, I shall bring thee where as the best knight is and the mightiest that ever thou found, so that thou wilt tell mee what thy name is, and of what countrey and knight thou art?" ... "Truly my name is Sir Launcelot du Lake" ... "Hereby dwelleth a knight that will not bee overmatched for no man that I know, but ye overmatch him, and his name is Sir Turquine, and as I understand, he hath in his prison of King Arthur's Court good knights thescore and four ..." And so shee brought him unto the fourd and unto the tree whereon the bason hung. So Sir Launcelot beate on the bason with the end of his spear so hard and with such a might that he made the bottome fall out ... Then was hee ware of a great knight that drove an horse afofe him, and overthwart the horse lay an armed knight bound. "Now faire knight" said Sir Launcelot "put that wounded knight from thy horse, and let him rest a while, and then let us two prove our strength together. For as it is informed and shewed me, thou dost and hast done great despite and shame unto the knights of the Round Table" ... "And thou bee of the round table," said Sir Turquine, "I defie thee and all thy fellowship" "That is overmuch said," said Sir Launcelot. Chap. cvii: 'And then they put their speares in their rests, and came together with their horses as fast as it was possible for them to runne, and either smote other in the middest of their shields, that both their horses backs burst under them, whereof the knights were both astonied, and as soon as they might avoide their horses, they tooke their shields afore them and drew out their swords, and came together eargerly, and either gave other many great strookes ... And so within a while they had both grimly wounds and bled passing grievously. ... At the last they were both breathless, and stood leaning on their swords "Now, fellow" said Sir Turquine "hold thy hand a while and tell me what I shall aske thee." "Say on," said sir Launcelot "Thou art," said Sir Turquine "the biggest man that ever I met withall—and like one knight that I hate above all other knights, and that thou be not he, I will lightely accord with thee, and for thy loue I will deliver all the prisoners that I have." ... "It is well said," quoth Sir Launcelot "but sitthence it is so that I may have thy friendship, what knight is he that thou so hatest above all other?" "Truly," said Sir Turquine "his name is Launcelot du Lake, for he slew my brother, ... therefore him I except of all knights." ... "Now see I well," said Sir Launcelot, "that such a man I might be I might have peace and such a man I might be there should be betweene us two mortall warre, and now, sir knight, at thy request, I will that thou wit and know that I am Sir Launcelot du Lake, King Ban's son of Benwicke, and knight of the round table. And now I defie thee doe thy best" "Ah" said Sir Turquine "Launcelot thou
art unto mee most welcome, as ever was any knight, for we shall never part till the one of us bee dead." And then hurtled they together as two wild bulls, rushing and lashing with their shields and swords. Sir Turquine gave Sir Launcelot many wounds that all the ground there as they fought was all besprinkled with blood.' Chap. cviii: 'Then at the last Sir Turquine waxed very faint and gave somewhat backe and bare his shield full low from wearnesse. That soone espied Sir Launcelot and then lept upon him fiersly as a lyon ... so he plucked him doune on his knees, and anon he rasde off his helme, and then he smote his neck asunder.'

110. rushing is probably a misprint for rashing (as in Malory's account). So also perhaps in l. 120. To rash is to smash, or run against violently. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes from Douglas's Aeneis, xii. 1. 19: 'raschand the schaft in sundir.'

10. A SONG IN PRAISE OF A SINGLE LIFE, &c. (Page 328.)

Probably the text is corrupt. The metre is eccentric even for the balladists.

49. borrowes; pledges. The editors of the Oxford English Dictionary consider it was archaic by the time of Spenser, and quote from Act 34 & 35 Henry VIII, 'Pledges or borows to pay the kinges fine.'

12. A GENTLEWOMANS COMPLAINT, &c. (Page 332.)

Perhaps that entered in the Stationers' Registers to Abell Jeffes on June 27, 1593: 'The sadd lamentacon of a Constant yonge gentlewoman.'

13. OF A PRINCE OF ENGLAND, WHO WOOED THE KINGS DAUGHTER OF FRANCE, &c. (Page 333.)

Other copies in Roxb. i. 102, 103; Percy Folio; Brit. Museum, c. 40. m. 10; Lord Crawford's Collection; Bagford, ii. 24.

Under the name of In the dates of old this ballad was assigned over to Pavier and others on Dec. 14, 1624. (Stationers' Registers.) The text is very corrupt in all copies except the Crawford (about 1660), which has been largely used to correct the present text.

Source. The story seems to be derived from French history and refers to the marriage between Ethelwulf of England and Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bold. Grafton curtly dismisses the event. 'Ethelwolphe ... reigned over the Saxons ... in the yere of our Lord 832 ... He was married to Osburga his Butler's daughter, a woman of low birth, but in an old written Chronicle, I find that he was married to Judith, daughter of the French king.' Chronicle (1809), vol. i, p. 105. The immediate source of Deloney's story appears to be Belleforest's Histoires tragiques, Le Quatriesme Tome, Histoire livii (MDXCI). Belleforest relates how Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bold, and Baldwin the Forester fell in love with each other. Baldwin, however, was forced to proceed to Flanders, and during his absence, Edolph the widower king of England asked for the hand of the princess, and she was sent to him in England. Within six months Edolph died, and as
Judith was crossing the sea on her return to France she was carried off and married by Baldwin.

Deloney took the title of Forester in its original significance, but as Belleforest himself says (p. 120) '... ce seroit grand folie de penser qu'êtres annales Françoises, quand on lit les forestiers de Flandres, que ce furent gens de basse estoffe, & tels que ceux qu'à présent on nomme gardes des forests, ains c'estoyent des seigneurs des plus favors, & auzance en la Court de nos Roys.'

167–74. Percy adds the following note on this passage:—
'It will remind the reader of the livery and device of Charles Brandon, a private gentleman who married the Queen Dowager of France, sister of Henry VIII. At a tournament which he held at his wedding, the trappings of his horse were half cloth of gold and half freize, with the following motto:—

Cloth of Gold, do not despise,
Tho' thou art matcht with Cloth of Frize;
Cloth of Frize, be not too bold,
Tho' thou art matcht with Cloth of Gold.'

14. OF THE FAITHFULL FRIENDSHIP THAT LASTED BETWEENE TWO FAITHFULL FRIENDS. (Page 338.)

Other copies: Roxb. i. 503; Percy Folio.

Source. This story appears in The Decameron (Giorn. x, Nov. viii). Deloney, however, seems to have taken it from Elyot's Governor (1531). See Croft's edition, vol. ii, pp. 133–59. 'There was in the citie of Rome a noble senatour named Fuluius, who sent his sone called Titus, beinge a childe, to the citie of Athenes in Greece (whiche was the fountaine of al maner of doctrine), there to lerne good letters, and caused him to be hosted with a worshipfull man of that citie called Chremes. This Chremes hapned to haue also a sone named Gisippus, who not onely was equall to the said yonge Titus in yeres, but also in stature, proportion of body, fauour, and colour of visage, countenaunce and speche. The two children were so like, that without moche difficultie it could not be discerned of their propre parents which was Titus from Gysippus, or Gysippus from Titus. These two yonge gentilmen, as they seemed to be one in fourme and personage, so shortly after acquaintance, the same nature wrought in their hartes such a mutuell affection, that their willes and appetites daily more and more so confederated them selues that it semed none other, whan their names were declared, but that they hadde onely chaunged their places ... (Gysippus) partly by the vnfortunate callynge on of his kynnesmen, partly by the advise of his dere frende Titus, therto by other desired, ... assented to mary such one as shulde lyke hym ... His frendes founde a yong gentilwoman, which ... they thought was for suche a yonge man apte and conuenient ... He ... found her in euerie fourme and condicion accordynge to his expectation, and appetite; wherat he moche reioysed and became of her amorouse, in so moche as many and often tymes he leauinge Titus at his studie secretely repayred vnto her. Nat with standinge the feruent loue that he had to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted shamefastnes. Wherfore he disclosed to him his secrete iornayes ... And on a tyme he, haunyng with hym his frende Titus, went to his lady, of whom he was receyued moste ioyously. But Titus furthwith, as he behelde so heuenly a
Notes.

personage adourned with beautie inexplicable... had the harte through perced with the fiery darte of blinde Cupide... All be it with incredible paynes he kepte his thoughtes secret, vntyll that he and Gysippus were retoune vnto their lodynges. Then the miserable Titus... all turmented and oppressed with loue, threwe hym selfe on a bedde... And there with he sent out from the botome of his harte depe and cold sighes, in suche plentie that it lacked but little that his harte ne was riven in peces... But at the last theayne became so intollerable, that wolde he or no, he was inforced to kepe his bedde... Gysippus... harteley desired him... he wolde no longer hyde from him his grieue... Titus... broughte furthe with great difficultie his wordes in this wyse... Gysippus, I saye your trust, is the cause that I am entrapped; the rayes or beames issueinge from the eyen of her whom ye haue chosen... hath thrilled throughout the middes of my hart... But Gysippus... answered in this wyse... Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest that I nowe hawe or mought hawe in that faire mayden... Take hede, this is myne aduise; ye knowe well that we two be so like, that, beinge a parte and in one apparayle,fewe then do knoue us... Therfore I my selfe will be present with my frendes and perfoure all the partes of a bride... And ye shall abyde in a place secrete... vntill it be nyght. And then shall ye quickly conuaye your selfe in to the maidens chambre. The daye of the maryage was commen... Than (as it was before agreed) Titus conuayed him selfe, after Gysippus retourned to his house... The morowe is comen. And Gysippus, thinking it to be expedient that the trouth shulde be discovered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citie at his owne house... Titus with his lady is departed towards the citie of Rome... But nowe let vs resorte to Gysippus, who... was so maligned at, as well by his owne kynesmen as by the frendes of the lady... that they spared nat daily to vexe hym... Finally they adjudged him vnworthy to enjoye any possessions or goodes lefte to him by his parentes... Wherfore they dispoyled hym of all things, and almoste naked expelled him out of the citie. Thus is Gysippus... banissshed his owne countraye for euere, and as a man dismayed wandringe hither and thither, fyndeth no man that wolde socour him. At the last, (he)... concluded that he wolde go to Rome, and declare his infortune to his said frende Titus... In conclusion... he is commen to the citie of Rome and diligently enquirynge for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to hit, but beholdinge it so beauteous, large, and princely, he was a shamed to approche nigh to it, beinge in so simple a state and unklaide; but standeth by, that in case that Titus came forth out of his house he mought than present hym selfe to hym. He beinge in this thought Titus... issued out from his doore, and... behelde Gysippus; but beholding his vile apparaile regarded him nat... Wherwith Gysippus was so wounded to the harte, thinkyng that Titus had condemned his fortune, that... he furthwith departed, entendinge nat to abide any lenger, but as a wilde beste to wandre abrode in the worlde. But for werynesse he was constrayned to entre into an olde berne, without the citie, where he... with weeping and dolorous cryenge bewayld his fortune... And therwith drewe his knyfe, purposinge to hauw slayne him selfe. And... fatigate with longe iornayes and watche... he felle in to a deade sleepe... In the meane tyme a commun and notable rufian or thefe, whiche had robbed and slayne a man, was entred in to the berne... And seinge Gysippus bewept, and his visage replenisshed with sorowe, and also the naked knife by him... the said rufian takinge for a good occasion to escape,
toke the knife of Gysippus, and putinge it in the wounde of him that was slayne, put it all bloody in the hande of Gysippus, beinge faste a slepe, and so departed. Sonne after the dede man beinge founde, the offycers made diligent serche for the murderar ... and fynding Gysippus a slepe, with a blody knife in his hand, they a waked him ... He denied nothing that was laide to his charge, desiringe the officers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his lyfe ... Anone reporte came to the senate that a man was slayne, and that a stranger ... was founden in such fourme as is before mentioned. They forth with commanded hym to be brought vnto their presence ... Titus beinge then Consull ... and espienge by a little signe in his visage, whiche he knewe, that it was his dere frende, Gysippus ... rose out of his place, and ... sayde that he had slayne the man ... But Gysippus ... more importunately cried to the senate to procede in their iugement on him that was the very offender ... There hapned to be in the prease at that tyme, he which in dede was the merdrer, who perceiveinge the meruaylous contention of these two persones, ... and that it proceeded of an incomparable frendshippe ... was vehemently prouoked to discover the trouthe. Wherfore he brake through the prease, and comminge before the senate he spake in this wyse ... I am that persone that slewe hym that is founden dedde by the barne. Here at all the Senate and people toke comfort, and the noyse of reioysing hartes filled all the court ... wherfore the Senate consulted of this mater, and finally ... discharged the felon. Titus ... hauinge Gysippus home to his house ... he was honourable apparailed ... Titus ... assembled a great arnye and went with Gysippus vnto Athenes. Where he ... dyd on them sharpe execution, and restorynge to Gysippus his landes and substaunce, stabylshed him in perpetuall quietnes.'

THE SECOND PART

2. OF PATIENT GRISSEL AND A NOBLE MARQUESSE. (Page 346.)

Other copies: Roxb. i. 302; British Museum, c. 40, m. 10; Pepys, i. 34; Percy Folio.

Source. The original source is of course the Decameron (Giorn. x, Nov. x), and the story was well known to the Elizabethans in Chaucer's version (The Clerk's Tale). From the entries in the Stationers' Registers for 1565-6 it is evident there were earlier ballads on the same subject.

'Rd of Owyn Rogers, for his lyncence for pryntinge of a ballelt intituled the sounge of pacyente Gressell unto hyr make ... iij'  
'Rd of Wylliam greefeith, for his lyncence for pryntinge of ij balleltes to the tune of pacyente Gressell ... ... ... iij'  
Chapple thinks the original ballad dates from before 1557, when the Stationers' Registers begin, in which case Deloney may have been merely remodelling an older version. (See also Appendix I.)

35. staining. Cf. p. 84, l. 20, and note.


Pal. 'A kind of fine cloth, of which cloaks and mantles of state were formerly made.' Nares.
3. A PLEASANT DIALOGUE BETWEENE PLAINE TRUTH, AND BLIND IGNORANCE. (Page 351.)

Another copy in the Percy Folio.

Entered in the Stationers' Registers, March 23, 1587-8, to Sampson Clerk 'a proper newe ballad dyaloguewyse betwene Syncerytie and Wilfull Ignorance.' The model for this ballad in dialogue appears to be Luke Shepherd's Interlude of JOHN BON and MASTER PARSON (1548). The argument and conclusion is much the same in each case. Percy says, 'The scene we may suppose to be Glastonbury Abbey,' but it is more likely that if Deloney had any particular place in his mind it was the ruin of St. Bartholomew's Chapel at Newbury. In Michaelmas Term, 1576, the Queen's Attorney-General filed information against Philip Kestell for intruding upon the chantry lands, and questions were put to six clothiers of Newbury on the desolation and destruction of the Chapel without the king's command (see Money's History of Newbury, pp. 216-24). Perhaps Deloney was living in the town at the time of the inquest.

9. vasonne. Plural of dialect form of 'faith' (?).
27. Of new learning, i.e. of the new learning.
29. Law, in the old meaning of religion. Cf. Chaucer's Man of Lawes Tale, 375-6:

She rydeth to the sowdan on a day,
And seyde him, that she wolde reneye hir lay.'

80. sacring bell. The sacring bell was rung at the elevation of the Host, and hence,

A number great of Sacring Belles with pleasant sound doe ring
On Corpus Christi day.
Googe's Popish Kingdom (Brand, vol. i, p. 236).

81-4. Cf. Paradiso, Cant. xix:

A questo regno
non sali mai chi non credette in Cristo,
nè pria, nè poi ch'ei si chiavasse al legno.

105. our Lady of Walsingham. Cf. p. 365, l. 2.
111. Elizabeth Barton, the 'holy maid of Kent' who prophesied against the divorce of Henry VIII, was executed on May 5, 1534. Deloney's attitude towards her and Becket is that of the Reformers, who shifted right divine from the Papacy to the Monarchy.

4. THE OVERTHROW OF PROUD HOLOFORNES, &C. (Page 355.)

This is probably the ballad entered with the preceding one to Sampson Clerk on March 23, 1587-8:

'Another Ballade intytuled the moste famous historye of Judith and Olofernes.'

Source. The story is of course taken from the book of Judith, and
The Garland of Good Will. 577

adjoined excerpts are from the Geneva Bible of 1560. Curiously enough, when Elizabeth visited Norwich, Aug. 16, 1578, a pageant was presented before her in which Judith appeared and spoke the following lines:

If this his grace were given to me, poor wight,
If a widows hand could vanquish such a foe,
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
What tyrant lives but thou maist overthrow.

Blomefield's Hist. of Norwich, Part I, p. 329.

Cf. also the note on p. 43, l. 42.

Chap. ii, vv. 4-6: ‘Nabuchodonosor . . . called Olofernes . . . and said vnnto him . . . Thus saith the great King, the Lord of the whole earth, . . . thou shalt go against all the West countrey, because they disobeied my commandement.’

Chap. iii, v. 8: ‘that all nacions shulde woshippe Nabuchodonosor onely, and that all tongues and tribes shulde call vpon him as God.’

Chap. iv, v. 5: ‘And (they) toke all the toppes of the he mountains, and walled the villages that were in them, and put in vitaiiles for the proision of warre.’

Chap. v, v. 1: ‘Then was it declared to Olofernes . . . that the children of Israel had prepared for warre.’

Chap. vi, vv. 1-3: ‘Olofernes, the chief captaine . . . said . . . who is god but Nabuchodonosor, He wil send his power, and wil destroye them from the face of the earth, and their God shal not deliuer them.’

Chap. vii, vv. 1, 2: ‘Olofernes commanded all his armie and all his people, . . . that thei shulde remoue their campe against Bethulia . . . and the armie of the men of warre was an hundreth thousand and seuentie fotemen, & twelue thousand horsemen.’ v. 17: ‘and they pitched in the valley, & toke the waters, and the fountains of the waters of the children of Israel.’ v. 22: ‘Therefore their children swoned, and their wies & yong men failed for thirst.’ v. 23: ‘Then all the people assembled to Ozias, & to the chief of the citie . . . and cryed with a loude voyce.’ v. 27: ‘it is better for vs to be made a spoile vnto them,than to dye for thirst.’ vv. 30-1: ‘Then said Ozias to them, Brethren, be of good courage ; let vs waite yet fiue daies, in the which space the Lord our God may turne his mercie toward vs. . . . And if these daies passe, and there come not helpe vnto vs, I wil do according to your worde.’

Chap. viii, vv. 1 and 2: ‘Now at that time, Ludeth heard thereof . . . And Manasses was her husbond, . . .’ v. 7: ‘She was also of a goodlie countenance & very beautiful to beholde.’ vv. 11 and 12: ‘And they came vnto her, and she said vnto them . . . who are you that haue tempted God this day . . .?’ vv. 33-5: ‘You shal stand this night in the gate, and I will go forth with mine handmaid : . . . But inquire not you of mine acte : . . . Then said Ozias & the princes vnto her, Go in peace . . .’

Chap. x, vv. 3-5: ‘And putting away the sackecloth wherewith she was clad . . . she . . . dressed the heere of her head, and put attire vpon it, and put on the garments of gladnes And she . . . put on bracelets and sleues, and rings and earings, & all her ornaments, and she decked her selfe brauely to allure the eyes of all men that shuld se her Then she gaue her maide a bottel of wine, and a pot of oyle, and filled a scrippie with floure, & with dry figges . . .’ vv. 10-14: ‘Ludeth went out, she and her maide with her . . . and the first watche of the Assyrians met her And toke her, and asked her Of what people art
thou? and whence comest thou? and whither goest thou? And she said, I am a woman of the Hebrewes, and am fled from them And I come before Olofernes, the chief captain of your armie ... Now when the men heard her words, & behelde her countenance, they wondered greatly at her beautie, ...’ vv. 17-18: ‘Then they chose out of them an hundreth men, and prepared a charet for her and her maide and broghte her to the tent of Olofernes Then there was a running to and fro throughout the campe ...’ vv. 22-3: ‘He came forthe vnto the entrie of his tent, and they caried lampes of siluer before him ... they all marueiled at the beautie of her countenance, and she fel doune vpon her face, and did reverence vnto him, & his seruants take her vp.’

Chap. xi, v. 1: ‘Then said Olofernes vnto her Woman, be of good comfort:’ v. 3: ‘But now tel me wherefore thou hast fled from them, & art come vnto vs.’ v. 20: ‘Then her wordes pleased Olofernes, and all his seruants, and they marueilled at her wisdome.’

Chap. xii, v. 2: ‘But Judeth said I may not eat ... lest there shulde be an offence, but I can suffice my selfe with the things that I haue broght.’ vv. 6-7: ‘And (she) sent to Olofernes, saying, Let my lord commande that thy handmaide may go forthe vnto prayer. Then Olofernes commanded his garde that thei shuld not stay her:’ vv. 10-11: ‘And in the fourth day, Olofernes made a feast Then said he to Bajoas the eunuche who had charge ouer all that he had, Go and persuade this Hebrewe woman, ... that she come vnto vs.’ vv. 13-16: ‘Then went Bajoas ... & came to her, & said, Let not this faire maide make difficultie to go in to my lord. Then said Judeth vnto him, Who am I now, that I shulde gainesay my lord? ... & her maide went & spred for her skinnes on the ground ouer against Olofernes Now when Judeth came & sate doune, Olofernes heart was rauished with her ...’ vv. 19, 20: ‘Then she toke, & ate & dranke before him the things, that her maide had prepared. And Olofernes rejoyced because of her & dranke muche more wine then he had drunken at anie time in one day since he was borne.’

Chap. xiii, vv. 1, 2: ‘Now when the evening was come, his seruants made haste to departe, and Bajoas shut his tent without, & dismissed those that were present. And Judeth was left alone in the tent, & Olofernes was stretched along vpon his bed; for he was filled with wine.’ vv. 6-11: ‘Then she came to the post of yd bed which was at Olofernes head, & toke doune his fauchin from thence ... and said, strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel ... And she smote twise vpon his necke ... and she toke away his head from him, ... and pulled down the canopie from the pillers ... & gaue Olofernes head to her maid, ... so they twaine went togethers according to their custome vnto prayer, and pressing through the tentes ... went vp the mountaine of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof Then said Judeth ... open now the gate: God, euen our God is with vs to shewe his power yet in Jerusalem, and his force against his enemies ...’ v. 15: ‘Beholde the head of Olofernes.’

Chap. xiv, vv. 11-13: ‘Assone as the morning arose thei hanged the head of Olofernes out at the wall, & euerie man toke his weapons, and they went forthe by bandes ... But when the Assyrians sawe them, they sent to their captains ... So they came to Olofernes tent ...’ v. 15: ‘he (Bajoas) founde him cast vpon the floore, and his head was taken from him.’

Chap. xv, vv. 1, 2: ‘And when thei that were in the tents, heard, they were astonished; ... altogether amased, thei fled by euerie way.’
5. A PRINCELY DITTY, IN PRAISE OF THE ENGLISH ROSE.

(Appage 362.)

Apparently referred to in Fletcher’s Monsieur Thomas, III. iii, where a fiddler quotes The Rose of England as one of his ballads. There seems no reason to believe it is ‘translated out of French’.

THE THIRD PART

1. A MAIDENS CHOICE TWIXT AGE AND YOUTH. (Page 363.)

Probably that entered in the Stationers’ Registers, Aug. 26, 1591, to John Danter, ‘A pleasant newe ballad Called the Maydens choyce.’ The first stanza of this poem appears in the Passionate Pilgrime, printed for W. Jaggard, 1599, and attributed to Shakespeare. There can be little doubt that Jaggard was merely reprinting scraps of poetry he had gathered from all sources, and dignified his collection with the name of Shakespeare (then at the height of his fame) in order to promote its sale. The first lines of a street ballad would be peculiarly liable to appropriation of this sort. Probably Jaggard’s version came to him orally and hence it differs somewhat from that in the Garland, and is here reprinted:

Crabbed age and youth cannot liue together,
Youth is full of pleasance, Age is full of care,
Youth like summer morne, Age like winter weather,
Youth like summer brawe, Age like winter bare.
Youth is full of sport, Ages breath is short,
Youth is nimble, Age is lame.
Youth is hot and bold, Age is weake and cold,
Youth is wild, and Age is tame.
Age I doe abhor thee, Youth I doe adore thee,
O my loue my loue is young:
Age I doe defie thee, oh sweet Shepheard hie thee:
For methinks thou stales too long.

2. [WALSINGHAM.] (Page 365.)

Another but inferior copy in Percy Folio.

This ballad resembles that of Flodden Field (p. 25) and the Maidens Song (p. 33) in Jacke of Newberie in so far that it is very difficult to decide how far it is traditional and how far it is the work of Deloney. It is scarcely probable that a strong Protestant like Deloney would begin a ballad with reference to the ‘holy land’ of a Catholic shrine; it is quite likely however that he would sink his religious opinions when an easy opportunity of turning a ballad presented itself in the expansion of some traditional verses. Hence I am inclined to believe that the opening stanza is more or less traditional, but the rest of the poem seems of individual composition, and is therefore probably Deloney’s. Walsingham in Norfolk was famous in the Middle Ages for its image of the Virgin Mary, and Langland shortly describes the character of its votaries.
580

Notes.

Hermits on an heep, with hoked staves
Wenten to Walsyngham, and here wenches after. (i. 52.)

The tradition of the Walsingham pilgrimage survived through the Elizabethan age. Thus Nash refers to 'gangs of good fellows that hurtled and hustled thither, as it had been to the shrine of Saint Thomas a Beckett or our Ladie of Wolsingham' (Lenten Stuff, edit. McKerrow, p. 162). The great pilgrim routes were exactly the places where traditional songs would flourish for the amusement of wayfarers, who, like the Canterbury Pilgrims, found

comfort ne mirthe is noon
To ryde by the weye doumb as a stoon:

Skeat (Piers Plowman, ii. 9) quotes from the Examination of William Thorpe in Fox's Acts and Monuments, 'I know wel that when divers men and women will goe thus, after their owne wils and finding out, on pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs.'

It is very probable that at one time a large variety of Walsingham ballads existed. Shakespeare seems to quote from one of them in Hamlet, iv. v. 23-6:

How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle hat and staff,
And his sandal shoon.

The Percy Folio contains another:

Gentle heardsman, tell to me,
Of curtesy I thee pray,
Unto the towne of Walsingham
Which is the right & ready way?

A variant of Deloney's version appears in Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle, II. Sc. ult.:

As you came from Walsingham
From the Holy Land,
There met you my true love,
By the way as you came?

Similarly, in the Match at Midnight, Randalls, a Welshman, parodies the poem:

Did hur not see hur true loves,
As hur came from London?

3. The Winning of Cales. (Page 367.)

Another copy in Percy Folio.

The subject of this ballad is the taking of Cadiz on June 21, 1596, by Lord Howard, the Earl of Essex, and many of the details are substantiated by the account given in Stow's Annales. (1615.)

51-60. 'Some resolued to flie to Porto Reall, some to burne their Ships, some ran their ships a ground; diuers Spanyards lept into the water, whereof some swamme ashoare, some were drowned, some taken, some slaine.' (p. 773.)

70-7. 'When the lorde Admirall came into the town, hee found
the Earle of Essex skirmishing and fighting with the Spanyardes, who fought and still fled before him.' (Ibid.)

85-6. 'And now proclamation was made that no Englishmen should offer violence to any religious person, to any woman or child, or any other of the Spanish nation in Cadiz.' (Ibid., p. 774.)

90-134. 'The conditions whereupon the Corrigidor & the rest of the chiefe of the Towne yeilded were these: they should haue their Hues saued, & onely their wearing clothes permitted them: all the rest of their goods and wealth should be spoyle and pillage to the Souledeers.' From the graphic detail and the use of the first person in this ballad, it may be hazarded that Deloney himself may have taken part in the Spanish expedition, which perhaps also gave him the material for The Spanish Ladies Loue (p. 375).

4. OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD, AND THE FAIRE COUNTESSE OF SALISBURY, &C. (Page 370.)

Another copy in Percy Folio.

Source. This story seems to have appeared for the first time in Froissart’s Chronicle (I, chaps. 77-89). Other versions exist in Painter’s Palace of Pleasure (Tale 46), in Bandello’s Novelle (Parte I, Nov. 29), and in the Chronicles of Grafton and Holinshed. But Deloney probably drew at first hand from the play of ‘The Rayne of King Edward the third: As it hath bin sundrie times plaied about the Citie of London,’ which was entered in the Stationers’ Registers on Dec. 1, 1595. The following excerpts from the play afford some striking parallels with the ballad:


Enter MOUNTAGNE.

Mount. Barwicke is woon; Newcastle spoyld and lost, l.128.
And now the tyrant hath beguirt with seege
The Castle of Rocksborough, where inclosd
The Countess Salisbury is like to perish.

King. That is thy daughter, Warwicke, is it not?
Whose husband hath in Brittayne serud so long?


King. Lady, stand up; I come to bring thee peace, l. 113.
However therby I haue purchast war.

47-100. Cf. Act II, Sc. i.

Countess. Sorry I am to see my liege so sad:

May what thy subiect do to drie from thee

Thy gloomy consort, sullome melancholie?

King. Since I came hither, Countes, I am wronged. l. 199.

Count. Now God forbid than anie in my howse
Should thincke my soueraigne wrong ! Thrice gentle king
Acquaint me with your cause of discontent.

King. How neer then shall I be to remedie.

Count. As nere, my Liege, as all my woman’s power
Can pawne it selfe to buy thy remedy.
Notes.

**King.** If thou speakest true, then haue I my redresse:
Ingage thy power to redeeme my Ioyes,
And I am ioyfull, Countes; els I die.

**Count.** I will, my Liege.

**King.** Sweare, Countes, that thou wilt.

**Count.** By heauen, I will.

**King.** Then take thy selfe a litel waie a side,
And tell thy self, a king doth dote on thee:
Say that within thy power (it) doth lie
To make him happy, and that thou hast sworne
To giue him all the Ioye within thy power:
Do this, and tell me when I shall be happie.

**Count.** All this is done, my thrice dread souereigne:
That power of loue, that I haue power to giue,
Thou hast with all deuout obedience;
Imploye me how thou wilt in profe therof.

**King.** Thou hearest me saye that I do dote on thee.

**Count.** Yf on my beauty, take yt if thou canst.

O, were it painted, I would wipe it of
And dispossesse my selfe, to giue it thee.

**King.** Didst thou not swere to giue me what I would ?
**Count.** I did, my liege, so what you would I could.

**King.** I wish no more of thee then thou maist giue:
That is, thy loue; and for that loue of thine
In rich exchaunge I tender to thee myne.

**Count.** That loue you offer me you cannot giue
For Caesar owes that tribut to his Queene;
I know, my souereigne, in my husbands loue,
Who now doth loyal servise in his warres,
Doth but so try the wife of Salisbury,
Whether shee will heare a wantons tale or no,
Lest being therein guilty by my stay,
From that, not from my leige, I tourne awaie——

Enter Warwicke.

**King.** Here comes hir father: I will worke with him.

**Warwick.** How is it that my souereigne is so sad?
The king in the play now proceeds to trap Warwick in the same way as he had trapped the countess. This device is not repeated in the ballad.

**War.** I am not Warwike as thou thinkest I am,
But an atturnie from the Court of hell,
To do a message to thee from the king.

The mighty king of England dotes on thee!
129-40. War. He say, it is true charitie to loue, l. 361.
But not true loue to be so charitable;
Ile say his greatnes may beare out the shame,
But not his kingdome can buy out the sinne;
Ile say, it is my duety to perswade
But not her honestie to giue consent

Count. No, let me die, if his too boystrous will l. 427.
Will haue it so, before I will consent
To be an actor in his gracelesse lust.
War. Why, now thou speakest as I would haue thee speake:
And marke how I vnsaie my words againe.
An honourable graue is more esteemd
Then the polluted closet of a king!

So leaue I with my blessing in thy bosome,
Which then convierte to a most heauie curse,
When thou convertest from honors golden name
To the blacke faction of bed blotting shame.


Count. My father on his blessing hath commanded l. 124.
King. That thou shalt yeeld to me?
Count. I, deare my liege, your due.

But...
I bynd my discontent to my content, l. 135.
And what I would not Ile compel I will,
Prouided that your selfe remove those lets
That stand betweene your highnes loue and mine.
King. Name them, faire Countesse, and, by heauen I will.
Count. It is their liues that stand betweene our loue, l. 140.
That I would haue chokt vp, my soueraigne.
King. Whose liues, my Lady?
Count. My thrice louing liege,
Your Queene and Salisbury.

Here by my side doth hang my wedding knifes; l. 173.
Take thou the one, and with it kill thy Queene,
And learne by me to finde her where she lies;
And with this other Ile dispatch my loue,
Which now lies fast a sleepe within my hart.

And if thou stir, I strike; therefore, stand-still l. 182.
And heare the choyce that I will put thee to:
Either sweare to leaue thy most vnholie sute
And neuer hence forth to solicit me;
Or else, by heauen, this sharpe poynited knyfe
Shall staine thy earthe with that which thou would staine,
My poore chast blood.
King. Euen by that power I sweare, that giues me now
The power to be ashamed of my selfe,
I neuer meane to part my lips againe
In any words that tends to such a sute.
The text of the ballad is defective and might perhaps be justly emended.

53. (she said) is probably a misprint for (said she).

5. THE SPANISH LADIES LOUE, &c. (Page 375).

Other copies: Rox. ii. 466; Bagford, i. 48, ii. 36; Pepys, iii. 148, &c; Wood, E 25. fol. 11; Percy, &c.

Entered to Wm White, in the Stationers' Registers, June 11, 1603, and assigned over on Dec. 14, 1624, to Pavier, Wright, and others. The hero was apparently one of Essex's comrades in the Cadiz expedition of 1576. It scarcely seems profitable to discuss his historical existence as Sir Richard Levison, Sir John Popham, or Sir John Bolle. A full account of the various traditions may be found in the Ballad Society's reprint of the Roxburghe Ballads.

62. Prest (cf. p. 384, l. 38), is used in the sense of ready. Dixon quotes from the old version of Ps. civ: 'Lightnings to serve we see also prest.'

63-4. English wives were counted proverbially fortunate, and reasons are given by Emanuel von Meteren: 'Their time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term gossips) and their neighbours, and making merry with them at childbirths, christenings and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom... This is why England is called the Paradise of married women.' Besant's Tudor London, pp. 269-70.

6. A FAREWELL TO LOUE. (Page 378.)

This and the two following poems are in quite a different style from the rest of Deloney's known poetry. The Farewell to Loue also occurs in William Byrd's Medius (1588), no. 25, with the omission of the last verse. It may be that Deloney himself appropriated these poems from other sources for his own collection, but more probably they were added by the printer to an earlier edition to bring the volume up to the required size. On the other hand there is just the possibility that they are really Deloney's work, and that the change of style is solely due to an effort to reach a different audience.

The text of the Farewell to Loue in the Garland, is somewhat defective. The following is the version in Byrd's Medius:

Farewell false loue, the oracle of lyes,
A mortall foe, and enemie to rest:
An enuisous boye, from whome all cares aryse,
A bastard vile, a beast with rage possest:
A way of error, a temple full of treason,
In all effects contrarie vnto reason.

A poysoned serpent couered all with flowers,
Mother of sighes, and murtherer of repose,
A sea of sorows, from whence are drawen such showers,
As moysture lend to euerie griefe that growes,
A schole of guile, a net of deepe deceit,
A guilded hooke, that holds a poysoned bayte.
A fortresse foyld, which reason did defend,
A syren song, a feuer of the minde,
A maze wherein affection finds no ende,
A ranging cloud that runnes before the winde,
A substance like the Shadow of the Sunne,
A goale of griefe for which the wisest runne.

A quenchlesse fire, a nurse of trembling feare,
A path that leads to perill and mishap,
A true retreat of sorrow and dispayre,
An idle boy that sleepe in pleasures lap,
A deep mistrust of that which certain seemes,
A hope of that which reason doubtfull deemes.

FINIS.

STRANGE HISTORIES.

Date. There is no evidence as to when this little collection of poems was printed. Probably, however, unlike The Garland of Good Will, none of the ballads had been circulated before, as they consist entirely of metrical versions of selected episodes from the English Chronicles, arranged in chronological order, in such a way as to suggest that they were designed to form a complete little volume.

Extant Editions.
[A] STRANGE HISTORIES, Of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlemen. ... London, Printed by William Barley, the assigne of I. M. and are to be sold at his shop in Gracious streete, 1602. (Britwell.)
The Dutchesse of Suffolkes Calamitie inserted after Cant. II in this edition has been obviously added to the original matter of an earlier edition, and hence it is not separately enumerated in the Table.

[B] 1607. STRANGE HISTORIES or Songes and Sonets, of Kingses, Princes, Dukes, Lordes, Ladyes, Knights and Gentlemen ... Imprinted at London for W. Barley. (Bridgewater House.)
[C] 1670? ... Imperfect, wanting title page and end. (Bodleian.)
[D] 1674. The Royal Garland of Love and Delight ... by T. D. London, printed by E. C. for E. T. (British Museum.)

This is the original Strange Histories, with other miscellaneous poems added, chiefly of a Restoration character.

The edition of 1607 inserts Salomon's Good Huswyfe immediately after Canto 1. and adds a number of miscellaneous poems after the prose Speech betweene Certaine Ladies. Salomon's Good Huswyfe is added to The Table of contents, but the other poems are unindexed as though they were added haphazard by the printer as an afterthought. Most of these are subscribed respectively with the initials T. R., A. C., and R., and with the exception of The Death of Faire Rosamond it is quite evident that Deloney's authentic work does not extend beyond the prose which closes the 1602 edition. But the addition of Faire Rosamond gives us the earliest known copy of this ballad, and the version in The Garland of Good Will (1631) has accordingly been collated with it in the notes on that poem.

The present reprint is from the edition of 1602.
Notes.

Cant. I. The valiant courage and policie of the Kentishmen, &c. (Page 383.)

Source. The story is given in Holinshed's Chronicle.

'After his (William's) coronation ... upon obtaining of the citie of London, he tooke his journey toward the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also; which when the Archbishop Stigand and Egelsin the Abbat of St. Augustines ... did perceiue ... they caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canterburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come vnto, the pride and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and grieue of bondage and seruile estate. Whereupon all the people rather choosing to end their vnfortunate life, then to submit themselves to an vnaccustomed yoke of seruitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to meet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countrie. Also the foresaid Stigand the Archbishop, and the Abbat Egelsin, choosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate ... became capteins of the armie. And at a daie appointed, all the people met at Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, laie prueneie in wait for the comming of the foresaid duke William ...'

'They agreed beforehand, euerie one of them, as well horsemen as footmen should beare boughs in their hands ... When the duke was come vnto the field and territories neere vnto Swanescombe and saw all the countrie set and placed about him, as it had beene a stirring and moouing wood ... with great discomfort of mind he wondered at that sight. And assoone as the capteins of the Kentishmen sawe that duke William was inclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounding, their banners to be displayed, and threw downe their boughes, and with their bowes bent, their swords drawne, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched foorth, they shewed themselves readie to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) sore astonied and amazed: so that he which thought he had alreadie all England fast in his fust, did now despaire of his owne life ...'

'Thereupon the Kentishmen sent to Duke William and asked that all the people of Kent enioy for euers their ancient liberties, and may for euermore vse the lawes and customes of the countrie ...'

'The Duke willingly agreed and thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and customes of the countrie, ... remaine inuoable observed vntill this daie within that countie of Kent.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, pp. 1–2.

Page 383 (heading). Kentishmen with long tayles. The origin of this saying is difficult. Du Cange says that caudati was originally applied to all Englishmen. An explanation is suggested in Bale's English Votaryes (first edition, p. 30): 'For castynge of fyshe tayles athlythes Augustyne, Dorsett Shyre men had tales euuer after. But Polydorus applyeth yt vnto Kentysch men at Stroude by Rochestre, for cuttyng of Thomas Beckettes horses tayle.'

5–8. 'He (William) was crowned King vpon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke.' Holinshed's Chronicle (1587), vol. ii, p. 1.


38. See p. 377, l. 62, and note.
Strange Histories. 587

Cant. II. How King Henry the first had his children drowned, &c. (Page 386.)

Another copy in Percy Folio.

Source. Apparently Holinshed's Chronicle.

'Henrie, haung quieted his businesse in France, returned vnto England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great joy and triumph. This pleasantnesse and mirth was changed into mourning by advertisement giuen of the death of the king's sons, Wm duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who together with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Perch, Richard Earle of Chester, with his brother Otwell gouvernor to duke William, ... and diverse others ... tooke ship at Harfleur ... Their ship thorough negligence of the mariners (who had drunke out their wits and reason) were throwne vpon a rocke, and ytterly perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25 of November, so that of all the compaine none escaped but one butcher ... Duke William might also haue escaped ... for being gotten into the ship boat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the skreeking of his sister in dreffful danger of drowning, crieng out for succour; whereupon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne back to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the prease of the compaine that stroue to leape in with hir, that it strecthwaies sanke, so that all those wh' were alreadie in the boat were cast awaie ... King Henrie being thus depruied of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that vnfortunate chance.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 41.

The Dutchesse of Suffolkes Calamitie. (Page 389.)

Other copies. Roxb. Coll. i. 94-5; Pepys, i. 544; Crowne Garland of Golden Roses (1659); Lord Crawford's Collection.

This ballad was assigned to Pavier, Wright, and others, December 14, 1624 (Stationers' Registers).

Source. The story of the Duchess of Suffolk's flight to Germany is given in Holinshed's Chronicle (1587, vol. ii, pp. 1143-5), 'ex Joh: Foxi Martyrologio', and Deloney might have used this account or drawn directly from the Acts and Monuments. In any case he confuses the order of the incidents and ekes the account out by his own invention or by some garbled traditional version. Fox does not mention the nurse, or the Duchess's begging for alms, and makes the highway robbery occur after the Duke and Duchess had left the town instead of before they reached it, as in Deloney's version. The quarrel with the Sexton, and the part played by the Governor in the poem appear also to be invention.

19-24. 'The fifteenth daie of March (1554) ... the ladie Elizabeth ... was apprehended ... on the Sundaie after ... she was committed to the tower.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 1107.

25-30. 'The Duchess and her Husband, dailie more and more by their friends vnderstanding that the bishop (i.e. Gardiner) meant to call hir to an account of hir Faith ... deuised waies ... how they might passe the seas.'

35. 'She tooke with hir hir daughter, an infant of one yeare.'

37-42. 'He (Master Berty) passed the Seas at Douer ... leauing the duchesse behind, who by agreement and consent betwixt hir and hir husband, followed taking Barge at Lion Keie.' Ibid., p. 1143.
Fox says the winds were contrary, but 'so soone as the duchesse had landed in Brabant, she and hir women were apparetled like the women of Netherland with hukes; and so she and hir husband tooke their iournie toward Cleveland'.

'The Lantgraves capteines ... set vpyn them in the highwaie with his horsemen.'

'There fell a mightie rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ise before congealed, was thawed.'

Fox tells the story differently: 'Master Bertie ... going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latine ... By these boies ... he chanced at the first vpon the house where Master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that towne.' Ibid., p. 1144.

'Peregrine Bartie, Lord Willobie.'

In the earldome of the said King of the Poles ... continued both in great quietnesse and honor, till the death of Queene Marie. Whose troublesome time ... being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gratious queene Elizabeth established the said dutchesse and hir husband returned vnto England.' Ibid., p. 1145.

From the metre and general sense of the first three verses it is evident that Deloney has in mind The Register of the Martyrs, written by Brice in 1559. Cf., for example, the opening verses of the Register:

When raging reign of tyrants stout
Causeless, did cruelly conspire
To rend and root the Simple out
With furious force of sword and fire;
When man and wife were put to death:
We wished for our Elizabeth.

When Rogers ruefully was burnt;
When Saunders did the like sustain;
When faithful Farrar forth was sent
His life to lose, with grievous pain;
When constant Hooper died the death:
We wished for our Elizabeth.

When Rowland Taylor, that Divine,
At Hadley left this loathsome light;
When simple Lawrence they did pine
With Hunter, Higby, Pigot and Knight;
When Causun, constantly, died the death:
We wished for our Elizabeth.

Pollard's Tudor Tracts, p. 270.

41. Grauesend Barge. See p. 146, l. 41, and note.
Strange Histories. 589

Cant. III. How King Henry the second, crowning his Sonne king of England, in his owne lifetime, was by him most grievously vexed with warres &c. (Page 394.)

Source. Apparently Holinshed's Chronicle.

9-32. 'He (Henry) called together a parlement of the lords both spiritual and temporal... and... proclaimed his said sonne Henrie fellow with him in the kingdome... Vpon the daie of coronation, the king Henrie the father serued his sonne at the table as sewer werupon... the young man conceiving a pride in his heart, beheld the standers-by with a more statly countenance than he had been wont.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 76.

49-72. 'Now perceiuing himselfe in danger of death... he sent to his father... confessing his trespasse committed against him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come and see him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himself into the hands of such vngratious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnatural doings against him. The son receiuing it with great humilitie, kissed it...'. Ibid., pp. 106-7.

73-108. 'After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heaue cloth to be put vp vnpon him, and after tieng a cord about his necke, he said vnto the bishops and other that stood by him I deliuer myselfe an vnworthie and greevous sinne vnto you the ministers of God by this cord, beseeching the Lord Jesus Christ, which pardoned the theefe... that through your praiers... it may please him to be mercifull vnto my soule... Draw me out of bed with this cord, and laie me on that bed strawed with ashes... and as he commanded so they did...'

110. 'King Henrie commanded that the corps of his sonne... should be deliuered vnto them at Rouen... and so it was taken vp and conuiced to Rouen where it was eftsoones buried.' Ibid., p. 107.

Cant. III. The imprisonment of Queene Eleanor, &c. (Page 397.)

Source. The historical groundwork is probably taken from Holinshed's Chronicle. Cf. II. 31-2 and II. 53-66 with the following:

'At length King Richard remembering himselfe of his mother queene Elianor, who had beene separated from the bed of hir husband for the space of sixeene yeares and was as yet detained in prison in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to set hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patent, to take vp hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his absence... but especiallie remembrance by hir late experience and tast thereof what an irksome and most greevous thing imprisonment was, she caused the gailes to be opened, and forth with set no small number of prisoners at libertie.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 117.


Cant. V. The lamentable death of King John, &c. (Page 399.)

Source. The story is given in Holinshed's Chronicle (1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 194), but the direct source is probably Fox's Acts and Monuments. The spirit and language of Fox's account resembles that of Deloney's poem. Fox, however, gives two stories: (1) how John was
Notes.

given poison in wine: (2) how he was poisoned by means of pears. From the second story Deloney takes the detail of the sweating precious stones.

13-20. 'The monke... went secretly into a garden... and finding there a most venemous Toad, he so pricked hym, and pressed him with his penknife: that he made him vomit all the poyson that was wythin hym. This done, he conueyed it into a cuppe of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance, he sayde thus to the King: If it shall like your Princely maistie, here is such a cuppe of wine as you never dronke a better before in all your life. I trust this wassall shal make al England glad. And with that he dranke a great draught thereof, the King pledging him.' Acts and Monuments (1583), vol. i, p. 256.

21-32. 'In Gisburn, I finde otherwise, who dissenting from other, sayeth: that he was poysoned with a dish of Peares... At the bringing in whereof, saith the said story, the pretious stones about the king began to swete. Insomuch that the king misdubting some poyson, demanded of the monke, what he had brought. He said: of his frute, and that very good.' Ibid., p. 257.

41-52. 'The Monke alone after went to the farmerye, and there died (his guts gushing out of his belly). I would ye did marke well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how vertuously they obey their kings, whom God hath appoynted... The king within a short space after (feeling great grieue in his body) asked for Symon the monke: and aunswered were made, that he was departed this life.'

69-76. 'His hired souldiours both English-men and strangers were still about him, and folowed his corpes triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the Cathedrall Church of worcester, and there honourably was he buried.' Ibid., p. 256.

5. oppose. The word was properly used of the mediaeval disputations. Here I suppose used in the affirmative sense.


Cant. VI. Of the Imprisonment of King Edward the second. (Page 402.)

Source. Holinsheds Chronicle.

21-70. 'It was concluded and fullie agreed by all the states... that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the King, he was not worthie longer to reigne, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place... But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother tooke the matter heauilie in appearance, for that his husband should be thus depruiued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so there vpon it was concluded that certeine soleinne messengers should go to Killing worth to moue the King to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne... They (the messengers) sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to doo, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceiued against him, would not faile but proceed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in linage... Notwithstanding his outward countenance discouered how much it inwardlie grieued him; yet after he was come to him selfe, he answered that he knew that he was fallen vnto this miserie through his owne offenses, and therefore he was contented patientlie to suffer it
Strange Histories.

... he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their received injuries." Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, pp. 340-1.

71-90. 'Diuerse of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was cheefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had togethier, how they might restore him to libertie, discommending greattie both queene Isabell, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers streit imprisonment ... And hereupon the queene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his Keepers, blaming them greattie for that they dealt so gentle with him ... and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.
To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.' Ibid., p. 341.

Cant. VII. Of King Edward the second, being poysioned. (Page 405.)

Source. Holinshed's Chronicle.
'They lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of tough nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe, avoide the force of such poison as had been ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose to rid him.

'Whereupon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asleepe, and with beaueiie feather beds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him downe and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as others haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which, passing vp into his entrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did mooue manie within the castell and towne of Berkeley to compassion, plainelie hearing him vtter a waileful noise, as the tormentors were about to murther him, so, that diuerse being awakened therewith (as they themselues confessed) praied heartlie to God to receiue his soul, when they vnderstood by his crie what the matter ment.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 341.

Cant. VIII. Of the Lord Matreuers and Sir Thomas Gurney, &c. (Page 408.)

Source. Holinshed's Chronicle.
'The queene, the bishop, and others that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the Lord Matreuers and Thomas Gurney, who flieng vnto Marcells, three yeares after being knowne, taken and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the cheife dooers, as the Bishop and other. John Matreuers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, pp. 341-2.


Cant. IX. Of the winning of the Yle of Man &c. (Page 411.)

Source. Probably derived from the entry in Holinshed for the year 1344.
'This yeare also, W. Montacute, Earle of Salisburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the said earle, and caused him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man .'

'Moreouer about the beginning of this eighteenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward . . . deuised the order of the garter.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 366.

Cant. X. How Wat Tiler and Iacke Straw rebelled against king Richard the second. (Page 413.)


12–13. 'Their number still increased, so that when the Essex men, and other of the hithir side the Thames, were passed ouer and joined with the Kentishmen, those that were assembled on that side the riuer vpon Blackheath; they were esteemed to be an hundred thousand.'

15. 'They had the messengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but he must needs come and speake with them.'

19–24. 'After the commons vnderstood that the king would not come to them . . . they were maruellouslie moued . . . They spoiled the borough of Southwarke, brake vp the prisons of the Marshalsea, and the kings bench, set the prisoners at libertie.'

27–32. 'The duke of Lancaster . . . they hated aboue all other persons. And hereupon agreeing in one mind, after diuere others of their outragious doings, they ran the same day to the said duke's house of the Sauoie . . . which . . . they set on fire . . .'

33–40. 'They went to the temple and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings and all that they might lay hand vpon. Also the house of Saint Iohns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seuen daies together . . .'

41–50. 'The third companie kept vpon the tower hill . . . where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him forth together with the lord treasurer, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads.'

51–4. 'Neither had they any regard to sacred places, for breaking into the Church of the Augustine friers, they drew forth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them . . .'

55–64. 'They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the Counters, destroied the books, and set prisoners at libertie . . . .

67–70. 'Finallie, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king . . . offered to them pardon, and his peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruinating of houses, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home . . . Hereupon . . . Wat Tiler . . . said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so as the conditions might be indited to his purpose . . .'

75–90. 'And when he (Wat Tyler) was come neere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, . . . sir John Newton was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant And because the
knight came to him on horsebacke and did not alight from his horse, Wat Tiler was offended ... and forthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. ... The mayor of London William Walworth ... forthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore astonied him therewith: and streightwaies other that were about the king ... thrust him through in diuerse parts of his bodie.'

_A Specche betweene certaine Ladies &c._ (Page 415.)

**Source.** Holinshed's _Chronicle_, as before, but Deloney finishes the account by a conversation put into the mouth of 'Ladies, being shepheards on Salisbury plaine'—presumably in the reign of Henry VII since the 'specche' ends with references to the Cornish Rebellion of 1497.

**Page 416. 5-11.** 'The king ... for some part of recompense of their faithful assistance in that dangerous season, made the said William Walworth knight, with five other aldermen.... Moreover the king granted that there should be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield, for an augmentation of the same armes.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 436.

18-24. 'I haue thought good to declare the confession of Lacke Strawe ... when he came to be executed in London.'

'We would haue killed the king and all men of possessions, with bishops, monks, chanons and parsons of churches ... Moreover ... we were determined ... to haue set fire in foure corners of the citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoil of the cheefist riches.'

Ibid., p. 438.

28. _desperate Traytors_, i.e. the Cornish rebels of 1497.

30-2. 'From Welles they went to Salisbury and from thence to Winchester, and to Kent: ...'

37-8. 'The capteines of the rebels ... brought their people to Blackeheath. ... Without long fighting, the Cornishmen were overcome.'

38-44. 'The Lord Audeleie was drawne from Newgate to the Tower Hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted vpon paper reversed and all to torne and there was beheaded the foure and twentith of June. Thomas Flammocke and Michael Joseph were hanged, drawne and quartered after the maner of traitors.' Holinshed, 1587 edition, vol. ii, p. 782.

**CANAANS CALAMITIE.**

**Note on Authorship.** This poem has been usually attributed to Thomas Dekker (e.g. by Hazlitt and Grosart) merely on account of the initials T. D. which appear on the title page. These might equally well represent Thomas Deloney, and the dedication affords convincing proof that Deloney and not Dekker is the real author.

_Canaans Calamitie_ is dedicated to 'M. Richard Kingsmill Esquier, Justice of peace and Quorum in the Countie of Southampton, and Surveyer of her Maiesties Courtes of Wardes and Liueries ...' and also of the 'pleasant Lordship of Highclere' (p. 418). The Kingsmills were an old county family connected with both Berkshire and Hampshire. Richard Kingsmill, 'the second son of Sir John Kingsmill of Sidmonton was of High Cleere, co. Southampton; and was attorney of the Court of Wards to Queen Elizabeth' (Notes and Queries, Series III, vol. i, p. 37). Now Deloney's _Jacke of Newberie_ shows clearly that the author had an acquaintance with Newbury so close as only to have been gained by actual residence there, and Highclere is only six...
Notes.

594

miles south of that town. (Introduction, pp. xi-xii.) To make the connexion more certain there occurs in Iacke of Newberie (p. 33, l. 12) an unexplained reference to Will Summers ‘breaking his face in Master Kingsmill’s seller’. This is almost certainly a reference to some family tradition of the Kingsmills, which Deloney had probably learnt from local gossip, but which has not come down to us in the pages of contemporary chroniclers.

In some way or other Richard Kingsmill had extended protection or friendship to certain of Deloney’s friends, and Deloney’s most marked characteristic is his bold and fervent Protestantism. Now the Kingsmill family in the time of Queen Elizabeth were closely connected with the Puritan movement, and Andrew, the brother of the Richard Kingsmill of the Dedication, was a Puritan divine of some celebrity. In A Most Excellent and Comfortable Treatise, &c., published in 1577, Andrew Kingsmill alludes to the ‘family vnion of the household of Sidmountaine’ and urges his sister ‘to consider therefore the goodness of God, howe he hath prouided for vs by the gentlenesses of our deere Mother, a place where we vse as an home and habitation, and that no Foxe hole, but thankes bee to God a warme and wel feathered nest where we have free egress and regresse.... Thanks be vnto our heauenly Father’, he goes on, ‘who hath loyned our house in such an vnity, that we do not...one disclaine the other in necessities and adversities, neither enuie ech other in things succeeding prosperously’ (1585, p. 11-12). Kingsmill’s graceful and pathetic little book shows us the united Puritan sentiment of his family, and it seems likely that Richard Kingsmill had earned Deloney’s gratitude by protecting some too fervent Protestants (perhaps artisans or refugees) against the rigour of Elizabeth’s ecclesiastical policy. Fox, in the Acts and Monuments, shows that in the earlier part of the sixteenth century Newbury was the centre of ‘a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers’, and Sir Richard Abridges, Sir William Rainsford, and John Winchcomb sat at the examination of Julius Palmer for heresy in that town in 1556. (1870, vol. viii, pp. 214-9.) Hence probably there was mutual respect between the Protestant town and the neighbouring Protestant gentleman. (Cf. also Note on Source of Gentle Craft, II, pp. 532-3.)

The reference ‘to the Princely Pertian’ who ‘will more respect the good will than the gift’ (p. 418, l. 19) may be compared with that in Iacke of Newberie; ‘each childe...gaue vnto his Maiesty a sweete smelling Gilliflower, after the manner of the Persians, offering something in token of loyalty and obedience’ (p. 37, ll. 35-8).

Cf. also ‘To the Gentlemen Readers, health’ (p. 419), with the Introduction to the Gentle Craft (II), ‘To the Courteous Readers, health’ (p. 140).

Date. The poem is probably that entered in the Stationers’ Registers in 1597-8.

Vto JANUARII.

THOMAS PURFOOTE
Senior
Entred for their Copie vnder the hand of master warden MAN/ The Destruction of Jerusalem

THOMAS PURFOOTE
Junior
by TYTUS, sonne of VESPATHIAN, in English meter . . . . . . ... vjd

‘A Ballet called A Warning to all England by the Dolefull Destruction of Jerusalem, &c’ was entered to Symon Stafford on October 11, 1604. It is reasonable to suppose it was founded on the present poem, and may have been written by Deloney himself.

Source. The source is of course Josephus, de Bello Iudaico.
Canaans Calamitie.

Josephus was a most popular writer with the Elizabethans but apparently the earliest English translation extant is that of Lodge (1602). The Stationers' Registers, however, show that 'The boke of Josephus' was licensed to R. Jugge in 1557–8, and another translation 'Josephus of the Warres of the Iewes' was licensed Oct. 12, 1591. Deloney might have used either of these versions or gone straight to the Latin. In any case the poem follows the original account with some closeness.

Extant Editions.
[A] 1618 Canaans Calamitie Ierusalem's Misery, or The dolefull destruction of faire Jerusalem. . . . At London, Printed for Thomas Bayly, . . . neere adioyning vnto Staple Inne. 1618. (British Museum.)
[B] 1640 . . . London. Printed by Tho: Badger, 1640. (Bodleian.)
[C] 1677 . . . Printed by Tho: James for Edward Thomas at the Adam and Eve in Little Brittain 1677. (British Museum.)

The present reprint is from the edition of 1618.

Notes.
43. Mark xiii. 14–24.
262. Cast by bill, 'added up on paper.'
618. Wilde. Malone showed this to be a true Elizabethan variety of vile. Cf. l. 749 and p. 465, l. 13.

MISCELLANEOUS BALLADS.
A PROPER NEWE SONET DECLARING THE LAMENTATION OF BECKLES, &C. (Page 457.)

This ballad is entered in the Stationers' Registers.

'13 DECEMBRIS 1586.

Nicholas Colman Receaued of him for printinge a ballad of the Lamentacon of Beckles a market towne in Suffolk, on Saint Andrewes Day laste paste beinge burnt with fier to the number of lxxx houses and loss of xx mill' (i.e. £20,000).

Reprinted from the Huth Collection, which contains another ballad on the same subject. The fire took place on the 29th of November previous. (Suckling's Antiquities of Suffolk, vol. i, p. 12.)

A MOST JOYFULL SONGE . . . AT THE TAKING OF THE LATE TRAYTEROUS CONSPIRATORS, &C. (Page 460.)

From the unique copy in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. This ballad, like that following, is practically a contemporary document upon Babington's Conspiracy, probably printed a day or two after the execution. Deloney might very well have been a witness of the scene he describes, and, in any case, his ballad affords interesting evidence of the extreme Protestant view in London at the time of the conspirators' execution. A ballad, from the very nature of its audience, had to be more or less popular in tone, and probably Deloney is only expressing contemporary feeling in his own thorough Protestant way. See also the note on the following ballad.

33-4. A reference to Eccles. x. 20: 'Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.'
596

Notes.


83. merely make, actually make. The Oxford English Dictionary quotes from Harrington’s Metamorphosis of Ajax, ‘As I say merely in the book, the 118 page.’

A proper new ballad breefely declaring the death and execution of fourteen most wicked traitors, &c.

(Page 464.)

From Collier’s Blackletter Broadsides. Another copy in the Earl of Crawford’s Library.

A long, unpleasant description of the execution will be found in Holinshed’s Chronicle (1587), vol. ii, pp. 1573-5, with which Deloney’s account is in strict accordance.

‘On the first daie (Sept: 20) the traitors were placed vpon the scaffold, that the one might behold the rewarde of his fellowes treason. Ballard the preest ... was the first that was hanged. ...’

Next vnto this preest, Anthonie Babington was made readie to the gallows, who in cuerie point was handled like vnto Ballard ...’

Next vnto Babington, Sauage was likewise prepared for the execution.

When Sauage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinate papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse: howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murther of a vertuous queene; ...’

After this Barnewell, Tichborns turne was serued, a proper yong gentleman, whose humilitie and mone moued much compassion. ...’

Tilneie one of the queens majesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman. ...’

The last of these seuen that suffered was Edward Abington ...

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentieth daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone upon an hurdell, and other six, two and two in like manner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered. ...

After Salisburie ... Dun was stripped vnto his shirt ... who after that he had ... disuadaed the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding favourite.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones ... then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two Men ... bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their praieieng to our ladie, calling upon saints, joined with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c.

When the hangman had giuen these two his heauie blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation ... he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons for which he was to die.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies.’

71-3. Cf. the gloss. in Holinshed, p. 1573: ‘A note of Babington’s pride at the verie instant of execution.’

A joyful new ballad, declaring the happie obtaining of the great Galleazo. (Page 468.)

The ballad was entered in the Stationers’ Register, on August 10, 1588: ‘John Wolf Receaued of him for printinge a ballad of the obteynenge of the Galleazo wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was chief.'
The taking of Pedro de Valdez' galleon on the 21st of July is thus described in the Annals of Elizabeth (Camden), 1625: 'A huge great Catalonian ship of Ochenda, was set on fire with Gunpowder, by the device of a Flemish Gunner. But the fire was seasonably quenched by other Shippes sent in for the purpose; amongst which a Gallion of Peter Valdes, falling foule with another Ship, and her fore-mast intangled and broken with the others sayle-yard, the Ayre being stormy and the night darke, and none able to relieue or succour her, was forsaken and became a prey to Sir Francis Drake, who sent Valdes to Dartmouth, and gaue the ship to bee rifled and pillaged by the Souldiers.' (Pages 269-70.)

Of the loss of de Moncada's galleon on July 29, Camden gives the following description (Annalls, 1625): 'The Admiralls Galeasse had her Rudder broken, and went almost adrift, and the day following, making fearefully towards Calais, ranne vpon the sands, and after a doubtfull fight ... was taken; Hugh Moncada, the Captaine beeing slaine, and the Souldiers and rowers eyther drowned or slaine, they found and carried away a great quantity of gold.'

See also Froude's History of England, vol. xii, pp. 396-7, 414-5.

92. Quite, i.e. quit or quiet, the same words. Cf. quit-rent.

THE QUEENES VISITING OF THE CAMPE AT TILSBURIE. (Page 474.)

This, together with the preceding ballad, was entered in the Stationers' Register on August 10, 1588 (the day following the actual events described): 'JOHN WOLF Alowed vnto him the queenes visitinge of the campe at Tilberye and her enterteynement there the 8 and 9 of August 1588.'

Reprinted from the unique copy in the British Museum.

Deloney's description of the Queen's visit agrees with that given in Elizabetha Triumphants (1588), by J. Aske (Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, 1788, vol. ii).

A campe of fiftie thousand able men,
Appointed should haue layne on Tilbery-hill,
Where Leicester's thrise made renowned Earle
Lieutenant was vnto our Royall Queene:
And Sir John Norris, honored for his deedes,
Lord Marshall was among that companie. Page 16.

The following parallel extracts illustrate the general reliability of the ballad:

41-50.
From Block-house where she should be set on land
Vnto the outward quarter of the Campe,
There rancked were both armed men and shot,
With Captaines, who of them had taken charge,
To entertaine their sacred Generall. Page 19.

51-80.
The cannons at the Block-house were discharged:
The drums do sound, the phiphes do yeeld their notes,
And ensignes are displayed throughout the Campe.
Our peerlesse Queene doth by her Souldiers passe,
And shewes herselle vnto her Subiects there:
She thanks them oft for their (of dutie) pains,
And they againe on knees do pray for her. Page 19.
Notes.

91-4. ... her Highnesse...
From out the Campe vnto her lodging then,
Full three miles distant from that warlike place,
Prepared for her to Master Ritche his house,
With purpose meant for to returne next day
That way againe, the better it to view. Page 20.

95-100. our Princely Soveraigne
Most brauely mounted on a stately steede,
With trunchion in her hand (not vsed there to)
And with her none, except her Liutenant,
Accompanied with the Lord Chamberlaine,
Came marching towards this her marching fight. Page 22.

Vnto the tent of her Lieutenant there:
Where readie were in readines each thing,
Which could be fit to entertayne a Queene. Page 23.

161-70. The writer of the article on Tilbury in the *Victoria County History of Essex* regards Elizabeth's speech as apocryphal. Deloney's account, however, is strikingly supported by that in *Elizabetha Triumphans*, and it must be remembered that the ballad was printed the day after the event. Both writers may of course, however, have made use of a common rumour.

Yet say to them, that we in like regarde,
And estimate of this their dearest zeale,
(If time of need shall euer call them foorth
To dare in field their fearece and cruell foes)
Wil be ourselfe their noted Generall. Page 24.

187-90.
Which sayd, she bowed her princely bodie downe,
And passed thence vnto the water side,
Where once imbarg'd the roring Cannons were

62. auncient, i.e. ensign.
128. cales, i.e. caulss.

A NEW BALLET OF THE
STRAUNGE AND MOST CRUELL WHIPPEES, &C. (Page 479.)

This ballad is entered in the *Stationers' Registers* on the last day of August, 1588: 'THOMAS ORWYN Allowed vnito him... a ballade of the strange whippes which the Spanyardes had prepared the Englishemen and women.'

Reprinted from the unique copy in the British Museum.

*There appears to be no foundation in fact for the substance of this ballad. Popular politics probably symbolized Spanish and papal aggression by the concrete whips and torments. The writer of an early naval ballad (Percy Society, vol. ii, p. 18) is distinctly sceptical:

Some say two shippes were full of whipps
But I thynke they were mistaken.*

97-112. Elizabeth is compared to Boadicea in *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588), with the same implications.
Now Voada, once Englands happie Queene,
Through Romans flight by her constrained to flie:
Who making way amidst the slaughtered corps,
Pursued her foes with honor of the day
With Vodice her daughter . . .
Are nowe reuied; their vertues liue (I say)
Through this our Queene, now England's happie Queene.
Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (1788), vol. ii, p. 22.

**THE LAMENTATION OF M'PAGES WIFE.** (Page 482.)

Reprinted from Collier's *Blackletter Broadsides*. The ballad afterwards passed into the possession of Frederick Ouvry, Esq., and Ebbsworth appears to have seen the original. Neither the Roxburghe nor Cranford copies are initialled, however.

The tragic story of 'Mistris Page of Plimouth' illustrates an unpleasant side of Elizabethan social life. The forced marriage of young girls to rich and elderly men is a common subject of reprobation among contemporary writers (see note on p. 21, l. 36), and such murders as that of Page were the natural outcome of such unnatural unions. J. P. Collier, in vol. ii of the *Papers of the Shakespeare Society* (p. 80), gives a prose account of the crime, which he professes to have 'transcribed from a copy preserved in an ancient library with which I am acquainted'. I have been unable to trace any such document, and while Collier gives the date of the execution as February 20th, 1591, it must be noted that the parish registers of Barnstaple give the date of burial as March 20th, 1589–90.

The full extract (quoted by Clark in the *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 109) runs as follows:

'Here following the names of them Prysoners which were Buryed in the Church yearde of Barnstaple the Syce (Assizes) week:—

Marche 1590
George Strongewithe, Buryed the xxth daye.
Vlalya Paige, Buryed by Byshope tauton the xxth daye.'

Two other ballads upon this murder are still extant, *The Lamentation of George Strangwidge, Who for the consenting of the death of Mr. Page of Plymouth, suffered death at Barnstable and the Complaint of Ulallia*, both in the Roxburghe Collection. (See Appendix on *Attributed Ballads*, p. 504.) Jonson in conjunction with Dekker wrote a play upon the subject, 'Pagge of Plimoth', which is however no longer extant (Henslowe's *Diary*, Aug. 10, 1599).

**A MOST SWEET SONG OF AN ENGLISH MERCHANT, &C.**

(Page 485.)

This ballad was entered with the author's name in the *Stationers' Registers* to Abell JeFFES, on the 22nd March, 1594: 'A moste sweete songe of an Englishe merchant that killed a man in Guidene and was for the same Judged to lose his head and howe in thende a mayden saued his lyfe by T. Deloney.' Guidene appears to be an error of the clerk for 'Emden'.

Reprinted from *Pepys*, i. 542; other copies: *Douce*, B. 4. 16; *Roxb*. i. 104, 105.

The custom of reprieving a condemned man who received an offer of marriage seems to have been common in Mediaeval France. Larousse, in the *Dictionnaire Universel* (*sub Mariage*), quotes from
Du Cange a letter dated 1382: ‘Hennequin Douart a été condamné par nos hommes liges jugeant en notre cour de Péronne à être pendu. Pour lequel jugement entéринer, il a été trainé et mené en une charrette par le pendeur jusqu’au gibet, et lui fut mise la harl au col, et alors vint en ce lieu, Jehennete Mournal, dite Rebaude, jeune fille née de la ville de Hamaincourt, en suppliant et requerant audit prévôt ou à son lieutenant que ledit Douart elle pût avoir en mariage; par quoi il fut ramené et remis ès dites prisons.’

Balzac makes a characteristically unpleasant use of the custom in the Contes Drolatiques. The topic has been discussed in Notes and Queries, 4to Series, v. 4, and verses were quoted from Reliquiae Antiquae, i, 288:

Of life and death now chuse thee.  
There is the woman, here the galowe tree!—  
Of booteh choyce harde is the part—  
The woman is the warrsy—duie forth the cart.

The custom is also noted in the Diary of John Manningham (Camden Society):

‘It is the custome (not the lawe) in France and Italy that yf anie notorious professed strumpet will begg for a husband a man which is going to execution he shal be reprieved, and she may obteine a pardon, and marry him, that both their ill lives may be bettered by so holie an action.’... In England it hath bin used that yf a woman will beg a condemned person for her husband, she must come in hir smocke onely and a white rod in hir hand, as Sterrell said he had seen.’

‘Montagne tells of a Piccard that was going to execution, and when he saw a limping wench coming to begg him: “Oh shee limps! she limps!” sayd hee “dispatch me quickly” preferring death before a limping wife.’

How the custom became connected with Emden, the flourishing German seaport of the sixteenth century, and a merchant of Chichester, I have been unable to discover. It does not seem reasonable to think that Deloney chose these localities out of mere caprice.

A play ‘the marnchant of emden’, apparently founded on the ballad, is noted in Henslowe’s Diary, July 30, 1594. It is not now extant.

Salomons good Houswife. (Page 490.)

This poem is reprinted from the 1607 edition of Strange Histories, to which it was added together with Faire Rosamond and some other poems undoubtedly not Deloney’s, which do not appear in the edition of 1602. The last verse missing in Strange Histories is added from the copy printed in J. P. Collier’s Blackletter Broadsides, and perhaps may therefore be regarded as of doubtful authenticity. According to Collier the copy printed for T. Simcocke is actually signed T. D.

The poem is of course a very close paraphrase of Proverbs xxxi.

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F. O. MANN.