Wilson's
Arte of Rhetorique 1560
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Introduction.

In 1560 there was imprinted at London by John Kingston, 'and now newlie sette forthe agayne, with a prologue to the reader,' 'The Arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence, set forthe in Englishe, by Thomas Wilson.' This is not the first edition. As is implied in the title the book had been already issued; it had been published in 1553, beautifully printed in black letter by Richard Grafton, the king's printer. For reasons which will appear hereafter, the last year of Mary's reign had been a stirring time for the author, and little leisure was left him for literary tasks. But with the accession of Elizabeth security and prosperity returned to him, and he set about preparing a new edition of his successful textbook. Much was altered and much added; he prefaced it by a new prologue of much personal interest. Towards the end of the year the corrected and completed book was issued from the press. It was reprinted in 1562, 1563, and 1567, and indeed frequently down to about the year of the Great Armada, when apparently, whether owing to the advent of newer textbooks or to the changing taste of a more fastidious and sophisticated period we cannot know, it fell out of demand and public esteem and gradually ceased to be reprinted. The Arte of Rhetorique, then, was in its day a work of great popularity; it passed through numerous editions and was eagerly read by two generations of seekers after eloquence and literary skill, and then slipped gently back into the night, gathering the dust of unused bookshelves. But a day arrives when the obsolete becomes again alive and interesting. A modern finds little to choose between the book that has been superseded and its successor; he loves them both for their strangeness and for the picture which they suggest to him of forgotten habits of thought. Antiquity gilds dullness; stupidity becomes amiable in dead men. It is not, however, the undiscriminating zeal of the antiquary or the mere delight in
in quaintness for quaintness' sake that has suggested the reprinting of this book. It is in its way a landmark in the history of the English Renaissance, and many passages in it are important and indeed indispensable to the historian of English literature. This has long been known; the book was styled by Warton 'The first system of criticism in our language'; but so far to all but a few it has been accessible only in extracts and these not representative. There is so much that is of interest in the mass that is forgotten, so much that explains and interprets many aspects of Elizabethan art, as to make this reprint of some service perhaps to those who are studying the period. The book appeared in an age of busy and eager experiment when many conflicting fashions were struggling for the mastery both in prose and in verse. Its author was no pedagogue remote from the live issues of the time. He was a courtier and a statesman as well as a writer and a scholar; on many of the problems which emerged from the turmoil of literary effort he had strong opinions, and the mark of them is left on his work. The student of Tudor literature may find it worth his while to hear what an alert and cultured contemporary has so say on these matters.

Thomas Wilson, the author (dignified by many as Sir Thomas Wilson, though he was never knighted) was born about the year 1525. He was a Lincolnshire man, the son of another Thomas Wilson of Strubby in that county and Anne Cumberworth his wife. He himself disclaims any pride in his native shire, and when Lincoln folk are mentioned in his books it is generally for their stupidity. He had all the Elizabethan's impatience of rusticity and dullness, all the contempt which London and the court felt for the country. 'It is better,' he says, 'to be borne in London then in Lincolne. For that the aire is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth much greater and the men for the most part more wise.' Yet he owed much to the neighbours of his early home. One of them, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, did much to promote Wilson to the honourable state employment of his later years. There are others who deserve no less mention—Katherine Willoughby,
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Duchess of Suffolk, with whom his friendship was firm and lifelong and about whom we shall hear presently; and Sir Edward Dymock, who helped him both at the University and later, and at whose house *The Arte of Rhetorique* was written during a holiday visit.

Thomas Wilson was educated first at Eton; in 1541 he became a scholar of King’s College, Cambridge. The time and the circumstances were fortunate. During his residence there Sir John Cheke was chosen provost, and Wilson was thus thrown into contact with what was at once the most progressive and the most national side of English Humanism. Through Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith (himself a member of King’s and afterwards his predecessor in the Secretaryship of State) he gained the friendship of Roger Ascham; through them, too, he became intimate with Walter Haddon, another member of the coterie and the most distinguished Latinist of his time. With him Wilson collaborated in his earliest book. Before he left Cambridge he had become one of a school of men who, by their scholarship and the individuality of their opinions, did much to mould the course of the Renaissance in England on its pedagogic side, and who had no inconsiderable influence on the development of English prose. From them he learned the lesson of simplicity and his horror of exaggerated Latinism. He fought side by side with them in the crusade against inkhorn terms, and he bore the brunt of the battle. For whereas Ascham confined himself to the practice of teaching and the composition of dialogues which contain precepts in style only by the way; whereas Haddon distilled from his pen poetical effusions in the learned tongues and Cheke’s influence was exerted through personal contact only, Wilson set himself in his textbooks on Logic and Rhetoric to provide sure guidance for the aspiring student who was anxious to acquire what the new learning had to give him. Through him the teaching of Cheke and Ascham found its way to a wider circle of disciples than either of these could command.

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

1 ‘Vita et obitus duorum fratrum Suffolciensisium, Henrici et Caroli Brandoni,
et acroamata in cosdem Graece et Latine conscripta, cum Cantabrigiensium tum
Oxoniensisium iugi commendatione et industria,’ etc. Edente Tho. Wilsono.

2 pp. 14, 66 inf.
things, greedie of learning, and Loth to take the foil in any assemblie.' The second example, 'Of Comfort,' is addressed to their mother. 'When God lately visited this relme with the sweating disease and received the two worthie gentlemen, Henrie, Duke of Suffolk and his brother Lord Charles: I, seeing my Ladies Grace their mother taking their death most greuiously, could not otherwise for the dutie whiche I then did, and euer shall owe unto her, but, comfort her in that her heaviness, the whiche undoubtedly at that time much weakened her bodie.' There is no mistaking the sincerity of his friendship. It is pleasant to read his gratitude for her patronage who was 'by birthe noble and witte great, of nature gentle and mercifull to the poore, and to the Godlie and especially to the learned an earnest good patronesse, and most helping ladie above all other'.

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

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

Richard Grafton was the leading publisher of his time and issued the First Book of Common Prayer, Hall's Chronicles, and many other notable works.
Despite his fears that the fruit being of a strange kind (so che as no English ground hath before this time, and in this sorte by any tillage brought forth) may perhaps in the first tasting, prove somewhat rough and harsh in the mouth, because of the straungenesse, the book had a considerable vogue. It was republished with corrections and additions in 1567 and frequently reprinted later. Immediately after, encouraged by its success to continue his plan of making the sciences accessible to the unlearned, Wilson published *The Arte of Rhetorique*. It was dedicated to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Master of Horse, to whom he tells us its inception was due. 'For whereas it pleased you, among other talke of learning, earnestlie to wishe, that ye might one daie see the preceptes of Rhetorike sett forth by me in English, as I had erst dooen the rules of Logike: hauying in my countrey this laste sommer, a quiete tyme of vacacion with Sir Edwarde Dymoke knychte: I trauailed so muche as my leasure might serve thereunto.' The book was published in 1553 and with its appearance his career as an author ceased for the time being, and he fell under the ban of religious persecution. 'Hard shift,' says Fuller, he made to conceal himself in the reign of Queen Mary.' Eventually he was forced to quit the country and fly over seas.

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

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

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

ceed to Rome, and in December, 1557, he became implicated in an intrigue at the Papal Court against Cardinal Pole. In January he was summoned by Philip and Mary to return to England and appear before the Privy Council. There can be no doubt what was the fate they had in store for him; Wilson apparently recognized the meaning of the summons; he paid no heed and was arrested in Rome by the Inquisition on a charge of heresy. His position was one of the greatest danger, and only the fortunate accident of an insurrection in the city prevented his death; apparently he had been already put to the torture. The incident is described in a passage of gravity and dignity in 'The Prologue to the Reader', which he added to The Art of Rhetorique in 1560. "Twoo yeres past, at my beyng in Italic, I was charged in Roome toune, to my greate daunger and utter vndoyng (if God's goodnesse had not been the greater) to hane written this booke of Rhetorike and the Logike also, for the whiche I was compted an heretike, notwithstanding the absolution granted vnto all the realme, by Pope Julie the thirde, for all former offences or practises, deuised againste the holie mother Churche, as they call it . . . God be my Judge, I had then as little feare (although death was present and the tormente at hande, whereof I felte some smarte) as euer I had in all my life before. For, when I sawe those who did seeke my death to be so maliciously sette, to make soche poore shiftes, for my readier despatche and to burden me with these back reckeninges: I tooke soche courage, and was so bolde, that the Judges did moche maruaile at my stoutnesse.' The account is too long to quote in full; but it shows that the spirit of Ridley and Latimer fired other men not less ardently though martyrdom was only for a few. 'In the ende,' he says, 'by God's grace I was wonderfully deliuered, through plaine force of the worthie Romaines (an enterprise heretofore in that sorte neuer attempted) being then without hope of life, and moche lesse of libertie.' In 1559, before his return to England he was made an L.L.D. of Ferrara, an honour which he afterwards received from his own university and from Oxford.

See infra.
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From 1560 to the end of his life, Wilson was employed in State business. He was appointed Advocate of the Court of Arches and Master of Requests; he enjoyed the patronage, like so many other men of letters, of the Earl of Leicester, and he was employed with increasing frequency on diplomatic missions. Amongst his other posts he held that of Master of St. Catherine's Hospital in the Tower of London; his conduct there seems to have aroused much controversy. 'Under Queen Elizabeth,' says Fuller, "he was made master of the hospital of St. Catherine's nigh the Tower of London, upon the same token that he took down the choir, which my author saith (allow him a little hyperbole) was as great as the choir of St. Paul's. I am loath to believe it done out of covetousness to gain from the materials thereof, but would rather conceive it so run to ruin that it was past repairing." Fuller's 'author' was Stowe in whose Survey of London the charge against Wilson is made. Whatever the motive which drew him into the task of house-breaking, he was checked in his destructive career, and the ancient privileges of the Hospital were apparently confirmed on the presentation of an earnest address from the inhabitants to Secretary Cecyl, complaining unto him against the said Master. It is unlikely that Stowe is right in alleging his action to have been for the sake of personal gain. Fuller's conjecture is the more charitable. The trial for treason of the Duke of Norfolk in 1571 and the detention and examination of the prisoners (under torture) absorbed his attention as a Tower official and he dates his letters 'from prison in the Bloody tower'. In the following year he was sent along with Sir Ralph Sadler 'to expostulate by way of accusation' with Mary, Queen of Scots. Two years later he was ambassador to the Netherlands, and in 1576 conducted the negotiations for the projected marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou. On November 12, 1579, he was sworn Secretary of State in place of Sir Thomas Smith.

1 Fuller, ibid.

Meanwhile,
Meanwhile, even under the pressure of State business (and Elizabethan officials were hardworked men) his pen was not idle. As early as 1556 he and Cheke had formed the project of a translation of Demosthenes into the English tongue. In 1570 there was published, being dedicated on June 10 of that year to William Cecil, 'Three Orations of Demosthenes, chiefe orator of the Grecians in favour of the Olynthians... with those his foure Orations against King Philip of Macedonie; most nedeful to be redde in these daungerous dayes of all them that loue their countries libertie and desire to take warn-"ing for their better auayle.' Wilson is responsible for the whole of this translation, which is said to attain a high level of scholarship. As is made clear on the title page the work was intended to have a political significance. Philip of Macedon for the Englishman meant Philip of Spain, and the lesson was enforced by a comparison of Athens and England in the preface. It is possible that the Government through Cecil commissioned Wilson to do the work; if so, he is the earliest of the long line of English authors who have used their pens in the service of politics. To be set side by side with Milton, Dryden, and Swift, to name only a few, is to be in no bad company. In his last publication he turned to the field of Economics. In 1572 he dedicated to Leicester 'a discourse on Usurye, by waye of Dialogue and Oracions'. The dialogue takes place between 'a rich worldly merchant, the godlie zealous Preacher, the Temporall and ciuil Lawyer', who in turn make the orations. As might be supposed the rich and worldly merchant is confuted and the godly and zealous preacher triumphs. Usury is condemned, as it had been by Aristotle and the Canonists, on moral grounds. In doing so the author is expressing the opinion held by his own generation; an Act of Parliament utterly forbidding the practice was passed the year before his treatise was published; at the end of the century Shakespeare in The Merchants of Venice takes the same standpoint. There is no wonder that the book was popular and much relished by the Church. In a prefatory letter to the author which appeared in the edition of 1584 the Bishop of Salisbury eulogizes the work.

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

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

Wilson became Secretary of State, as we have seen, in 1579; he did not live above two years to enjoy the office. While he held it, he obtained a reputation for great ability and deep policy. Despite his long connexion with the Leicester party, he seems to have done his best to dissuade Elizabeth from identifying herself with it at the expense of Sussex. ‘His peculiar knack,’ we are told, ‘was a politic and artificial nourishing of hopes.’

While he enjoyed the office of Secretary,’ says Antony Wood, ‘He became famous for three things (1) For quick dispatch and industry, (2) for constant diligence, and (3) for a large and strong memory.’ His friendship and influence were much sought after, and had he lived, he might have been a guide and patron to the new generation of poets and writers. As it was, he died while still in office in 1581, and his funeral was celebrated on June 17 in St. Catherine's Church, East Smithfield. His portrait may be seen in the National Portrait Gallery.

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

1 Antony Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, ed. 1721, p. 98.
3 Antony Wood, loc. cit.
4 Gabriel Harvey counts him as 'my honourable favouer'; he was one of the numerous friends from whom Harvey hoped advancement.
5 Lloyd in Gentleman's Magazine, ibid.
that his parents designed him for a life of letters and his own inclination drove him into business, there can be no doubt as to his capacity. Says Fuller, speaking of his secretaryship, 'It argues his ability for the place because he was put into it; seeing in those active times, under so judicious a queen, weakness might despair to be employed in such an office.' There is no reason to quarrel with this terse and just verdict. There is no mistaking his zeal for the Reformation. It shines through everything he wrote, and the reader of the Logike and the Rhetorike will have no cause to wonder at the papal persecution of his works. No opportunity is lost of driving a nail into the coffin of English catholicism. Examples will be found on many pages of this book. The pre-Reformation period is 'the doting world when stockes were saintes and dumme walls spake'. He approves the marriage of priests and monks. 'And I thinke the Bishops officers would have procured this matter long agoe, if they had not found greater gaines by Priestes Lemmans then they were like to haue by priestes wiues.' The Rule of Reason is one long Protestant tract in which the doctrines of Geneva are enforced by the apparatus of mediaeval logic. But though he loved Latimer as 'the father of all preachers' he was not blind to abuses in his own Church. 'Doe ye not see, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the Church, what thei can? I feare me one day, they wil pluck doune Church and alL Call you this the Gospell, when men seeke onely to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groat whether their soules go to Hell? A patrone of a benefice, will have a poore ymgrame soule, to beare the name of a Parson, for twentie marke or ten pound : and the patron himselfe, wil take up for his snapshare, as good as a hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learning decaied, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded.'

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

1 Fuller, ibid.  
2 P. 36.
The Renaissance did not come to pass in a night. The forms of teaching and schemes of knowledge which we associate with the Middle Ages subsisted for long side by side with the new learning. It is the mediaeval division of arts and sciences which we find in Wilson’s work. When he says in his preface to the *Arte of Logike*, that ‘divers learned menne, of other countries, have heretofore, for furtheraunce of knowledge, not suffered any of the sciences liberals, to be hidden in the Greke or Latine tongue, but haue with most earnest travaile, made every of them familiare to their Vulgar people’, the liberal sciences he is thinking of are no other than the famous seven of mediaeval pedagogy. Later on in the book, he runs them into a rude kind of rime for the benefit of the learner.

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

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

This is, however, only half the truth of the matter. Though
the historian must needs deny the cleavage once imagined between the old and the new, the theory of a kind of tropical dawn, a sudden passage from light to darkness, he must admit that the change of outlook and purpose of life which we call the Renaissance, though it was gradual, was none the less complete. It meant a new beginning for the artist and the author as well as for the theologian, the adventurer, and the statesman. In the Middle Ages the groundwork of thought and letters was logic. It extended to every department of culture. Works of piety and the poetry of love, to take two of the largest and simplest kinds of writing, were founded on a logical attitude towards things. In the schools it was supreme; the trivium was threefold only in name; dialectic overshadowed both rhetoric and grammar. With the Renaissance, however, a complete revolution took place. Logic gradually went under, and rhetoric, reinforced by the reading of authors, took the highest place in the curriculum. What happened in education happened also in literature. The reading of the ancients awakened a new delight in the melody of language: men became intoxicated with the beauty of words. The practice and study of rhetoric was quickly universal and coloured all literature. The new drama, with its preference for declamatory speeches over dialogue; the new prose, with its fantasy and its exuberance of figure; the new poetry, with its mythological allusiveness and its sensuousness of imagery, all owe their origin to the fashion of rhetoric. Unless the school and university training in rhetoric are borne in mind, an important factor in accounting for the wealth of imagery and expression in the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is overlooked. Tamburlaine and Lucrece, Arcadia and Euphues, a host of sonneteers—all come to the mind. It is no mere accident that Wilson’s long translation of Erasmus’s epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage reminds one of the first part of Shakespeare’s sonnets. The same literary impulse dictated both. The order of his two treatises and the greater popularity of the Rhetorique represent a fact in the development of literature and thought.

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

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

* The thing has in some degree been done by Professor Foster Watson's recent book, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*. Most of the above was written before I had an opportunity of reading it, but I have ventured to add one or two points from it which had escaped my own reading.
used in schools, none of which were in English. The most popular (it was greatly admired by Gabriel Harvey) appears to have been that of a Frenchman of the name of Talon who latinized himself as Talaeus. 'For answering the questions of Rhetorike,' says Brinsley in one place, 'you may if you please, make them perfect in Talaeus' Rhetorike, which I take to be most used in schools.' He was run hard by English competitors, the chief of whom was Charles Butler, a member of Magdalen College, who published his *Rhetoricae Libri Duo* in 1598. In a later edition he quotes by way of preface the eulogy bestowed upon him by Brinsley, 'Instead of Talaeus you may use Master Butler's *Rhetorike*, of *Magdalens* in Oxford, being a notable abridgement of Talaeus; making it most plaine and farre more easie to bee learned of scholers: and also supplying many things wanting in Talaeus...it is not of much greater price though the worth be double.' Brinsley commends it further for its treatment of the figures belonging to poetry, and for its rules as to metre. One other famous book on Rhetoric deserves notice. This is Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus*, a small but exceedingly well-constructed book. Like Wilson, its author had an adventurous career, for he began life as a postmaster at Merton College, and after sailing with Drake and Raleigh to the Main, and serving as a soldier in the Low Countries, settled down to his profession as an usher in a Devonshire school. Three years after he had commenced teaching, he was headmaster of a large school of his own in London, with three hundred pupils and an educational system which was famous all over Europe. His *Index* he dedicated to a senator of Venice; it had a continental as well as an English reputation. Of the others, and they are legion, there is no space here to deal at length and there is little profit and much tedium in a mere catalogue. Many will be found treated in Warton's *History of Poetry*, which is, much more than its name implies, a history of all branches of literature, and which is particularly well informed on this period.

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

Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own, sum up the author’s point of view. And in writing on such a subject as Rhetoric there is a double excuse, for a science must have a received terminology, and it lies not with every new artist to invent new names for his colours or the processes that he uses. The terms and divisions of Quintilian were common property among his Renaissance imitators, and with this caveat we can turn to *The Arte of Rhetorique* without the danger of unjust censure.

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

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

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

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

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

The philologist will find little to interest him in this book; unlike Mulcaster, Wilson touches not at all the study of language. He does preserve a number of old and obsolete words—'snap-share,' 'yngrame,' 'haultie,' 'nesh,' are a few—but his instinct was to distrust any word not in daily use, and he hated archaism as much as he did the inkhorn term. The student of style on the other hand will find him an instructive example of a certain stage in the development of English prose. The intention is plain enough; he desired to write as men spoke; to use no words and no constructions not already familiar to all his readers. Yet he utterly failed to carry this out in practice. There is a clumsiness and ineffectiveness of syntax which makes the expression of any abstract idea impossible or at best halting; it shows itself most prominently in his constant use of participial nouns, particularly in his definitions. Insinuation is 'a privie twining or close creeping in'; a conclusion is 'the handsomely lapping vp together, and brief heaping of all that which was said before, stirring the hearers by large vterance, and plentiful gathering of good matter, either the one way or the other'. It is easy enough to see that prose as an instrument of instruction or a means of expressing ideas is in its infancy here. The later Elizabethans found that Latinism was a safer road than that which Wilson and his fellows in their poverty trod, and the ideals of Cheke had to wait for their acceptance and their success till the days of Dryden. Yet Wilson was not free from extravagances of a kind incident to the practice of his art, and these are worth looking into as a possible clue to the origin of the most popular type of English prose in the generation which followed him. The historians tell us that
that Euphuism is older than Euphues, but they have failed to notice that the English study of rhetoric provides a much better indication of its origin than do the imagined influences of Italy and Spain. It is very easy to exaggerate the cosmopolitanism of literary effort; and an English source for this affectation is in the nature of things more likely than a foreign. Now, the recipe, so to speak, of Euphuism is to be found in *The Arte of Rhetorique*. By this is not meant that we claim that Wilson's book taught Lyly his secret; only that it was through the fashionable study of rhetoric in the literary coteries of the time that this manner of writing was evolved. Examples of what is meant abound in this book. One or two characteristics may be noted here. In the first place, one of the most prominent features of Lyly's style was its adornment with metaphors drawn from natural history of a legendary kind; this is recommended by Wilson when he talks of the use of similitudes:—

`Oftentimes brute beasts and thinges which haue no life, minister great matter in this behalf. Therefore those that delite to prove thinges by similitudes, must learn to knowe the nature of diuers beastes, of metailles, of stones, and all such as haue any vertue in them, and be applied to man's life.' Passages such as the following occur many times, and they all have the ring of Euphues about them. `For if felicitie should stand by length of time, some tree were more happie than any man, for it liueth longer, and so likewise brute beasts, as the Stagges, who liueth (as Plinie doth say) two hundred years and more.' Here is both the natural history and the ascription of the fact to the ancients, a favourite method with the Euphuists. But other characteristics are also to be found in these pages. The full-mouthed rhetoric of the later writer finds an anticipatory echo, so to speak, in such a passage as this:—`For if they that walke much in the sunne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the most part sunne burnt, it can not but be that they which wittingly and willingly travaile to counterfect other, must needes take some colour of them and be like unto them in some one thing or other, according to the prouerbe, by companying with the wise, a man shal learn wisedome:' or in a translation such as that which Wilson gives.
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gives on p. 186, of Tully's invective against Verres, a passage which shows that a large part of the Euphuistic manner was derived from the imitation of Cicero, practised by the teachers and students of rhetoric in the schools. The connexion of Wilson with the Literature of the reign of Elizabeth must now (as he would say) be set forth more at large.

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Full faire and white she is and White by name:

There is no need to multiply instances. As Wilson scornfully says, 'The fine courtier wil talke nothing but Chaucer,' and the fine courtier was to be the saving of English verse. Wilson and his companions, in attacking Latinisms and language borrowed from the older poets, were attacking the two most precious sources of the Elizabethan poets' vocabulary. All the sonorousness, dignity, and beauty of Spenser and the dramatists would have been lost had they succeeded in their object, and English poetry would have been starved into the warped and ugly forms of Sternhold and Tusser. We cannot, then, regret that their efforts failed, as they did. For all their learning and high morality, they were not fit teachers; their moral preoccupations made it impossible that they should be so. Their ideal reappeared and was fulfilled late in the seventeenth century when fantasy and imagery had worn themselves out and the greater richness of the language made simplicity possible and adequate for poetic speech.
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There remains a matter of special interest. From time to time there have been critics who suggested that traces of the reading of *The Arte of Rhetorique* might be found in Shakespeare. Nathan Drake, a student of Shakespeare whose wide knowledge of minor Elizabethan literature should have saved him from the neglect into which he has fallen, suggested that the character of Dogberry might be derived from Wilson. 'An other good fellowe of the countrey, being an Officer and Maior of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, haung just occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, said after this wise in a great heate. Thou yngrame an vacation knau, if I take thee anymore within the circumcision of my damnation: I will so corrupt thee, that all other vacation knaues shall take illsample by thee.' There is sufficient similarity to warrant the suggestion, but much more certain evidence of Shakespeare's reading of Wilson is to be found; it lies, as might be expected, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. There can be no doubt from this play that Shakespeare had read some Rhetoric, that he found it tedious and dull and fit matter only for ridicule and laughter. It is the formal rhetoric which he satirizes; its schemes and its technical terms. 'I will look again on the intellect of the letter,' says Holofernes, 'for the nomination of the party writing to the person written unto.' The word here is Wilson's Intellection, which is 'a trope, when we gather or judge the whole by the part, or part by the whole'. But Holofernes was not the only student of *The Arte of Rhetorique* in the company gathered in Navarre. Don Armado culled some of the splendour of his speech from this source. His letter to Jaquenetta is modelled on one of Wilson's examples. He is writing of King Cophetua:

'He it was that might rightly say Veni, vidi, vici; which to annotanize in the vulgar,—O base and obscure vulgar!—videlicet, He came, saw, and overcame: he came, one; saw, two; overcame, three. Who came? the king: why did he come? to see: why did he see? to overcome: to whom came he? to the beggar: what saw he? the beggar: who overcame he? the beggar. The conclusion is victory: on whose side? the king's. The captive is enriched: on whose side? the beggar's. The catastrophe is a nuptial:'

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on whose side? the king's: no, on both in one, or one in both. I am the king; for so stands the comparison: thou the beggar: for so witnesseth thy lowliness.'

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

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

I have to acknowledge the help and suggestions of Professor Raleigh, and of Professor Grierson of Aberdeen University, and the courtesy of Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who kindly lent me his copy of the very rare edition of 1560.

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

George Herbert Mair.

Oxford, December, 1908.
NOTE

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

Imprinted at London, by George Robinson. 1585.
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORDE JOHN DUDLEY,
Lorde Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, and
Maister of the Horse to the Kings
Majestie: your assured to
command, Thomas Wilson.

When Pirrhus King of the Epirotes made bataile against the Romaines, and could neither by force of armes, nor yet by any policie winne certaine strong Holdes: He vsed commonly to send one Cineas (a noble Orator, and sometimes Scholer to Demosthenes) to perswade with the Captaines and people that were in them, that they should yeeld up the saide Hold or Townes without fight or resistaunce. And so it came to passe, that through the pithie eloquence of this noble Orator, divers strong Castelles and Fortresses were peaceably given up into the bandes of Pirrhus, which he shoule have found very hard and tedious to winne by the sworde. And this thing was not Pirrhus himselfe ashamed in his
The Epistle.

common talke, to the praise of the said Orator openly to confess: alledging that Cineas through the eloquence of his tongue, wanne moe Cities unto him, then ever himself should els haue beene able by force to subdue. Good was that Orator that could doe so much: & wise was that King which would use such a meane. For if the worthinesse of Eloquence maie move vs, what worthier thing can there bee, then with a word to winne Cities and whole Countries? If profite maie perswade, what greater gaine can we haue, then without bloudshed achiue to a Conquest? If pleasure maie prouoke vs, what greater delite doe wee knowe, then to see a whole multitude, with the onely talke of man, rauished and drawne which way he liketh best to haue them? Boldly then may I aduenture, and without feare step forth to offer that unto your Lordship, which for the dignitie is so excellent, and for the use so necessarie: that no man ought to be without it, which either shall beare rule ouer many, or must haue to doe with matters of a Realme. Considering therefore your Lordships high estate and worthie calling, I knowe nothing more fitting with your Honor, then to the gift of good reason and understanding, wherewith we see you notablie endued, to ioyne the perfection of Eloquent
The Epistle.

utterance. And because that as well by your Lord-
ship's most tender imbracing of all such as be
learned, as also by your right studious exercise: you
do evidently declare, not only what estimation you
have, of all learning and excellent qualities in gene-
rall, but also what a speciall desire and affection, you
beare to Eloquence: I therefore, commend to your
Lordship's tuition and patronage, this treatise of
Rhetorique, to the ende that ye may get some fur-
theraunce by the same, & I also be discharged of my
faithfull promise, this last yere made unto you. For,
whereas it pleased you among other talke of learn-
ing, earnestly to wisb, that ye might one day see
the preceptes of Rhetorique, set forth by me in En-
glish, as I had erst done the rules of Logicke: hav
ing in my countrey this last Sommer, a quiet time of va-
cation, with the right worshipfull Sir Edward Dim-
make Knight: I travailed so much, as my leasure
might serve thereunto, not onely to declare my good
heart, to the satisifying of your request in that be-
halfe, but also through that your motion, to helpe
the towardnesse of some other, not so well furnished
as your Lordship is.

For, as touching your selfe, by the time that per-
fekt experience, of manifolde and weightie matters
A. iiij.
The Epistle.

of the Commonweale, shall have encreased the Eloquence, which alreadie doth naturally flowe in you: I doubt nothing, but you will so farre be better then this my Booke, that I shall not onely blush to chalenge you for a Scholer, in the Art of Rhetorique, by me rudely set forth: but also be druen to set this simple treatise, to your Lordship to Schoole, that it may learne Rhetorique of your daylie talke, finding you such an Oratour in your speech, as great Clarkes do declare what an Oratour should bee. In the meane season, I shal right humbly befeech your good Lordship, so to be a patrone and defendour of these my labours, to you dedicated: as I shall be a continual petitioner unto almighty God, for your preservation, and long continuance.
A Prologue to the Reader.

GREAT may their boldness be thought, that seek without fear to set forth their knowledge: & suffer their doings to be seen, they care not of whom. For, not only thereby do they bring men to think, that they stand much in their own conceit, but also they seem to assure themselves, that all men will like whatsoever they write. Wherein they commit two great faults: the one is, that they are proud: the other is, that they are fond. For, what greater pride can there be, than for any man to think himself to be wiser, than all men living? Or what greater folly can be imagined, than for one to think, that all men will like, whatsoever he writeth? Such are they for the most part by all likelihood, that do set forth Books. Wherein they do both betray themselves, and also give great occasion to the world, to talk largely of them. But all those that do write, are not such as I say, nor mean as I think, as the which are wise and learned men, writing only under the correction of others, to edifice their neighbour, and not seeking in any wise their own glory. Neither all that be Readers will take their pleasures, but rather stay their judgements, and weye things with reason. Some perhaps may like the writer, if his doings be good, but the most part undoubtedly must of force bee offended, as the which are corrupt of judgement, because they are nought. Then such as seek the greatest praise for writing of Books, should do best in my simple minde to write foolish toys, for then the most part would best esteeme them. And herein perhaps may I get some advantage, that in my yong yeares, have been bold to set forth my simple fantasies. For, in folly, I dare compare with the proudest, and in pride I dare match with him that is most foolish: not doubting to finde such fellows, that not onely will seeke to be egall vnto me, and perhaps excell me, but also such as will therein right well esteeme me.

A.iii

Cicero
A Prologue to the Reader.

Cicero in his second Booke de Oratore, bringeth in one Lucilius, a pious, saintly, and merie conceipted man, who faith, that he would not haue such things as he wrote to bee read, either of thofe that were excellently learned, or of them that were altogether ignoraunt. For, that the one would thinke more of his doinges, and haue a farther meaning with him, then euer the authour felfe thought: the other taking the booke in his hand, would understand nothing at all, being as meete to reade Authours, as an Asse to play on the Organnes. This man in thus faying, had some reafon. But I being somewhat acquainted with the world, haue found out an other fort of men, whom of all others, I would bee loth should reade any of my doinges: especially fuch things as either touched Christ, or any good doctrine. And thofe are fuch malicious folke, that loue to finde faults in other mens matters, and feuen yeares together wil keepe them in ftore, to the vfter vndoing of their Christian brother: not minding to reade for their better learning, but seeking to depraue whatfoeuer they finde, and watching their time, will take beft aduauntage to vndoe their neighbour. Such men I fay of all others, would I be loth to haue the sight, of any myne earneft doinges, if I could tell how to forbid them, or how to hinder them of their purpose.

Two yeares paft at my being in Italie, I was charged in Roome Towne, to my great danger and vnter vndoing (if Gods goodneffe had not bin the greater) to haue written this Booke of Rhetorique, & the Logick also, for the which I was coumpted an Hereticke, notwithstanding the abolution, graunted to al the Realme, by Pope Iulie the third, for al former offences or practises, deuised againft the holy mother Church, as they call it. A straunge matter, that thinges done in England feuen yeres before, and the fame vnierfully forgien, should afterwards be layd to a mans charge in Roome. But what cannot malice doe? Or what will not the wilfull deuife, to satisfie their minde, for vndoing of others? God be my Judge, I had then as little feare (although death was present, and the torment at hand, wherof I felt some smart) as euuer I had in all my life before. For, when I faw thofe that did feeke my death, to bee fo maliciously fet, to make such poore shifs for my readier dispatch, and to burden me with those
those backe reckenings: I tooke such courage, and was so bolde, that the Judges then did much maruaile at my stoutnesse, and thinking to bring doune my great heart, told me plainly, that I was in farther perill, then wherof I was aware, and fought therupon to take aduauntage of my words, and to bring me in daunger by all meanes possible. And after long debating with me, they willed me at any hand to submit my selfe to the holy Father, and the devout Colledge of Cardinallles. For otherwise there was no remedie. With that beeing fully purpofed, not to yeeld to any submission, as one that little trusted their colourable deceit: I was as ware as I could bee, not to vtter any thing for mine owne-harme, for feare I shoulde come in their daunger. For then either should I haue dyed, or els haue denied both openly and shamefully, the knowne trueth of Christ and his Gospell. In the ende by Gods grace, I was wonderfully deliuered, through plain force of the worthie Romanes (an enterprife heretofore in that fort neuer attempted) being then without hope of life, and much leffe of libertie. And now that I am come home, this booke is mewed me, and I defired to looke vpon it, to amend it where I thought meet. Amend it, quoth I? Nay, let the booke firft amende it selfe, and make mee amendes. For surely I haue no caufe to acknowledge it for my booke, because I haue so smarted for it. For where I haue beene euill handled, I haue much a doe to shewe my self friendly. If the Sonne were the occasion of the Fathers imprisonment, would not the Father bee offended with him thinke you? Or at the leaft, would he not take heede how hereafter he had to doe with him? If others neuer get more by bookes then I haue done: it were better be a Scholer, for worldly profite. A burnt child feareth the fire, and a beaten dogge eschweth the whippe. Now therefore, I will none of this booke from henceforth, I will none of him I fay: take him that lift, and weare him that will. And by that time they haue paid for him so dearely as I haue done, they will bee as weare of him as I haue beene. Who that toucheth Pitch shall be filed with it, and he that goeth in the Sunne shall bee Sunne burnt, although he thinke not of it. So they that wil reade this or such like bookes, fhall in the ende bee as the bookes are. What goodnesse is in this treatife,
A Prologue to the Reader.

I cannot without vainglorie report, neither will I meddle with it, either hot or colde. As it was, so it is, and so bee it still hereafter for mee; so that I heare no more of it, and that it be not yet once again cast in my dish. But this I say to others, as I am assured they will laugh that will reade it: So if the world should turne (as God forbid) they were most like to weep, that in all pointes would followe it. I would bee loth that any man should hurt himselfe for my doings. And therefore to auoyde the worst for all parts, the best were never once to looke on it: for then I am assured no man shall take harme by it. But I thinke some shall reade it, before whom I doe wash my handes, if any harme should come to them hereafter, & let them not say but that they are warned. I neuer heard a man yet troubled for ignoraunce in Religion. And yet me thinke it is as great an heresie not to know God, as to erre in the knowledge of God. But some perhaps may say vnto me: Sir, you are much to be blamed that are so fearfull, and doe cast such perillles before hande, to discourace men from well doing. I aunswer: My minde is not to discourace any man, but only to shewe how I haue bean tried for this bookes fake, tanquam per ignem. For in deede the Prifon was on fire when I came out of it, and where as I feared fire most (as who is he that doth not feare it?) I was deliuered by fire and sworde together. And yet now thus fearfull am I, that haue beene thus swinged, and restraine of libertie: I would first rather haflard my life presently hereafter to dye vpon a Turke: then to abide againe without hope of libertie, such painfull imprisonment for euer. So that I haue now got courage with sufferinge damage, and my selfe as you see, very willing from henceforth to dye: being then brought only but in feare of death. They that loue forrosse vpon forrosse: God send it them. I for my part had rather bee without fence of griefe, then for euer to live in griefe. And I thinke the troubles before death being long sufered, and without hope continued are worfe a great deale, then present death it selfe can bee: Especially to him that maketh litle accompt of this life, and is wel armed with a constant mind to Godward. Thus I haue talked of myselfe more then I needed, some will say, and yet not more (may I well say) then I haue needed in deede. For I was without all helpe, and
A Prologue to the Reader.

and without all hope, not onely of libertie, but also of life, and therefore what thing needed I not? Or with what wordes sufficiently could I set forth my neede? God be praifed, and thankes be giuen to him onely, that not onely deliuered me out of the Lyons mouth, but also hath brought England my deare Countrey, out of great thraldome and forraigne bondage.

And God faue the Queenes Maieftie, the Raelme, and the scattered flocke of Chrift, and graunt, O mercifull God, an vniuersall quietnesse of minde, perfect greement in doctrine, and amendment of our lues, that we may be all one Sheepefolde, and haue one Paftour Iefus, to whom with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Gh oft, bee all honour and glorie worlde without ende. Amen.

This feuenth of December.

1560.
ELOQUENCE FIRST
given by God, and after lost
by man, and last repayred
by God againe.

Man (in whom is powred the breath of life) was made at
the first being an euerliuing creature, vnto the likenesse
of God, endued with reason, and appointed Lorde ouer all
other thinges liuing. But after the fall of our first Father,
sinne so crept in that our knowledge was much darkned,
and by corruption of this our flesh, mans reason and entende-
ment were both ouerwhelmed. At what time God being
fore greeued with the follie of one man, pitied of his mere
goodnesse the whole state and posteritie of Mankind. And
therefore (whereas through the wicked suggeftion of our
ghoſtly enemie, the ioyfull fruition of Gods glorie was
altogether lost:) it pleafed our heauenly Father to repaire
mankind of his free mercie, and to graunt an euerliuing
enheritaunce, vnto all such as would by conſtant faith seeke
earnestly hereafter. Long it was ere that man knewe him-
ſelfe, being deſtitute of Gods grace, fo that all thinges waxed
fauage, the earth vntilled, societie neglected, Gods will not
Icnowne, man againſt man, one againſt an other, and all
againſt order. Some liued by spoyle: some like brute beaſtes
graied vpon the ground: some went naked: some roomed
like Woodofes: none did any thing by reaſon, but moſt
did what they could by manhood. None almoſt considered
the euerliuing GOD, but all liued moſt commonly after their
owne luft. By death they thought that all thinges ended:
by life they looked for none other liuing. None remembred
the true obſeuation of Wedlocke: none tendered the edu-
cation of their children: Lawes were not regarded: true
dealing was not once vsed. For vertue, vice bare place:
for right and equitie, might vsed authoritie. And therefore,
whereas man through reaſon might haue vsed order: man
through folie fell into errore. And thus for lacke of skill,
and for want of grace euill fo preuailed, that the deuill was
moft eſteemed, and God either almoſt vnknowne among them
all, or els nothing feared among fo many. Therefore, euem
now
now when man was thus past all hope of amendement, God still tendering his owne workmanship, stirring vp his faithfull and elect, to perswade with reason all men to societie. And gave his appointed Ministers knowledge both to see the natures of men, and also graunted them the gift of utterance, that they might with ease win folke at their will, and frame them by reason to all good order. And therefore, whereas men liued brutishly in open feeldes, hauing neither house to shroude them in, nor attire to clothe their backes, nor yet any regard to seeke their best auaile: these appointed of GOD called them together by utterance of speech, and perswaded with them what was good, what was bad, & what was gainful for mankind. And although at first the rude could hardly learne, and either for the straungenesse of the thing, would not gladly receive the offer, or els for lack of knowledge, could not perceiue the goodnesse: yet being somewhat drawne, and delited with the pleafantnesse of reafon, and the sweetnesse of utterance: after a certaine space they became through Nurture and good aduifement, of wilde, sober: of cruell, gentle: of fooles, wise: and of beaftes, men: such force hath the tongue, and such is the power of Eloquence and reafon, that moft men are forced, euens to yeeld in that which moft standeth against their will. And therefore the Poets doe feine, that Hercules being a man of great wisdom, had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine, to drawe them and leade them euens as he lufted. For his witte was so great, his tongue so eloquent, and his experience such, that no one man was able to withftande his reafon, but every one was rather driuen to doe that which he would, and to will that which he did: agreeing to his aduife both in word and worke in all that euer they were able. Neither can I see that men could haue beene brought by any other meanes, to liue together in fellowship of life, to maintaine Cities, to deale truely, and willingly obeye one an other, if men at the first had not by art and eloquence, perswaded that which they full oft found out by reason. For what man I pray you, beeing better able to maintaine himselfe by valiaunt courage, then by liuing in base subjection, would not rather looke to rule like a Lord, then to liue like an vnderling: if by reason he were not perswaded, that it behoueth every man to
The Preface

to live in his owne vocation; and not to seeke any higher rounde, then wherunto he was at the first appointed? Who would digge and delue from Morne till Euening? Who would travaile and toyle with ye sweat of his browes? Yea, who would for his Kings pleasure aduenture and haflarde his life, if witte had not so won men, that they thought nothing more needfull in this world, nor any thing whereunto they were more bounden: then here to live in their dutie, and to traine their whole life according to their calling. Therefore, whereas men are in many thinges weake by Nature, and subject to much infirmity: I thinke in this one point they passe all other creatures liuing, that haue the gift of speech and reason. And among all other, I thinke him moft worthie fame, and amongst all men to bee taken for halfe a GOD: that therein doth chiefly and above all other excell men, wherein men doe excell beastes. For he that is among the reasonable of almost reasonable, and among the wittie, of all most wittie, and among the eloquent, of all most eloquent: him thinke I among all men, not onely to be taken for a singuler man, but rather to bee compted for halfe a God. For, in seeking the excellencie hereof, the soner he draweth to perfection, the nyer he commeth to God, who is the cheefe wisedome, and threfore called God, because he is most wise, or rather wisedome it self.

Now then, seing that God giueth his heauenly grace, vnto al such as call vnto him with stretched handes, and humble heart, neuerwanting to those, that want not to themselues: I purpose by his grace and especiall assistance, to set forth such precepts of eloquence, and to shewe what obseruation the wise haue vried, in handeling of their matters: that the vnlearned by seeing the practive of others, maie haue some knowledge to themselves, and lerne by their neighbours deuise what is necessarie for them selues in their owne case.
Gaulterus Haddonus D. Iuris

Civilis, Et Reginae Maiestatis, à
Libellis supplicibus.

R

Etoricem Logice soror, est affata sororem:
Quem didicit nuper, sermo Britannos erat.
Retorice tacuit, magno perculse dolore:
Nam nondum nostro nouerat ore loqui.
Audist hanc, Logices, Wilsonus forte, magister:
Qui fuerat, nostros addideratque sonos.
Retorice mutam, verbis solatus amicis:
Seuocat, & rogitat num esse Britannam velit?
Desijciens oculos respondit velle libenter:
Sed se, qua possit, non reperire, via.
Ipse vias (inquit) tradam, legesque loquendi:
Quomodo perfecte verba Britannam loces.
Liberat ille fidem, nostro sermone politur:
Retorice, nostra est utraque facula soror.
Anglia nobilitum si charus sermo sororem.
Est tibi, sermonis charus & author erit.

Thomas Wilsonus in Angli-
cam Rhetoricem suam.

Anglia si doceat, quod: Gracia docta: quid obstat
Quo minus ex Anglis Anglia, vera sciat.
Non (quia Grecia potes, vel calles verba Latina)
Doctus es, aut sapiens: sed quia vera vides.
Aurea secreto tegitur sapientia sensu.
Sed me Rhetoricem nequeat cum lingua polire:
Cui vacat, hoc unum quod valet, oro velet.
The arte of Rhetorique.

What is Rhetorique.

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

The matter whereupon an Orator must speake.

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

Of questions.

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

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

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

Things generally spoken without all circumstances, are more proper vnto the Logician, who talketh of thinges universally, without respect of person, time, or place. And yet notwithstanding, Tullie doth say, that whofoeuer will talke of particular matter must remember, that within the same also is comprehended a generall. As for example. If I shall ask this question, whether it bee lawful for William Conquerour to invade England, and win it by force of Armour, I must also consider this, whether it bee lawful for any man to usurpe power, or if bee not lawful. That if the greater cannot be borne withall, the lesse can not bee neither. And in this respect, a generall question agreeth well to an Orators profession, and ought well to bee knowne for the better furtherance of his matter, notwithstanding the particular question is euery called in controverfie, and the generall only thereupon considered, to comprehend and compasse the fame, as the which is more generall.

The ende of Rhetorique.

Three things are required of an Orator.

To teach.

To delight.

And to perfwade.

Frst therefore, an Orator must labour to tell his tale, that the hearers may well knowe what he meaneth, and understand him wholy, the which he shal with ease vfe, if he utter his minde in plaine words, such as are usually receiued, and tell it orderly, without going about the bu{h. That if he doe not this, he shall never doe the other. For what man can be delited, or yet be perfwaded with the only hearing of those things, which he knoweth not what they meane. The tongue is ordeined to expresse the minde, that one may understand an others meaning: now what auaileth to speake, when none can tell what the speaker meaneth? Therefore
The arte of Rhetorique.

Phauorinus the Philosopher (as Gellius telleth the tale) did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbes very handsomely, for vling ouer old, and ouer straunget words. Sirha (quoth he) when our olde great auncefters and Graundfires were alieue, they spake plainly in their mothers tongue, and vfed olde language, such as was spoken then at the building of Roome. But you talke me such a Latine, as though you spake with them even now, that were two or three thousand yeres agoe, and onely because you would haue no man to vnderstand what you say. Now, were it not better for thee a thousande fold, (thou foolifh fellowe) in seeking to haue thy desire, to holde thy peace, and speake nothing at all? For then by that meanes, fewe should knowe what were thy meaning. But thou faireft, the olde antiquitie doth like thee beft, because it is good, sober, and modest. Ah, liue man, as they did before thee, and speake thy mind now as men doe at this day. And remember that which Caesar faieth, beware as long as thou liuеft of straunget wordes, as thou wouldeft take heede and eschuе great Rockes in the Sea.

The next part that he hath to play, is to chere his geaftes, and to make them take pleafure, with hearing of things wittely deuised, and pleafauntly fet forth. Therefore euery Orator should earnestly labour to file his tongue, that his words may slide with eafe, and that in his deliueraunce he may have such grace, as the found of a Lute, or any such Instrument doth giue. Then his sentences muft be wel framed, and his words aptly vfed, through the whole discouerfe of his Oration.

Thirdly, such quicknesse of witte muft bee shewed, and such pleafaunt fawes so well applied, that the eares may finde much delite, whereof I will speake largely, when I shall intreate of mouing laughter. And assuredly nothing is more needfull, then to quicken these heauie laden wittes of ours, and much to cherishe these our lompifh and vnweldie Natures, for except men finde delite, they will not long abide: delite them, and winne them: wearie them, and you lose them for euer. And that is the reafon, that men commonly tarie the ende of a merie Play, and cannot abide the halfe hearing of a fower checking Sermon. Therefore euery these auncient Preachers, muft now and then play the fooles in the pulpit, to
The arte of Rhetorique.

Preachers ferue the tickle eares of their fleeting audience, or els they are like sometimes to preach to the bare walles, for though their spirite bee apt, and our will prone, yet our flesh is so heauie, and humours so ouerwhelme vs, that we cannot without refreshing, long abide to heare any one thing. Thus we fee, that to delite is needfull, without the which weightie matters will not be heard at all, and therefore him cuinne I thanke, that both can and will ever, mingle sweete among the sower, be he Preacher, Lawyer, yea, or Cooke either hardly, when hee dresseth a good dish of meate: now I need not to tell that scurrilite, or ale-houfe iestings, would bee thought odious, or grosse mirth would be deemed madnesse: considering that euene the meane witted do knowe that alreadie, and as for other that haue no wit, they will never learne it, therfore God speede them. Now when these two are done, hee must perswade, and moue the affections of his hearers in such wise, that they shall be forced to yeeld unto his saying, whereof (because the matter is large, and may more aptly be declared, when I shall speake of Amplification) I will furcease to speake any thing thereof at this tyme.

By what meanes Eloquence is attained.

First needfull it is that hee, which desireth to excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to proue an eloquent man, must naturally haue a wit, and an aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his Booke, and learne to bee well stored with knowledge, that he may be able to minifter matter for all causes necessarie. The which when he hath got plentifully, he must use much exercife, both in writing, and also in speaking. For though he haue a wit and learning together, yet shall they both little availe without much practife. What maketh the Lawyer to haue such utteraunce? Practife. What maketh the Preacher to speake so roundly? Practife. Yea, what maketh women goe so fast awaye with their wordes? Mary practife I warrant you. Therefore in all faculties, diligent practife, and earnest exercife, are the onely things that make men proue excellent. Many men know the art very well, and be in all points throughly grounded and acquainted with the precepts, & yet it is not their hap to proue eloquent. And the reason is, that eloquence it selfe, came not vp first
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by the art, but the arte rather was gathered vpon eloquence. For wisemen seeing by much observation and diligent practise, the compasse of divers causes, compiled thereupon precepts and lessons, worthy to be knowne and learned of all men. Therefore before arte was inuented, eloquence was vsed, and through practise made perfect, the which in all things is a soueraigne meane, moit highly to excell.

Now, before we vs either to write, or speake eloquently, wee must dedicate our myndes wholly, to followe the moit wise and learned men, and seeke to fashion as wel their speache and gesturing, as their witte or endyting. The which when we earnestly mynd to doe, we can not but in time appere somewhat like them. For if they that walke much in the Sunne, and thinke not of it, are yet for the moist part Sunne burnt, it can not be but that they which wittingly and willingly trauayle to counterfeit other, must needes take some colour of them, and be like vnto them in some one thing or other, according to the Proverbe, by companying with the wife, a man shall learne wisedome.

To what purpose this arte is set forth.

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

Five things to be considered in an Oratour.

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

i. Inuention
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The finding out of apt matter, called otherwise Inuention, is a searching out of things true, or things likely, the which may reasonably set forth a matter, and make it appear probable. The places of Logique, give good occasion to finde out plentifull matter. And therefore, they that will prove any cause, and seeke onely to teach thereby the truth, must search out the places of Logique, and no doubt they shall finde much plentie. But what availeth much treasure and apt matter, if man can not apply it to his purpose. Therefore, in the second place is mentioned, the setting or ordering of things inuentaed for this purpose, called in Latine Dispositio, the which is nothing els but an apt bestowing, and orderly placing of things, declareing where every argument shalbe fet, and in what maner every reason shalbe applied for confirmation of the purpose.

But yet what helpeth it though wee can finde good reasons, and knowe how to place them, if wee haue not apt words and picked Sentences, to commend the whole matter. Therefore, this point must needes followe to beautifie the cause, the which being called Elocution, is an applying of apt wordes and sentences to the matter, found out to confirme the cause. When all these are had together it availeth little, if man haue no Memorie to containe them. The Memorie therefore must be cherished, the which is a fast holding both of matter and words couched together, to confirme any cause.

Be it now that one haue all these fower, yet if he want the sitt all the other doe little profite. For though a man can finde out good matter and good wordes, though hee can handsomely set them together, and carie them very well awaie in his minde, yet it is to no purpose if he haue no vtterance, when he should speake his minde, and shewe men what he hath to faie. Vtterance therefore, is a framing of the voyce, countenaunce, and gefture after a comely maner.

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

There are feuen partes in euery Oration.

1. The Enterance or beginning.
2. The Narration.
3. The Proposition.
4. The Deuision or feuerall parting of things.
5. The confirmation.
6. The confutation.
7. The Conclusion.

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

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

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

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

The Confirmation is a declaration of our owne reaons, Conferma-
tion with affured and constant proofes.

The Confutation is a dissloouing, or wyping away of all such Confruta-
reaons as make against vs.

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

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

Every matter is contained in one of these fower.

Either it is an honest thing whereof we speake, or els it is Matters in filthie and vile, or els betwixt both: and doubtfull what it stand in.
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it is to bee called, or els it is some trifeling matter, that is of small weight.

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

Then doe we holde and defend a filthy matter, when either we speake against our owne conscience in an euill matter, or els withstand an upright truthe.

The cause then is doubtfull, when the matter is halfe honest, and halfe unhonest.

Such are trifling causes when there is no weight in them, as if one should phantastie to praife a goose before any other beast living, (as I knowe who did) or of fruite to commendene Nuttes chiefly, as Quid did, or the Feuer quartaine as Phauro-rinus did, or the Gnat as Virgil did, or the battaile of Frogges as Homer did, or dispraife beardest, or commend fhuuen heddes.

Good heede to be taken at the first, upon the handling of any matter in Judgement.

NOT onely it is necessarie to knowe what maner of cause we haue taken in hande, when we first enter upon any matter, but also it is wisedome to consider the tyme, the place, the man for whom we speake, the man against whom we speake, the matter whereof we speake, and the Judges before whom wee speake, the reasons that befit serue to further our caufe, and thoghe reasons also, that may seeme somewhat to hinder our caufe, and in nowise to vs any such at all, or els warely to mitigate by protestation the euill that is in them, and alwaies to vs whatsoever can be said, to win the chief hearers good willes, and to perfwade them to our purpose. If the caufe goe by fauour, and that reason can not to much auaile, as good will that be able to doe: or els if mouing affections can doe more good, then bringing in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to vs that way, whereby wee may by good helpe get the oner hand. That if myne adueraries reasons, by mee being confuted serue better to helpe forward my cause, then myne owne reasons confirmed, can be able to doe good: I should wholly bestowe my tyme, and traualie to weaken and make slender, all that euer he bringeth with him. But if I can with more eafe proue mine owne sayings, either with witnes ses,
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witnesses, or with wordes, then bee able to confute his with
reason, I muft labour to withdrawe mens mindes from mine
aduersaries foundation, and require them wholly to harken
unto that which I haue to say, being of it selfe fo iust and so
reasonable, that none can rightly speake against it, & shew them
that great pitie it were, for lacke of the onely hearing, that
a true matter should want true dealing. Ouer & besides al
these, there remaine two lessons, the which wisemen haue
always observed, and therefore ought of all men assuredly to
bee learned. The one is, that if any matter be laied against
vs, which by reason can hardly be auoyded, or the which is
so open, that none almost can deny : it were wisedome in
confuting all the other reasons, to passe over this one, as
though we saw it not, and therefore speake never a word of
it. Or els if necessitie shall force a man to say somewhat, he
may make an outward bragge, as though there were no matter
in it, euer fo speaking of it, as though he would stand to
the triall, making men to beleue he would fight in the
cause, when better it were (if necessitie so required) to run
cleane awaie. And therein though a man do fleie and giue
place, euermore the gladder the leffe rauing there is, or
stirring in this matter: yet he fleith wisely and for this ende,
that being fensed otherwise, and strongly appointed, hee may
take his aduersarie at the beft aduauntage, or at the leaft
wearie him with much lingering, and make him with oft fuch
flying, to forfaie his cheefe defence.

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

There are three kindes of causes or Orations, which serve for every matter.

Nothing can be handled by this arte, but the same is contained within one of these three causes. Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise of a thing or else in consulting, whether the cause be profitable, or unprofitable: or lastly, whether the matter be right or wrong. And yet this one thing is to be learned, that in every one of these three causes, these three severall ends, may every one of them be contained in any one of them. And therefore, he that shall have cause to praise any one bodie, shall have just cause to speake of Injustice, to entreate of profit, and jointly to talke of one thing with another. But because these three causes, are commonly and for the most part severally parted, I will speake of them one after another, as they are set forth by wise mens judgements, and particularly declare their properties all in order.

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

The kind Demonstratiue, wherein chiefly it standeth.

Here are divers things which are praised and dispraised, as men, Countries, Cities, Places, Beastes, Hills, Rivers, Houses, Castles, deedes done by worthy men, and policies euented by great Warriors, but most commonly men are praised for divers respectes, before any of the other things are taken in hande.

Now in praying a noble personage, and in setting forth at large his worthinesse: Quintillian giueth warning, to vfe this threefold order.

To observe things. Before this life. In his life. After his death.

Before a mans life, are considered these places.

The Realme.
The Sheire.
The towne.
The Parentes.
The Auncesters.

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In a mans life, praise must bee parted threefold. That is to say, into the gifts of good things of the mynde, the body, and of fortune. Now the gifts of the body & of fortune, are not praise worthy of their owne nature: but euen as they are vfed, either to or fro, so they are either praised, or dif-praised. Gifts of the mind deserue the whole trompe & found commendation aboue all other, wherein we may vfe the rehearfsal of vertues, as they are in order, and beginning at his infancie, tel all his doings till his last age.

The places whereof are these.

\{ The birth, and infancie. \}
\{ The childhood. \}
\{ The striped age, or spring-tide. \}
\{ The mannes state. \}
\{ The olde age. \}
\{ The tyme of his departure, or death. \}

Whether the persone be a man, or a woman.
The brynging vp, the nurturing, and the behauour of his life.
To what study he taketh himself vnto, what company he useth, how he liueth.
Prowesse doen, either abrode, or at home.
His pollicies and wittie deuifes, in behoufe of the publique weale.
Things that haue happened about his death.

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

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

The Realme declares the nature of the people. So that some Countrey bringeth more honor with it, then an other doth. To be a French man, descanding there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irish man: To bee an English
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English man borne, is much more honor then to bee a Scot, because that by these men, worthie Prowesse haue beene done, and greater affaires by them attempted, then haue beene done by any other.

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

To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage, grauitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakencesse of spirit, neshness of body, and sicklenesse of minde.

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

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

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

His wife counfaile, and good aduife giuen, sets forth the goodnesse of his wit.

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

After a mans death, are considered his Tombe, his Cote After de armour set vp, and all such honours as are vscd in Funerallles.
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If any one lift to put these precepts in practise, he may doe as him liketh best. And surely I doe thinke, that nothing so much furthereth knowledge as dayly exercise, and enuring our felues to doe that in deede, which we knowe in worde. And because examples giue great light, after these precepts are set forth, I will commend two noble Gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolke, and his brother Lord Charles Duke with him.

Better or more wisely can none do, then they which neuer bestowe praife, but vpon thofe that beft deserue praife, rather minding discretely what they ought to doe, then vainely deuising what they beft can doe, seeking rather to praife men, such as are found worthie, then curiously finding means to praife matters, such as neuer were in any. For they which speake otherwise then trueth is, minde not the commendation of the perfon, but the fetting forth of their owne learning. As Gorgias in Plato, praying vnrighteoufneffe, Heliogabalus Oratours commending whoredome, Phaphorinus the Philosopher, extolling the Feuer quartain, thought not to speake as the cause required, but would fo much say as their witte would giue, not weighing the state of the cause, but minding the vaunt of their braine, looking how much could bee sayd, not passing how little shou'd bee sayd. But I both knowing the might of Gods hande, for such as loue Fables, and the shame that in earth reoundeth to euill reporters, will not commend that in thofe, which neede no good praife, but will commend them that no man iustly can dispraife, nor yet any one is well able worthely to praife. Their towardneffe was such, and their giftes so great, that I know none which loue learning, but hath sorrowed the lacke of their being. And I knowe that the onely naming of them, will stirre honest hearts to speake wel of them. I will speake of two bretheren that lately departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the other Lord Charles his brother, whom GOD thinking meeter for heauen, then to liue here vpon earth, tooke from vs in his anger, for the bettering of our dooinges, and amendment of our euill liuing. These two Gentlemen were borne in noble Englande, both by father and mother of an high parentage. The father called Duke Charles, by Marriage beeing
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beeing brother to the worthie King of famous memorie Henry the eight, was in such favour, and did such service, that all England at this howre doth finde his lacke, and France yet doth feele that such a Duke there was, whom in his life time the Godly loued: the euill feared, the wise men honoured for his witte, and the simple vfed alwaies for their counfaile. Their mother of birth noble, and witte great, of nature gentle, and mercifull to the poore, and to the Godly, and especially to the learned an earnest good Patroneffe, and most helping Ladie aboue all other. In their youth their father died, the eldest of them beeing not past nine yeares of age. After whose death, their mother knowing, that wealth without wit, is like a sworde in a naked mans hande, and assuredly certaine, that knowledge would confirme judgement, prouided so for their bringing vp in all vertue and learning, that two like were not to bee had within this Realme againe. When they began both to ware somewhat in yeares, being in their primetide and spring of their age, the elder wayting on the Kings Maiestie that now is, was generally wel esteemed, and such hope was conceived of his towrdenesse, both for learning and all other things, that fewe were like vnto him in al the Court. The other keeping his booke among the Cambrige men profited (as they well knowe) both in vertue and learning, to their great admiration. For the Greeke, the Latine, and the Italian, I know he could do more, then would be thought true by my report. I leaue to speake of his skil in pleasant Instrumentes, neither will I vnter his aptnesse in Musick, and his toward Nature, to all exercices of the body. But his elder brother in this time (besides his other giftes of the minde, which passed all other, and were almoost incredible) following his fathers nature, was so defiled with ryding, and runnyng in armour vpon horsebacke, and was so comely for that fact, and could dooe so well in charging his Staffe, beeing but xiiii. yeeres of age, that men of warre, euen at this howre, mone much the want of such a worthy Gentleman. Yea, the French men that first wondered at his learning, when he was there among them, and made a notable oration in Latine: were much more astonied when they sawe his comely riding, and little thought to finde these two ornaments ioyned both in one, his yeares especially being so tender, and his practife of
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so small tyme. Afterward comming from the Court, as one that was desirous to be among the learned, he lay in Cambridge together with his brother, where they both so profited, and so gently vsed themselues, that all Cambridge did reuerence, both him and his brother, as two Jewels sent from God. The elders nature was such, that hee thought himselfe best, when he was among the wisest, and yet contemned none, but thankfully vsed al, gentle in behauiour without childishnesse, stout of stomack without al pride, bold with all waresonesse, and friendly with good aduirement. The yonger being not so ripe in yeres, was not so graue in looke, rather cherefull, then sad: rather quicke, then auncient: but yet if his brother were set aside, not one that went beyond him. A child, that by his owne inclination, so much yeelded to his ruler, as few by chastment haue done the like: pleafant of speech, prompt of wit, stirring by nature, hault without hate, kind without craft, liberall of heart, gentle in behauiour, forward in all things, greedie of learning, & loth to take a foile in any open assemblly. They both in all attempts, fought to haue the victorie, and in exercife of wit, not only the one with the other, did oft stand in contention, but alfo they both would match with the beft, and thought them selues most happie, when they might haue any iuft occasion, to put their wittes in triall. And now when this greene fruite began to waxe ripe, and all men longed to haue a tafte of such their great forwardnesse: God preuenting mans expectation, tooke them both about one howre, and in fo shorte time, that firft they were knowne to be dead, or any abroad could tel they were sicke. I neede not to rehearfe, what both they spake, before their departure (considering, I haue feuerally written, both in Latine and in English, of the same matter) neither will I heape here so much together, as I can, because I should rather renew great forrow to many, then doe most men any great good, who loued them so well generally, that fewe for a great space after, spake of these two Gentlemen, but they shewed teares, with the only vterance of their wordes, and some through ouer much forrowing, were faine to forbear speaking. GOD graunt vs all to liue, that the good men of this world, may bee alwaies loth to forfake vs, and God may still be glad to haue vs, as no doubt these two children so died, as all men should wish to liue,
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liue, and fo they liued both, as al should wish to dye. Seeing therefore, these two were such, both for birth, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that the like are hardly found behind them: Let vs to speake of them, that our good reporte may warne vs, to followe their godly natures, and that lastly, we may enjoye that inheritance, whereunto God hath prepared them and vs (that feare him) from the beginning. Amen.

The partes of an Oration made in praife of a man.

Enteraunce.

Sometimes the confutation.

The Narration.

The Conclusion.

If any one shall haue iust caufe, to dispraife an euill man, he shall soon doe it, if he can praife a good man. For (as Aristotle doth say) of contraries, there is one and the same doctrine, and therefore, hee that can doe the one, shall soon bee able to doe the other.

Of an Oration demonstratiue,

for some deede done.

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

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

i. It is honest.

ii. It is possible.

iii. Easie to be done.

iii. Hard to be done.

v. Possible to be done.

vi. Imppossible to be done.

Seven circumstances, which are to bee considered in divers matters.

i. Who did the deede.

ii. What was done.

iii. Where it was done.

iii. What helpe had he to doe it.

v. Wherefore he did it.

vi. How he did it.

vii. At what time he did it.

Seven circumstances in Meter.

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

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

A. RH.

Thefe
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These places helpe wonderfully to set out any matter, and to amplifie it to the uttermost, not onely in praying, or dispraying, but also in all other causes, where any aduizement is to bee vfed. Yet this one thing is to be learned, that it shal not be necessarie to vse them altogether, euyn as they stand in order: but rather as time and place shall best require, they may be vfed in any part of the Oration, euyn as it shall please him that hath the vling of them. Againe, if any man be disposed to rebuke any offence, he may vse the places contrary vnto them, that are aboue rehearsed, and applie these circumftaunces, euyn as they are, to the proofe of his purpose.

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

GOD being the aucthour of mankinde, powring into him the breath of life, and framing him of clay, in such a comely wise as wee all now see, hath from the beginning, beene fo carefull ouer his elect and choosen, that in al daungers, he is euer readie to asift his people, keeping them harmelesse, when they were often past all mans hope. And among all other his fatherly goodnesse, it pleased him to shewe his power to his choosen fervauant Dauid, that all might learne to knowe his might, and recken with themselues, that though man giue the stroke, yet God it is that giueth the ouerhand. For wher as Dauid was of small stature, weake of bodie, poore of birth, and base in the sight of the worldlings, God called him firft to match with an huge monfter, a little bodie, against a mightie Gyaunt, an abieæt Israelite, against a most valiaunt Philiftine, with whom no Israelite durft encounter. These Philiftines minded, the murther and ouerthrow, of all the Israelites, trusting in their owne strenght so much that they feared no perrill, but made an accompt, that all was theirs before hand. Now, when both these armies were in sight, the Philiftines vpon an hill of the one side, and the Israelites vpon an hill of the other side, a vale being betwixt them both, there marched out of the Campe, a base borne Philiftine, called Goliab of Geth, a man of fixe Cubites high. This Souldier, when through his bignesse and stature of his bodie, and also with great bragges, and terrible threatninges, he had wonderfully abashed the whole Armie of the Israelites, so that no
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no man durft aduenture vpon him. God to the end he might deliuer Israell, and shew that mans helpe, with all his armour, little auail to get victorie, without his especiall grace: and againe, to the end he might set vp Dauid, and make him honourable among the Israelites, did then call out Dauid, the fonne of Ephraeus, of Bethlehem Juda, whose name was Isai, who being but a childe in yeres, did kill out of hand, by Gods might and power, Goliath the most terrible enemie of all other, that bare hate against the children of Israell. When this mightie fellowe was slaine, about the vale of Terebinthus, betwixt both the Armies, the Israelites reioyfed, that before quaked, and wondered at him then, whom they would scant knowe before, and no doubt this deede was not only wonderfull, but also right godly. For in battaile to kill an enemie, is thought right worthie, or to aduenture vpon a Rebell (though the succeffe folowe not) is generally commended, yea, to put one to the worfe, or to make him flie the ground, is called manly, but what shal we fay of Dauid, that not onely had the better hande, not onely bet his enemie, but killed freight his enemie, yea, and not an enemie of the common stature of men, but a mightie Gyant, not a man, but a monster, yea, a deuill in heart, and a beast in bodie? Can any be compted more honest then such as fceeke to faue their Countrey, by haflarding their carcasses, and shedding of their bloud? Can loue fhee it self greater, then by yeelding of life, for the health of an army? It had been much, if halfe a dozen had dispatchd such a terrible Gyant, but now, when Dauid without helpe, being not yet a man but a boye in yeares, fiewe him hand to hand, what iuft praife doth he deferuje? If we praife other, that haue slaine euil men, and compt them haultie, that haue killed their matches, what shall we fay of Dauid, that being wonderfully ouermatched, made his partie good, and got the Gole of a Monster. Let other praife Hercules, that thinke beft of him: let Cesar, Alexander, and Hanniball, bee bruted for Warriers: Dauid in my judgement, both did more manly, then all the other were able, and ferved his Countrey in greater daunger, then euer any one of them did. And shall we not call fuch a noble Captaine, a good man of warre. Deferueth not his manhoode and fout attempt, wonderfull praife? If vertue could speake, would she not fone confesse,

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confeffle, that Dauid had her in full posſeſſion? And therefore, if well doinge, by right may chalenge worthie Brute, Dauid will be knowne, and neuer can want due praife, for fuch an honest deede. And what man will not fay, but that Dauid did minde nothing els herein, but the fauegarde of his Countrey, thinking it better for himſelfe to dye, and his Countrey to live, then himſelfe to live, and his Countrey to dye. What gaine got Dauid, by the death of Goliath, or what could he hope, by the death of fuch a Monſter, but onely that the Joue which he bare to the Israelites, forced him to haſlarde his owne life: thinking that if the Philiftines shoulde preuaile, the Israelites were like to perrifh, euery mothers fone of them? Therefore, hee haſlarde this attempt, confidered with himſelfe, the fauegarde of the Israelites, the maintenaunce of Iuftice, his duetie towards GOD, his obedience to his Prince, and his loue to his Countrey. And no doubt, God made this enterprize appere full eafie, before Dauid could haue the heart to match himſelfe with fuch a one. For though his heart might quake, being voyde of Gods helpe, yet affuredly he wanted no fstromacke, when God did fet him on. Let Tyraunts rage, let Hell ſtande open, let Sathan ſhewe his might, if God be with vs, who can be againſt vs? Though this Goliah appeared fo strong, that ten Dauids were not able to ſtande in his hande: yet tenne Goliahs were all euer weake for Dauid alone. Man can not judge, neither can reaſon comprehend the mightie power of God.

When Pharao with all his Armie, thought fully to deftroye the children of Iſraell in the red Sea, did not God preferue Moses, and deftroyed Pharao? What is man, and all his power that he can make, in the handes of GOD, vnto whom all creatures both in heauen and in earth, are subieſt at his commaundement? Therefore, it was no maſterie for Dauid, beeing afſifted with GOD, afwell to match with the whole Armie, as to ouerthrow this one man. But what did the Israelites, when they fawe Dauid take vppon him fuch a bolde enterprize? Some fayd he was rash, other mocked him to ſcorne, and his brethren called him foole. For thought they, what a mad fellowe is he, being but a lad in yeares, to match with fuch a monſter in bodie? How can it be poſſible otherwife, but that he ſhall be torne in peeces, euен at the firſt
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first comming? For if the Philistine may once hit him, he is
gon though he had ten mens liues. Now what should he
meane, so vnegally to match himselfe, except he were wearie
of his life, or els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to
gieue his enemies all the aduantage that could be, he came
vnarmed, and whereas the Philistine had very strong Armour,
both to defende himselfe, and a strong weapon to fight
withall: Dauid came with a Sling onely, as though he would
kill Crowes, whereat, not onely the Philistine laughed and
disdained his follie, but also both the Armies thought he was
but a dead man, before he gaue one stroke. And in deede,
by all reason and deuife of man, there was none other way,
but death with him out of hande. Dauid notwithstanding,
beeing kindeled in heart, with Gods might, was strong
enough for him, in his owne opinion, and forced nothing
though all other were much against him. And therefore,
made no more a doe, but being readie to reuenge in Gods
name, such great blasphemie, as the Philistine then did vttre:
marshaled toward his enemie, and with casting a stone out of
a Sling, he overthrew the Philistine at the first. The which
when he had done, out with his sworde and chopt of his head,
carrying it with his armour, to the Campe of the Ifraelites:
whereat the Philistines were greatly astonied, and the Ifraelites
much praised GOD, that had giuen such grace to such a one,
to compasse such a deed. And the rather this manly act, is
highly to bee praised, because he subdued this huge enemie,
when Saul first reigned King of Israel, and was fore affailed
with the great armie of the Philistines. Let vs therfore that
be now living, when this act or such like, come into our
mindes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he is,
and let vs prais God in them, by whom he hath wrought such
wonders, to the strengthing of our faith, and constaunt
keeping of our profession, made to him by every one of vs in
our Baptisme.

Exaもなく of the circumftaunces.

i. Who did the deede?

Dauid beeing an Ifraelite, did this deed, beeing the
sonne of Iaie, of the tribe of Iuda, a boye in yeares.
This circumftaunce was vset, not onely in the narration, but
also
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also when I spake of the honesty and godliness, which Dauid vced, when he slue Goliah.

ii. What was done?

He slue Goliah, the strongest Giant among the Philistines. This circumsstance I vced also, when I spake of the honesty, in killing Goliah.

iii. Where was it done?

About the vale of Terebinthus.

iii. What helpe had he to it?

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

v. Wherefore did he it?

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

vi. How did he it?

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

vii. What time did he it?

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

Of the Oration demonstrative, where things are set forth, and matter commended.

THE kind demonstrative of things, is a meane wherby we doe praise, or dispraise things, as Vertue, Vice, Townes, Cities, Castelles, Woodes, Waters, Hilles and Mountaines.
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Places to confirm things are fewer.

i. Things honest.

ii. Profitable.

iii. Easie to be done.

iii. Hard to be done.

Many learned will have recourse to the places of Logicke, in stead of these fewer places, when they take in hand to commend any such matter. The which places if they make them serve, rather to commende the matter, then onely to teach men the trueth of it, it were wel done, and Oratour like, for seeing a man wholly bestoweth his witte to play the Oratour, he should chiefly feequke to compasse that, which he entendeth, and not doe that only which he neuer minded, for by plaine teaching, the Logician shewes himselye, by large amplification, and beautifying of his cause, the Rhetorician is alwaies knowne.

The places of Logike are these.

Definition.
Causes.
Parts.
Effects.
Things adjoyning.
Contraries.

I doe not see otherwise, but that these places of Logike are confounded with the other fewer of confirmation, or rather I thinke these of Logike must first bee minded, ere the other Logike can well be had. For what is he, that can cal a thing honest, and by reafon prove it, except he first know what the thing is: the which he cannot better doe, then by defining the nature of the thing. Againe, how shall I know, whether mine attempt be easie or hard if I knowe not the efficient cause, or be assured how it may be done. In affirming it to bee possible, I Shall not better knowe it then by searching the ende, and learning by Logike, what is the finall cause of every thing.

An example in commendation of Justice, or true dealing.

So many as looke to live in peaceable quietnesse, being minded rather to follow reafon, then to be led by wilfull injustice affection: desire justice in all things, without the which no countray
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country is able long to continue. Then may I be bolde to commendede that, which all men wish, and fewe can have, which all men love, and none can want: not doubting, but as I am occupied in a good thing, so al good men will heare me with a good will. But would God I were so well able, to perswade all men to Iustice, as all men knowe the necessarie vfe thereof: and then undoubtedly, I would bee much bolder, and force some by violence, which by faire wordes cannot bee entreated. And yet what needes any perswasion for that thing, which by nature is so needfull, & by experience so profitable, that looke what we want, without Iustice we get not, looke what we haue: without Iustice wee keepe not. God graunt vs his grace so to worke in the hearts of all men, that they may alwell praftife well doing in their owne life, as they would that other shoulde followe Iustice in their life: I for my part will bestowe some labour, to fet forth the goodneffe of vpright dealing, that all other men the rather may doe thereafter. That if through my wordes, GOD shall worke with any man, then may I thinke my selfe in happie case, and rejoyce much in the trauaile of my witte. And how can it be otherwise, but that all men shalbe forced inwardly to allow that, which in outwarde act many doe not follow: seeing God powred firft this lawe of nature, into mans heart, and graunted it as a meane, whereby wee might knowe his will, and (as I might faye) talke with him, grounding still his doinges vpon this point, that man shoulde doe as he would bee done vnto, the which is nothing els, but to liue vprightly, without any will to hurt his neighbour. And therefore, hauing this light of Gods will opened vnto vs, through his mere goodneffe, we ought euermore, to referre all our actions vnto this ende, both in giuing judgement, and deuising Lawes necessarie for mans life. And hereupon it is, that when men deffire the Lawe, for triall of a matter, they meane nothing els but to haue Iustice, the which Iustice is a vertue that yeeldeth to every man his owne: to the euer liuing God loue aboue all things: to the King obedience: to the inferiour good counfaile: to the poore man, mercy: to the hatefull and wicked, sufferaunce: to it self, trueth: and to all men, perfite peace and charitie. Now, what can be more saied, in praife of this vertue, or what thing can be like praifed? Are not
not all things in good case, when all men haue their owne? And what other thing doth Iustice, but seeketh meanes to content all parties? Then how greatly are they to be praifed, that meane truely in all their doinges, not onely doe no harme to any, but seeke meanes to helpe al. The Sunne is not so wonderfull to the world (faith Aristotle) as the iust dealing of Aristotle. a gouernour, is marueilous to all men. No, the earth yeeldeth no more gaine to all creatures, then doth the Iustice of a Magistrate, to his whole Realme. For by a Lawe, we liue, and take the fruities of the earth, but where no Lawe is, nor Iustice vsed: there nothing can bee had, though all thinges be at hand: for in hauing the thing, we shall lacke the vse, and liuing in great plentie, wee shall stande in great neede. The meane therefore, that maketh men to enioye their owne, is Iustice, the which being once taken away, all other thinges are loft with it, neither can any one faue that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therefore, if wrong doing should be borne withall, and not rather punished by death, what man could liue in rest? Who could bee sure either of his life, or of his liuing one whole day together? Now, because euery man defireth the preseruation of himselfe, euery man should in like case defiere the fauegard of his neighbour. For if I should wholly minde myne owne case, and folowe gaine without respect, to the hinderaunce of myne euene Christian: why should not other vse the same libertie, and so euery man for himselfe, and the Deuill for vs al, catch that catch may? The which cuftome if all men followed, the earth would fone be voyd, for want of men one would be so greedy to eate vp an other. For in seeking to liue, wee would lose our liues, and in gaping after goodes, wee should soone goe naked. Therefore, to represse this rage, and with wholesome deuises to traine men in an order, GOD hath lightened man with knowledge, that in all thinges he may see what is right, and what is wrong, and vpon good aduizement deale iustly with all men. God hath created all thinges for mans vse, and ordeined man, for mans fake, that one man might helpe an other. For though some one haue gifts more plentifully then the common forte, yet no man can liue alone, without helpe of other. Therefore wee should strue one to helpe an other by iust dealing, some this way, and some that way, as euery one shal
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From the lesser to the greater.

Young Storke.

Vnnatural-neffe in man to-wards God.


Profile of Iustice.

shal haue neede, and as we shalbe alwaies best able, wherein the lawe of nature is fulfilled, and Gods commandement followed. Wee loue them here in earth, that giue vs faire wordes, and wee can bee content, to speake well of them, that speake well of vs? and shal we not loue them, and take them also for honest men, which are contented from time to time, to yeeld every man his owne, and rather would dye then content to euill doing: If one be gentle in outward behauiour, we like him well, and shal we not esteeeme him that is vpright in his outward liuing? And like as wee desire, that other should bee to vs, ought not wee to bee likewise, affected towards them? Euen among brute Beaftes, nature hath appointed a lawe, and shal we men liue without a lawe? The Storke being not able to feede her sely for age, is fed of her young ones, wherein is declared a naturall loue, and shal we fo liue that one shal not loue an other? Man shalbe vn to man as a God, & shal man be vn to man as a deuil? Hath God created vs, and made vs to his owne likenesse, enduing vs with all the riches of the earth, that wee might bee obedient to his will, and shal we neithere loue his, nor like his? How can we say that we loue God, if there be no charitie in vs? Doe I loue him, whose minde I will not followe, although it be right honest? If you loue me (sayth Chrift) followe my Commoundements. Chriftes will is such, that we shalbe loue God aboue all things, and our neighbour as our sely. Then if we doe not iustice (wherin loue doth confift) we do neither loue man, nor yet loue God. The Wiseman faith: The beginning of a good life, is to doe iustice. Yea, the blessing of the Lord, is vpon the head of the iuft. Heauen is theirs (faith Dauid) that doe iustly from time to time. What els then shal we doe, that haue any hope of the generall resurrection, but doe the will of God, and liue iustly all the daies of our life? Let every man, but consider with himselfe, what case he shal finde thereby, and I doubt not, but every one deepeely saying the fame, will in heart confesse, that Iustice maketh plentie, & that no one man could long hold his own if lawes were not made, to restraine mans will. We trauaile now, Winter and Sommer, we watch and take thought, for maintenaunce of wife and children, assuredly purposing (that though God shal take vs immediatly) to leaue
leauce honestly for our familie. Now, to what ende were all
our gathering together, if just dealing were set a side, if Lawes
were no rule, if that the wicked lift, that they may, and what
they may, that they can, and what they can, that they dare,
& what they dare, the same they doe, & whatsoeuer they doe,
no man of power is agreed therewith? What maketh wicked
men (which els would not) acknowledge the King as their
souveraigne Lord, but the power of a law, & the practice of
Iustice for euill doers? Could a Prince maintaine his state
royall, if law and right had not prouided, that euery man
should haue his owne? Would seruants obeye their maifters,
the fonne his father, the Tenaunt his Landlord, the Citezain
his Maior or Sherief if orders were not set, & just dealing
appointed for all states of men? Therfore, the true meaning
folke in al ages giue themselues some to this occupation, and
some to that, seking therein nothing els but to maintain a poore
life, and to kepe themselues true men, both to GOD and the
world. What maketh men to performe their bargaines, to
stand to their promises, and yeeld their debtes, but an order
of a law grounded vpon Iustice? Where right beareth rule,
there craft is compted vice. The liar is much hated, where
trueith is well esteemed. The wicked thecues are hanged,
where good men are regarded. None can hold vp their
heads, or dare shewe their faces, in a well ruled common
weale, that are not thought honest, or at the leaft haue some
honest way to live. The Egiprians therefore, hauing a worthy
and a wel gouerned commonweale, prouided that none shoul
die idly, but that euery one monthly shoulde glue an accompl,
how he spent his time, and had his name registred in a booke
for the same purpose. But Lord, if this law were vfed in
England, how many would come behind hand with their
reckenings at the audite day. I feare me their doings would
be such, that it would be long ere they got their quietus eft.
Therfore the worse is our state, the leffe that this euill is
looked vnto. And surely, if in other thinges wee shoulde bee
as negligent, this Realme could not long stand. But thankes
be to God, wee hang them a pace, that offend a lawe, and
therefore, wee put it to their choyce, whether they wilbe
idle, and so fall to steealing or no? they knowe their reward,
goe to it when they wil. But if therewithal some good order
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were taken, for education of youth, and setting loyterers on worke (as thanks be to God, the Citie is most godly bent that way) all would sone be well, without all doubt. The wise and discrete persons in all ages, fought all meanes possible, to haue an order in all thinges, and loued by Iustice to direct all their doinges, whereby appeareth both an apt will in such men, and a naturall stirring by Gods power, to make all men good. Therefore if we do not well, we must blame our selues, that lack a will, & do not call to God for grace. For though it appare hard to do wel, because no man can get perfection, without continuance: yet assuredly to an humble mind that calleth to God, & to a willing heart that faine would do his best, nothing can be hard. God hath fet al things to sale for labor, & keepeth open shop come who wil. Therefore in all ages, whereas we see the fewest good we must well thinke, the most did lacke good will to ask, or seeke for the same. Lord what loue had that worthie Prince Seleucus to maintaine Iustice, and to haue good lawes kept, of whom such a wonderfull thing is written. For whereas he establifhed most wholesome lawes, for sauegard of the Locrenfians, and his owne sone thereupon taken in adultery, should lose both his eyes, according to the lawe then made, and yet notwithstanding, the whole Citie thought, to remit the necessitie of his punishment, for the honour of his father, Seleucus would none of that in any wife. Yet at laft, through importunitie being overcomne, he caused first one of his own eyes to be pluckt out, and next after, one of his sones eyes, leaving onely the use of sight, to himselfe and his sone. Thus through equitie of the law, he vsed the due meane of chastisement, shewing himselfe by a wonderfull temperature, both a mercifull father, and a iust law maker. Now happie are they that thus obserue a Lawe, thinking losse of bodie, lesse hurt to the man, then sparing of punishment, meete for the soule. For GOD will not faile them, that haue such a desire to followe his will, but for his promise fake, he will rewarde them for euer. And now, seing that Iustice naturally is giuen to al men, without the which he could not liue, being warned also by GOD, alwaies to doe vprightly, perceiuing againe the commodities, that redounde vnto vs, by liuing vnder a Lawe, and the sauegarde, wherein we stand, having
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having Justice to assist vs: I trust that not onely all men, will commend Justice in worde, but also will liue justly in deede, the which that we may doe: God graunt vs of his grace. Amen.

An Oration deliberatiue.

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

- The thing is honest.
- Profitable.
- Pleasaunt.
- Lawfull and meete.
- Praife worthie.
- Neceflarie.

NOW in speaking of honestie, I may by deuision of the vertues make a large walke. Againe, looke what lawes, what cuftomes, what worthie deedes, or sayinges have been vfed heretofore, all these might serue well for the confirmation of this matter, lastly where honestie is called in to establishe a caufe: there is nature and GOD himselfe prefent, from whom commeth all goodneffe. In the second place, where I spake of proute, this is to be learned, that under the same is comprehended the getting of gaine, and the eschuing of harme. Againe, concerning proute (which also beareth the name of goodneffe) it partly perteineth to the bodie, as beautie, strength, and health, partly to the minde, as the encrease of witte, the getting of experience, and heaping together of much learning: and partly to fortune (as Philosophers take it) whereby both wealth, honour, and friends are gotten.
pleasures, largely set out.

Easiness of trauaile.

Trauaile vnto whom it is hard.

Goodwill makes great burdeines light.

Lawfull.

Necessary two waies taken.


gotten. Thus he that deuideth profite cannot want matter. Thirdly, in declaring it is pleasant, I might heape together the varietie of pleasures, which come by trauaile, first the sweetnesse of the tongue, the wholesomenes of the ayre in other Countries, the Goodly wittes of the Gentlemen, the strange and auncient buildings, the wonderfull Monuments, the great learned Clarkes in al faculties, with diuers otherlike, & almost infinite pleasures.

The easiness of trauaile, may thus be perswaded, if we shewe that free paflage is by wholesome lawes appointed, for all strangers and way fairers. And seeing this life is none other thing but a trauell, and we as Pilgrimes, wander from place to place, much fondnesse it were to thinke that hard, which nature hath made easie, yea, and pleaasunt also. None are more healthfull, none more lustie, none more merrie, none more strong of bodie, then such as haue trauailed Countries. Mary vnto them, that had rather sleepe al day, then wake one houre (choosing for any labor, slothfull idlenesse) thinking this life to be none other, but a continuall resting place, vnto such pardie, it shal,seeme painefull to abide any labour. To learne Logicke, to learne the Law, to some it seemeth so hard, that nothing can enter into their heades: and the reason is, that they want a will, and an earnest minde, to doe their endeuour. For vnto a willing heart, nothing can be hard, lay lode on such a mans back and his good heart, may foner make his backe to ake, then his good will can graunt to yeeld, and refuse the weight. And now where the sweete hath his fower joyned with him, it may be wisedome to speake somewhat of it, to mitigate the fowerenesse thereof, as much as may be possible.

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

A thing is necessarie two maner of waies. First, when either wee must doe some one thing, or els doe worse. As if one should threaten a woman, to kill her if she would not lye with him, wherein appeareth a forcible necessiteit. As touching trauaile we might say, either a man must bee ignoraunt of many good things, and want great experience, or els he must trauaile. Now to be ignoraunt, is a great shame, therefore to trauaile is most needfull, if we will auoyde shame.
The arte of Rhetorique.

Shame. The other kind of necessity is, when we persuade men to bear those things patiently, when we persuade men to bear those crosses patiently, which God doth send us, considering, will we, or will we not, needs must we abide them.

To advise one, to study the laws of England.

A Gaine, when we see our friend enclined to any kind of learning, we must counsel him to take that way still, and by reason persuade him, that it were the meetest way for him to doe his Country most good. As if he give his mind to the laws of the Realme, and finde an aptness therunto, we may advise him, to continue in his good intent, and by reason persuade him, that it were most meete for him so to do. And first we might shewe him that the study is honest and godly, considering it onely followeth justice, and is grounded wholly upon natural reason. Wherein we might take a large scope, if we should fully speake of all things, that are comprehended under honesty. For he that will knowe what honesty is, must have an understanding, of all the virtues together. And because the knowledge of them is most necessary, I will briefly set them forth. There are fewer especiall and chief virtues, under whom all other are comprehended.

- Prudence, or wisdom.
- Justice.
- Manhood.
- Temperance.

Prudence, or wisdom (for I will here take them both for one) is a virtue that is occupied evermore in searching out the truth. Now, we all love knowledge, and have a desire to passe other therein, and think it shame to be ignoran: and by studying the lawe, the truth is gotten out, by knowing the truth, wisdom is attained. Wherefore, in persuading one to study the lawe, you may shewe him, that he shall get wisdom thereby. Under this virtue are comprehended.

- Memorie.
- Understanding.
- Foresight.

The memorie, calleth to accompt those things, that were parts of done heretofore, and by a former remembrance getteth an after wit, and learneth to auoyde deceit.
The arte of Rhetorique.

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

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

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

Now, Nature first taught man, to take this way, and would euery one so to doe vnto an other, as he would be done vnto himselfe. For whereas Raine watereth al in like, the Sunne shineth indifferently ouer all, the fruite of the earth encreaseth equally. God warneth vs to bestowe our good will after the fame sorte, doing as dutie bindeth vs, and as necessitie shall best require. Yea, God graunteth his giftes diuerely among men, because hee would man shoulde knowe and feele, that man is borne for man, and that one hath neede of an other. And therefore though nature hath not stirred some, yet through the experience that man hath, concerning his commoditie: many haue turned the lawe of nature into an ordinarie custome, and followed the same as though they were bound to it by a law. Afterward, the wisdome of Princes, and the feare of Gods threate, which was uttered by his worde, forced men by a lawe, both to allowe things confirmed by nature, and to beare with old custome, or els they should not onely suffer in body temporall punishment, but also lofe their soules for euer. Nature is a right that phantasie hath not framed, but God hath graffed and giuen man power thereunto, whereof these are deriued.

Religion.

Religion, and acknowledging of God.

Naturall loue to our children, and other.

Thankfulness to all men.

Stoutnesse, both to withstand and requenge.

Reuerence to the superiour.

Assured and constaunt trueth in things.

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

Naturall
The arte of Rhetorique.

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

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

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

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

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

That is right by custome, which long time hath confirmed, Right by being partly grounded vpon nature, & partly vpon reason, as custome. where wee are taught by nature, to knowe the euer liuing God, and to worship him in spirite, we turning natures light, into blind custome, without Gods will, haue vsed at length to beleue, that he was really with vs here in earth, and worshipped him not in spirite, but in Copes, in Candlesticks, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers, in Crosses, in Banners, in shauen Crownes, and long Gownes, and many good custome morowes els, deuised only by the phantafie of man, without the expresse will of God. The which childish toyes, time hath so long confirmed, that the trueth is scant able to trie vngodly. them out, our hearts be so hard, and our wits be so far to

A. RH. D seeke.
feeke. Again, where we see by nature, that every one should deal true, custome encreaseth nature's will, & maketh by auncient demeane things to be justly observ'd, which nature hath appointed.

Bargaining.

As Commons, or equalitie.

Judgement giuen.

Bargaining is, when two have agreed for the sale of some one thing, the one will make his fellowe to stand to the bargaine though it be to his neighbours undoing, resting upon this point, that a bargaine is a bargaine, and must stand without all exception, although nature requireth to have things done by conscience, and would that bargaining should be builded upon justice, whereby an upright dealing, and a charitable love, is uttered amongst all men.

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

Judgement giuen. Judgement giuen, is when a matter is confirmed by a Parliament, or a Lawe, determined by a judge, unto the which many headstrong men will stand to dye for it, without sufferance of any alteration, not remembering the circumstance of things, and that time altereth good actes.

That is right by a law, when the truth is uttered in writing, and commanded to be kept, even as it is set forth unto them.

Fortitude or manhood.

Fortitude, is a considerate hazzarding upon danger, and a willing heart to take paines, in behalfe of the right. Now, when can stoutness be better used, then in a just maintenance of the Lawe, and constant trying of the truth: Of this vertue, there are four branches.

Honourableness.

Stoutness.

Sufferance.

Continuance.
The arte of Rhetorique.

Honorableneffe is a noble ordering of weightie matters, Honor-
with a lustie heart, and a liberall vsing of his wealth, to encreafe of honour.

Stoutneffe, is an assur'd trust in himfelfe, when he mindeth Stoutneffe.
the compaffe of most weightie matters, and a couragiouß defending of his caufe.

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

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

Temperaunce.

Emperance, is a meauring of affections according to Emper-
the will of reaon, and a subduing of luft vnto the Square ance.
of honeftie. Yea, and what one thing doth soone mitigate
the immoderate passions of our nature, then the perfect
knowledge of right & wrong, & the iust execution appointed
by a law, for asswaging the wilfull? Of this vertue there are
three partes.

\{ Sobrietie. \\
\} Gentlenesse. \\
\} Modestie.

Sobrietie, is a brideling by discretion, the wilfulness of Sobrietie.

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

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

It is profitable.

After we haue perfwaded our freend, that the lawe is honest, drawing our arguments from the heape of vertues,
wee mußt goe further with hym, and bryng him in good beleue
that it is very gainfull. For many one seeke not the know-
ledge of learning for ye goodnes sake, but rather take paines
for the gaine, which they see doeth arife by it. Take away
the hope of lucre, and you shall see fewe take any paines: no, Hope of not
reward maketh men take paines.
not in the Vineyard of the Lord. For although none should followe any trade of life for the gaine sake, but even as he feeth it is most necessarie, for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and not passe in what estimation things are had in this worlde: yet because we are all so weake of witte in our tender yeres, that we can not weigh with our selues what is best, and our bodie so nigh, that it loketh euer to be cherished, we take that which is most gainefull for vs, and forfake that altogether, which wee ought most to followe. So, that for lacke of honeft meanes, and for want of good order: the best way is not vfed, neither is Gods honour in our first yeres remembred. I had rather (sayde one) make my child a Cobler, then a Preacher, a Tankerd bearer, then a Scholer. For what shal my fonne feeke for learning, when hee shal neuer get thereby any liuing? Set my sonne to that, whereby he may get somewhat? Doe ye not fee, how every one catcheth and pulleth from the Church what thei can? I feare me one day, they wil plucke downe Church and all. Call you this the Gosspell, when men feeke onely to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to Hell? A patron of a Benefice, will haue a poore yngrame soule, to beare the name of a Parson, for twentie marke or ten pound: and the patron him self, will take vp for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus God is robbed, learning decayered, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded. The old Romaines not yet knowing Chrift, and yet being led by a reverent feare towards God made this lawe. Sacrum sacroue commendatum qui clephserit, rapseritue, paricida est. He that shall clofely fteale, or forciblie take awaie that thing which is holy, or giuen to the holy place, is a murderer of his countrey. But what haue I faid? I haue a greater matter in hande, then whereof I was aware, my penne hath runne ouer farre, when my leasure serueth not, nor yet my witte is able to talke this cafe in fuch wise, as it mould bee, and as the largeness thereof requireth. Therefore, to my Lawyer againe, whom I doubt not to perfwade, but that he shal haue the Deuill and al, if he learene a pace, and doe as some haue doen before him. Therefore, I will shewe how largely this profite extendeth, that I may haue him the foner take this matter in hande. The law therefore, not onely bringeth much gaine
The arte of Rhetorique.

with it, but also aduaunceth men, both to worship, renowne, and honour. All men shall seeke his fauour for his learning sake, the beft shall like his company for his calling: and his wealth with his skil shall be such, that none shall be able to work him any wrong. Some consider profite, by these circumstancies following.

环氧 To whom.
环氧 When.
环氧 Where.
环氧 Wherefore.

Nither can I vfe a better order, then these circumstancies minister unto mee. To whom therefore is the Law profitable? Marie, to them that be best learned, that haue readie wittes, and will take pains. When is the law profitable? Assurredly, both now and euermore, but especially in this age, where all men goe together by the eares, for this matter, and that matter. Such alteration hath beene heretofore, that hereafter needes must enfue much alteration. And where is al this a doe? Euen in little England, or in Westminifter hall, where neuer yet wanted businesse, nor yet euershal. Wherefore is the Law profitable? Undoubtedly, because no man could hold his owne, if there were not an order to staie vs, and a Lawe to restraine vs. And I praye you, who getteth the money? The Lawiers no doubt. And were not Land sometimes cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a Law? Do not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for lopping of a Tree, spendetes all that euer they haue, an other for a Gofe that graffeth vpon his ground, tries the lawe so hard, that he proues himself a Gander. Now, when men be so mad, is it not easie to get money among them? Undoubtedly, the Lawier neuer dieth a begger. And no maruaile. Lawyers, beggers. For an C. begges for him, and makes awaie all that they haue, to get that of him, the which, the oftener he bestoweth, the more still he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies, aswel by encrease of learning, as by florish his purse with money, whereas the other get a warme Sunne oftentimes, and a flappe with a Foxe taile, for all that euer they haue spent. And why would they? Tush if it were to doe againe, they would doe it: therefore, the Lawyer can neuer want liuing till the earth want men and all be voyde.
The arte of Rhetorique.

The Lawe ease to many,
and hard to some.

I doubt not, but my Lawyer is persuaded that the Lawe is profitable, now must I bear him in hand that it is an easy matter to become a Lawyer. The which, if I shall be able to prove, I doubt not, but he will prove a good Lawyer, and that right shortly: the Lawe is grounded upon reason. And what hardnest is it for a man by a reason, to finde out reason. That can not be strange unto him, the ground whereof is grased in his breast. What, though the Lawe be in a strange tongue, the wordes may bee gotte without any paine, when the matter it self is compast with ease. Tush, a little Lawe will make a great shewe, and therefore, though it bee much to become excellent, yet it is easy to get a taste. And surely for getting of money, a little will doe as much good oftentimes, as a great deal. There is not a word in the Law, but it is a grasse in the Lawiers purse. I haue knowne divers, that by familiar talking and mouting together, haue come to right good learning, without any great bookes, or much beating of their braine, by any close studie or secret musying in their Chamber. But where some faie the Lawe is very hard, and discourage yong men from the studie thereof, it is to bee vnderstande of such as will take no pains at al, nor yet mind the knowledge thereof. For what is not hard to man, when he wanteth will to doe his best. As good sleepe, and saie it is hard: as wake and take no pains.

Godlie.

The Lawe.
Iuste.
Neceffarie.
Pleasaunt.

What needeth mee, to proove the Lawe to be Godly, iust, or necessarie, seeing it is grounded upon Gods will, and all Lawes are made for the maintenaunce of Iustice. If we wil not beleue that it is necessarie, let vs haue Rebels againe to disturb the Realme. Our nature is so fonde, that we knowe not the necessitie of a thing, till wee finde some lacke of the same. Bowes are not esteemed, as they haue beene among vs Englishmen, but if we were once well beaten by our enemies, we should foone knowe the want, and with feeling the smert, lament much our folly. Take away the Law,
The arte of Rhetorique.

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

An Epiftle to perswade a yong Gentleman to mariage,
devised by Erasimus, in the behalfe of his frend.

Albeit, you are wise enough of your selfe, through that singulare wisedome of yours (moft louing Cofine) and little needes the aduise of other, yet either for that olde frendhippe, which hath bene betwixt vs, and continued with our age, euen from our Cradles, or for such your great good turnes, shewed at all times towards me, or els for that faft kinred and aliaunce, which is betwixt vs: I thought my self thus much to owe vnto you, if I would be such a one in deed, as you euer haue taken mee, that is to fay, a man both frendly and thankfull, to tell you freely (whatfoeuer I judged to appertaine either to the fauegard or worship of you, or any of yours) and willingly to warne you of the fame. Wee are better seen oftentimes in other mens matters, then we are in our owne. I haue felt often your aduife in mine owne affaires, and I haue found it to be fortunate vnto me, as it was frendly. Now, if you will likewife in your owne matters, follow my counfaile. I truft it shall so come to passe, that neither I shall repent me, for that I haue giuen you counfaile, not yet you shall forethinke your selfe, that you haue obeyed and followed mine aduife.

There was at supper with me the twelue day of Aprill, when I laie in the Countrie, Antonius Baldu, a man (as you knowe) that moft earnestly tendereth your welfare, and one that hath been alwaies of great acquaintaunce, and familiaritie with your fonne in Lawe: a heauie feast wee had, and full of much mourning. He tolde me greatly to both our heauinesse, that your mother that moft Godly woman, was departed this life, and your fister being over come with forowe and heauinesse, had made her self a Nunne, so that in you only remaineth the hope of issue, and maintenance of your flocke. Whereupon your freends with one consent, haue offered you in Mariage, a Gentlewoman of a good house, and much wealth, faire of bodie, very well brought vp, and such a one as loueth you with all her heart. But you (either for your
late forowes, which you haue in fresh remembrance, or els for religion sake) have so purposed to liue a single life, that neither can you for loue of your flock, neither for desire of issue, nor yet for any entreatie of your freendes can make, either by praying, or by weeping: be brought to change your minde. And yet notwithstanding all this (if you will followe my counsayle) you shall be of an other minde, and leaving to liue single, whiche both is barraine, and finally agreeing with the state of mans Nature, you shall giue your selfe wholly to most holy Wedlocke. And for this parte, I will neither wish, that the loue of your freendes (which els ought to overcume your nature) nor yet mine authoritie that I haue over you, shoulde doe me any good at all, to compasse this my request, if I shall not proye vnto you by most plaine reasons, that it will be both much more honest, more profitable, and also most pleasant for you to marrie, then to liue otherwise. Yea, what will you say if I proye it also, to be necessary for you at this tyme to marrie. And first of all, if honestie may moue you in this matter (the which among all good men, ought to bee of much weight) what is more honest then Matrimonie, the which Chrift himselfe did make honest, when not onely hee, vouchsaue to bee at the Mariage with his mother, but also did consecrate the Mariage feast, with the first miracle, that euer hee did vpon earth? What is more holy then Matrimonie, which the Creatour of all things did institute, did fasten and make holy, and nature it selfe did establifh? What is more prayse worthie, then that thing, the which, whosoever shall dispraise, is condemned straight for an Heretique? Matrimonie, is euen as honourable, as the name of an Heretique is thought shamefull. What is more right or meete, then to giue that vnto the posterity, the which we haue receiued of our auncefters? What is more inconsiderate, then vnder the desire of holinesse, to eschew that as unholy, which God himself, the fountaine and father of all holiness, would haue to be compted is most holy? What is more vnmanly then that man shoulde goe againft the lawes of mankind? What is more vnthankfull, then to denie that vnto younglings, the which (if thou haddeft not receiued of thine elders) thou couldeft not haue bene the man liuing, able to haue denied it vnto them. That if you would knowe, who
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was the first founder of Mariage, you shall understand, that Mariage it came not vp by Licurgus, nor yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon: but it was first ordained and instituted, by the cheefe founder of all things, commended by the fame, made honourable, and made holy by the same. For, at the first when he made man of the earth, he did perceiue that his life should be miserable and vnfauerie, except he ioyned Eue as mate vnto him. Whereupon he did not make the wife vpon the same clay, whereof he made man: but he made her of Adams Ribbes, to the end we might plainly understand, that nothing ought to be more deare vnto vs then our wife, nothing more vnto him. nigh vnto vs, nothing furer ioyned, and (as a man would faie) faifer glewed together. The felame God, after the generall Matris flood being reconciled to mankinde, is said to proclaime this law first of all, not that men should liue single, but that they should encrease, bee multiplied and fill the earth. But howe flood. I pray you could this thing bee, sauing by Mariage and lawfull comming together? And first lest we should alledge here, either the libertie of Moses lawe, or els the necessitie of that tyme: what other meaning els, hath that common and commendable report of Chrif in the Gofpell, for this caufe (faith he) shall man leaue father and mother, and cleaue to his wife. And what is more holy then the reuerence and loue due vnto parents? And yet the trueth promis in Matrimonie, is preferred before it, and by whose meanes? Marie by God himselfe, at what time? Forsooth not only among the Jewes, but also among the Christians. Men forfake father and mother, and takes themselues wholly to their wiues. The sonne being past twentie yeares, is free and at libertie. Yea, the sonne being abdicated be commeth no sonne. But it is death onely that parteth maried folke, if yet death doth parte them. Nowe, if the other Sacraments (whereunto the Church of Chrif chiefly leaneth) be reuerently vfed, who doeth not see, that this Sacrament, shoule haue the most reuerence of all, the which was instituted of God, and that first and before all other. As for the other, they were instituted vpon earth, this was ordeined in Paradife: the other were giuen for a remedie, this was appointed for the felowship of felicitie: the other were applied to mans nature, after the fall this only was giuen, when man was in most
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most perfit state. If we coumpt those Lawes good, that mortall men haue enacted, shall not the lawe of Matrimonie bee most holy, which wee haue receiued of him, by whom we haue receiued life, the which Lawe was then together enacted, when man was first created? And lastly, to strengtheen this Lawe, with an example and deed done, Christ being a yong man (as the storie reporteth) was called to Mariage, and came thether willingly with his mother, and not only was he there present, but also he did honest the feast with a wonderfull maruaile, beginning first in none other place, to worke his wonders and to doe his miracles. Why then I praie you (will one faie) how happeneth it, that Christ forbare Mariage? As though good sir, there are not many things in Christ, at the which we ought rather to maruaile, than seeke to follow. He was borne, and had no father, he came into this world, without his mothers painfull travaile, he came out of the graue when it was closed vp, what is not in him aboue nature? Let these things be proper vnto him. Let vs that lieue within the bounds of nature, reuerence those things that are aboue nature, and followe such things as are within our reache, such as wee are able to compasse. But yet (you say) hee would bee borne of a virgin: of a virgin (I graunt) but yet of a maried virgin. A virgin being a mother did mofte become God, and being maried, she shewed what was best for vs to do. Virginitie did become her, who being undefiled brought him forth by heauenly inspiration, that was undefiled. And yet Ioseph being her houfbande, doeth commend vnto vs the lawe of chaft Wedlock. Yea, how could he better set out the societie in Wedlocke, than that willing to declare the secrete societie of his Divine nature, with the bodie and soule of man which is wonderfull, euen to the heauenly Angels, and to shewe his unspeakable and euer abiding loue toward his church: He doth call himself the Bridegrome, and her the bride. Greate is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saith Paule) betwixt Christ and his Church. If there had been vnder heauen, any holier yoke, if there had bene any more religious couenaunt, then is Matrimonie, without doubt the example thereof had bene vfed. But what like thing do you reade in all scripture of the single life? The Apostle S. Paule in the thirteene Chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrues, calleth Matrimonie
Matrimonie honorable among all men, and the bed undefiled, &c. yet the single life is not so much as once named in the same place. Nay, they are not borne withal that live single, except they make some recompence, with doing some great thing. For else, if a man following the law of Nature, doth labour to get children, he is ever to be preferred before him, that liueth still unmarried, for none other end, but because he would bee out of trouble, and liue more free. We do read, that such as are in very deed chaft of their body, and liue a virgines life, haue bene praifed: but the single life was never praised of it selfe. Now, againe the law of Moses, accursed the barrennes of married folk: and we do read that some were excommunicated, for the same purpose, and banished from the Altar. And wherfore I praine you? Marie sir, because that they like unprofitable persons, and liuing onely to themselves, did not encrease the worlde with any issue. In Deuteronomi, it was the cheefeft token of Gods Deuc. vi. blessings vnto the Israelites, that none should be barren among them, neither man, nor yet woman. And Lia is Lia. thought to be out of Gods favour because she could not bring forth children. Yea, and the Psalme of Davaid. 128. it is coumpted on of the cheefeft partes of bliss, to be a fruitfull woman. Thy wife (saieth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull like a Vine. And thy children like the branches of Olives, round about thy table. Then if the law doe condemne, and utterly disalowe barren Matrimonie, it hath alwaies muche more condemned the single life of Batchlars. If the fault of nature hath not escaped blame, the will of man can never want rebuke. If they are accursed that would haue children, and can get none, what deserve thei which never travaile to escape barrennes? The Hebrues had such a reverence to married folke, that he which had maried a wife, the same yeere should not be forced to goe on warfare. A Citie is like to fall to ruine, except there be watchmen to defend it with armor. But assured destruction must here nedes follow, except men through the benefite of mariage supplie issue, the which through mortalitie, doe from time to time decaie.

Ouer and besides this, the Romaines did laie a penaltie upon their backe, that liued a single life, yea, they would not suffer them to beare any office in the Commonweale. But they
they that had encreased the world with issue, had a rewarde by common assent, as men that did deserve well of their countrey. The olde foren lawes did appoint penalties for such as liued single, the which although, they were qualified by Constancius the Emperour, in the fauour of Christes Religion: yet these lawes doe declare, how little it is for the common weales aduauncement, that either a Citie should be lefne for loue of sole life, or els that the Countrey should be filled full of Baftards. And besides this, the Emperour, Augustus, being a fore punisher of cuill behauiour, examined a foldiour because he did not marie his wife, according to the lawes, the which foldiour had hardly escaped judgement, if he had not got three children by her. And in this point doe the lawes of the Emperours, feeme fauourable to maried folke, that they abrogate such vowes, as were proclaimed to be kept, and brought in by Miscella, and would that after the penaltie were remitted, fuch couenaunts being made against all right and conscience, should als be taken of none effect, and as voyde in the lawe. Ouer and besides this, Vipianus doth declare, that the matter of Dowries was euermore, and in al places the chiefeft aboue all other, the which mould neuer haue been so, except there came to the Common weale, some especiall profite by Mariage. Mariage hath euer beene reuerenced, but fruitfulnesse of body, hath been much more, for so soone as one got the name of a father, there descended not onely vnto him inheritaunce of land, but all bequestes, and goods of fuch his freendes, as dyed intestate. The which thing appeareth plainly, by the Satyre Poet.

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

Now he that hath three children, was more fauoured, for he was exempted from all outwarde ambassages. Againe, hee that had fiue children, was dischargd & free from all personall office, as to haue the gouernaunce, or patronage of young Gentlemen, the which in those daies was a greate charge, and full of paines, without any profite at al. He that had thirtene children, was free by the Emperour Iulianus lawe, not onely from being a man of armes, or a Captaine
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a Captaine ouer horsemen: but also from all other offices in the common weale. And the wise founders of al lawes, giue good reason why such favour was shewed to married folke. For what is more bleffefull then to liue euer? Now, where as nature hath denied this, Martrimonie doeth giue it by a certaine sleight, so much as may be. Who doth not desire to bee bruted, and liue through fame among men hereafter? Now, there is no building of Pillers, no erecting of Arches, no blasing of Armes, that doth more set forth a mans name, then doth the encrease of children. Albinus obtained his purpose of the Emperour Adrian, for none other defert of his, but that he had begot an house full of children. And therefore the Emperour (to the hinderance of his treaure) suffered the children to enter wholly vpon their fathers possession, for asmuch as he knewe well, that his Realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Againe, all other Lawes are neither agreeing for all Countries, not yet vsed at all time. Licurgus made a lawe, y't they which maried not, should be kept in Sommer from the sight of stagi Playes, and other wonderfull shewes, and in Winter, they should go naked about the Market place, and accursing themselues, they should confesse openly that they had iuftly deserued such punishment, because they did not liue according to the Lawes. And without any more ado, will yee knowe how much our olde auncestors heretofore esteemed Matrimonie? Weigh well, and confider the punishment for breaking of wedlock. The Greekes heretofore thought it meete, to punish the breach of Matrimonie with bataille, that continued ten yeres. Yea, moreover not onely by the Romaine Lawe, but also by the Hebrues and strangers, aduouterers persons were punished with death. If a theefe paied fower times the value of that which he tooke awaye, he was deliuered: but an aduouterers offence, was punished with ye sword. Among the Hebrues, the people stoned the aduouterers to death with their owne handes, because they had broken that, without which the worlde could not continue. And yet they thought not this fore Law sufficient enough, but graunted further to run him through without Lawe, that was taken in aduoutrie, as who should say, they graunted that to the greefe of married folke, the which they would hardly graunt.
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graunt to him, that flood in his owne defence for faufegard of his life, as though he offended more hainously that tooke a mans wife, then hee did that tooke away a mans life. Assuredly Wedlocke must needes seeme to be a most holy thing, considering, that being once broken, it must needes bee purged with mans bloud, the reuenger whereof, is not forced to abide, either Lawe or Judge, the which libertie is not graunted any, to vfe vpon hym that hath killed, either his father or his mother. But what doe wee with these Lawes written? This is the law of nature, not written in the Tables of Braffe, but firmely printed in our mindes, the which Lawe, whosoeuer doth not obeye, he is not worthie to be called a man, much lesse mall he be compted a Citezen. For, if to liue well (as the Stoikes wittely doe dispute) is to followe the course of nature, what thing is so agreeing with nature, as Matrimonie? For there is nothing so naturall, not onely vnro mankind, but also vnro all other liuing creatures, as it is for every one of them, to keepe their owne kind from decaie, and through increafe of iflue, to make their whole kinde immortall. The which thing (all men knowe) can neuer be doen without Wedlocke, and carnall copulation. It were a soule thing that brute beastes mould obey the Lawe of nature, and men like Giантes mould fight against Nature. Whose worke, if we would narrowly looke vpon, we shall perceiue that in al things here vpon earth, she would there should be a certaine spice of Mariage. I will not speake now of Trees, wherein (as Plinie most certainly writeth) there is found Mariage, with some manifest difference of both kindes, that except the houseband Tree, doe leane with his boughes, euens as though he shold desire copulation vpon the women Trees, growing round about him: They would els altogether waxe barraine. The same Plinie also doeth reporte, that certaine Authours doe thinke there is both Male, and Female, in all things that the earth yeeldeth. I will not speake of precious Stones, wherein the same Authour affirmeth, and yet not he onely neither, that there is bothe Male, and Female among them. And I pray you, hath not GOD so knitte all things together with certaine linkes, that one euer seemeth to haue neede of an other?
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What say you of the Skie or Firmament, that is ever stirring with continuall moouing? Doth it not plaie the part of a houseband, while it puffeth vp the earth, the mother of all things, and maketh it fruitfull, with casting seede (as a man would say) vpon it. But I thinke it ouer tedious, to runne ouer all things. And to what end are these things spoken? Mary sir, because we might vnderstande, that through Mariage, all things are and doe still continue, and with out the same, all things doe decay and come to naught. The olde auncient and most wife Poets doe feigne (who had euery a desire vnder the colour of fables, to set forth precepts of Philofophie) that the Giauntes, which had Snakes feete, and were borne of the earth, builded great hilles that mounted vp to heauen, minding thereby to bee at vtter defiance with God, and all his Angels. And what meaneth this fable? Marie, it sheweth vnto vs, that certaine fierce and fauage men, such as were vnknowne, could not abide wedlock for any worlds good, and therefore they were sriken doune hedlong with lidghtning, that is to say: they were vtterly destroyed, when they sought to eschue that, whereby the weale and saufegard of all man-kind, onely doth confift.

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

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

And this also makes well for the purpofe, that in olde tyme they
they made *Jupiter Gamelius*, the God of Marriage, and *Juno Lucina*, Lady Midwife, to helpe such women as laboured in childbed, being fondly deceived, and supersticiously erring in naming of the Gods: and yet not missing the truth, in declaring that Matrimony is an holy thing, and meete for the worthinesse thereof, that the Gods in heauen should haue care ouer it. Among diuers Countries and diuers men, there haue beeene diuers lawes and Cuftomes vfed. Yet was there neuer any Countrey so sauage, none so farre from al humanitie, where the name of Wedlocke was not coumpted holie, and had in great reuerence. This the *Thracian*, this the *Sarmate*, this the *Indian*, this the *Grecian*, this the *Latine*, yea, this the *Britaine* that dwelleth in the furtheft part of all the world, or if there be anythat dwell beyond them? Marie, because that thing muft needs be common to all, which the common mother vnto all, hath graffed in vs all, and hath so throughly graffed the same in vs, that not only Stockdoues and Pigiones, but also the moft wilde beafts, haue a Naturall feeling of this thing. For the Lions are gentle againft the Lionesse. The Tygers fight for safegarde of their young whelpes. The Asse runnes through the hot fire (which is made to keepe her away) for safegarde of her iftue. And this they call the lawe of Nature, the which as it is of moft strength & force, so it spreadeth abroad moft largely. Therefore, as he is coumpted no good Gardener, that being content with thinges preuent, doth diligently proyne his olde Trees, and hath no regarde either to ympe or graffe yong Settes: because the felfe fame Orchard (though it bee neuer fo well trimmed) muft needs decay in time, & all the Trees dye within fewe yeares: so he is not to be coumpted halfe a diligent Citezien, that beeing content with the preuent multitude, hath no regarde to encreafe the number. Therefore, there is no one man, that euer hath been coumpted a worthie Citezien, who hath not laboured to get children, and sought to bring them vp in godlineffe.

Among the *Hebrues* and the *Persians*, he was moft commended that had moft wiuues, as though the Countrey were moft beholding to him, that encreafe the fame with the greatest number of children. Doe you seeke to be coumpted more holy then Abraham himselfe? Well, he shoule never haue beeene coumpted the Father of many Nations, and that through
through Gods furtheraunce, if he had forborne the companie of his wife. Doe you looke to be reckened more deuout then Iacob. He doubted nothing to raunfome Rachell from Iacob. her great bondage. Will you bee taken for wiser then Salomon? And yet I pray you, what a number of wiuues kept Salomon. he in one houfe? Will you bee coumpted more chaft then Socrates, who is reported to beare at home with Zantippe, that Socrates. very shrowe, and yet not so much therefore (as he is wont to ieft, according to his olde maner) because he might learne pacience at home, but also because he might not feeme to come behinde with his dutie, in doing the will of Nature. For he being a man, such a one (as Appollo iudged him by his Oracle to bee wife) did well perceiue that he was got for this caufe, borne for this caufe, and therefore bounde to yeeld fo much vnto Nature. For, if the olde auncient Philosophers have said well, if our Diuines haue proued the thing not without reason, if it be vfed euery where, for a common Prouerbe, and almost in euery mans mouth, that neither GOD, nor yet Nature, did euer make any thing in vaine. Why did he giue vs such members, how happeneth wee haue such luft, and such power to get issue, if the single life and none other, bee altogether praiife worthie? If one should bestowe vpon you a very good thing: as a Bowe, a Coate, or a Sworde, all men would thinke you were not worthie to haue the thing, if either you could not, or you would not vse it and occupie it. And whereas all other thinges, areordeined vpon such great consideratns, it is not like that Nature flipt, or forgat her felfe when she made this one thing. And now here will fome fay, that this foule and filthie defire and ftirring vnto luft, came neuer in by Nature, but through finne: for whose wordes I passe not a strawe, seeing their fayinges are as falfe as God is true. For I pray you was not Matrimonie instituted (whose woorke cannot bee done without these members) before there was no finne. And againe, whence haue all other Beaftes their prouocations ? Of Nature, or of finne ? A man would thinke they had them of Nature. But shall I tell you at a worde, wee make that filthie by our owne immagination, which of the owne Nature is good and godlie. Or els if wee will examine matter (not according to the opinion of men, but waigh them as they are of their owne Nature)
Nature) how chaunceth it, that we thinke it leffe filthie to eate, to chewe, to diggest, to emptie the bodie, and to sleepe, then it is to use carnall Copulation, such as is lawfull and permitted. Now sir (you may say) wee must followe vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dish. As though any thing can bee called vertue, that is contrary vnto Nature. Assuredly there is nothing that can bee perfectly gotte, either through labour, or through learning, if man grounde not his doings altogether vpon Nature.

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

Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes, set forth their order neuer so much, let them boast and bragge their bellies full, of their Ceremonies and Church service, wherein they chiefly
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chiefly passe all other: yet is Wedlocke (beeing well and
truely kept) a moft holy kinde of life. Againe, would to
God they were gelled in very deede, whatsoeuer they bee
that colour their naughtie liuing, with such a ioylie name of
gelding, liuing in much more filthie lust, vnder the cloake and
pretence of Chastitie. Neithere can I reporte for very shame,
into how filthie offences they doe often fall, that will not vse that
remeade, which Nature hath graunted vnto man. And laft
of all, where doe you reade, that euer Chrift commaunded any
man to liue single, and yet he doth openly forbid diuorcement.

Then he doth not worst of all (in my judgement) for the
Common weale of mankinde, that graunted libertie vnto
Priestes: yea, and Monkes also (if neede bee) to marrie, and to
Priestes take them to their wiues, namely, feing there is such an
unreasonable number euery where, among whom I pray you,
how many bee there that liue chaft. How much better were
it, to turne their Concubines into wiues, that whereas they
haue them now to their great shame, with an vnquiet
conscience, they might haue the other openly with good
reporte, and get children, and also bring them vp godlie, of
whom they themselues, not onely might not be ashamed, but
also might be compted honest men for them. And I thinke
the Bishops officers would haue procured this matter long
agoe, if they had not found great gaines by Priestes Lemmans,
then they were like to haue by Priestes wiues.

But virginitie forsooth is an heauenly thing, it is an Angels virginitie.
life. I anfwer: Wedlocke is a manly thing, fuch as is meece
for man. And I talke now as man vnto man. I graunt
you, that virginitie is a thing praife worthie, but so farre I am
content to speake in praife of it, if it bee not so praised,
as though the iuft should altogether followe it. For if men
commonly should begin to like it, what thing could be
inuented more perillous to a common weale, then virginitie?
Now, bee it that other dererue great praife for their maiden-
head, you notwithstanding cannot want great rebuke, seeing
it lieth in your handes to keepe that house from decay,
whereof your lineally descended, and to continue stille the name
of your auncesters, who dererue moft worthely to bee knowne
for euer. And laft of all, he dererueth as much praife as they
which keepe their maidenhood: that keepes himselfe true to
his
his wife, & marieth rather for encrease of children, then to
atidifie his lust. For if a brother be commaunded to ftirre vp
feede to his brother that dieth without issue, will you suffer y*
hope of al your ftocke to decay: namely, seeing there is none
other of your name and ftocke but your felf alone, to continue
the pofteritie. I know well enough, that the auncient Fathers
haue set forth in great volumes the praiife of virginitie,
among whom Hierome doth so take on, and praifeth it fo much
aboue the Starres, that he fell in maner to depraue Matrim-
onie, and therefore was required of godlie Bishops, to call
backe his words that he had fpoken. But let vs beare with
fuch heate for that time fake, I would wifli now, that they
which exhort young folke euery where, and without respect
(such as yet knowe not themselues) to liue a fingle life, and to
profefle virginitie: that they would beftowe the fame labor
in setting forth the discription of chaft and pure wedlocke.
And yet thofe bodies that are in fuch great loue with
virginitie, are well contented that men mould fight againft
the Turkes, which in number are infinitely greater then we
are. And now if these men thinke right in this behalfe, it
muft needes be thought right, good, and godly, to labour
earnestly for children getting, and to substitufe youth from
time to time for the maintenance of warre. Except per-
aduenture they thinke that Gunnes, Billes, Pikes, and Nauies
should be prouided for battaill, and that men ftand in no
fteede at all with them. They alfo allowe it wel, that we
should kill miscreant and Heathen Parents, that the rather
their children not knoweing of it, might bee Baptized and
made Christians. Now if this bee right and lawfull, how
much more gentlenesfe were it to haue children baptized,
being born in lawfull mariage. There is no Nation fo
fausage, nor yet fo hard harted within the whole worlde, but
the fame abhorreth murdering of Inphants, and new borne
babes. Kings alfo and head rulers, doe likewife punish moft
fteighly, all such as feeke meanes to be deliuered before
their time, or use Phificke to waxe barraine, and neuer to
beare Children. What is the reafon? Marie they coumpt it
small difference betwixt him that killeth the childe, fo fone
as it beginneth to quicken: & the other that seeketh all meanes
possible, neuer to haue any childe at all. The felf fame thing
that
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that either withereth and drieth away in the bodie, or els
putrefieth within thee, and so hurteth greatly thy health, yea,
that selfe same which falleth from thee in thy sleepe, would
have beene a man, if thou thy selfe haddeft beene a man. The
Hebrewes abhorre that man, and wish him Gods curse, that Hebrewes.
(being commanded to marrie with the wife of his dead brother)
did cast his seede vpon the grounde, leaft any issue should be
had, and he was ever thought unworthy to live here vpon
earth, that would not suffer that child to live, which was
quicke in the mothers wombe. But I praye you, how little
doe they swaue from this offence, which bindeth them selues to
live barraine all the daies of their life? Doe they not seeme to
kill as many men as were like to have beene borne, if they
had bestowed their endeavours to have got children? Now I
pray you, if a man had lande that were very fat and fertile,
and suffered the same for lacke of mannering, for ever to
waxe barraine, shoulde he not, or were he not worthie to be
punished by the Lawes, considering it is for the common
weales behoue, that every man should well and truely husband
his own. If that man be punished, who little heedeth the
maintenaunce of his Tillage, the which although it bee never
so well mannered, yet it yeeldeth nothing els but Wheate,
Barley, Beans, and Peas: what punishment is he worthie
to suffer, that refuseth to Plowe that land which being Tilled,
yeeldeth children. And for plowing lande it is nothing els, but
painfull toyling from time to time: but in getting children
there is a pleasure, which being ordeined as a readie rewarde
for paines taking, asketh a short travaile for all the Tillage.
Therefore if the working of Nature, if honestie, if vertue, if
inward zeale, if godlinesse, if dutie maie moue you, why can you
not abide that which God hath ordained, Nature hath established,
reason doth counsail, Gods worde and mans worde doe commende,
all Lawes doe commende, the consent of all Nations
dothe allowe, whereunto also the example of all good men doth
exhort you. That if every honest man should desire many things
that are most painfull for none other cause, but only for that
they are honest, no doubt but Matrimony ought aboue all
other, most of all to be desired, as the which wee may doubt,
whether it haue more honestie in it, or bring more delight
and pleasure with it. For what can be more pleasant then to
liue
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liue with her, with whom not onely you shall be ioyned in fellowship of faithfulnesse, and most heartie good will, but also you shall be coupled together most assuredly, with the company of both your bodies: If we count that great pleafure, which we receive of the good will of our friends and acquaintance, how pleafant a thing is it aboue all other to haue one, with whom you may breake the bottome of your heart, with whom you may talke as freely as with your self, into whose truft you may safegly commit your self, such a one as thinketh all your goodes to bee her charge. Now what an heauenly bliffe (trowe you) is the companie of man and wife together, seeing that in all the world there can nothing bee found, either of greater weight & worthines, or els of more strength and assurance. For with friends we ioyne onely with them in good wil, and faithfule of mind, but with a wife we are matched together, both in heart and mind, in body and soule, sealed together with the bond & league of an holy sacrament, and parting all the goods we haue indifferently betwixt vs. Again, when other are matched together in friendship, doe we not see what dissembling they vfe, what falshood they practise, & what deceitful parts they play? Yea, even those whom we thinke to be most assured friends: as Swallowes flie away when Sommer is past, so they hide their heads when fortune gins to faile. And oft times when wee get a new friend, we fraight forfaie our old. We heare tel of very few that haue continued friends euenn till their laft end: whereas the faithfines of a wife is not staind with deceit, nor dusked with any dissembling, nor yet parted with any charge of the world, but disueued at laft by death only, no not by death neither. She forsakes and sets light by father & mother, sister & brother for your sake, and for your loue only. She only passeth vpon you, she puts her trust in you, & leaneth wholly vpon you, yea, she desires to dye with you. Have you any worldly subftaunce? You have one that wil maintaine it, you have one wil encreafe it. Have you none? You have a wife that will get it. If you liue in prosperitie, your ioye is doubled: if the world goe not with you, you have a wife to put you in good comfort, to be at your commandement, and readie to serue your desire, and to wish that such euill as hath happened vnto you, might chaunce vnto her selfe. And doe you
you thinke that any pleasure in all the world is to bee compared, with such a goodly fellowshippe and famillier liuing together? If you keepe home, your wife is at hand to keepe your companie, the rather that you might feel no wearines of liuing al alone: if you ride forth, you haue a wife to bid you farewell with a kiffe, longing much for you beeing from home, and glad to bid you welcome home at your next returne. A sweete mate in your youth, thankfull comfort in your age. Every societie or companying together is delightfull, & wished for by Nature of al men, for amuch as Nature hath ordeined vs to be sociable, friendly, & louing together. Now how can this fellowship of man and wife be otherwise then most pleasaunt, where all things are common together betwixt them both. Now I thinke he is most worthie to bee despisid aboue all other, that is borne as a man would say for himself, that liueth to himself, that seeketh for himself, that spareth for himself, maketh cost onely vpon himselfe, that loueth no man, and no man loueth him. Would not a man thinke that such a monfter, were mee te be cast out of all mens companie (with Tymon that careth for no man) into the middeft of the Sea. Neither doe I here vtter vnto you these pleasures of the body, the which whereas Nature hath made to bee most pleasanct vnto man, yet these great witted men rather hide them and dissemble them (I cannot tell how) then utterly contemne them. And yet what is he that is so fower of witte, and so drouping of braine (I will not say) block-headed, or infenfate, that is not moued with such pleasure: namely, if hee may haue his desire without offence: either of God or man, and without hinderance of his estimation. Truly I would take such a one not to be a man, but rather bee a stone. Although this pleasure of the body, is the leaft part of all those good things that are in wedlocke. But be it that you passe not vpon this pleasure, and thinke it vnworthie for man to vse it, although in deeude wee deserue not the name of man without it, but coumpt it among the leaft and vlettermost profites that Wedlocke hath. Now I pray you, what can bee more hartely desired then chaft loue, what can bee more holie, what can bee more honest? And among all these pleasures, you get vnto you a ioyly sort of kinffolk, in whom you may take much delite. You haue other parents,
other bretherne, sisterne, and nephewes. Nature in deed can giue you but one father, and one mother: by Mariage you get vnto you an other father, and an other mother, who cannot chufe but loue you with all their hearts, as the which haue put into your handes, their owne flesh and blood. Now againe, what a ioye shall this be vnto you, when your moft faire wife shall make you a Father, in bringing forth a faire Childe vnto you, where you shall have a pretie little boye, running vp and downe your house, such a one as shall expresse your looke, and your wifes looke, such a one as shall call you dad with his sweete lipfing wordes. Now last of all, when you are thus lincked in Loue, the same shall bee so fastned and bounde together, as though it were with an Adamant stone, that Death it selfe can neuer bee able to vndoe it. Thrife happie are they (quoth Horace) yea, more then thrife happie are they, whom these sure bands doe holde: neither though they are by euill reporters full oft set afunder, shall Loue bee vnlofed betwixt them two, till Death them both depart. You haue them that shall comfort you in your latter daies, that shall close vp your eyes when God shall call you, that shall burie you, and fulfill all thinges belonging to your Funerall, by whom you shall seeme to bee newe borne. For so long as they shall liue, you will neuer bee thought dead your selfe. The goodes and lands that you haue got, doe not to other heires then to your owne. So that vnto such as haue fulfilled all thinges, that belong vnto mans life, Death it selfe cannot seeme better. Old age commeth vpon vs al, will we, or nill we, and this way Nature prouided for vs, that we shoulde waxe yong again in our children & nephewes. For what man can be greeued that he is old, when he seeth his owne countenance, which he had being a childe, to appeare liuely in his sonne? Death is ordained for all mankind, & yet by this meanes only, Nature by her prouidence, mindeth vnto vs a certain immortalitie, while she encreafeth one thing vpon an other, euen as a yong graffe buddeth out, when the old Tree is cut doune. Neither can he seeme to dye, that when God calleth him, leaueth a yong childe behind him. But I know well enough, what you say to your self al this while of my long talke. Mariage is an happie thing, if all thinges hap well, what if one haue a curst wife? What if she be
be light? What if his children bee vngracious? Thus I see you remember all such men, as by Mariage haue beene vndone. Well, goe to it, tell as many as you can, and spare not: you shall finde all these were the faults of the persons, and not the faultes of Marriage. For beleue me, none haue euill wiues, but such as are euill men. And as for you sir, you may chuse a good wife if you lift. But what if the bee crooked and mard altogether, for lacke of good ordering. A good honest wife, may be made an euill woman by a naughtie husband, and an euill wife hath beene made a good woman, by an honest man. Wee crye out of wiues vntruly, and accuse them without cause. There is no man (if you will beleue me) that euer had an euill wife, but through his owne default. Now againe, an honest Father, bringeth forth honest children, like vnto himselfe. Although even these children, howsoever they are borne, commonly become such men, as their education and bringing vp is. And as for Ielousie, you shall not neede to feare that fault at all. For none bee troubled with such a disease but those only that are foolifh Louers. Chaft, godlie, and lawfull loue, never knewe what Ielousie ment. What meane you to call to your minde, and remember such fore Tragedies, and dolefull dealinges, as haue beene betwixt man and wife. Such a woman beeing naught of her bodie, hath caufed her husband to lose his head: an other haue poyfoned her good man, the third with her churlifh dealing (which her husband could not beare) hath beene his vtter vndoing, and brought him to his ende. But I pray you sir, why doe you not think vpon Cornelia, wife vnto Tiberius Cornelia. Graccus? Why doe ye not minde that most worthie wife, or that most vnworthie man Alceffes? Why remember ye not Alceffes’ Iulia Pompeies wife, or Porcia Brutus wife? And why not Artemesia, a woman most worthieuer to bee remembred? Why not Hipfcratca, wife vnto Mithridates King of Pontus? Artemesia. Why doe you not call to remembrance, the gentle nature of Tertia Aemilia? Why doe ye not consider the faithfulnesse of Turia? Why commeth not Lucretia and Lentula to your remembrance? And why not Arria? Why not a thousand other, whose chaftitie of life, and faithfulnesse towards their husbands, could not bee chaunged, no not by death. A good woman (you will say) is a rare bird, and hard to bee found in all
all the world. Well then sir, imagine your selfe worthie to have a rare wife, such as fewe men haue. A good woman (saith the wiseman) is a good portion. Be you bold to hope for such a one, as is worthie your maners. The chiefeft point standeth in this, what manner of woman you chuse, how you use her, how you order your selfe towards her. But libertie (you will say) is much more plesaunt: for whosoeuer is married, weareth fetters vpon his legges, or rather carieth a clog, the which he can neuer shake of, till Death part their yoke. To this I aunfwer, I cannot see what pleasure a man shall haue, to live alone. For if libertie bee delightfull, I would thinke you should get a mate vnto you, with whom you should part stakes, and make her privie of all your ioyes. Neither can I see any thing more free, then is the seruitude of these two, where the one is so much beholding and bound to the other, that neither of them both would be lofe though they might. You are bound vnto him, whom you receive into your friendship: but in Marriage neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is taken away from them. Yet once againe you are fore afraied, leaft when your children are taken away by death, you fall to mourning for want of issue. Well sir, if you feare lack of issue, you must marie a wife for ye selfe same purpose, the which only shalbe a meane, that you shal not want issue. But what doe you search so diligently, nay so carefully, all the incommodities of Matrimonie, as though single life had neuer any incommoditie ioyned with it at all. As though there were any kinde of life in al the world, that is not subiect to al euils that may happen. He muft needes goe out of this world, that lookes to live without feeling of any greefe. And in comparison of that life, which the Saincts of God shall haue in heauen, this life of man is to bee coumpted a death, and not a life. But if you consider things within the compasse of mankinde, there is nothing either more safe, more quiet, more plesaunt, more to be desired, or more happie then is the married mans life. How many doe you see, that hauing once felt the sweetnesse of Wedlocke, doth not desire eftiones to enter into the same? My friend Mauritius, whom you knowe to be a very wiseman, did not he the next Moneth after his wife died (whom he loued dearely) get
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get him straight a newe wife? Not that he was impatient of his lust, and could not forbeare any longer, but hee faied plainly, it was no life for him to be without a wife, which should bee with him as his yokesfellowe, and companion in all things. And is not this the fourth wife that our friend Iouius hath maried? And yet he so loued the other when they were on liue, that none was able to comfort him in his heauineffe: And now he haftened so much (when one was dead) to fill up and supplie the voyde roume of his Chamber, as though he had loued the other very little. But what doe we talke so much of the honestie and pleasure herein, seeing that not onely proffite doth aduife vs, but also neede doth earnestly force vs to seeke marriage. Let it bee forbidden that man and woman shall not come together, and within fewe yeares all mankinde muft needes decay for euer. When Xerxes King of the Persians, beheld from an high place that great Armie of his, such as almoft was incredible: Some faied he could not forbeare weeping, considering of fo many thousands, there was not one like to bee alive within feuentie yeares after. Now, why shou'd not wee consider the fame of all mankinde, which he ment only of his armie. Take away mariage, and how many shall remaine after a hundred yeares, of so many Realmes, Countries, Kingdomes, Cities, & all other assemblies that be of men throughout the whole world? On now, praife we a Gods name, the sngle life aboue the Rocke, the which is tike for euer to undoe all mankinde. What Plague, what infection can either Heauen or Hell, fende more harmefull vnto mankinde? What greater euill is to be feared by any flood? What could bee looked for more forowfull, although the flame of Phaeton shou'd set the world on fire againe? And yet by such sore tempestes, many thinges haue beene faued harmeless, but by the sngle life of man, there can be nothing left at al. We see what a sort of diseases, what diuerstitie of mis happes doe night and day lye in wait, to leffen the small number of mankind. How many doth the Plague destroye, how many doe the Seas swallowe, how many doth Battaile snatch vp? For I will not speake of the daylie dying that is in all places. Death taketh her flight euery where rounde about, she runneth ouer them, she catcheth them vp, she hafteneth as much as she can
can possible to destroye all mankinde; and now doe we so highly commend single life, and eschue Marriage? Except happlie we like the profession of the Effens (of whom Iosephus speaketh, that they will neither have wife nor seruantes) or the Dolopolitans, called otherwise the rascallers and slaves of Cities, the which companie of them is alwaie encreased, & continued by a sort of vagabond peasants that continue, and bee from time to time still together. Doe wee looke that some Jupiter should giue vs that fame gift, the which he is reported to have giuen vnto Bees, that he should have issue without procreation, and gather with our mouthes out of the flowers, the seede of our posteritie? Or els doe wee desire, that like as the Poets feine Minerva, to be borne out of Jupiter's head: in like sort there should children leape out of our heads? Or last of all doe wee looke, according as the old Fables haue bene, that men should be borne out of the earth, out of Rockes, out of stocks, stones, and old Trees. Many things breed out of the earth, without mans labour at all. Yong shrubbes growe and shoute vp, vnder the shadowe of their granfire Trees. But Nature would haue man to vse his owne waye of encreasing issue, that through labour of both the Husbande and wife, mankinde might still bee kept from destrution. But I promise you, if all men tooke after you, and still forbear to marie: I cannot see but that these things which you wonder at, and esteeme so much, could not have beene at all. Doe you yet esteeme this single life so greatly? Or doe wee praise so much virginitie above all other? Why man, there will bee neither single men, nor Virgines alioe, if men leave to marrie, and minde not procreation. Why doe you then preferre virginitie so much, why set it you so hye, if it bee the vundoing of all the whole world? It hath beene much commended, but it was for that time, and in fewe. God would haue men to see, as though it were a patterne, or rather a picture of the heauenly habitation, where neither any man shal bee married, nor yet any shal giue theirs to Marriage. But when things bee giuen for example a fewe may suffice, a number were to no purpose. For euen as all groundes, though they be very fruitfull, are not therefore turned into tillage for mans vse and commoditie, but part lieth fallowe, and is neuer mankind,
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mannered, part is kept & cherished to like the eye, and for mans pleasure: And yet in all the plentie of thinges, where so great store of Land is, Nature suffereth very little to waxe barren: but now if none should be tilled, & Plowmen went to play, who feeth not but that we shoulde all starue, and bee faine shortly to eate Acornes: euen fo it is praise worthie, if a fewe liue single, but if all should seeke to liue single, so many as be in this world, it were too great an inconuenience. Now againe, be it that other deserue worthy praise that seeke to liue a virgins life, yet it must nedes be a great fault in you. Other shalbe thought to seeke a purenesse of life, you shalbe counted a Parricide, or a murtherer of your stocke, that whereas you may by honest Mariage, encrease your posteritie: you suffer it to decay for euer through your wilfull single life. A man may haueing an house full of children, commend one to God to liue a virgin all his life. The plowman offereth to God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole Crop altogether: but you sir, must remember that there is none left alive of all your stocke, but your seluelone. And now it mattereth nothing whether you kill, or refuse to faue that creature, which you onely might faue and that with ease. But you will followe the example of your sifter, and liue single as she doth. And yet me thinketh you should chiefly, euen for this selfe fame cause bee afraied to liue single. For whereas there was hope of issue heretofore in you both, now you see there is no hope left but in you only. Bee it that your sifter may bee borne withall, because she is a woman, and because of her yeares: for she being but a gerle, and ouercome with forrowe for losse of her Mother, tooke the wrong way, she caft her selfe doune headlong & became a Nunne, at the earnest fute either of foolish women, or els of doltifh Monkes: but you beeing much elder, must euermore remember that you are a man: She would needes dye together with her auncefters, you must labour that your auncefters shall not dye at all. Your Sifter would not doe her dutie, but shrinke away: thinke you now with your self, that you haue two offices to discharge. The daughters of Loth neuer flucke at the matter, to haue Daughters adoe with their dronken Father, thinking it better with wicked Whoredome and Inceft, to prouide for their posteritie,
then to suffer their stocke to dye for euer. And will not you
with honest, godlie, and chaft Marriage (which shall bee
without trouble, and turne to your great pleasure) haue
a regarde to your posteritie, most like els for euer to decay?
Therefore, let them on Gods name, followe the purpose of
chaft Hippolitus, let them liue a single life that either can be
maried men, and yet can get no children, or els such whose
stocke may bee continued, by meanes of other their kinnsfolkke,
or at the leaft whose kindered is such, that it were better for
the Common weale they were all dead, then any of that
name should be a liue, or els such men as the euerliuing God
of his most especiall goodnesse hath chosen out of the whole
world, to execute some heauenly office, whereof there is a
maruellous small number. But where as you, according to
the report of a Phisitian, that neither is vnlearned, nor yet
is any lyar, are like to haue many children hereafter, seeing
also you are a man of great Lands and Revenues by your
auncesters, the house where of you came being both right
honorable, and right auncient, fo that you could not suffer
it to perifh, without your great offence, & great harme to
the Common weale. Againe, seeing you are of lustie yeares,
and very comely for your personage, and may haue a Maide
to your wife, such a one as none of your Countrey hath
knowne any, to be more absolute for all thinges, comming of
as noble a house as any of them, a chaft one, a sober one,
a godly one, an excellent faire one, hauing with her
a wonderfull dowrie: seeing also your friendes desire you, your
kinnsfolke weepe to win you, your Cousins and Aliaunce are
earneft in hande with you, your Countrey calleth and cries
vpon you: the ashes of your auncesters from their graues
make heartieute vnto you, do you yet holde backe: doe you
still minde a single life? If a thing were as ked you that were
not halfe honest, or the which you could not well compasse,
yet at the instauence of your friends, or for the loue of your
kinnsfolke, you would be overcome, and yeeld to their re-
quests: then how much more reasonable were it, that the
weeping teares of our friends, the heartie good wil of your
Countrey, the deare loue of your elders might win that thing
at your hands, vnto the which both the law of God and man
doth exhort you. Nature pricketh you forwarde, reason
leadeth
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leadeth you, honestie allureth you, so many commodities call you, and last of all, necessitie it self doth constraine you. But here an ende of all reasoning. For I trust you haue now, and a good while agoe chaunged your mynd through mine aduife, and take your selfe to better counfaile.

Of Exhortation.

The places of exhorting, and dehorting are the same exhorting, which wee vfe in perfwading, and disswading, sauing that hee which vfeth perfwafion, seeketh by arguments to compaffe his deuife: he that labours to exhort, doth stirre affection.

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

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

Prayfing is either of the man, or of some deede done. Prayfing a man, the rather to encourge him.

Praise a deede.

Wee shall exhort men to doe the thing, if wee shewe them that it is a worthie attempt, a godly enterprise, and such as fewe men hetherto haue aduentured. In praising a man, wee shall exhort him to goe forward, considering it agreeth with his wonted manhood, and that hetherto he hath not flacked to hazard boldly vpon the best and worthieft deedes, requiring him to make his ende aunfwerable to his most worthie beginniges, that he may ende with honor, which hath so long continued in such renowne. For it were a foule shame to lose honour through follie, which haue bene got through vertue, and to appeare most flacke in keeping it, then he seemed carefull at the firft to attaine it.

Againe, whose name is renowned, his doinges from time to time, will be thought more wonderfull, and greater promises will men make vnto themselues of such mens aduentures, in any common affaires, then of others whose vertues are not yet knowne. A notable Mafter of Fence, is marueilous to behold, & men looke earnestly to see him do some
some wonder: how much more will they looke, when they heare tale, that a noble Captaine and an adventurous prince, shall take upon him the defence and sauegard of his Countrey, against the raging attemptes of his enemies? Therfore a noble man cannot but goe forward with most earnest will, seeing all men haue such hope in him, and coumpt him to be their onely comfort, their fortrasse and defence. And the rather to encourage such right worthie, we may put them in good hope to compasse their attempt, if we shewe them that God is an assured guide vnto al thofe, that in an honest quarell aduenture themselues, and shew their manly stomack. Sathan himfelfe the greatest aduerfary that man hath, yeldeth like a captiue when God doth take our part, much foner fhal al other be subieect vnto him, & crie Peccau, for if God be with him, what mattereth who be againft him?

Now, when victorie is got, what honour doth enfue? Here openeth a large field to speake of renoume, fame and endless honour. In al ages the worthiest men, haue alwaies adventured their carcafes, for the sauegard of their countrey, thinking it better to die with honor, then to liue with shame. Again, ye ruine of our realme should put vs to more shame, then the losse of our bodies shoulde turne vs to smart. For our honefte being stained, ye paine is endles, but our bodies being gored, either the wound may fone be healed, or els our pain being fone ended, the glory endureth for euer. Lastly, he that helpeth the needie, defendeth his poore neighbours, and in the fauour of his Countrey beftoweth his life: will not God besides all thefe, place hym where he mall liue for euer, efpecially, seeing he hath done all these enterprifes in faithe and for Christes fake?

Now in al ages, to reckon such as haue been right Soueraine and victorious, what name got the worthie Scipio, that withftood the rage of Hanniball? What brute hath Cæsar, for his moft worthie Conquete? What triumph of glory doth found in al mens eares, vpon the onely naming of mightie Alexander, and his father King Philip? And now to come home, what head can expresse the renowned Henrie the fith King of Englande of that name, after the Conquete? What witte can fet out the wonderfull wisedome of Henrie the feuenth, and his great foresight to espie mischiefe like to ensue,
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ensue, and his politique deuifes to escape daungers, to subdue Rebelles, and to maintaine peace?

Of movinge pittie, and stirring men to shewe mercie.

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

Of Commending.

IN commending a man, wee vſe this report of his wit, The maner of com¬
honestie, faithfull service, painfull labour, and carefull nature to doe his Maifters will, or any fuch like, as in the Epiftles of Tullie, there are examples infinite.

Of Comforting.

NOW after all theſe, the weake would be comforted, and The maner of comfort¬the forowfull would be cherifhed, that their grief might be aflwaged, and the passions of man brought vnder the obedience of reaſon. The vſe hereof is great afwell in priuate troubles, as in commen miferies. As in losſe of goods, in lacke of freendes, in fickneſſe, in darth, and in death. In all which losſes, the wise vſe so to comfort the weake, that they giue them not iust cauſe euuen at the firſt, to refuſe all comforte. And therefore, they vſe two waies of cherifhing the troubled mindes. The one is, when we shewe that in fome caſes, and for fome cauſes, either they shouſd not lament at all, or elſe be forie very little: the other is when we graunt that they haue iust cauſe to be fad, and therefore we are fad also in their behalfe, and would remedie the mater if it could be, and thus entering into felowship of forowe, we feeke by a little and litle to mitigate their greefe. For all extreme heauinesse, and vehement forowes can not abide comfort, but rather seeke a mourner that would take parte with them. Therefore, much warinesse ought to be vſed,
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when we happen upon such exceeding sorrowfulness, least we rather purchase hatred, then asswage grieve.

Those harms should be moderatly borne, which must needs happen to every one, that have chaunced to any one. As Death, which spareth none, neither King nor Keifar, neither poore nor riche. Therefore, to be impatient for the losse of our frends, is to fall out with God, because he made vs men and not Angels. But the Godly (I trust) will alwaies remit the order of things, to the will of God, and force their passions to obeie necessitie. When God lately visitted this Realme with the Sweating disease, and receiued the two worthie Gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolke, and his brother Lord Charles: I seeing my Ladies Grace, their mother, taking their death most greeuouly, could not otherwise for the duetie which I then did, and euer shall owe vnto her, but comfort her in that her heauineffe, the which undoubtedly at that tyme much weakened her bodie. And because it may serue for an example of comfort, I haue bene bolde to set it foorth, as it foloweth hereafter.

Hough mine enterprife may bee thought foolish, and my doinges very slender, in busying my braine to teache the expert, to giue counsaille to other, when I lacke it my selfe, and whereas more neede were for me to be taught of other, to take vpon mee to teache my betters, yet duetie binding me to doe my beft, and among a number, though I can doe leaft, yet good will setting me forth with the formost: I can not chufe but write what I am able, and speake what I can possible, for the better comforting of your Grace, in this your greate heauineffe, and fore vifitation sent from GOD, as a warning to vs all. The Phisition then deserueth most thankes, when he practiseth his knowledge in time of necessitie, and then travaileth most painefullly, when hee feeleth his Pacient to bee in most daunger. The Souldiour at that time, and at no time so much, is thought most truftie when hee sheweth at a neede his faithfull heart, and in time of extreme daunger doth vfe, & bestow his most earneft labour. In the wealth of this worlde, what valiaunt man can want assistance? What mightie Prince can misse any helpe to compasse his desire? Who lacketh men, that lacketh no money?
money? But when God striketh the mightie with his strong hande, and displaceith those that were highly placed: what one man doeth once looke backe, for the better easement of his deare brother, and Godly comforting his euin Christen, in the chiefe of all his forowe. All men commonly more reioyce in the Sunne rising, then they doe in the Sunne setting. The hope of lucre and expectation of priuate gaine, maketh many one to beare out a countenaunce of favour, whose heart is inwardly fretted with dedly rancour. But such frendes euin as prosperitie doeth get them, so aduerfitie doth trie them. God is the searche of euery mans thought, vnto whose judgement, I deferre the affuraunce of my good will.

And though I can doe little, and therefore deferue as little thanke, as I loke for praife (which is none at all) yet will I endeuer earnestly at all times, as well for mine owne discharge, to declare my dutie, as at this present to say somewhat, for the better easement of your Grace in this your heauines. The passions of the minde haue diuers effectes, and therefore worke straungely, according to their properties. For, like as ioye comforteth the heart, nourisheth bloud, and quickeneth the whole bodie: So heauinesse and care hinder digestion, ingender euill humours, waste the principall partes, and with time consume the whole bodie. For the better knowledge therof, & for a liuely sight of the fame, we neede not to seeke farre for any example, but euen to come straight vnto your Grafe, whose bodie as I understond credibly, and partly see my selfe, is fore appaired within short time, your minde so troubled, and your hart so heauie, that you hate in a maner all light, you like not the sight of any thing, that might bee your comfort, but altogether striken in a dumpe, you seeke to be solitarie, detesting all ioy, and delyting in sorrowe, wish with harte (if it were Gods will) to make your laft ende. In which your heauinesse, as I desire to be a comforter of your Grace, so I can not blame your naturall forowe, if that now after declaration of the same, you would moderate all your griefe hereafter, and call backe your pensiuenesse, to the prescript order of reaon.

And first, for the better remedie of every diseafe, and troubled passions, it is best to knowe the principall caufe and
chiefe occasion of the fame. Your Grace had two fonnese, how noble, howe wittie, how learned, and how Godly, many thousands better knowe it, then any one is able well to tell it. GOD at his pleafure hath taken them both to his mercie, and placed them with him, which were surely ouer good to tarie here with vs. They both died as your Grace knoweth very yong, which by course of Nature and by mans estimation, might haue liued much longer. They both were together in one house, lodged in two feuerall Chambers, and almost at one time both sickened, and both departed. They died both Dukes, both well learned, both wife, and both right Godly. They both gaue strange tokens of death to come. The Elder fiting at Supper and very merie, fayd sodainly to that right honeft Matrone, and Godly Gentlewoman, that moft faithfull and long assured fernaunt of yours, whose life God graunt long to continue: O Lorde, where shall we fuppe to morowe at night, whereupon she being troubled, and yet faying comfortably, I truft my Lorde, either here, or els where at some of your freends houses: Nay (quoth he) we shal neuer Suppe together againe in this worlde be you well assured, and with that, seeing the Gentlewoman discomfited, turned it vnto mirth, and pafsed the rest of his Supper with much ioye, and the fame night after twelve of the Clocke, being the fowerteene of Iulie fickned, and so was taken the next morning, about feauen of the clocke, to the mercie of God, in the yere of our Lorde, a thoufande five hundred fiftie and one. When the eldeft was gone, the younger would not tarie, but tolde before (hauing no knowledge thereof by any bodie liuing) of his brothers death, to the greate wondering of all that were there, declaring what it was to lofe fo deare a freend, but comforting himselfe in that paflion, faid: well, my brother is gone, but it maketh no matter for I will goe straight after him, and so did within the space of halfe an hower, as your Grace can beft tell which was there present. Nowe I renewe these wordes to your Graces knowledge, that you might the more steadfaftly confider their time, to be then appointed of GOD, to forfake this euill worlde, and to liue with Abraham, Ifaac, and Iacob in the kingdome of Heauen. But wherefore did GOD take two such awaie, and at that time? Surely, to tell the principall cause, wee may by all likenefse
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likenesse affirme, that they were taken away from vs for our takenth wretched sinnes, and most vile naughtinesse of life, that thereby wee being warned, might be as ready for God, as they now presently were, and amend our liues in time, whom God will call, what time wee know not. Then as I can see, we haue small cause to lament the lacke of them, which are in such blessed state, but rather to amend our owne liuing, to forthinke vs of our offences, and to wish of God to purge our hearts from all filthines and vngodly dealing, that we may be (as they now be) blessed with God foreuer. Notwithstanding, the workes of God are vnsearchable, without the compasse of mans braine, precifely to comprehend the very cause, fauing that this perswasion ought surely to bee grounded in vs, euermore to thinke that God is offended with sinne, and that hee puniseth offences, to the third and fowerth generation, of all them that breake his commaundements, beeing iuft in all his workes, and doing all things for the best. And therefore, when God plagueth in such forte, I would wish that our faith might alwaies be staied, vpon the admiration of Gods glorie through out all his doings, in whom is none euill, neither yet was there euer any guile found. And I doubt not, but your Grace is thus afbred, and vnfainedly confessing your owne offences, taketh this scourge to come from God, as a iust punishment of sinne for the amendement, not onely of your owne selfe, but also for the amendement of al other in generall. The lamentable voyce of the poore (which is the mouth of God) throughout the whole realme declares full well, the wickednesse of this life, and shewes plainly that this euill is more generally felt, then any man is able by worde, or by writing at full to set forth. When God therefore, that is Lorde, not onely of the riche but also of the poore, feeth his ground spoyle from the wholesome profite of many, to the vaine pleasure of a fewe, and the yearth made priuate, to suffice the lust of vnfaciable couetouenesse, and that those which be his true members, can not liue for the intollerable oppression, the fore enhaunfing, and the most wicked grazing of those throughout the whole Realme, which otherwise might well liue with the onely value and somme of their landes, and yerely revenues: he striketh in his anger the innocentes and tender younglings to plague
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vs with the lacke of them, whose innocencie, and Godlinesse of life, might haue been a iuft example for vs, to amende our most euill doings. In which wonderfull worke of GOD, when hee receiued these two most noble impes, and his children elected to the euerlafting Kingdome, I can not but magnifie his moft glorious name, from time to time, that hath so graciously preferued these two worthy Gentlemen, from the daunger of further euill, and most vile wretchednesse most like right shortly to ensue, except we all repent, and forethinke vs of our former euill living. And yet I speake not this as though I knewe any crime to bee more in you, then in any other: But I tel it to the shame of al those vniversally within this Realme, that are giltie of such offences, whose inward consciences condemne their owne doings, and their open deedes beare witnesse against their euill nature. For it is not one house that shall feele the fall of these two Princes, neither hath God taken them for one priuate persons offences: but for the wickednesse of the whole Realme, which is like to feele the smarthe, except God be mercifull vnto vs.

But now that they be gone, though the flesh be fraile, weake, and tender, and muft needes smarthe, being wounded or cut: yet I doubt not but your grace, lacking two such portions of your owne flesh, and hauing them (as a man would say) cut away from your owne body, will suffer the smart with a good stomacke, and remember that forowe is but an euill remedy to heale a fore. For if your hand were detrenched, or your bodie maymed with some sodaine stroke, what profite were it for you to weepe vpon your wound, and when the harme is done, to lament till the fore? Seing that with weeping it will not be leffe, & may yet through weeping ful fone be made more. For the fore is increased, when forowe is added, and the paine is made double, which before was but fingle. A conftant Christian shoulde beare all miserie, and with pacience abide the force of necessitie, shewing with suferaunce the strength of his faith, and especially when the change is from euill to good, from woe to weale, what folly is it to forowe that, for the which they ioye that are departed? They haue taken now their rest, that liued here in trauaile: They haue forfaken their bodies, wherein they were bound to receiue the fpirit, whereby they are
are free. They have chosen for sickness, health: for earth, heaven: for life transitory, life immortal: and for man, God: then the which, what can they have more? Or how is it possible they can be better? Undoubtedly if ever they were happy, they are now most happy: if ever they were well, they are now in best case, being delivered from this present evil world, and exempted from Satan, to live for ever with Christ our Saviour.

Then what mean we, that not only lament the want of other, but also desire to tarie here our souls, hoping for a short vain, and therewith a painfull pleasure, and refusing to enjoy that continuall perfect, and heavenly inheritance, the which so soon shall happen unto us, as Nature dissolueth this earthly body. Truth it is, we are more fleshly then spiritual, sooner feeling the ache of our body, then the greese of our soul: more studious with care to be healthfull in carcasse, then seeking with prayer, to be pure in spirite. And therefore, if our frendes bee stained with sinne, we doe not or we will not espie their forre, we compt them faultlesse, when they are most wicked, neither seeking the redresse of their euill doing, nor yet once amending the faults of our owne living.

But when our freend departeth this world, and then forfaketh vs, when sinne forfaketh him: we begin to shewe our fleshly natures, wee weepe and we waile, and with long sorrowe without discretion, declare our want of Gods grace, and all goodness. Whereas we see that as some be borne, some doe die also, men, women and children, and not one hower certaine to vs of all our life, yet we never mourn, we never weepe, neither marking the death of such as we knowe, nor regarding the euill life of those whom we love. But when such depart as were either nighest of our kinred, or els moft our freendes, we then lament without all comfort, not the sinnes of their soules, but the change of their bodies, leaving to doe that which we should, and doing that only which we should not doe at all. Wherein not onely we declare much want of faith, but also wee shewe greate lacke of witte. For as the other are gone before, either to heauen or else to Hell: so shall our frends and kinsfolke solowe after. We are all made of one mettall, and ordaine to dye so many as live. Therefore what folly is it in vs, or rather what fleshly
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Death fleshly madneffe immoderately to wayle their death, whom GOD hath ordeined to make their ende, except we lament the lacke of our owne liuing? For euem as well wee might at their firft birthe bewaile their natuuitie, considering they must needes die, becauе they are borne to liue. And whatsoeuer hath a beginning, the fame hath also an ending, and the ende is not at our will, which desire continuance of life, but at his will which gaue the beginning of life. Now then seeing GOD hath ordeined all to dye, according to his appointed will, what meane they that would haue theirs to liue? Shall God alter his first purpose, for the onely satifying of our foolish pleasure? And where GOD hath minded that the whole worlde shall decaie, shall any man desire that any one house may stande? In my minde, there can be no greater comfort to any one liuing for the lacke of his freend, then to thinke that this happened to him, which all other either haue felt, or els shall feele hereafter: And that God the rather made Death common to all, that the uniuersall Plague and egalneffe to all, might abate the fiercenesse of death, and comfort vs in the crueltie of the fame, considering no one man hath an ende, but that all shall haue the like, and die we muft euery mothers fonne of vs at one time or other. But you will say: my children might haue liued longer, they died young. Sure it is by mans estimation they might haue liued longer, but had it bene best for them thinke you, to haue continued till in this wretched worlde, where Vice beareth rule, and Vertue is subdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not obserued, his word abused, and his Prophets that preach the judgement of God, almost euery where contemned? If your children were a liue, and by the aduise of some wicked perfon, were brought to a Brothell house, where entifing Harlots liued, and so were in daunger to commit that soule sinne of whoredome, and so led from one wickedneffe to another: I am assurred, your grace would call them backe with labour, and would with exhortations induce them to the feare of God, and vtter detestation of al sinne, as you haue ful often heretofore done, rather fearing euill to come, then knowing any open fault to be in either of them. Now then seeing God hath done the fame for you himselfe, that you would haue done for them if they had liued, that is, in delivering them both from this present
present euill worlde, which I coumpt none other then a Brothell house, and a life of all naughtinesse: you ought to thanke God highly, that he hath taken awaie your two sonnes, euen in their youth, being innocentes both for their liuing, and of such expectation for their towardnesse, that almost it were not possible for them hereafter, to satisfie the hope in their age, which al men presently had conceived of their youth. It is thought and in deede it is no leffe then a great point of happinesse, to dye happily. Now, when could your two noble Gentlemen haue died better, then when they were at the best, most Godly in many things, offending in fewe, beloued of the honest, and hated of none (if euer they were hated) but of such as hate the best. As in deede, noble vertue neuer wanted cankard enuie to followe her. And considering that this life is so wretched, that the best are euer most hated, and the vilest alwaies most esteemed, and your two Sonnes of the other fide, being in that state of honestie, and trained in that path of godlinesse (as I am able to be a liuely witnesse, none hath bene like thefe many yeres, or at the leaft, none better brought vp) what thinke you of God, did he enuie them, or els did he prouidently forsee vnto them both, when he tooke them both from vs. Assuredly, whom God loueth beft, thofe he taketh foneft, according to the faying of Salomon: The righteous man (meaning Enoch, and other wised. iiii. the chofen of God) is sodainly taken away, to the intent, that wickednesse should not alter his vnderstanding, and that hypocrisie should not begile his soule. For the craftie bewitching of lyes, make good things darke: the vnstedfaftnesse also, and wickednesse of voluptuous desire, turne aside the vnderstanding of the fimple. And though the righteous was fone gone, yet fulfilled he much time, for his soule pleased God, and therefore hafted he to take him awaie from among the wicked. Yea, the good men of God in all ages, haue euer had an earnest desire to be dissolved. My soule (quoth psal. Dauid) hath an earnest desire to enter into the courtes of the Lord. Yea, like as the Hart defireth the water brookes, psalm .xlij. longeth my soule after thee O God. My soule is a thirft for God: yea, euens for the liuing God, when shall I come to appeare before the presence of God? Paule & the Apostles wished and longed for the day of the Lord, & thought euer day
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day a thousand yere, till their soules were parted from their bodies. Then what should we waile them, which are in that place where we al should wifh to be, and seeke so to liue, that we might be ready, when it shall please God of his goodnesse to cal vs to his mercy. Let vs be sicke for our own finnes that liue here on earth, and reioyce in their most happie passage, that are gone to heauen. Thei haue not left vs, but gone before vs to inherite with Christ, their kingdom prepared. And what should this greue your grace that thei are gone before, considering our whole life is nothing els but the right waie to death. Should it trouble any one, y* his frend is come to his iourneis end? Our life is nothing els, but a continuall trauaile, & death obtaineth reft after all our labor. Among men that trauaile by the hye waie, he is beft at eafe (in my minde) that foneft cometh to his iourneis end. Therefore, if your grace loued your children (as I am well assured you did) you must reioyce in their reft, and giue God hartie thanks, that they are come fo fone to their iourneis ende. Mary, if it were fo that man might escape the daunger of death, & liue euer, it were an other matter: but because we must al die, either firft or laft, & of nothing so sure in this life, as we are al sure to die at length, & nothing more uncertaine vnto man, then the certaine time of euerie mans latter time, what forceth when we die, either this daie or to morowe, either this yere or the next, fauing that I thinke them moft happie that dye foneft, and Death frendly to none so much, as to them whom she taketh foneft. At the time of an Execution done, for greuous offences, what mattereth who die firft, when a dofen are condemned together by a Lawe, considering they must all die one and other. I faie still, happie are they that are foneft ridde out of this world, and the foner gone, the foner blefTed. The Thracians lament greatly at the birth of their children, and reioyce much at the buriall of their bodies, being well assured that this world is nothing els but miferie, and the world to come ioye for euer. Nowe againe the childe now borne, partly declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his time with wayling, and firft sheweth teares, before he can judge the caufe of his woe. If we beleue the promisses of God, if wee hope for the generall refurrection, and constantly affirme that God is iuft in all his workes:
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workes: we can not but joyfully say with the iuft man Job. Job. 
The Lorde gaue them, the Lorde hath taken them againe, 
as it pleased God so may it be, and bleffed be the name of the 
Lord for now & euer. God dealeth wrongfully with no man, 
but extendeth his mercie moft plentifully ouer all mankind. 
God gaue you two children, as the like I haue not knowden, 
happie are you moft gracious Ladie that euer you bare them. 
God lent you them two for a time, and tooke them two againe 
at his time, you haue no wrong done you, that he hath taken 
them: but you haue receiued a wonderfull benefite that euer 
you had them. 
He is very vniuft that boroweth and will not 
paiie againe but at his pleafure. He forgetteth much his 
duete, that boroweth a Jewell of the Kings Maieftie, and will 
not refore it with good will, when it hall pleafe his Grace to 
cal for it. He is vnworthie hereafter to borowe, that will 
rather grudge because he hath it no longer, then once give 
thanks because he hath had the vfe of it fo long. 
He is ouer 
couetous, that coumpteth not gainefull the time of his borowing: 
but iudgeth it losse to refore things againe. He is vnthank-
full that thinkes hee hath wrong done, when his pleafure is 
shortned, and takes the ende of his delight to be extreme euill. 
He loseth the greateft part of his ioye in this worlde, 
that thinketh there is no pleafure but of thinges prefent: that 
can not comfort himfelfe with pleafure paiit, and iudge them 
to be moft affured, considering the memorie of them once 
had, can neuer deceaie. 

His ioyes bee ouer straight, that bee 
comprehended within the compaffe of his sight, and thinketh 
nothing comfortable, but that which is euer before his eyes. 
All pleafure, which man hath in this worlde, is very shorte, 
and fone goeth it waie, the remembrance lafteth euer and 
is much more affured, then is the prefcence or liuely fight of 
any thing. And thus your Grace may euer reijoyce, that you 
had two fuch, which liued fo verteuouly, and dyed fo Godly, 
and though their bodies bee abfent from your sight, yet the 
remembrance of their vertues, fhall neuer decaie from your 
mind. 

God lendeth life to all, and lendeth at his pleafure 
for a time. To this man he graunteth a long life, to this 
a fhort space, to some one, a daic, to fome a yere, to fome 
a moneth. 
Now, when GOD taketh, what man should be 
offended, considering he that gaue freely, may boldly take his 

owne
owne when he will, and doe no man wrong. The Kings Maieftie giueth one .x. li. an other .xl. li. an other .lx. li. shal he be greeued that receiued but, x. li. and not rather giue thankes, that he receiued fo much? Is that man happier that dieth in the latter ende of the moneth, then hee is that dyed in the beginning of the same moneth? Doeth distance of time, and long tarying from God, make men more happie when they come to God? By space of passage we differ much, and one liueth longer than an other, but by death at the laft we all are matched, and none the happier that liueth the longer: but rather most happie is he that died the soonest, and departed best in the faith of Christ. Thinke therefore your selfe most hapnie, that you had two such, and giue God hartie thankes that it pleased him fo soone to take two such. Necessitie is lawlesse, and that which is by God appointed, no man can alter. Rejoyce we, or wepe we, dye we halt, how soone no man can tell. Yea, we are all our life time warned before, that death is at hande, and that when we goe to bed, we are not assiured to rife the next day in the morning, no, not to liue one hower longer. And yet to see our folly, we would assigne God his tyme, according to our facietie, and not content our selues with his doings, according to his appointment. And euer wee faie when any die yong, he might haue liued longer, it was pitie he died so soone. As though forsoth, he were not better with God, then he can be with man. Therefore, whereas for a time your Grace much bewailed their lacke, not onely absenting your selfe from all companie, but also refusing all kind of comforte, almost dead with heavinesse, your bodie being so wore with sorowe, that the long continuance of the same, is much like to shorten your daies: I will desire your Grace for Gods louver, to referre your wil to Gods will, and whereas hetherto nature hath taught you, to wepe the lacke of your naturall children, let reacon teach you hereafter to wype aweie the teares, and let not phantafie encreafe that, which nature hath commaundet moderatly to vie. To be fory for the lack of our dearest, we are taught by nature, to be ouercome with sorrow, it commeth of our owne fonde opinion, and great folly it is, with natural sorrow to encreafe al sorrowe, and with a little sicknesse, to purchase readie death. The sorrowes of brute
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beastes are sharpe, and yet they are but short. The Cowe lacking her Caulf, leaueth lowing within three or fouwer daies at the fartheft. Birds of the Aire, perceiving their young ones taken from their neaft, chitter for a while in Trees there about, and fraight after they flye abroade and make no more adoe. The Dow lacking her Faune: the Hind her Calfe, braie no longer time after their losf, but feing their lacke to be without remedy, they ceafe their sorrow within short space. Man onely among all other, ceafeth not to fauour his sorrow, and lamenteth not onely so much as nature willeth him, but also fo much as his owne affection moueth him. And yet all folke doe not fo, but such as are subiect to passions, and furtheft from fortitude of mind, as women commonly rather then men, rude people rather then Godly folke: the vnlearned foner then the learned, foolish folke foner then wise men, children, rather then yong men. Whereupon we may well gather, that immoderate sorrow, is not natural (for that which is natural, is euer like in all) but through follie maintaine, encresed by weakenesse, and for lack of reafon made altogether intolerable. Then I doubt not, but your Grace wil rather ende your sorrow by reafon: then that sorrow should ende you through follie, and whereas by nature, you are a weake woman in bodie, you will shewe your selfe by reafon, a strong man in heart: rather endyng your greese by Godly aduertifements, and by the iuft confideration of Gods wonderfull doings: then that time and space, shoulde weare awaie your sorrowes, which in deede fuffer none, continually to abide in any one, but rather rid them of life, or els eafe them of griefe. The foole, the vngodly, the weake harted haue this remedie, your medicen muft be more heauenly, if you doe (as you professe) referre al to Gods pleafure, and fay in your praier. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. Thofe whom God loueth, thofe he chafteneth, and happie is that bodie, whom God scourgeth for his amendment. The man that dyeth in the faith of Chrift is blessed, and the chaftened seruaunt if he doe repent and amend his life, shalbe blessed. Wee knowe not what we doe when we bewail the death of our deareft, for in death is altogether al happinefse, and before death not one is happie. The miseries in this world declare small felicitie to be in the fame. Therefore, many
many men being overwhelmed with much woe and wretched wickedness, have wished and prayed to God for an end of this life, and thought this world to be a let, to the heavenly perfection, the which bliss all they shall attain hereafter that hope well here, and with a lively faith declare their assurance. Your Graces two sons in their life were so Godly, that their death was their advantage: for, by death they lived, because in life they were dead. They died in faith, not weary of this world, nor wishing for death, as over laden with sin: but patiently taking the cross departed with joy. At whose dying, your grace may learn an example of patience and all thanksgiving, that God of his goodness, hath so graciously taken these your two children to his favourableness. God punished partly to try your constancy, wherein I wish that your grace may now be as well willing to forfake them, as euer you were willing to have them. But such is the infirmity of our flesh, that we hate good comfort in words, when that cause of our comfort in deed (as we take it) is gone. And me thinkes I hear you cry notwithstanding all my words: alack my children are gone. But what though they are gone? God hath called, and nature hath obeyed. Yea, you cry still my children are dead: Marie therefore they liued, and blessed is their end whose life is so Godly. Woe worth they are dead they are dead. It is no new thing, they are neither the first that died, nor yet the last that shall die. Many went before, and all shall follow after. They liued together, they loved together, &c now they made their end both together. Alas they died that were the fruit of my own body, leaving me comfortless, vnhappie woman that I am. You doe well, to call them the fruit of your body, and yet you nothing the more vnhappie neither. For is the tree vnhappie, from which the Apples fall? Or is the earth accursed, that bringeth forth green grass, which hereafter notwithstanding doth wither. Death taketh no order of years, but when the time is appointed, be it early or late, day or night, away we must. But I praise you, what love hast your Grace? They dyed, that should have died, yea, they that could liue no longer. But you wished them longer life. Yea, but God made you no such promise, and meete it were not, that he should be led by you, but you rather should bee led by him.
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him. Your children died and that right Godly, what would you haue more? All good mothers desire that their children may dye Gods seruauntes, the which your Grace hath moft asfuredly obtained. Now againe, mans nature altereth, and hardly tarieth vertue long in one place, without much circumpection, and youth may fone be corrupted. But you will say. These were good and Godly brought vp, and therefore, most like to prove Godly hereafter if they had liued stille. Well, though such things perhaps had not chaunced, yet such things might haue chaunced, and although they happen not to al, yet do they hap to many: and though they had not chaunced to your children, yet we knew not that before: and more wisedome it had bene, to feare the worft with good aduise-ment, then euer to hope, and looke still for the beft, without all mistrusting. For fuch is the nature of man and his corrupt race, that euermore the one followeth foner then the other, Commodus was a vertuous childe, and had good bringing vp, commodus. and yet he died a moft wicked man. Nero wanted no good Nero. counfaile, and fuch a Mafter he had, as neuer any had the better, and yet what one aliue was worfe then he? But now death hath asfured your Grace, that you may warrant your felfe of their godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, things might haue chaunced otherwise. In wishing longer life, we wish often times longer woe, longer trouble, longer folly in this world, and weigh all things well, you shall perceiue we haue small ioye, to wish longer life. This imagination of longer life, when the life standeth not by the number of yeres, but by the appointed will of God, maketh our folly fo much to appeare, and our teares fo continually to fall from our cheekes. For if we thought (as wee should doe in deed) that every day rising, may be the end of every man liuing, and that there is no difference with GOD, betwixt one day and an hundreth yeares, wee might beare all forrowes a great deale the better. Therefore it were moft wisedome for vs all, and a great part of perfection, to make every day an euen reckening of our life, and talke so with God euery howre, that we may be of euens boord with him, through fullnesse of faith, and readie to goe the next howre following at his commaundement, and to take alwaies his fending in good part. The Lorde is at hand. We knowe not
not when he will come (at midnight, at Cock crowe, or at noone dales) to take either vs, or any of ours. Therfore, the rather that we may be armed, let vs follow the examples of other godly men, and lay their doings before your eyes. And among al other, I know none so mete for your Graces comfort, as the wise & godly behaouer of good King David. Who when he was enformed that his sonne was sicke, praied to God hartely for his amendement, wept, fasted, and with much lamentation declared great heauineffe. But when word came of his sonnes departure, hee left his mourning, he called for water, and willed meate to be set before him, that he might eate. Whereupon, when his men marueiled why he did so, considering he tooke it so greuoufully before, when his child was but sicke, and now being dead tooke no thought at all, he made this answere vnto them: so long as mychme liued I fasted, and watered my plants for my yong boye, and I said to my self, who can tel but that God perhappes will give me him, and that my childe shall liue: but now seeing he is dead, to what ende shoulde I fast? Can I call him againe any more? Nay, I shall rather goe vnto him, he shall nouer come againe vnto me. And with that David comforted his wife Bethsabe, the which example, as I trust your Grace hath read for your comfort, so I hope you will alfo followe it for your health, and be as strong in pacience as euer David was. The bistorie it selfe shal much delight your grace, being read as it lieth in the booke, better then my bare touching of it can doe a great deale. The which I doubt not, but your Grace will often reade and comfort your self, as David did his sorrowfull wife. Iob losing his children and all that he had, forgat not to praife God in his extreeme pouretie. Tobias lacking his eye sight, in spirit praized God, and with open mouth confessed his holy name, to be magnified throughout the whole earth. Paule the Apostle of God, reproveth them as worthie blame, which mourne & lament the losse of their dearest. I would not brethren (quoth he) that you shoulde be ignorant concerning them which be fallen on sleepe, that you sorowre not as other doe, which have no hope. If we beleue that Iesus dyed and rofe again, even so they alfo which sleep by Iesus, wil God bring againe with him. Then your grace either with leauing sorowe, must shewe your selfe faithfull,
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faithfull, or els with yeelding to your woe, declare your self to be without hope. But I truft your grace being planted in Chrift, will shewe with sufferance the fruite of your faith, and comfort your self with the wordes of Chrift, I am the resurrection & the life, he that beleueth on me, yea, though he were dead, yet shoulde hee liue, and whofeuuer liueth and beleueth in me shall never dye. We reade of thofe that had no knowledge of God, and yet they bare in good worth the diseafe of their children. Anaxagoras hearing tell, that his fonne was dead; no marvel (quoth he) I knowe well I begot a mortall bodie. Pericles chief ruler of Athnes, hearing tel that his two fonnes being of wonderfull towardnesse, within fower daies were both dead, neuer greatly changed countenance for the matter, that any one could perceive, nor yet forbare to goe abroade, but according to his wonted custome, did his duetie in the Counfaile house in debating matters of weight, concerning the state of the common peoples weale. But because your grace is a woman, Cornelia. I will shewe you an example of a noble woman, in whom appered wonderfull pacience. Cornelia a worthy Lady in Rome, being comforted for the loffe of her two children Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus, both valiaunt Gentlemen, although both not the moft honeft men, which died not in their beds, but violently were slaine in ciuill bataile, their bodies lying naked and vnburied, when one among other saide: oh vnhappy woman, that euer thou shouldest fee this day. Nay (quoth she) I will neuer thinke my selfe otherwise then moft happy, that euer I brought forth these two Gracchions. If this noble Ladie could thinke her self happy, being mother to these two valiaunt Gentlemen, and yet both Rebelles, & therefore iufitly slaine; how much more may your Grace thinke your selfe moft happy, that euer you brought forth two such Brandons, not onely by naturall birth, but also by moft godly education in such fort, that the like two haue not beene for their towardnesse vniversally. Whole death, the generall voyce of all men, declares how much it was lamented. So that, whereas you might euer haue feared some daungerous end, now are you affured, that thei both made a moft godly ende, the which thing is the full perfection of a Christian life. I read of one Bibulus, that hearing of his two children Bibulus.
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to die both in one day, lamented the lack of them both for that one day, and mourned no more. And what could a man doe leffe, then for two children to lament but one day, and yet in my minde he lamented enough, and euen so much as was reason for him to doe: whose doinges if al Christians would followe, in my judgement they should not onely fulli Natures rule, but also please God highly. Horatius Pulvillus being high Priest at Roome, when he was occupied about the dedication of the Temple, to the great God Jupiter, in the Capitolie, holding a poft in his hand, & heard as he was vtering the solemne wordes, that his sonne was dead euen at the same present: he did neuer plucke his hand from the poft, leaft he should trouble such a solemnitie, neither yet turned his countenaunce from that publique Religion, to his priuate sorrowe, leaft he should seeme rather to doe the office of a Father, then the duetie of an high Minifter. Paulus Emilius, after his most noble victorie had of King Perse, desird of God that after such a triumph, there were any harme like to happen to the Romaines, the same might fall vpon his owne house. Whereupon, when God had taken his two children from him, immediatly after he thanked God, for graunting him his bound. For in so doing he was a meane, that the people rather lamented Paulus Emilius lacke, then that Paulus or any bewailed any miffortune that the Romaines had. Examples be innumerable of thofe which vfed like moderation, in subduing their affections, as Zenophon, Quintus Martius, Iulius Cæsar, Tiberius Cæsar, Emperours both of Roome. But what seeke I for miffortunate men (if any such be miffortunate) seeing it is an harder matter and a greater peace of worke to finde out happie men. Let vs looke round about, euen at home, and we shall finde enough subiect to this miffortune: for who liueth that hath not loft? Therfore I would with your grace euen now, to come in againe with God, and although he bee angrie, yet shewe you your selfe most obedient to his will, considering he is Lord ouer Kings, Emperours, and ouer all that bee, both in heauen and in earth, and spareth none whom he lifteth to take, and no doubt he will take all at the laft. His Dart goeth dayly, neither is any Dart caft in vaine, which is sent amongst a whole Armie, standing thicke together. Neither can you iustly lament that they liued no longer,
longer, for they liued long enough, that haue liued well enough. You muft measure your children by their vertues, not by their yeares. For (as the Wifeman faith) a mans wisedome is the greye heares, and an undeiled life is the old age. Happie is that mother that hath had godlie children, and not the that hath had long liuing children. For, if felicitie should stand by length of time, some Tree were more happie then any man, for it liueth longer, and so like wise brute beaftes, as the Stagge, who liueth (as Plinie doth say) two hundred yeres and more. If wee would but consider what man is, wee should haue small hope to liue, and little cause to put any great assurance in this life. Let vs fee him what he is: Is his bodie any thing els, but a lumpe of earth, made together in such forme as we doe fee? A fraile veſſel, a weake carion subiect to miserie, cast doune with euery light diseafe, a man to day, to morowe none. A flowre that this day is fresh, to morowe withereth. Good Lord doe wee not fee, that euene those things which nourifh vs, doe rotte and dye, as hearbes, birds, beaſtes, water, and al other, without the which we cannot liue. And how can we liue euer, that are sustaine with dead thinges? Therefore, when any one doth dye, why doe wee not thinke, that this may chaunce to euery one, which now hath chaunced to any one. We bee now as thofe that stand in battaile ray. Not one man is sure of himſelf before an other, but al are in daunger in like maner to death. That your children dyed before other that were of riper yeres, we may iudge that their ripenesſe for vertue, and al other gifts of nature were brought euene to perfection, whereby Death the foner approached, for nothing long laſte that is fone excellent. God gaue your grace two moſt excellent children: God neuer giueth for any long time, thofe that bee right excellent. Their natures were heauenly, and therefore more meet for God then man. Among fruite we fee fome apples are fone ripe, and fal from the Tree in the middeſt of Sommer, other be ſtile greene and tary til Winter, and hereupon are commonly called Winter fruite: euene fo it is with man, fome die yong fome die old, and fome die in their midle age. Your fonnes were euene two ſuch alreadie, as fome hereafter may be with long continuance of time. They had that in their youth for the
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Gifts of nature, which all men would require of them both, scarcely in their age. Therefore being both now ripe, they were most ready for God. There was a child in Room of a man's quantity, for face, legs, and other parts of the body, whereupon wise men judged he would not be long living. How could your grace thinke, that when you saw ancient wisdom in the one, and most pregnant wit in the other, marvelous sobriety in the elder, & most laudable gentleness in the younger, them both most studious in learning, most forward in all feates, as well of the body as of the mind, being two such and so excellent, that they were like long to continue with you. God never suffereth such excellent and rare jewels long to inherit the earth. whatsoever is nie perfection, the same is most nye falling. Virtue being once absolute, cannot long be seen with these our fleshly eyes, neither can that tarry the latter end with other, that was ripe it selfe first of all, and before other. Fire goeth out the sooner, the clearer that it burneth: & that light lasteth longest, that is made of most course matter. In green wood we may see, that where as the fuel is not most apt for burning, yet the fire lasteth longer, then if it were nourished with like quantity of drye wood. Euen so in the nature of man, the minde being ripe, the body decayeth straight, and life goeth away being once brought to perfection. Neither can there be any greater token of short life, then full ripeness of natural wit: the which is to the body, as the heat of the Sunne is to things earthly. Therefore judge right honorable Ladie, that even now they both died, when they both were most ready for God, neither thinke that they died over soon because they liued no longer. They died both Gods servants, and therefore they dyed well and in good time. God hath set their time, and taken them at his time, blessed children as they bee, to reign with him in the kingdom of his Father, prepared for them from the beginning. Unto whose will I will, and I trust your Grace doth wholly referre your will, thanking him as hartely for that he hath taken them, as you euer thanked him for that he euer lent you them. I knowe the wicked wordes of some vngodly folke haue much disquieted your grace, notwithstanding, GOD being Judge of your natural love towards your children, and al your faithful friends.
friends and servants, bearing earnest witness with your Grace of the same: their ungodly talk the more lightly it is to be esteemed, the more ungodly that it is. Nay, your grace may rejoice rather, that whereas you have done well, you have evil, according to the words of Christ. Blessed are you Mark v.
when men speak all evil things against you. And again, consider God is not led by the report of men, to judge his creatures, but persuaded by the true knowledge of every man's conscience to take them for his servants, and furthermore, the harm is theirs which speak so lewdly, and the bliss which bear it so patiently. For looke what measure they use to other, with the same they shall be measured again. And as they judge, so shall they be judged. Be your Grace therefore strong in adversity, and pray for them that speak amiss of you, rendring good for evil, and with charitable dealing, shew your selfe long suffering, so shall you heap coals on their heads. The boytous Sea, trieth the good Mariner, and sharpe vexation declareth the true Christian. Where battle hath not been before, there was never any victory obtained. You then being thus assailed, shew your selfe rather stout to withstand, then weak to give over: rather cleaving to good, then yielding to evil. For if God be with you, what forceth who be against you. For when all friends fail, God never falleth them that put their trust in him, and with an unwavering heart call to him for grace. Thus doing, I assure your Grace God will be pleased, and the godly will much praise your wisdom, though the world full wickedly say their pleasure. I pray God your grace may please the godlie, and with your virtuous behaviour in this your widowhood, winne their commendation to the glory of God, the rejoyning of your friends, and the comfort of your soule. Amen.

Thus, the rather to make precepts plain, I have added examples at large, both for counsel giuing and for comforting. And most needful it were in such kinde of Orations, to bee most occupied, considering the use hereof appeareth full oft in all parts of our life, and confusedly is vsed among all other matters. For in praising a worthie man, we shall have just cause to speake of all his vertues, of things profitable in this life, and of pleasures in generall. Likewise in tra-
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Whenering a cause before a Judge, we can not want the aide of persuasion and good counsaile, concerning wealth, health, life, and estimation, the helpe whereof is partly borowed of this place. But whereas I haue set forth at large, the places of confirmation, concerning counsaile in diuers causes: it is not thought, that either they shoule all bee vsed in number as they are, or in order as they stande: but that any one may vs both them, and order them as he shall thinke beft, according as the time, place, and person shall most of all require.

§ Of an Oration judiciai.

The whole burdein of weightie matters, and the earneft triall of all contouerfies, rest onely vpon judgement. Therefore, when matters concerning land, goodes, or life, or any fuch thing of like weight are called in question, wee muft euer haue recourse to this kinde of Oration, and after just examining of our cause by the places thereof, looke for judgement according to the lawe.

§ Oration judiciai what it is.

Oration Judiciai, is an earnest debating in open assemblie, of some weightie matter before a Judge, where the complainaunt commenheth his action, and the defendant thereupon answereth at his perill, to all fuch thinges as are laied to his charge.

§ Of the foundation, or rather the principall point in every debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the state, or constitution of the cause.

Not onely it is needefull in caufes of judgement, to consider the scope whereunto we muft leauell our reasons, and direct our invention: but also we ought in euery cause to haue a respect vnto some one especiall point and chiefe article: that the rather the whole drift of our doinges, may seeme to agree with our first devised purpose. For by this meanes our judgement shalbe framed to speake with discretion, and the ignorant shall learne to perceiue with profite, whatsoeuer is saide for his instruction. But they that take vpon them to talke in open audience, and make not their accompl before, what they will speake after: shall neither be well liked for their invention, nor allowed for their wit, nor esteemed for their learning. For what other thing...
doe they, that boulout their wordes in such fort, and without all aduifement utter out matter: but shew themselves to play as yong boyes or farre Crowes doe, which shot in the open and plaine fieldes at all adventures hittie missie. The learned therfore, and such as loue to be coumpted clerkes of understanding, and men of good circumspection and judgement, do waryly scan what they chiefly minde to speake, and by definition seeke what that is, whereunto they purpose to direct their whole doinges. For by such aduised warenessse, and good eye casting: they shall alwaies bee able both to knowe what to say, and to speake what they ought. As for example, if I shal haue occasion to speake in open audience, of the obedience due to our soueraigne King, I ought first to learne what is obedience, and after knowledge attained, to direct my reasons to the onely proofe of this purpose, and wholie to seeke confirmation of the same, and not turne my tale to talke of Robin Hood, and to shew what a goodly Archer was he, or to speake wonders of the man in the Moone, such as are most needleffe, and farthest from the purpose. For then the hearer looking to be taught his obedience, and hearing in the meane seafon mad tales of Archerie, and great meruailes of the man in the Moone: being halfe astone at his so great straying, will perhaps say to himself: now whether the deuill wilt thou, come in man againe for very shame, and tell me no bytales, such as are to no purpose, but shew me that which thou didest promise, both to teach and perswade at thy firft entrie. Assuredly such fond fellowes there haue bene, yea euen among Preachers, that talking of faith, they haue fetcht their full race from the xii. signes in the Zodiake. An other talking of the generall resurrection, hath made a large matter of our blessed Ladie, prayinge her to bee so gentle, so curteous, and so kinde, that it were better a thousand fold, to make sute to her alone, then to Christ her sonne. And what needed (I pray you) any such rehearfall being both vngodly, and nothing at all to the purpose. For what maketh the praise of our Ladie, to the confirmation of the generall doome? Would not a man thinke him mad, that hauing an earnest errande from London to Douer, would take it the next way to ride firft into Northfolke, next into Essex, and laft into Kent?
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Kent? And yet assuredly, many an unlearned and witless man, hath straied in his talke much farther a great deale, yea truely as farre as hence to Roome gates. Therefore wise are they that followe Plinies aduise, who would that all men both in writing, and speaking at large vpon any matter, shouldeuer haue an eye to the chiefe title, and principall ground of their whole entent, neuer swaruing from their purpose, but rather bringing all things together, to confirme their caufe so much as they can possible. Yea, the wise and expert men will ake of themselues, how hangeth this to the purpose? To what end do ye speake it? What maketh this for confirmation of my cause? And so by oft questioning, either chide their owne follie if they speake amifle, or els be assured they speake to good purpose.

A state therefore generally, is the chiefe ground of a matter, and the principall point whereunto both he that speaketh should referre his whole wit, and they that heare should chieflie marke. A Preacher taketh in hande to shewe what prayer is, and how needfull for man to call vpon God: now he should euer remember this his matter, applying his reasons whollie and fullie to this end, that the hearers may both knowe the nature of prayer, and the needfulnesse of prayer. The which when he hath done, his promise is fulfilled, his time well bestowed, and the hearers well instructed.

A state of constitution, what it is in matters of judgement.

In all other caufes the state is gathered without contention, and severally handled vpon good aduiseement, as he shal think best that profesareth to speake. But in matters criminally, where judgement is required: there are two persons at the leaft, which must through contrarietie stand and rest vpon some issue. As for example. A seruing man is apprehended by a Lawyer for Felonie, vpon suspition. The Lawyer faith to the seruing man: thou haft done this Robberie. Nay (faith he) I haue not done it. Vpon this conflict and matching together ariseth this State, whether this seruing man hath done this Robberie, or no? Vppon which point the Lawyer must stand, and seeke to proue it to the uttermost of his power.

A state thereof in matters of judgement, is that thing which doth
doth arise upon the first demand, and denial made betwixt State in
men, whereof the one part is the accuser, and the other part
the person, or persons accused. It is called a State, because
wee doe stande and rest vpon some one point, the which must
wholeie and only be proued of the one side, and denied of the
other. I cannot better terme it in English, then by the name
of an issue, the which not only arifeth vpon much debating,
and long trauers vfed, wherupon all matters are faied to come
to an issue: but also els where an issue is said to be then, and
so often, as both parties stand vpon one point, the which doth
as well happen at the first beginning, before any probations
are vfed, as it doth at the latter ending, after the matter hath
at large bene discussed.

\[ \text{The deuision of States, or issues.} \]

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

\{ i. Coniecturall. \\
   ii. Legall. \\
   iii. Iuridiciall. \}

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

\{ i. Whether the thing be, or no. \\
   ii. What it is. \\
   iii. What maner of thing it is. \}

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

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

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

Of the state conjecturall.

The Affertion.
Thou haft killed this man.
The Answer.
I haue not killed him.
The State or Issue.
Whether he hath killed this man, or no. Thus we see upon the auouching and deniall, the matter standeth vpon an Issue.

Of the state Legall.
The Affertion.
Thou haft committed treason in this fact.
The Answer.
I denye it to be Treason.
The State or Issue.
Whether his offence done may be called treason, or no. Here is denied that any such thing is in the deed done, as is by word reported, and faied to be.

Of the state Juridicial.
The Affertion.
Thou haft killed this man.
The Answer.
I graunt it, but I haue done it lawfully, because I killed him in mine owne defence.
Whether a man may kill one in his owne defence, or no, and whether this man did so, or no.

The Oration conjecturall, what it is.

The Oration conjecturall is when matters bee examined, and tried out by suspitions gathered, and some likelihood of thing appearing. A Souldier is accused for killing a Farmer. The Souldier denyeth it utterly, and faith he did not
not kill him. Hereupon rifeth the queftion, whether the Souldier killed the Farmer or no, who is wel known to be flaine. Now to proue this queftion, we muft haue fuch places of confirmation, as hereafter do followe.

\section*{Places of confirmation, to proue things by coniecture.}

\subsection*{1. Will to doe euill.}

\subsection*{2. Power to doe euill.}

In the will muft be confidered the qualitie of the man, whether hee were like to doe fuch a deede, or no, and what fliould moue him to attempt fuch an enterprife: whether he did the murther vppon any displeaure before conceiued, or of sodaine anger, or els for that he looked by his death to receiue fome commoditie, either land, or office, money, or money worth, or any other gainefull thing.

Some are knowne to want no will to kil a man, because they haue bene flefht heretofore, paffing as little vpon the death of a man, as a Butcher doth pafle for killing of an Oxe, being heretofore either accused before a ludge of manflaughter, or els quit by some generall Pardon. Now, when the names of fuch men are known, they make wise men euer hereafter to haue them in fuspition.

The Countrey where the man was borne, declares fome-time his natural inclination, as if he were borne or brought vp among the Tinfdale and Riddefdale men, he may the foner be fuspected.

Of what trade he is, by what occupation he liueth. Whether he be a Gamefter, an Alehouse haunter, or a companion among Ruffians.

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

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

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

Whathiftes he hath made from time to time.

What moueth him to doe fuch a hainous deede.

\section*{Places of confirmation, to proue whether he had power to doe fuch a deede, or no.}

The ground where the man was flaine, whether it was in the Hye way, in a Wood, or betweene two Hilles, or els where nigh vnto a hedge or fecrete place.

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

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

iii. Whethere he ranne away after the deepe was done, or had any blood about him, or trembled, or staggered, or was contrary in telling of his tale, and how he kept his countenance.

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

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

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

viii. His confession.

An example of an Oration judicall, to prove by conjectures, the knowledge of a notable and most hainous offence, committed by a Souldier.

As Nature hath euer abhorred Murder, and God in all ages most terribly hath plagued bloodshedding, so I trust your wisedomes (moist worthie Judges) will speedily seeke the execution of this most hatefull sinne. And where as God revealeth to the sight of men, the knowledge of such offences by diuers likelihoods, & probable conjectures: I doubt not, but you being called of God to heare such causes, will doe herein as reason shal require, and as this detestable offence shal moue you, vpon rehearfall of the matter. The man that is wel knowne to be slaine, was a worthie Farmer, a good housekeeper, a wealthie Husbandman, one that trauailed much in this worlde, meaning uprightly in all his doinges, and therefore beloued among al men, & lamented of many when his death was knowne. This Souldier beeing desperate in his doinges, and liuing by spoyle all his life time, came newly from the Warres, whose handes hath bene lately bathed in blood, and now he keepeth this Countrey (where this Farmer was slaine) and hath beeene here for the space of one whole Moneth together, and by all likelihoodes, he hath slaine this honest Farmer. For such men fleeth villaines, make small acount for killing any one, and doe it they will without any mercie, when they maye fee their time. Yea, this wretch is bruted for
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for his beatfully demeanour, and knowne of long time to be a strong theef. Neither had he escaped the daunger of the lawe, if the Kings free Pardon had not preuented the execution. His name declares his naughty nature, and his wicked living hath made him famous. For who is he that hearing of N. (the notable offenders name, might here bee rehearled) doth not thinke by and by, that hee were like to doe such a deede? Neither is he onely knowne vniuerally to bee naught, but his foyle also (where he was borne) giueth him to bee an euill man: considering he was bredde and brought vp among a denne of Theeues, among the men of Tinsdale & Riddefdale, where pillage is good purchase, and murthering is countmpted manhood. Occupation hath he none, nor yet any other honest meanes, whereby to maintaine himselfe: and yet he liueth most sumpteously. No greater gamefter in a whole Countrey, no such ryotor, a notable whoremonger, a leaude Royfter among Russians, a notable waifter, to day full of money, within seven night after not worth a groate. There is no man that seeth him, but will take him for his Apparell to be a gentleman. He hath his chaunge of suites, yea, he spareth not to goe in his Silkes and Veluet. A great quareller and fray maker, glad when he may be at defiance with one or other, he made such shiftes for money ere now, that I maruaile how he hath liued till this day. And now being at a lowe ebbe, and loth to seeme bafe in his estate, thought to adventure vpon this Farmer, and either to winne the saddle, or els to lofe the horfe. And thus beeing so farre forward, wanting no will to attempt this wicked deede, he sought by all meanes possible, convenient oportunitie to compass his desire. And wayting vnder a wood side, nigh unto the high way, about fixe a clocke at night, hee set vppon this Farmer, at what time he was comming homeward. For it appeareth not onely by his owne confession, that hee was there aboute the selfe same time, where this man was slaine: but also there bee men that sawe him ride in great haste, about the selfe same time. And because God would haue this murder to be knowne, looke I pray you, what bloud he carieth about him, to beare witnesse against him of his most wicked deede. Againe, his owne confession doth plainly goe against him, for he is in so many tales, that he cannot tell what
what to say. And often his colour chaungeth, his bodie shaketh, and his tongue foultereth within his mouth. And such men as hee bringeth in to beare witnesse with him, that he was at such a place at the self same howre, when the Farmer was flaine: they will not bee sworne for the very howre, but they say he was at such a place within two howres after. Now Lord, doth not this matter seeme most plaine vnto al men, especially seeing this deede was done at such a time, and in such a place, that if the Deuill had not beene his good Lord, the matter had neuer come to light. And who will not say, that this caytife had little caufe to feare, but rather power enough to doe his wicked fact, seeing he is fo fturdie and fo strong, and the other so weake and vnweldie: yea, seeing this vilaine was armed, and the other man naked. Doubt you not (worthie Judges) seeing such notes of his former life, to declare his inward nature, and perceiving such coniecutures lawfully gathered vpon iuft sufpition: but that this wretched fouldier hath slaine this worthy Farmer. And therefore, I appeale for Iustice vnto your wisedomes, for the death of this innocent man, whose blood before God asketh iust auengement. I doubt not but you remember the wordes of Salomon, who faith: It is as great sinne to forgiue the wicked, as it is euill to condemne the innocent: and as I call vnfeinedly for rightfull Judgement, fo I hope assuredly for iust execution.

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

§ The interpretation of a lawe, otherwise called a statute legall.

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

The parts.

i. Definition.

ii. Contrary Lawes.

iii. Lawes made and the end of the lawmaker.

iijj. Ambiguitie, or doubtfulnesse.

v. Probation by things like.

vi. Chalenging or refusing.

§ Definition
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\[\textit{Definition what is it.}\]

Then we use to define a matter, when we cannot agree upon the nature of some words, the which we learn to knowe by asking the question, what it is. As for example. Where one is apprehended for killing a man, we lay murder to his charge: whereupon the accused person, when he graunteth the killing, & yet denieth it to be murder: we must straight after have recourse to the definition, and ask what is murder, by defining whereof, and comparing the nature of the word with his deed done, we shall soon knowe whether he committed murder, or manslaughter.

\[\textit{Contrary Lawes.}\]

It often happeneth, that lawes seeme to have a certain repugnancie, whereof among many riseth much contention, whereas if both the lawes were well weighed and considered, according to their circumstances, they would appeare nothing contrary in matter, though in words they seeme to dissent. Chrift giueth warning, and chargeth his Disciples in the x. of Math. that they preach not the glad tidinges of his comming into the worlde, to the Gentiles, but to the Iewes onely, vnto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his resurrection, we doe reade in the laft of Matthew, that he commanded his disciples to go into all the whole world, and preach the glad tidings of his passion, and raunfome, paid for all creatures liuing. Now, though these two lawes seeme contrary, yet it is nothing so. For, if the Iewes would haue receiued Chrift, and acknowledged him their Saviour, vndoubtedly, they had beene the onely Children of God, vnto whom, the promife and couenaunt was made from the beginning. But because they refused their Saviour, and crucified the Lord of glorie: Chrift made the lawe generall, and called all men to life that would repent, promising saluation to all such, as beleued and were Baptised. So that the particulier lawe being now abrogated, must needes giue place to the superiour.

\[\textit{Power lessons to be observed, where contrary Lawes are called in question.}\]

\{i. The inferior law, must giue place to the superior.

ii. The lawe generall, must yeeld to the speciall.

iii. Mans law, to Gods law.

iii. An olde law, to a new law.\}
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There be lawes uttered by Christes owne mouth, the which if they bee taken according as they are spoken, seeme to containe great absurditie in them. And therefore, the minde of the lawe maker, muft rather bee observed, then the bare words taken only as they are spoken. Christ faith in the fifth of Matthewe. If thy right eye be an offence to thee, plucke him out, and cast him away from thee. If one giue thee a blow of thy right cheeke, turne to him again thy left cheeke. There be some Eunuches, that haue gelded themselves from the kingdome of Heauen. Goe and fell all that thou haft, and giue it to the poore. He that doth not take vp his croffe and followe me, is not worthy of mee. In all which sentences, there is no such meaning, as the bare words uttered seeme to yeeld. Plucking out of the eye, declares an auoyding of all euill occafions. Receiuing a blowe vpon the left cheeke, commendes vnto vs modeftie, and pacience in aduerfitie. Gelding, signifieth a subduing of our affections, and taming the foule luft of pleafure, vnto the wil of reafon. Goe and fell all: declares we fhould be Jiberall, and glad to parte with our goodes to the poore and needie. Bearing the croffe betokeneth fufferaunce of all forowes and miferies in this worlde. Now, to proue that the will of the law maker, is none other then I haue faid: I may vse the testimonies of other places in the Scripture, and compare them with these sentences, and fo iudge by iust examination, and diligent search the true meaning of the law maker.

Ambiguity.

Sometymes a doubt is made vpon some worde or sentence, when it signifieth diuers things, or may diuerfly bee taken, whereupon full oft arifeth much contention. The Lawiers lacke no cases, to fill this part full of examples. For rather then faile, they will make doubtes oftentimes, where no doubt should be at all. Is his Leafe long enough (quoth one :) yea sir, it is very long faid a poore Houfbandman. Then (quoth he) let me alone with it, I will finde a hole in it I warrant thee. In all this talke I except alwaies the good Lawiers, and I may wel spare them, for they are but a fewe.

Probation by things like.

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

§ Challenging or refusing.

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

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

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

§ The Division.

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

The other (vSing little force or strength, to maintaine the matter) is, when outwarde helpe is sought, and by-ways vfed to purchase favour, called otherwise the state assumptiue.

Places of Confirmation for the first kinde, are vii.

i. Nature it selfe.
iii. Custome.
iii. Equitie.
viii. True dealing.
vi. Auncient examples.
vi. Couenauntes and deedes autentique.

Vtie in his most worthy Oration, made in behalfe of Milo, declares that Milo slue Clodius most lawfully, whom Clodius...
Confessing what it is.

The division.

Blaming other, how it is faied.

Comparing the fault.

Confessing of the fault, is when the excuseth person graungeth his crime, and craueth pardon thereupon, leaving to ask Justice, and leaning wholly unto mercie.

Confession of the fault used two manner of waies.

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

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

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

Comparing the fault is when we faie, that by slaying an euill man, we haue done a good deede, cutting away the corrupt and rotten member, for prefervation of the whole body. Or thus: some fet a whole toune on fire, because their
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their enemies should have none advantage by it. The Saguntines, being tributarie to the Romanes, slue their owne children, burnt their goods, and fired their bodies, because they would not be subject to that cruel Hanniball, and lose their allegiance, due to the Romanes.

Shifting it from vs, is when wee say that if other had not set vs on, we would never have attempted such an enterprise. As often times the Souldiour saith, his Captaines bidding was his enforcement: the fervuant thinketh his maisters commandement, to be a sufficient defence for his discharge.

Now that I haue hetherto set forth, what Rhetorique is, whereunto every Oratour is most bounde, what thecauses bee, both in their nature and also by number, that comprehend every matter, and what places servue to confirme every cause: I think it is most meete, after the knowledge of all these, to frame an Oration accordingly, and to shewe at large, by partes of every Oration (but specially such as are vfed in Iudgement) that unto every cause, apt partes may euermore be added. For every matter hath a divers beginning, neither al controverfies or matters of weight, should alwaies after one fort be rehearfed, nor like reaons vfed, nor one kinde of moveing affections, occupied before all men, in every matter. And therefore, whereas I haue briefly spoken of them before, I will nowe largely declare them, and shewe the vs of them in every matter, that cometh in debate, and is needfull through reaon to be discussed.

An entraunce, two waies deuided.

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

The second is a privie twining, or close creeping in, to win favour with much circumflaunce, called infinuation.

For in all matters that man takes in hand, this considera-
tion ought first to be had, that we first diligently expend the cause, before we go through with it, that we may be asfured whether it bee lawfull or otherwise. And not onely this, but also we must aduisedly marke the men, before whom we speake, the men against whom we speake, and all the circum-
stances which belong vnto the matter. If the matter be honest
honest, godly, and such as of right ought to be well liked, we may make an open beginning, and will the hearers to rejoyce, and so go through with our parte. If the cause be lothsome, or such as will not be well borne with all, but needeth much helpe and favour of the hearers: it shall be the speakers part priuely to get favour, & by humble talk to win their good wils. First, requiring them to give him the hearing, and next, not streightly to giue judgement, but with mercie to mitigate all rigour of the Lawe. Or in a complaint made, which the couniell shall greuously fformake, to exaggerate it the more, if we see iuft caufe to fet it forwarde. And whereas many often tymes are fufpect to speake things of malice, or for hope of gaine, or els for a fet purpofe, as who should fay, this I can doe: the wisefte will ever more cleare themfelves from all fuch offences, and neuer giue any token fo much as in them lieth, of any light fufpition.

In accusing any person, it is beaft to heape all his faultes together, and whereas any thing feemeth to make for him, to extenuate the fame to the vtttermof. In defending any person, it is wifedome to rehearfe all his vertues firft and fformoft, and with as much arte as may be, to wipe away fuch faultes as were laied to his charge. And before all things, this would be well marked, that whensoever we shall largely talke of any matter, we alwaies fo inuent and finde out our firft enteraunce in the caufe, that the fame be for euer taken euen from the nature and bowelles thereof, that all things which fhall firft be fpoken, may feeme to agree with the matter, and not made as a flippe mans hose to ferve for every legge. Now, whereas any long talke is vfed, the beginning thereof is either taken of the matter felf, or els of the perions that are there present, or els of them againft whom the action is intended. And because the winning of victorie refytheth in three pointes. Firft, in apt teaching the hearers what the matter is, next in getting them to giue good care, and thirdly in winning their favor: We shall make them vnderfteande the matter caufely, if firft of all we begin to expounde it plainly and in brefte words, setting out the meaning, make them harken to their fayings. And by no meanes better shall the ftaunders by knowe what we fay, and carie awaie that which they heare, then if at the firft we couch together, the whole
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course of our tale in as small roome as we can, either by defining the nature and substance of our matter, or els by dividing it in an apt order, so that neither the hearers be troubled, with confounding of matter, and heaping one thing in an others necke, nor yet their memorie dulled with cuer-thwart rehearfall, and disorderly telling of our tale. Wee shall make the people attentive, and glad to heare vs, if we wil promise them to speake of weightie matters, of wholesome doctrine, such as they haue heretofore wanted: yea, if we promise to tell them things concerning either their owne profit, or the advancement of their countrey, no doubt we shall haue them diligent hearers. Or els if they like not to heare weightie affaires, we may promise them strange newes, and perfwade them we will make them laugh, and think you not that they will rather heare a foolish tale, then a wife & wholesome counsale: Demosthenes therefore, seing at a time the fondneffe of the people to be such, that he could not obtaine of them, to heare him speake his minde in an earnest cause, concerning the wealth of his Countrey, required them to tarie, and he would tel them a tale of Robin Hood. Whereat they al stayed, and longed to know what that should be. He began streight to tell them, of one that had sold his Ass to another man, whereupon they both went forth to the next Market toune, hauing with them the said Ass. And the weather being somewhat hot, the first owner which had now sold his ass, went to that side the Ass which kept him best from the heate. The other being now the owner & in full possession, would not suffer that, but required him to giue place, and suffer him to take the best commodity of his own Ass that he could haue, whereat the other answered and said: nay by saint Marie sir, you serue me not so, I sold you the Ass, but I solde you not the shadowe of the Ass, & therefore pick you hence. When the people heard this, they laughed apace, and likt it very well. Wherupon Demosthenes hauing won them together by this mery toye, rebuked their folly, that were so slack to heare good things, and so redy to here a tale of a Tub, and thus hauing them attentive, perfwaded with them to heare him in matters of great importance, the which otherwise he could never haue done, if he had not taken this way with him.

We shall get the good willes of our hearers fower maner of waies,
To get the waies, either beginning to speake of our selues, or els of our aduerfaries, or els of the people and companie present, or laft of all, if we begin of the matter it selfe, and so goe through with it. Wee fhall get fauour for our owne fakes, if we fhall modestly set foorth our bounden dueties, and declare our Seruice done, without al fufpition of vaunting, either to the common weale, as in seruing either in the wares abroade, or els in bearing some office at home, concerning the tranquility of our countrie: or in helping our frends, kinffolkes, and poore neighbours, to declare our goodneffe done heretofore towards them: and laftly, if wee fhewe without all oſtentation, afwell our good willes towards the Judges there, as also pleasures done for them in tymes paſt to the uttermoſt of our power. And if any thing feeme to lett our caufe by any misreport, or euill behauiour of our partes heretofore: beſt it were in moſt humble wise to feeke fauour, and feightly to auoyd all ſuch offences laied to our charge.

We fhall get fauour by speaking of our aduerfaries, if wee fhall make fuch reporte of them, that the hearers fhall either hate to heare them, or utterly enuie them, or els altogether despife them. We fhall one make our aduerfaries to bee lothed, if wee fhew and set foorth some naughtie deede of theirs, and declare how cruelly, how vily, and how maliciouſly they haue ufed other men heretofore.

We fhall make them to bee enuied, if we report vnto the Judges that they beare themſelues hault, and ftoſt vpon their wealtſh freendes, and opprefſe poore men by might, not regarding their honeſtie, but feeking alwaies by hooke and crooke, to robbe poore men of their Farmes, Leafeſe, and money. And by the way, declare ſome one thing that they haue done, which honeſte eares would ſcant abide to heare.

We fhall make them to bee fet naught by, if we declare what luſkies they are, how vnthriftely they liue, how they doe nothing from day to day, but eate, drinke, and sleepe, rather ſeeing to liue like beaſtes, then minding to liue like men, either in profiting their countrie, or in tendering their owne commoditie, as by right they ought to doe.

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

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

Now refeth for me to speake of the other parte of Entrance into an Oration, which is called a close, or priuie getting of fauour when the cause is daungerous, and cannot eafily be heard without displeasure.

A priuie beginning, or creeping in, otherwise called Infimuation, muft then, and not els be vied, when the Judge is greeted with vs, and our cause hated of the hearers.

The cause felfe oftentimes is not liked for three diuers causes, if either the matter felle be vnhonest, and not meete to be yttered before an audience, or els if the Judge himself by a former tale be perswaded to take parte againft vs, or laft if at that time we are forced to speake, when the Judge is weried with hearing of other. For the Judge himselfe being weried by hearing, will bee much more greeued if any thing be spoken either ouermuch, or els against his liking. Yea who feeth not that a weried man wil fone mislike a right good matter? If the matter be fo hainous that it can not be heard without offence, (as if I should take a mans parte, who were generally hated) wifedome were to let him goe, and take some other whom all men liked: or if the cause were thought not honest, to take some other in fteede thereof which were better liked, till they were better prepared to heare the other: so that euermore nothing should be spoken at the firft, but that which might please the Judge, and not to be acknowne once to thinke of that, which yet we minde most of all to perswade. Therefore, when the hearers are some what calmed, we may enter by little and little into the matter, and fay that thole things, which our aduerfary doth mislike in the perfon accused, we alfo doe mislike the same. And when the hearers are thus wonne, wee may fay that all which was faide nothing toucheth vs, and that we minde to speake nothing at al against
against our aduersaries, neither this way nor that way. Neither were it wisedome openly to speake against them, which are generally well esteemed and taken for honest men. And yet it were not amisse for the furtherance of our owne causes, clofely to speake our phantasie, and so, streight to aulter their hearts. Yea, and to tel the ludge the like in a like matter, that such and such judgement hath been giuen: And therefore at this time, considering the same case, and the same necessitie, like judgement is looked for. But if the aduersarie haue so tolde his tale, that the ludge is wholly bent to giue sentence with hym, and that it is well knowne, vnto what reafons the ludge most leaned, and was perswaded: we may firft promife to weaken that, which the aduersarie hath made moft strong for himself, and confute that parte, which the hearers did moft esteeme, and beft of all like. Or els we may take advantage, of some part of our aduersaries tale, and talke of that firft, which he spake laft: or els begin fo, as though wee doubted what were beft firft to speake, or to what part it were moft reafon, firft of all to answere, wondering and taking God to witnffe, at the strangenesse of his reporte, and confirmation of his caufe. For when the standers by, perceiue that the anfwerer (whome the aduersaries thought in their minde, was wholly abashed) feareth fo little the obie£tions of his aduersarie, and is readie to anfwer Ad omnia quare, with a bolde countenance: They will thinke that they themselves, rather gaue rash credite, and were ouerlight in beleeuing the firft tale: then that he, which now aniwereth in his owne caufe, speaketh without ground, or presumeth vpon a stomack to speake for himselfe, without juft consideration.

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

And if time may fo serue, it were good when men be wearied to make them somwhat mery, and to begin with some plesaunt tale, or take an occasion to ieft wittely, vpon some thing then presently done.

Or if the time will not serue for plesaunt tales, it were good to tell some straunge thing, some terrible wonder, that they
they all may quake at the onely hearing of the fame. For, like as when a mans stomack is full, and can brooke no more meate, hee may stirre his appetite, either by some Tart sawce, or els quicken it somewhat by some sweete dish: Euen so when the audience is wearied with weightie affaires, some strange wonders may call vp their spirites, or els some merie tale may cheare their heauie lookes.

And assuredly, it is no small cunning to moue the hearts of men, either to mirth, or fadneffe: for he that hath such skil, shall not lightly faile of his purpose, what soever matter he taketh in hande.

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

In all which discourse, whereas I haue framed all the Enter-
lessions and euery enterance properly, to serue for pleading at the barre: yet assuredly, many of them may well helpe thofe: that preache Gods trueth, & exhorte men in open assemblies to vpright dealing.

And no doubt, many of them haue much neede to knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale may hang together, whereas oftentimes they beginne as much from the matter, as it is betwixt Douer and Barwike, whereat some take pitie, and many for wearineffe can scant abide their beginning, it is so long or they speake anything to the purpose. Therefore, the learned Clarkes of this our time, haue thought it good, that all Preachers should take their beginning, uppon the occasion of such matter, as is there written, declaring why and wherefore, and uppon what consideration such wordes were in those dayes so spoken, that the reason giuen of such talke then uttered, might serue well to beginne their Sermon. Or els to gather some feuerall sentence at the first, which briefly comprehenden the whole matter following, or els to beginne with some apt similitude, example, or Wittie saying. Or, lastly,
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Lastly, to declare what went before, and so to shewe that which followeth after. Yea, sometymes to beginne lamentable, with an unvained bewailing of sinne, and a terrible declaring of Gods threats: Sometimes, to take occasion of a matter newly done, or of the companie there present, so that all waies the beginning be aunfwerable to the matter following.

Of Narration.

After the preface and first Enterance, the matter must be opened, and euery thing liuely tolde, that the hearers may fully perceiue what we goe about, nowe in reporting an act done, or uttering the state of a controverfie, we must vse these lefions, wherof the first is to bee short, the next to bee plaine, and the third is to speake likely, and with reason, that the hearers may remember, vnderstand, and beleue the rather, such things as shall be faied.

And first whereas we should be short in telling the matter as it lieth, the beft is to speake no more then needes wee must, not rauing it from the bottome, or telling bytales such as rude people full oft doe, nor yet touching euery pointe, but telling the whole in a grosse somme. And where as many matters shall neither harme vs, nor yet doe vs good being brought in, and reported by vs: it were well done not to medle with them at all, nor yet twife to tell one thing, or report that which is odious to be tolde againe. Notwithstanding this one thing would be wel considered, that in seking to be short we be not obscure. And therefore to make our matter plaine, that all may vnderstand it, the beft were firft and formoft to tell euery thing in order so much as is needful, obseruing both the time, the place, the maner of doing, and the circumstances thereunto belonging. Wherein good heed would be had that nothing be doubtfully spoken, which may haue a double meaning, nor yet any thing uttered that may make asmuch againft vs as with vs, but that all our wordes runne to confirme wholy our matter. And surely if the matter be not so plainely told that all may vnderstand it, wee shall doe little good in the rest of our report. For in other partes of the Oration if we be somewhat darke, it is leffe harme, wee may bee more plaine in an other place. But if the Narration, or subftaunce of the tale be not well perceiued, the whole Oration besides is darkned altogether. For to what ende should we goe about to proue that,
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that, which the hearers knowe not what it is? Neither can we have any libertie to tell our tale againe after we haue once tolde it, but muſt streight goe foorth and confirme that which we haue faied, how sooever it is. Therefore the reporting of our tale, may one appere plain if we firft expreffe our minde in plaine words, and not feeke these roperipe termes, which betraie rather a foole, then commend a wise man: and againe, if we orderly obferue circumftaunces, and tell one thing after an other, from time to time, not tumbling one tale in anothers necke, telling halfe a tale, and fo leaving it rawe, hacking and hemming, as though our wittes and our senses were a woll gathering. Neither should we suffer our tongue, to run before our witte, but with much wareneffe, set foorth our matter, and speake our minde euermore with judgement.

We shall make our sayings appeare likely, and probable: Probabili-
ties how it maie be

if we speake directly as the cause requireth, if we fhewe the verie purpose of all the deuife, and frame our intention, according as we shall thinke them moft willing to allowe it, that haue the hearing of it.

The Narration reported in matters of judgement, fhall feem to stand with reason, if we make our talk to agree with the place, time, thing, and person, if wee fhall fhewe that what-

focuer wee say, the fame by all likelioodes is true, if our coniectures, tokens, reasons, and arguments bee such, that neither in them, there appere any fabling, nor yet that any thing was fpoken, which might of right otherwise be taken, and that we not onely speake this, but that diuers other of good credite will stand with vs in defence of the fame, all which reporting mayfone be liked, and the tale fo tolde, may be thought very reasonable. Yea, wee shall make our doings feeme reasonable, if we frame our worke to natures will, and feeke none other meanes but such onely, as the honest and wise haue euuer vsed and allowed, bringing in and blaming the euill alwayes, for fuch faultes chiefly, wherevnto they moft of all are like to be subiect, as to accuse a spende all, of theft: a whoremonger, of adulterie: a rash quarreller, of man-

slaughter: and so of other. Sometimes it is good and profit-
able, to bee merie and pleaфанt, in reporting a matter, against some maner of man, and in some cause. For, neither against all men that offend, nor yet against all matters,
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should the wittie alwaies vfe iesling. And now, for those that shall tel their minde, in the other kindes of Oratorie, as in the kinde Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue, in exhorting or perswading: the learned haue thought meet that they must also call the whole somme of their matter to one point, that the rather the hearers may better perceiue, whereat they leuell all their reasons. As if a Clarke doe take in hande to declare Gods heft, he will after his enteraunce, tell what thing is chiefly purposed in that place, and next after, shew other things annexed thereunto, whereby not only the hearers may get great learning, and take much profite of his doctrine: but he himselfe may knowe the better what to say, what order to vse, and when to make an ende.

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

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

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

After our tale is tolde, and the hearers haue well learned what we meane, the next is to reporte wherein the aduerfarie and wee can not agree, and what it is, wherein wee doe agree. And then to parte out such principall pointes, whereof we purpose fully to debate, and laie them out to be knowne: that the hearers may plainly see, what wee will say, and perceiue at a worde the subsfaunce of our meaning. Now, Tullie would not haue a deuifion to be made, of, or aboue three partes at the moft, nor yet leffe then three neither, if neede so require. For if we haue three chiefe groundes, wherevpon to rest, applying all our arguments therevnto, we shal both haue matter enough to speake of, the hearers shal with eafe vnderftande our meaning, and the whole Oration shal bee at an ende. Notwithstanding, this lesson must not so curiously bee kept, as though it were sinne to make the deuifion of fower, or fiue partes: but it was spoken for this end, that the deuifion should be made of as fewe as may be possible, that men may the better carie it away, and the reporter with more eafe, may remember what he hath to saie. Now in praising, or dispraising, in perfwading, or diffwading, deuifions must alfo be vfed. As if one would enueigh against those women, that will not giue their owne children fucke, he might vfe this deuifion. Where as women commonly put their owne children forth to nurfing, I will proue, that it is both against the laue of Nature, and alfo against Gods holy wil: againe I wil shewe that it is harmefull, both for the childes bodie, and alfo for his witte: laftly I will proue that the mother felfe, falleth into much fickneffe thereby.

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

Againe, the childrens bodies shal be so affected, as the milke is which they receiue. Now, if the Nurfe bee of an euill complexion, or haue some hid diseafe, the childe sucking of her breaft, muft needes take parte with her. And if that be true, which the learned doe say, that the temperature of the minde followes the constitution of the bodie, needes muft it be, that if the Nurfe be of a naughtie nature, the childe
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must take thereafter. But if it be, the Nurse be of a good complexion, of an honest behaviour (whereas contrariwise, Maidens that have made a scape, are commonly called to be Nurses) yet can it not be, but that the mothers milk should be much more natural for the child, then the milk of a stranger. As by experience, let a man be long used to one kind of drink, if the same man change his air, and his drink, he is likely to mislike it. Lastly, for the mothers, howe are they troubled with sore breasts, besides other diseases that happen through plentie of milk, the which Physicians can tell, and women full oft have felt.

Likewise in speaking of fasting, I might use this division. First, it is Godly to fast, because the spirit is more free, and apter for a good work. Againe, it is wholesome, because thereby evil humours are wasted, and many diseases either clerely put away, or much abated of their tirannie. Lastly, it is profitable, because men spend less money, the less banquetting that they use. Therefore, if men love either to be wise, Godly, healthful, or wealthy, let them use fasting and forbear excess.

Now upon a division, there might also be made a sub-division, as where I say it is Godly to fast, I might divide Godliness into the hearing of God's word, into praying devoutly, and charitable dealing with all the world.

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

Againe, whereas the five senses bring vs to the knowledge of many things: the more apt that every one is, the more pleasure they bring euer with them. The eyes see more clerely, the eares heare more quickly, the tongue rowleth more roundly, and tasteth things better, our feeling is more perfit: and the nose smelleth euill savours the sooner.

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

Of Propositions.

Quntillian willeth, that straight and immediatly after the Narration, there should also bee vsed such sentences as might be full of pith, and containe in them the substance of much matter, the rather that the hearers may be stirred upon the only report of some sentencious sayling, or weightie text in the Lawe. As in speaking largely against extortion, one might after his reasons applied to the purpose, bring in a pithie and sentencious proportion: as thus. Those hands are euill that scratch out the eyes: and what other doe they that by force robbe their Christian brethren: Woe bee to that Realme, where might out goeth right. Or thus. When rage doth rule, and reason doth want, what good man can hope to live long in rest. Also an act of a Realme, may well serve to make a proposition. As thus. The Law is plaine: that man shall die as an offender, whatsoever he be that breaketh yp an other mans house, and seeketh by spoyle to vndoe his neighbour. Now here is no man that doubteth, but that thou haft done this deede, therefore what needes any more, but that thou must suffer according to the law? In deuiding a matter, Propositions are vsed and orderly applied for the better setting forth of the cause. As if I should speake of thankfulnesse, I might first shew what is thankfulnesse, next how needfull it is, and last how commendable and profitable it is univerfally? Thankfulnesse is a kinde of remembring good will shewed, and an earneft desire to requite the same. Without thankfulnesse no man would doe for an other. The brute beastes haue these properties, and therefore man cannot want them, without his great rebuke. Some propositions are plaíne spoken, without any cause or reason added therunto. As thus, I haue charged this man with Felonie, as you haue heard, but he denieth it, therefore judge you it I pray you. Sometimes a cause added, after the aledging of a proposition. As thus: I haue accused this man of felonie, because he tooke my purse by the hye way side, and therefore I call for Justice. Thus propositions might be Deuision of gathered, next and immediatly after the rehearfall of any cause, and beautifie much the matter, beeing either allledged with
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with the cause annexed, or els being plainly spoken, without giving any reason at all.

§ Of Confirmation of matters in judgement.

When we have declared the chiefe points, whereunto we purpose to referre all our reasons, wee must heape matter, and finde out arguments to confirme the same to the uttermost of our power, making firft the strongest reasons that wee can, and next after, gathering all the probable causes together, that being in one heape, they may seeme strong and of great weight. And whatsoever the aduerarie hath faid against vs, to answere thereunto as time and place may beft serue. That if his reasons bee light, and more good may bee done in confuting his, then in confirming our owne: it were beft of all to fet vpfpn him, and put away by Art, all that he hath fondly faid without wit. For prouing the matter, and searching out the subftance or nature of the caufe, the places of Logique muft helpe to fet it forwarde. But when the perfon shall bee touched, and not the matter, wee muft seeke els where, and gather these places together.

Causes of confirmation two waies vsed.

i. The name.
ii. The maner of liuing.
iii. Of what house he is, of what Countrey, and of what yeares.

iii. The wealth of the man.
iv. His behauior or daily enuring with things.

vi. What nature he hath.

vii. Wherevnto he is moft giuen.

viii. What he purpofeth from time to time.

ix. What he hath done heretofore.

x. What hath befalne vnto him heretofore.

xi. What hee hath confessed, or what hee hath to fay for himfelfe.

In well examining of all these matters much may be faied, and great likelihoodes may be gathered either to or fro, the which places I vfed heretofore, when I spake of matters in Judgement against the accused Souldier. Now in trying the troth, by reaons gathered of the matter: wee muft firft marke what was done at that time by the suspected perfon, when such and such offences were committed. Yea, what he did before this act was done. Again, the time muft be marked,
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marked, the place, the maner of doing, and what heart he bare him. As the opertunitie of doing, and the power he had to doe this deede. The which all set together shall either acquit him, or finde him giltie. These arguments servie to confirme a matter in judgement, for any hainous offence, But in the other causes which are occupied, either in praiſing, or dispriaſing, in perswading, or dissuading, the places of confirmation be such as are before rehearfed, as when we commende a thing, to proue it thus.

- Honest.
- Profitable.
- Easie.
- Necessarie.

And so of other in like maner, or els to vſe in steed of these the places of Logique. Therefore when wee go about to confirme any caufe, wee maie gather these groundes aboue rehearfed, and euens as the case requireth, fo frame our reasons. In confuting of causes the like may be had, as wee confutat-ysed to proue: if we take the contrary of the fame. For as things are alledged, fo they may be wrefted, and as house are builded, fo they be ouerthrowne. What though many coniectures bee gathered, and diuers matters framed to ouerthrowe the defendant: yet wit may finde out bywaies to escape, and ſuch ſhiftes may be made, either in avoiding the daunger by plaine deniall, or els by obieſtions, and rebound-ing againe of reasons made, that ſmall harme shall turne to the accused person, though the presumptions of his offences be great, and bee thought by good reason to be faultie. The places of Logique as I faied, cannot bee spared for the con- confirmation of any caufe. For who is he that in confirming a matter, will not knowe the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it, what is agreeing thereunto, what likeneſſe there is betwixt that and the other things, what examples may bee vsed, what is contrary, and what can be said againſt it. Therfore I wifh that euery man ſhould deſire, & ſeeke to haue his Logique perfet, before he looke to profite in Rhetorique, considering the ground and confirmation of caufes, is for the moſt part gathered out of Logique.

A. RH.
The arte of Rhetorique.

The Conclusion.

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

There are two parts of a conclusion, the one refetheth in gathering together briefly, all such arguments as were before rehearfed, reporting the somme of them in as fewe wordes as can bee, and yet after such a forte, that much varietie bee vsed, both when the rehearfall is made, as alfo after the matter is fullie reported. For if the repetition shoulde be naked, and only set forth in plaine words without any chaunge of speech, or shift of Rhetorique, neither shoulde the hearers take pleafure, nor yet the matter take effect. Therefore, when the Orator shal touch any place, which may giue iuft caufe to make an exclamation, and ftirre the hearers to bee forie, to bee glad, or to bee offended: it is necessarie to vfe Art to the uttermost. Or when he shal come to the repeating of an hainous act, and the maner thereof: hee may set the Judges on fire, and heate them earnestly against the wicked offender. Thus in repeating, Art may be vfed, and next with the onely rehearfal, matters may bee handomely gathered vp together. The other part of a conclusion, refetheth either in augmenting and vehemently enlarging that, which before was in fewe wordes spoken to set the Judge or hearers in a heate: or els to mitigate, & affwage dipleasure conceived with much lamenting of the matter, and moouing them thereby the rather to shewe mercie. Amplification is of two farts, whereof I will speake more at large in the next chapter. The one refetheth in wordes, the other in matter. Such wordes must be vfed as bee of great weight, wherein either is some Metaphore, or els some large vnderstanding is conteined. Yea, wordes that fill the mouth and haue a found with them, set forth a matter very well. And sometimes wordes twife spoken, make the matter appeare greater.

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

Againe, amplification may bee vfed when wee make the lawe to speake, the dead person to make his complaint, the Countrie to crye out of such a deede. As if some worthie man were cast away, to make the Countrie say thus: if England could speake, would me not make such and such complaints? If the walles of such a cite or towne had a tongue, would they not talke thus and thus? And to be short, al such things shoulde bee vfed, to make the cause seeme great, which concerne God, or Common weale, or the Lawe of Nature. For if any of these three bee hindered, wee haue a large fielde to walke in. In praising or dispraising, wee must exaggerate those places towards the ende, which make men wonder at the straungenesse of any thing. In perswading or dissuading the rehearfall of commodities, and heaping of examples together increase much the matter. It were a great labour to tell all the commodities, and all the properties which belong vnto the conclusion. For such art may bee vfed in this behalfe, that though the cause bee very euill, yet a witty man may get the overhand, if he be cunning in his facultie.

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

Of the figure Amplification.

Among all the figures of Rhetorique, there is no one that so much helpeth forward an Oration, and beautifieth the same with such delightfull ornaments, as doth amplification. For if either we purpose to make our tale appeare vehement, to feeme pleafant, or to be well stored with copie: needes must it be that here we seeke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And now becaufe none shall better be able to amplify any matter, then those which best can praise, or most dispraise any thing here vpon earth, I thinke it needfull first of all, to gather such thinges together which helpe best this way. Therefore in praising or dispraising, wee must bee well stored euer with such good sentences, as are often vsed in this our life, the which thorowe arte beeing increas'd, helpe much to perfwasion. As for example, where it is saied (gentle behauiour winneth good will, and clerely quencheth hatered) I might in commending a noble Gentleman for his lowlineffe, declare at large how commendable and how profitable a thing gentle behaviour is, and of the other side, how hatefull and how harmefull a proude disdainfull man is, and how beastly a nature he hath, that being but a man, thinketh himselfe better then any other man is, & alfo ouer good to haue a match or fellowe in this life. As thus, if lowlineffe and charitie maintaine life, what a beast is he that through hatered will purchase death? If God warneth vs to loue one another, and learne of him to bee gentle, because he was gentle and humble in heart: How cruell are they that dare withstande his Commaundement? If the Subiect rebell against his King, wee crye with one voyce, hang him, hang him, and shall we not think him worthie the vilest death of all, that being a creature, contemneth his Creatour, being a mortall man, neglecteth his heauenly maker, beeing a vile moulede of Clay, setteeth light by so mightie a GOD, and euer liuing King? Beastes and birdes without reason loue one
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an other, they shroude and they flocke together, and shall men endued with such giftes, hate his euem Christian, and eschew companie? When Sheepe doe stray, or Cattell do strive one against an other, there are Dogges ready to call them in: yea, they will bite them (as it hath beene full often feene) if two fight together: and shall man want reason, to barke against his lewd affectiones, or at the leaft shall he have none to checke him for his faultes, and force him to forgive? Likewise if you would rebuke one that giueth eare to backbiters and slanderers, you must declare what a great mischiefe an euill tongue is, what a poyson it is, yea, what a murder to take a mans good name from him. We count him worthie death, that poysoneth a mans bodie, and shall not he suffer the like paine, that poysoneth a mans honestie, and seeketh to obscure and darken his estimation? Men be wel excepted among the wise, not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Now take away the thing whereby men are commended: and what are men other then brute beastes? For beasts doe nothing against Nature, but he that goeth against honestie, the same man fighteth against Nature, which would that all men mould live well. When a man is killed secretly, we ask judgement for the offendour, and shall they escape without judgement, that couertly murther a mans soule? That separate him from God, that judge him to Hell, whose life hath euer been most heauenly? When our purse is picked, we make straight search for it againe, and imprison the offender, and shall we not seeke recoverye of our good name, when euill tongues haue stained it? If our fame be more prise, then is either Golde or groates, what meane wee to bee so carelesse in keeping the one, and so carefull in keeping the other? Fond is his purpos, that being in the Raine, casteth his garment in a bush, and standeth naked himself, for sueing the glose of his gay coate. And yet what other thing doe they, that esteeme the losse of money for great lack, & compt not the losse of their honestie for any want at all? Thus we see, that from vertue, and vice, such amplifications may be made, and no doubt he that can praise, or dispraise any thing plentifully, is able most copiously to exaggerate any matter.

Againe, sentences gathered or heaped together, commende
The arte of Rhetorique.

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

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

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

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

Gaine got by fraud, is harme and no gaine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The requiting of iniuries, hath no ende.

Strife is best ended through pacience.

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

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

No man trufleth an dronkard: and yet seeing the drunkenness of rage, and madneffe of anger, are much more daungerous then surfeetting with Wine: he doth foolishly that trufleth his owne wit any thing, when he is in a rage.

Good
The arte of Rhetorique.

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

Againe for liberalitie, these sentences might serue. Liberalitie commend-ed with heapes of sentences.

It is the propertie of God, to helpe man. Liberalitie commend-ed with heapes of sentences.

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

He giueth twife, that giueth done and cherefully. Liberalitie commend-ed with heapes of sentences.

God loueth the glad giuer.

It is a point of liberalitie, sometime to lose a good turne. Liberalitie commend-ed with heapes of sentences.

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

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

Be not afraied to fowe good fruite. Liberalitie commend-ed with heapes of sentences.

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

No one man is borne for himfelfe.

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

The third kind of amplification, is when we gather such sentences as are commonly fpoken, or els vfe to speake of such things as are notable in this life. Of the firft, these may bee examples. In lamenting the miferie of Wardhips, I might fay, it is not for nought, fo commonly faied: I will handle you like a Warde. She is a fteppe mother to me, that is to fay, she is not a naturall mother: who is worfe mod then the Shoomakers wife? That is to fay: Gentlemens children full oft are kept but meanly. Trot fire, and trot damme, how fhould the Fole amble, that is, when both father and mother were nought, it is not like that the childe will prove good, without an especiall grace of God.

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

Thinges notable in this life are thofe, the which chaunce to be feue: As this: To see a man of an hundred yeares of age.
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A yong childe as sober, as a man of fiftie yeares. A woman that hath had twentie and fower children. A man once worth three or fower thousand pound, now not worth a groate. A young man fairer then a woman. A woman that hath had feuen or eight husbands. A man able to drawe a yarde in his Bowe, besides the feathers. A man merie now, and dead within halfe an hower after. There is none of all these, but serue much to make our talke appeare vehement, and encrease the weight of communication. As for example. If one would perswade an olde man to contemne the vanities of this world, he might vse the examples of sodaine death, and shewe that children haue died in their mothers lapse, some in their Cradle, some striplinges, some elder, and that not one among a thousand commeth to three score yeares. Or bee it that some liue an hundred yeares, beyond the which, not one in this last age pasteth. What is there in this life, for the which any man mould desire to liue long, seeing that old age bringeth this onely commoditie with it, that by long liuing we fee many things that wee would not fee, and that many a man hath short ened his life, for wearinesse of this wretched worlde. Or what though some pleasures are to be had in this life, what are they all to the pleasures of the life to come? Likewife in speaking of euill happe, I might bring him in that was once worth three thousand pounde, and is not now worth three groates, and perswade men either to set light by riches, or els to comfort them, and perswade them not to take thought, seeing great harme happened to other heretofore, and time may come when God will send better. Thse sentences aboue rehearfed, being largely amplified, encrease much any such kinde of matter.

What is Amplification?

Amplification is a figure in Rhetorique, which consisteth moft in augmenting, and diminishing of any matter, and that diuers waies.

The division of amplification.

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

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

Or the latter, these examples shalbe: when one hath sore Diminu-beaten his fellow, for the same man to say, that he hath scant touched him. When one hath sore wounded an other, to say he hurt him but a little: when one is sore sicke, to bee said he is a little craied. In like maner also, when wee giue vices the names of vertues: as when I call him that is a cruell or merciless man, somewhat sore in judgement. When I call a naturall foole, a plaine simple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a faire spoken man: a glutton, a good fellowe at his Table: A spendall, a liberall Gentleman: A snudge or pinch penie, a good husband, a thriftie man.

Now in all these kindes, where wordes are amplified they seeme much greater, if by correction the sentence be uttered, and greater wordes compared with them, for whom they are uttered. In the which kindes of speech, we shall seeme as though we went vp by flayers, not only to the toppe of a thing, but also aboue the top. There is an example here of in the feuenth action that Tullie made against Verres. It is an offence, to binde a Citezien of Roome with chaines, it is an hainous deed to whip him: it is worfe then manslaughter to kill him, what shall I call it to hang him vp vpon a Gibbet? If one would commende the authoritie, which he allledged, he might say thus. These wordes are no fables uttered among men, but an assured trueth left vnto vs by writing, and yet not by any common writing, but by such as all the world hath confirmed and agreed vpon, that it is autentique and canonicall: neither are they the words of one that is the common sort, but they are the wordes of a Doctor in the Church.
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Church of God, and yet not the wordes of a Deuine, or Doctor of the common foert, but of an Apostle: and yet not one that is the worst, but of Paule that is the best of all other: and yet not Paules, but rather the words of the holy Ghost, speaking by the mouth of Paule. He that loueth to enlarge by this kinde, must marke well the circumftaunces of things, and heaping them altogether, hee shal with eafe espie how one thing riseth aboue an other. And because the vfe hereof extendeth largely, I will largely vse examples. As thus. If a Gentleman & an officer of the Kings, being overcharged at Supper with ouer much drinke, and furfetting with gorge vpon gorge, should vomite the next day in the Parliament house: I might enueigh thus: O shamefull deede, not onely in fight to be lothed, but also odious of all men to be heard. If thou haddeft done this deede at thine house, being at Supper with thy wife and children, who would not haue thought it a filthie deed? But now for thee to doe it in the Parliament house, among so many Gentlemen, and such, yea, the best in all England, beeing both an Officer of the Kings, and a man of much authoritie, and there to cast out gobbettes (where belching were thought great shame) yea and such gobbets as none could abide the smell, and to fill the whole house with euill fauour, and thy whole bosome with much filthines, what an abominable shame is it aboue all other? It had beene a foule deede of it felfe, to vomite where no such gentlemen were: yea, where no gentlemen were: yea where no English men were: yea, where no men were: yea, where no companie were at all: or it had bene euill, if he had borne no maner of office, or had beene no publique officer, or had not bene the Kings officer: but being not onely an officer, but a publique officer, and that the Kings officer: yea, and such a Kings, and doing such a deede: I cannot tell in the world, what to fay to him. Divers examples may bee inuented like vnto this. As thus, against an heed Officer in a Noble mans house, I might enueigh thus. Now Lord, what a man is he, he was not ashamed being a Gentleman, yea, a man of good yeares, and much auohritie, and the heed Officer of a Dukes house, to play at Dice in an Alehouse with boyes, bawdes and verlets. It had beene a great fault to play at fo vile a game among such
such vile persons, being not Gentleman, being no officer, being not of such yeares: but being both a man of faire Lands, of an auncient houfe, of great authoritie, an Officer of a Duke, yea, and to such a Duke, and a man of such yeares, that his white heares should warne him to auoyd al such follie, to play at such a game with such Royfters and such verlets, yea, and that in such an house as none comes thither but Theeues, Bawdes, and Ruffians: now before God, I cannot speake shame enough on him.

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

Sometime we amplifie by comparing, and take our ground vpon the weakeft and leaft, the which if they feeme great, then muft that needes appeare great, which wee would amplifie and increase. As Tullie against Catiline. My ferauants in good foth, if they feared me in fuch fort, as all the Citizens doe feare thee: I would thinke it beft for me to forfake my houfe. Thus by vſing the leaft first, this fentence is increafed, fewe ferauants are compared with all the Citizens, bondmen are compared with free men: Tullie their Maifter, is compared with Catiline the Traytour, which was neither Lorde nor ruler ouer the Citizeins: and Tullies houfe is compared with the Citie.

By comparing of examples, we vſe also to encrease our matter. As thus. Did the Maior of London thruft through Jacke Strawe, being but a verlet rebell, and onely disquieting the Citie: and shal the King fuffer Captaine Kete to liue in Englands ground, and enjoye the fruities of the Realme, being a moft tyrannous Traytour, and such a Rebell as fought to ouerthrowe the whole Realme.

Here
Here is Jacke Strawe compared with Captain Kete, the City of London with the whole Realme, the Maior with the King. So that if he which is a private person, and hath no power of death, might punish with death the disquieting of a City: the King himselfe having all power in his hand, may justly punish him, that seeketh to overthrowe his whole Realme.

The places of Logique helpe oft for Amplification. As where men have a wrong opinion, and think Theft a greater fault then Slaunber, one might prove the contrarie, as well by circumstances, as by arguments. And first he might shewe that Slaunber is Theft, and every Slaunberer is a Theefe. For as well the Slaunberer as the Theefe, doe take away another mans possession against the owners will. After that he might shewe, that a Slaunberer is worse then any Theefe, because a good name is better then all the goodes in the world, and that the losse of money may be recovered, but the losse of a mans good name, cannot bee called backe againe, and a Theefe may restore that againe, which he hath taken away, but a Slaunberer cannot give a man his good name againe, which he hath taken from him. Againe, he that stealeth goodes or cattell, robbes onely but one man, but an euill tongued man infecteth all their minde: vnto whose eares this report shall come.

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

By contraries set together, things oftentimes appear greater. As if one should set Lukes Velvet against Geane Veluet, the Lukes will appeare better, and the Geane will seeme worser. Or set a faire woman against a foule, and she shall seeme much the fairer, and the other much the fouler. According whereunto there is a saying in Logique: Contraria inter se opposita magis eluescunt. That is to say. Contraries being set the one against the other, appeare more evident. Therefore, if any one be disposed to set forth chastitie, he may bring in of the contrary part whoredome, and shewe what a foule offence it is to live so uncleannely, and then the deformity of whoredome, shall much set forth chastitie: or if one bee disposed to persuade his fellowe to learning and knowledge, he may shewe of the contrarie, what a naked wretch man is: yea, how much a man is no man, and the life no life, when learning once wanteth. The like helpe we maie haue by comparing like examples together, either of creatures living or of things not living: as in speaking of constancie, to shewe the Sunne, who euer keepeth one course: in speaking of inconstancie, to shewe the Moone which keepeth no certaine course. Againe, in young Storkes, we may take an example of loue towards their damme, for when she is old, and not able for her crooked bill to picke meate, the yong ones feede her. In yong Vipers, there is a contrary example (for as Plinie saith) they eate out their dammes wombe, and so come forth. In Henes there is a care to bring vp their Chickens: in Egles the contrary, which cast out their Egges, if they have any moe then three: and all because they would not be troubled with bringing vp of many.

There is also a notable kinde of amplification, when we would extenuate and make lefse great faultes, which before wee did largely increase: to the ende that other faultes might seeme the greatest aboue all other. As if one had robbed his Maister, thrust his fellowe through the arme, accompanied with Harlots, kept the Tauerne till he had bene as dronke as a Ratte. To say after a large Inuictiuue, against all these offences. You haue heard a whole Court role of Ribaundrie,
and yet all these are but flea bitings, in respect and comparison of that, which I shall now shew you. Who doth not looke for maruellous great matter, and a most hainous offence, when these faultes that are thought most greeuous, are coumpted but flea bytinges, in respect and comparison of that, which he mindeth to rehearse? In like maner one might exhort the people to godliness, and whereas he hath set forth all the commodities that followe the same, as in shewing a quiet conscience, not giltie of any great fault, the libertie of the Spirite, the peace which we haue with GOD, the fellowshippe with all the elect, for the seruant of Sathan, to bee the sonne of God, the comfort of the soule, the greatness whereof no man is able to conceiue: to say at length, and what can be greater, what can be more excellent, or more blisfull? And yet all these are small matters, if they be compared with the blessed inheritanunce of the ever liuing God, prepared for all those that liue godly here vpon earth, fastning their whole trust vpon Chriſt aboue, which both is able, and will faue all thofe, that call vnto him with faith.

We doe encreafe our caufe by reafoning the matter, and caſting our account, when either by things that followe, or by things that goe before, or els by fuch things as are annexed with the matter, wee giue sentence how great the thing is. By things going before, I judge when I fee an envious or haftie man, fight with an other as haftie, that there is like to bee bloudfhed. As who should say, can envious or haftie men match together, but that they muſt needes trie the matter with bloudfhedding. Assuredly it cannot be otherwise, but that blood muſt appeafe their rage. Likewise, feing two wise men earneſtly talking together, I cannot otherwife judge, but that their talke muſt needes bee wittie, and concerne fome weightie matter. For to what ende should wise men ioyne, or wherefore should they laie their heddes together, if it were not for fome earneſt caufe? What a shame is it for a strong man, of much health, and great manhood, to be overcome with a cuppe of drinke. From things ioyned with the caufe, thus. A woman hauing her houſband emprifoned, and in daunger of death, fodainly stept before the King and craued his pardon. Bold was that woman, which durft aduenture to kneele before a King,
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whom husband had so greeoufully offended. Though women
by nature are fearefull, yet in her appeared a manly stomach, and a good bolde harte, yea, euery in greatest daunger. By
things that followe, thus. All England lament the death of
Duke Henry, and Duke Charles, two noble brethren of the
house of Suffolk. Then may we well iudge that these two
Gentlemen, were wonderfully beloued, when they both were
so lamented.

There is a kinde of amplifying, when in speaking of two
that fought together, we praife him much that had the worfe
because we would the other to haue more praife. Considering
for a man to beate a boye, it were no praife, but for a tall
man to match with an other, that were as tall as him self:
that were somwhat worth. Therefore, I would haue the
Scottes well praifed, whom the Englishmen haue so often
vanquished. He that praifeth much the strong holde of
Boleine, muft needes thereby praife King Henry the eight of
Englande, who by Martiall power wonne it, and kept it all
his life tyme. Or thus: such a one keepes a maruellous good
house, for the worft boye in his house, drinkes one and the
same drinke with his Maister: and all one bread, yea, euery
one hath his meate in filuer, Chamber vesseles, and all are of
siluer. Wee iudge by Apparell, by Armour, or by harnesse,
what a man is of stature or bignes. We iudge by occasion
the goodnes of men, as when they might haue done harme,
they would not: when they might haue slaine, they fought
rather to faue. From the place were one is, encrease may be
gathered. As thus. Being euen in the Court he was neuer
moued to gaming: being at Rome, he hated Harlotts, where
there is by report, so great plentie as there are starres in the
Element.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We encrease our cause, by heaping of words and sentences together, touching many reaons into one corner, which before were scattered abroade, to the intent that our talke might appere more vehement. As when by many coniedhires Amplification by coniectures, we gather that one is an offendour, by heaping them all into one plumpe, which before were sparpled abroade, and therefore did but little good. As thus: to proue by coniectures, a murder committed, I might thus say, against a suspected person. My Lordes, doe not weye my wordes and sentences feueraly, but confider them altogether. If the accused person here, shal receive profite by this other mans death, if his life heretofore hath euer been euill, his nature couetous, his wealth most slender, and that this dead mans goods could turne to no mans auaile so much, as vnto this accused person, and that no man could so easly dispatch hym, and that this man could by no better meanes compasse his desire, and that nothing hath beeue vnattempted, which might further his naughtie purpose, and nothing done, that was
was thought needleffe, and seeing a meete place, was chiefly sought for, and occasion served very well, and the tyme was most apt for such an attempt, and many meanes heretofore devised to compass this offence, and great hope both to keepe it close, and also to dispatche it, and besides that, seeing this man was seene alone, a little before in the same place where this other man was slaine, and that this mans voyce which did slay him was heard a little before in the same place, where this other man was slaine, and seeing it is well knowne that this man came home late the same night, and the next day after being examined, did answer confusedly, fearfully, and as though he were amazed, and seeing all these things are partly shewed by witnesses, partly by good reason, partly by his owne confession, and partly by the reporte that commonly goeth of hym, which by like is not spoken without some ground: It shall be your partes, worthy Judges, weying all these things together, to giue certaine judgement of him for his offence, and not to thinke it a matter of suspicion. For it might have been, that three or fower of these conjectures being prooued, might giue but only a cause of suspicion, but whereas all these together are plainly proued by him, it can not be otherwise but that he hath offended.

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

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

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Of mouing affections.

Because the beautie of amplifying, standeth moft in apt
mouing of affections: It is needfull to speake somewhat
in this behalfe, that the better it may be knowne what they
are, and howe it may bee vsed. Affections therefore (called
Passions) are none other thing, but a stirring or forfing of the
minde, either to desire, or els to detest and loth any thing,
more vehemently then by nature we are commonly wont to doe.
We desire those things, we loue them, and like them earnestly,
that appeare in our judgement to be godly: wee hate and
abhorre those things that feeme naught, vngodly, or harmefull
vnto vs. Neither onely are wee moued with those things, which
wee thinke either hurtful, or profitable for our selues, but also
we rejoyce, we be forie, or wee pittie an other mans happe.

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

Such a man is an excellent fellow (faith one) he can speake the tongues well, he plaies of Instruments, fewe men better, he feigneth to the Lute, maruells sweetely, he endites excellently, but for all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, he will be dronke once a day, he loues women well, he will spend Gods Coope if he had it, he will not tary long in one place, and he is somewhat large of his tongue. That if these faultes were not, surely he were an excellent fellowe. Euen as one should faie: if it were not for lying and stealing, there were not an honester man then such a one is, that perchaunce hath some one good qualitie to set him forward. These buttes be too broade, and these barres be over bigge, for looke what is giuen to one by commending, the same is straight taken away by butting. Therefore, such are not to bee liked that giue a man a shoulder of Mutton, and breake his head with the Spitte when they haue done. And yet, this is many a mans nature, especially, where enuie hath any grounded dwelling place, whose propertie is alwaies to speake nothing of other, without reproach and slaunder.

In movinge affections, and stirring the Judges to be greeued, the waight of the matter muft be set forth, as though they fawe it plaine before their eyes, the report muft be such, and the offence made so hainous, that the like hath not bene seen heretofore, and all the circumftaunce muft thus be heaped together: The naughtinesse of his nature that did the deede, the cruell ordering, the wicked dealing, and malicious handling, the tyme, the place, the maner of his doing, and the wickednesse of his will to haue done more. The man that sustaine the wrong, how litle he deserued, how well hee was esteemed among his neighbours, how small cause he gave him, how great lack men haue of him. Now, if this be not reformed,

If one be beaten blacke and blewe, we take it greeuously: But if one be slaine, wee are much more troubled. Againe, if a slave or ruffine shall doe such a deed, we are displeased: but if an officer, a Preacher, or an hed Gentleman should use any slavery, we are much more greeued. Yea, for if a very notable euill man commit such an horrible offence, wee thinke him worthie to haue the leffe fauour. If a sturdie fellow be stroken, wee are not so much disquieted, as if a childe, a woman, an aged man, a good man, or a chiefe officer, should be euil used. If the offence be committed vpon a prepented minde, and wilfully, wee make much more a doe, then if it were done by chauncemedy. If it be done vpon an holy daie, or els vpon the day of Assis, or vpon the daie of a Kings Coronation, or about such a solemne time, or if it be done in the night, rather then at noone daies, we make the matter greater, then if it had bee done at an other time. In the Court if one strike a man, it is thought greater, then if he should strike him in the open streate. The maner of doing alfo, doth much moue the pacience of men, as if one should cowardly kill one, and strike him sodainely, he were worthie greater blame, then if hee should manfully set vpon him: or if one kill his fellowe secretly with a Gunne, he were worthie more hatred, then if he killed him with a sword, or if he wounded him sore, or cruelly mangleed him, we
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we crie out much more then if he had barely killed him. And last of all, if his will had bene to have done much more then how much he did: we encrease our anger against his rage much more, he wold then ever wee would els haue done.

Of moving pitie.

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

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

Neither can any good bee done at all, when wee haue sayd all that euuer we can, except we bring the same affections in our own harte, the which we would the judges mould beare towards our owne matter. For how can he be greeued with the reporte of any hainous act, either in stomaking the naughtinesse of the deed, or in bewayling the miserable misfortune of the thing, or in fearing much, the like euill hereafter: except the Oratour himselfe utter such passions outwardly, and from his heart fetch his complaints in such forte, that the matter may appeare, both more greeuous to the eare, and therewith so hainous, that it requires earnestly a speedie reformation? There is no substaunce of it selfe, that will take fire, except ye put fire to it. Likewise, no mans nature is so apt, straight to be heated, except the Oratour himselfe, be on fire, and bring his heate with him. It is a common saying, nothing kindleth sooner then fire.
And therefore a fierie stomacke causeth euermore a fierie tongue. And he that is heated with zeale and godlineffe, shall set other on fire with like affection. No one man can better enueigh against vice, then he can do which hateth vice with all his heart. Againe, nothing moisture then water. Therefore, a weeping eye causeth much moisture, and prouoketh teares. Neither is it any maruaile, for such men, both in their countenaunce, tongue, eyes, gesture, and in all their body els, declare an outward griefe, and with wordes so vehemently and vnfeinedly sets it forward, that they will force a man to be forie with them, and take part with their teares euen against his wil. Notwithstanding when such affections are moved, it were good not to stand long in them. For though a vehement talke may move teares, yet no arte can long holde them. For as Cicero doth say, nothing drieth sooner than teares, especially when we lament an other mans cause, and be forie with him for his sake.

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

Of deliting the hearers, and stirring them to laughter.

Considering the dulnesse of mans Nature, that neither it can be attentuie to heare, nor yet stirred to like or allow any tale long told, except it be refreash'd, or finde some sweete delight: the learned haue by witte and labour, devised much varietie. Therefore, sometimes in telling a weightie matter, they bring in some heavie tale, and move them to be right forie, whereby the hearers are more attentuie. But after when they are wearied, either with tediousnesse of the matter, or heavinesse of the report: some pleasaunt matter is inuented, both to quicken them againe, and also to keepe them from facietie. But surely fewe there be that haue this gift, in due time to cheare men. Neither can any do it, whom Nature hath not framed, and giuen an aptnesse thereunto.

Some mans countenaunce wil make pastime, though he speake neuer a worde. Yea, a foolish worde vttered by an apt
apt man, or a gesture strangely vfed by some pleafaunt bodie, fettes men full oft vpon a laughter. And whereas fome thinke it a trifle to haue this gift, and fo easie, that euery varlet or common iefture, is able to matche with the bext: yet it appeareth that they which vterly can be pleafaunt, and when time ferueth can giue a merie aunfwere, or vfe a nipping taunt, shall be able to abafhe a right worthie man, and make him at his wittes ende, through the sodaine quicke, and vnlooked frempe giuen. I haue knowne fome fo hitte of the thumbes, that they could not tell in the world, whether it were beft to fight, chide, or to goe their way. And no maruaile: for where the ieft is aptly applied, the hearers laugh immediatly, and who would gladly bee laughed to scorne? Some can pretely by a worde spoken, take occasion to be right merie.

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

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  i. What it is to delite the hearers.  
  ii. Whereof it commeth.  
  iii. Weether an Orator may moue laughter.  
  iiiii. How largely he may goe, and what meafure hee muft vfe.  
  v. What are the kindes of sporting, or mouing to laughter.
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Now to tell you in plaine words, what laughter is, how it stirreth and occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenance, & sodainly brafteth out that we cannot keepe it in: let some mery man on Gods name take this matter in hand: for it paffeth my cunning, & I think eu'ni that can beft moue laughter, would rather laugh merily when fuch a queftion is put forth, then giue anfwere earnestly, what, & how laughter is in deed.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that maketh vs mery (which is the second obferuation) is the fondnes, the filthines,
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filthines, the deformitie, and all such euill behauiour, as we fee to be in other. For we laugh alwaies at those things, which either onely or chiefly touch handsomely, and wittely, some especiall fault, or fond behauiour in some one body, or some one thing. Somtimes we left at a mans bodie, that is not well proportioned, and laugh at his countenance, if either it be not comely by nature, or els he through folly can not well see it. For if his talke be fond, a mery man can want no matter to hitte him home, ye may bee assured. Some ieft is made, when it toucheth no man at all, neither the demaunder, neither the standers by, nor yet any other, and yet deliteth as much the hearers, as any the other can doe. Now when we would abafhe a man, for some words that he hath spoked, and can take none aduauntage of his perfon, or making of his bodie, we either doult him at the first, and make him beleue, that he is no wiser then a Goose: or els we confute wholy his sayings with some pleafaunt ieft, or els we extenuate and diminish his doings by some pretie meanes, or els we caft the like in his dim, and with some other deuise, dash hym out of countenance: or laft of all, we laugh him to fcorne out right, and sometimes speake almost neuer a word, but onely in continuaunce, shewe our felues pleafaunt. But howsoeuer we make fporte, either the delite is vittered by countenance, or by pointing to some thing, or shewed at large by some tale, or els occasion taken by some word spoked.

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

Thus knowing that to moue sporte, is lawfull for an Orator, or any one that shall talke in any open assembly: good it were to knoe what compasse hee should keepe, that shoulde thus bee merie. For feare he take too much ground, and goe beyond his boundes. Therefore, no such should be taunted, or jefted withall, that either are notable euill liuers, and hainous offenders: or els are pitifull caitifes, and wretched beggers. For every one thinketh it a better and a meeter deed, to punish naughtie packes then to scoffe at their euil demeanour: and as for wretched soules or poore bodies, none can beare to haue them mocked, but thinke rather that thei shoulde be pitied, except they foolishly vaunt them selues. Againe, none such should be made any laughing flockes, that either are honest of behauior: or els are generally wel beloued. As for other, we may be bolde to talke with them, and make such game and pastime, as their good wits shal giue good caufe. But yet this one thing, we had neede euer to take with vs, that in all our jefting we keepe a meane, wherein
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wherein not onely it is meet to auoyd all grosse bbourding, and alehouse leffing, but also to eschewe all foolish talke, and Ruffine maners, such as no honest eares can once abide, nor yet any wittie man can like well or allowe.

The deuision of pleasaunt beavour.

Pleasauntnesse, either appeareth in telling a rounde tale, or els in taking occasion of some one worde. The matter is tolde pleafantly, when some mans nature (whereof the tale is tolde) is to set forth his countenaunce so counterfeited, and all his iesture so resembled, that the hearers might judge the thing, to be then liuely done, even as though he were there, whereof the tale was tolde. Some can so liuely set forth an other mans nature, and with such grace report a tale: that few shall be able to forbeare laughter, which knowe both parties, though they would the contrary nuer so faine.

Nowe in counterfeiting after this sorte, if such moderation be not vsed, that the hearer may judge more by himselfe, then the pleasaunt disposed man is willing fully to set forth: it will not be well liked. For, he that exceedeth and telleth all: yea, more then is needefull, without all respect or considera- tion had: the fame shalbe taken for a common iester, such as knowe not how to make an ende, when they once begin, being better acquainted with bible bable, then knowing the fruite of wisedomes lore.

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

Againe, to iest when occasion is giuen, or when the iest may
may touch all men: it is thought to be against all good manner. Therefore, the consideration of time, and moderation of pastime, and seldom using of drie mocks, even when needeth most requireth, make a difference, and shew a severall understanding betwixt a common jest, and a pleasante wiseman.

Now the time requireth, to shew what kindes there are of mowing laughter, and making the heart to be merie: notwithstanding, this would first be learned, that out of divers pleasant speeches, auncient sayings also may be gathered. As for example, we may by one word, both praise a faithfull servant, and if he be naught, we may also jest of him, and praise him. According to that merie saying of Nero, upon his man that was light fingred. I have one at home (quoth he) among all other, to whom there is no coffer lockt, nor doore shut in all my house, meaning that he was a picklocke, and a falso verlet, and yet these words might have been spoken of a faithfull servant.

We shall delight the hearers, when they look for one answer, and we make them a clean contrary, as though we would not seem to understand what they would have. As one Pontidius being fore grieved, that another man had committed Adulterie, came to a friend of his, and said sadly. Ah Lord, what think you sir of him, that was taken in bed of late with another man's wife? Marie (quoth the other) I think him to be a very sluggard. Pontidius, hearing him say so, was abashed at the strangeness of his answer, and looking for no such thing, was driven to laugh at his own error, although before he was much grieved, with the Adulterer's most wicked deed.

One being fore grieved with the evil behaviour of a certain Gentleman, spake his pleasure largely against him, whereupon another merie man, dissembling to take his parte, sayde, he was an honest man then so. Yea (quoth the other) what one thing hath he, whereby to prove himself honest at all? Marie (quoth the man) he hath the Kings Pardon, and what saye you to that?

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

A noble man, that whilome kept a chappell, being disposed to
to serve God, went to his closet devoutly, and made himself
ready to pray, whereupon one came doun in haste, and said to
the chaunter, you must begin sir. The chaunter being a
merry man, answered thus as though he were angry. Begin
quoth he, I will begin with none except they begin with me.
And so made the whole quire that then was ready for singing
to fall straight a laughing. The which is all one, for sing
we, or laugh we, what maketh matter so we be merry.

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

A friend of mine, and a good fellowe, more honest then
wealthie, yea, and more pleasant then thriftie, haung need
of a nagge for his journey that he had in hande, and being
in the countrey, minded to goe to Partnaie faire in Lincoln-
shire, not farre from the place where he then laie, and
meeting by the way one of his acquaintance, told him his
arrande, and asked him how horses went at the Faire. The
other answered merely and sayd, some trotte sir, and some
amble, as farre as I can see. If their paces be altered, I pray
you tell me at our next meeting. And so rid away as fast as
his horse could carry him, without saying any worde more,
whereat he there being alone, fel a laughing hartely to him
self, & looked after a good while, vntill the other was out of
fight.

A Gentleman haung heard a Sermon at Paules, and being
come home, was asked what the preacher said. The Gentle-
man answered he would first heare what his man could faie,
who then waited vpon him, with his hatte and cloake, and

calling
calling his man to him, sayd, nowe sir, what haue you brought from the Sermon. Forsothe good Master, sayd the seruant your cloake and your hatte. A honest true dealing seruant out of doubt, plaine as a packfaddle, hauing a better sole to God, though his witte was simple, then those haue, that vnnder the colour of hearing, giue them selues to priuie picking, and so bring other mens purses home in their bosomes, in the steade of other mens Sermons.

In the time of Pope Julius the second, or Alexander the sixt, I doe not well remember (but either of them both may serue well for this purpose being both warriers, as what Pope is not) it so hapened that a Cardinall of Spaine, hauing charge vnnder the Pope of an Armie, and seing it necessarie, to trie the fortune of bataille, againft the enemies of the Popes holinesse, valiantly encouraged those soldiours, to shew themselues like men, affuring to them that would haftarde their liues, in that conflict, not onely to haue full pardone of their finnes, but also that they shoulde that morning, goe dine with GOD and his Angelles in Heauen. And when he had thus faied, he withdrew himselfe from the bataille. Unto whom a Soldiour saide that was nigh at hand. Right reverend Father, how happeneth your Grace, doeth not withfaue to tarie with vs, that you might also goe dine this morning with God and his Angels. Holde thy peace knaue (quoth the Cardinall) I haue no lift to eate now, it is to earely for mee, my stomacke is not yet come to me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The turning of a worde, and denying that wherewith we are charged, and aunswering a much worfe, doth often mooue the hearer. There was one Bafius, as Quintilian doth tel, which seeing a Ladie called Domitia, to bee very nigh her selue, spake his pleasure of her. Wherupon she being greeued, charged him with these wordees, that hee should fay shee was fuch
such a pinch penie, as would sell her olde shoos for money, wherevpon he aunswered: no forsooth Madame, quoth he, I faied not so, but thefe were my wordes: I faid you bought olde Shoos, fuch as you could get best cheape for money.

The Hollanders wordes are worthie rehearfall, who being a poore man, as Erasmus telleth the tale, had a Cowe or two going in the Commons, wherevpon it happened that an Oxe of a rich man, who then was Maior of the Towne, had gored the poore mans Cowe, and almost killed her. The poore man being in this case halfe vndone, thought notwithstanding by a wittyt deuife, to get right judgement of maifter Maior, for the loffe of his Cowe, if he got nothing els, and therfore thus he framed his tale. Sir, so it is that my Cowe hath gored and almost killed your Oxe. What hath he, quoth he, by Sainct Marie thou shalt pay for him then. Nay, quoth the poore man, I crie you mercie, your Oxe hath gored my Cowe. Ah, quoth the Maior, that is an other matter, we will talke of that hereafter at more leasure.

These wordes were spoken of purpose, but now you shal heare what an olde woman spake of simplicitie. In the doting world when stockes were Saincts, and dumme walles spake, this old grandame was deuoutly kneeling vpon her knees, before the Image of our Lady. Wherevpon a merie fellowe asked her what she meant to crouch and kneele there. Marie, quoth the olde mother, I praie to our Ladie, that she maie praie to her Sonne for me: with that he laughed at her ignoraunce. Wherevpon the thinking that her wordes were spoken amifle, corrected her owne saying in this wife. Nay (quoth she) I pray to Chrift in heauen, that he will pray for me to this good Ladie here.

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

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

Pleasaunt sport made, by rehearsing of a whole matter.

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

Sport moued by telling of old tales.

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

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

In augmenting or diminishing without all reason, wee giue good caufe of much paftime. As Diogenes seeing a pretie towne, having a great paire of gates at the comming in: Take heede quoth he, you men of this towne, leaft your towne run out of your gates. That was a meruailous bigge gate I trowe, or els a wonderfull little towne, where fuch paflage should be made.

A Frier disposed to tell mifteries, opened to the people that the foule of man was fo little, that a leuen thoufand might dance vpon the naile of his thumbe. One meruailing much at that, I pray you maifter Frier quoth hee, where fhall the Pyper ftande then, when fuch a number fhall keepe fo small a roume.

Opening a weightie or vnowne thing.

Augment- or diminish-

Mirth is mooied, when vpon a trifle or a word spoken, an vnknowne matter and weightie affaire is opened. As if one should finde fault with some mans fumptuous building, or other fuch thing, which had found much fauour at the fame mans hande: an other might fay, well sir, he that builded this house, faued your worffhippe from hanging when the time was. A necessarie note for him, thankfully to remember the builder of that house, and not flaunderoufly to speake euill of him.

Diffem- bling.
It is a pleasaunt diffembling, when we speake one thing merily and thinke an other earnestly: or els when wee praife that which otherwise defeueth difpraise, to the shaming of thofe that are taken not to be moft honest.

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

What talke you of such a man (faith an other) there is not an honefter man ye may bee assured. For if a man had neede of one, he is readie at a pinch, his bodie sweates for honestie, if you come to him in a hot Sommers day, you shall see his honestie in such fort to reeke, that it would pitie any Christian soule liuing. He hath more honestie with him then he needes, and therefore both is able and will lende, where it pleaseth him best. Beware of him aboue all men that euer you knewe. He hath no fellowe, there is none such. I thinke he will not liue long, he is so honest a man, the more pitie that such good fellowes shold know what death meaneth. But it maketh no matter when he is gone, al the world will speake of him, his name shal neuer dye, he is so wel knowne uniuerally.

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

This kinde alfo is pretie, when wee gather an other thing by a mans tale, then he would gladlie wee shou’d gather. When Livius Salinator a Romaine Captaine, had kept the Caftell of Tarentum, losing the Towne to Hanniball his enimie, and that Maximus thereupon had laied siege to the fame Toune, and got it againe by the sword: Then Salinator which thus kept the Caftell, defired him to remember, that through his meanes he got the Towne. Why should I not (quoth he) think fo: for if you had neuer loft it, I had neuer got it.

To dissemble sometimes, as though wee understood not what one meant, declareth an apt wit, and much deliteth such as heare it. Diogenes was asked on a time, what Wine he loued beft to drinke. Marie (quoth he) an other mans Wine: meaning that he loued that drinke beft that coft him leaft. The fame Diogenes likewise was asked what one shou’d giue him, to let him haue a blowe at his head. Marie a Helmet, quoth he.

One Oftianius a Libian borne (as witnesseth Macrobius) faied vnto Tullie, when he spake his minde vpon a matter. Sir, I heare you not, I pray you speake louder. No? (quoth Tullie) that is a meruaile to me, for as I doe remember, your eares are well bored through, meaning that he was nailed vpon a Pillorie, or els had holes made in his eares, which might serue (as Tullie iefted) to receiue open aire.

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

When Metellus tooke Munter, and required Cæsar to bee there, not abyding that he shold be absent, though his eyes grieued him, and faid: what man do you fee nothing at al? Yes Mary (quoth Cæsar) as euil as I see, I can fee a Lordship of yours (the which was fower or fiue miles from Rome) declaring that his building was ouer fumptuous, and fo houge withall (much aboue his degree) that a blind man might almoft fee it. Now in thofe daies ouer costly buildings was generally hated, because men fought by fuch meanes to get fame, & beare rule in the Commonweale.

The like alfo is of one Nasica, who when he came to the Poet Ennius, and asked at the gates if Ennius were at home, the mayd of the houfe being fo commaunded by her maifter, made anfwere that he was not within. And when he perceiued, that she fo faied by her maifters commaundement, he went straight his way, and faied no more.

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

It is a pleasaunt hearing, when one is mocked with the fame that he bringeth. As when one Opimius hauing an euill name for his light behauiour, had faied to a pleasaunt man, Egilius that seemed to be wanton of liuing, and yet was not fo: Ah my sweet darling Egilia, when wilt thou come to my house sweete wench, with thy rocke and thy fpindell? I dare not in good faith (quoth she) my mother hath forbidden me, to come in any suspected houfe, where euill rule is kept.
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An Eremite in Italie, professing a meruailous straight life, and eschewing the Cittie dwelt in a Desert, where he made him self a Cauce, wrought by his owne hands with Spade and Shouell, and couering the fame with boughes and earth, lay there in his Couch or Cabine liuing in contemplation, as one that utterly had forsaken the worlde, whereupon he came in great credite with the people, and especially with the women of that Towne, as by Nature women are more apt to beleue, and readier giuen to Superflition then men are. Afterwards it appeared that this Eremites holinesse was altogether counterfeite, and he founde a very lewde man. For it was knowne and well proued, that he had the compaunie of diuers Gentlewomen of that Cittie, & therefore being examined openly, and greeuoufly rebuked, he confessed that he had the vle of diuers Ladies there. Whereupon a Regifter that tooke the note of al their names, being much greeued with his filthie behauiour, especially because he had vfed so many said thus. Ah thou vile man. Is there any other with whom thou haft bene acquainted? Say on beaft and shame the Deuill. The poore Eremite beeing wonderfully rebuked of euery bodie, and meruailous forie of fuch his folies priuely committed, and openly knowne. Saied to the Regifter in this wise. Sir, seeing I am charged to say the trueth, and that the holy mother Church willete me to leaue nothing vnrehearfed, that the rather vppon my plaine confession, I may the sooner haue obfolution: In good faith maifter Regifter (quoth he) I doe not remember any other sauing your wife onely, who was the first and the laft that euer I haue touched, since I made my graue, and therefore if it please you to put her into your booke alfo, you may boldly doe it. For surely she was very louing to me. With that the Regifter in a great heate stode vp, and cafting his pen out of his hand, would haue bene at the Eremite rather then his life. The people laughed hartely, to see the Regifter that was fo hauitie before, to charge the simple Eremite with his wanton solies, to bee in fuch fort touched with his wiues default. And many then there (as young men bee in fuch cases forward) would in any wise, that the Regifter shoulde haue written his wiues name in his owne booke, ad aternam rei memoriam.

Those
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Those leftes are bitter which haue a hid understanding in them, whereof also a man may gather much more then is spoken. A homely fellowe made his wofull lamentation to Diogenes in most pitifull fort, because his wife had hanged her selfe vpon a Figtree, hoping to finde some comfort at his hande. But Diogenes hearing this straunge deede: for the loue of God (quoth he) giue me some slippes of that tree, that I might set them in some Orchard. The fruite liked him wel, and belike he thought that such slippes, would haue bene as good to dispatch noughtie women, as Lime twigges are thought meete to catch wild birds withal.

An Archdeacon beeing nothing so wise as he was wealthie, nor yet so learned as he was worshipfull, asked a yong man once whether he had a good witte or no. Yea Marie fir (quoth he) your witte is good enough, if you keepe it stille and vse it not, for every thing as you knowe, is the worse for the wearing. Thou faieft euen troth (quoth he) for that is the matter that I neuer vsed preaching: for it is nothing but a wafting of witte, and a spending of winde. And yet if I would preach, I thinke I could doe as well as the best of them. Yea fir (quoth he) but yet I would ye shoule not proue it, for feare a strayning your self too much: why? Doest thou feare that (quoth he) nay thou maeft be assur’d, I will neuer preach so long as I liue, God being my good Lord. There are ouer many Heretiques, for good meaning men to speake any thing now adaies. You faie euen troth (quoth the yong man) and so went forth: but to tell all, I had neede to haue time of an other world, or at the leaft to haue breath of an other bodie.

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

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

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

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

Wishing. In speaking againft an euil man, and wishing somewhat therupon, a ieft may feeme delitefull. When an euill man had accused many persons, and none tooke any harme by him, but rather were acquitted from time to time, and taken the sooner for honest men. Now would to Chritses passion, quoth a naughtie fellowe, that he were mine accufer, for then should I bee taken for an honest man also through his accusation. *Demonedes* hauing crooked feete, loft on a time both his shooes, wherevpon he made his prayer to GOD, that his shooes might ferue his feete, that had ftolne them away. A shrewde wifli for him that had the shooes, and better neuer weare shooes, then fteale them so dearly.

Coniectures. Things gathered by coniecuture, to feeme otherwise then they are, delite much the eares being wel applied together. One was charged for robbing a Church, and almost euidently proued to be an offender in that behalf, the said man to saue himselfe harmelleffe, reasoned thus: Why, quoth he, how shoulde this be, I never robed houfe, nor yet was euer faultie
in any offence besides, how then should I presume to rob a Church? I have loued the Church more then any other, and will lousers of the Church robbe the Church? I have giuen to the Church, how happeneth that I am charged to take from the Church, hauing euer so good minde to Church dignitie? Assure your selues they passe litle of the Church that would adventure to rob the Church. They are no Churchmen, they are maisterlesse men, or rather S. Nicolas Clarkes that lacke liuing, and going in Proceffion takes the Church to bee an Hospitall for way fairers, or a pray for poore and needie beggers: but I am no such man.

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

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

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

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

When an vnlearned Phifition (as England lacketh none such) had come to Paufanias a noble Gentleman, and asked him if he were not troubled much with fickneſſe. No sir (quoth he) I am not troubled at all, I thanke GOD, because I vse not thy counſaile. Why doe ye accuse me (quoth the Phifition)
Phifition) that never tried me? Marie (quoth Pausanias) if I had once tried thee, I should never have accused thee, for then had I beene dead, and in my grave many daies agone.

An English Phifition ryding by the way: and seeing a great companie of men gathered together, sent his man to know what the matter was, wherupon his man understanding that one there was appointed to suffer for killing a man: came riding backe in all post haste, and cried to his maister, long before he came at him: get you hence sir, get you hence for Gods loue. What meaneft thou (quoth his maister.) Mary (quoth the servaunt) yonder man shall dye for killing of one man, and you I dare say, haue killed a hundred men in your daies: get you hence therefore for Gods loue if you loue your self.

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

Examples be innumerable that serue for this purpose.

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

Oftentimes wee may graunt to an other, the fame that they will not graunt to vs. When a bafe borne fellow, whose parents were not honeft, had charged Lelius that he did not liue according to his auncefters: yea, but thou doest liue, quoth Lelius, according to thy elders.

One being a gentleman in birth, and vnthriftie in conditions, called an other man in reproach begger and flave. In deede fir, quoth the poore man, you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye will dye one.

An other likewife called Diogenes varlet and caitife, to whom Diogenes anfwered in this wise. In deed fuch a one a begger. haue I bene as thou art now, but fuch a one as I now am, shalt thou neuer be.

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

There is a pleafaunt kinde of dissembling, when two meetes together,
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in outward behauiour. together, and the one cannot well abide the other: and yet they both outwardly strive to use pleasaunt behauiour, and to shewe much courtesie, yea, to contend on both parts, which should passe other in using of faire wordes, and making of lively countenaunces: seeking by dissembling, the one to deceiue the other.

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

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

A Souldier that thought his estimation, stoode most in the vertue of his hand Gunne, made a meruailous bragge of it, and faied he was able to shooote leauell a great deale farther, then any one there would beleue him to say trueth: whereupon he called his man to beare witneffe of the same, and asked him whether it were so or no. In deede, quoth his man, you say trueth, but then you must remember sir, you had the winde with you when you shott so farre. Belike he thought, there would neuer come such a Winde againe.

§ Of disposition and apt ordering of things.

I Haue travailed hetherto in teaching the right way, to finde meete matter for every caufe, using Arte as my slender witte could best yeeld. And now, next and immediatly after inention, I thinke meete to speake of framing, and placing an Oration in order, that the matter being aptly setled and couched together: might better please the hearers, & with more ease be learned of al men. And the rather I am earnest in this behalf, because I know that al things stande by order, and without order nothing can be. For by an order we are borne, by an order we liue, and by an order we make our ende.
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ende. By an order and rule as head, and other obey as members. By an order Realmes stand, and Lawes take form. Yea, by an order the whole worke of Nature, and the perfite state of all the Elements haue their appointed course. By an order wee deve, wee learne and frame our doings to good purpofe. By an order the Carpenter hath his squire, his Rule, and his Plomet. The Taylour his Metyard and his Measure: The Mason his Former, and his Plaine, and every one according to his calling, frameth things thereafter. For though matter be had, and that in great plentie: yet all is to no purpose, if an order be not vfed. As for example. What availeth Stone, if Masons doe not worke it? What good doth cloath, if Taylours take no measure, or doe not cut it out? Though Timber bee had for making a Ship, and all other things necessarie, yet the Ship shall never be perfite, till workmen beginne to fet to their hands, and joyn it together. In what a comely order hath God made man, whole shape is not thought perfite, if any part be altered? Yea, all folke would take him for a Monfter, whose feete should occupie the place of his handes. An armie never getteth victorie that is not in array, and set in good order of battaile. So an Oration hath little force with it, and doth smally profite, which is utterd without all order. And needes muft he wander, that knowes not howe to goe, neither can hee otherwise chuse but ftumble: that groping in the darke, cannot tell where he is: yea, he muft needes both leave much unspoken, repeate often thinges spoken before not knowing what, nor where to speake best: that giues himfelfe rather to take the chaunce of fortune, then to follow the right waie of aduised counfaile. What should a man doe with a weapon, that knoweth not how to vse it? What though one haue mountaines of golde, what availeth him to haue such heapes, if he cannot tell how to bestowe them? It is not enough to haue learning, but it is all to vse learning. Therefore, because this part of bestowing matter, and placing it in good order is so necessarie. I wil shewe what the learned haue saied in this behalfe, so much as I shall thinke it needfull.

§ Disposition what it is.

Disposition as Tullie doth define it: is a certaine bestow-ling of things, and an apt declaring what is mee for every part, as time and place doe best require.
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Dividing of disposition.

Here are two kindes of disposing, and placing of matter. The one is, when we followe the appointed rule of Rhetorique, the which Nature doth almost teach vs: The other is wholie fashioned by the discretion of him that makes the Oration.

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

If the iudge or the hearers, shalbe wearied with other reportes before, it is best to go to the matter, and proue it out of hande, with as briefe reasons and as strong as can be gathered possible. And in prouing of our matters we had neede euermore, rather to weye our reasons, then to number them, and thinke not that then we shall doe better when we haue the strongest. And first of all the strongest should be used, and the other placed in the middeft of the oration, the which being heaped together will make a good mustar. And yet this also would be learned, whereas we used the best reasons at the first, we should also refere some that were like good for the latter end: that the hearers might haue them fresh in their remembrance, when they
they should give judgement. The slender reasons that can do less good, and yet not at all (for some may better be omitted) would be placed in the midst (as I said) that both they might be less marked, or being heaped together they might do more good, especially when both weightie reasons went before, and weightie reasons also followed after. Now a wise man that hath good experience in these affairs, and is able to make himself a Rhetorique for every matter, will not be bound to any precise rules, nor keep any one order, but such only as by reason he shall think best to use, being matter over art, rather then art should be master over him, rather making art by wit, then confusing wit by art. And undoubtedly even in so doing he shall do right well, and content the hearers accordingly. For what mattereth whether we follow our booke or no, if we follow wit and appoint our self an order, such as may declare the truth more plainly? Yea, some that be unlearned, and yet have right good wittes: will devise with themselves without any booke learning, that they will say, and how much they will faie, appointing their order, and parting it into three or four parts or more if neede be, such as they shall thinke especiall points, and most meete to bee touched. Whose doings as I can well like, and much commend them for the same: so I would thinke them much more able to doe much better: If they either by learning followed a paterne, or els knewe the precepts which lead vs to right order. Rules were therefore giuen, and by much observation gathered together, that those which could not see Arte hid in an other mans doings, should yet see the rules open, all in an order set together: and thereby judge the rather of their doings, and by earnest imitation, seeke to resemble such their inuention. I can not deny, but that a right wise man unlearned, shall doe more good by his Naturall witte, then twentie of these common wittes that want Nature to helpe Arte. And I knowe that rules were made first by wisemen, and not wisemen made by rules. For these precepts serve onely to helpe our neede, such as by Nature have not such plentifull gifts. And as for other unto whom Nature is more fauourable, they are rather put the sooner in remembrance, that such lessons are then so taught as though they neuer knewe them, or els neuer
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neuer would vfe them. And therefore a certain learned man and of much excellencie, being afked what was such a figure, and such a trope in Rhetorique: I can not tell (quoth he) but I am asfured, if you looke in the booke of mine Orations, you fhall not faile but find them. So that though he knewe not the name of such, and such figures, yet the Nature of them was fo familiare to his knowledge, that he had the vfe of them when foever he had neede. Now though this man could well thus doe, being of such notable vnderstanding, yet it were foly that I should followe his waie, which want fo good a wit. And I thinke euen he him felfe fhould not haue loft by it neither, if he had feen that in a glaffe, which he often vfed to doe without knowledge. Man is forgetfull, and there is none fo wise but counfaill may doe him good. Yea, he fhall doe much better that knoweth what arte other men haue vfed, what inuention they haue followed, what order they haue kept, and how they haue bfeft done in euery parte. If he like not theirs, he may vfe his owne, and yet none doth fo euill (I thinke) but fome good may be got by him.

The wise therefore will not refuse to heare:
and the ignoraunt for want had neede to seeke a will.

The ende of the second booke.

The third Booke.

Of apt chusing and framing of words and sentences together, called Elocution.

AND now we are come to that part of Rhetorique, the which aboue all other is moft beautifull, wherby not onely words are aptly vfed, but alfo sentences are in right order framed. For whereas Inuention helpeth to finde matter, and Disposition serueth to place arguments: Elocution getteth words to set forth inuention, and with such beautie commendeth the matter, that reafon femeth to be clad in Purple, walking afore both bare and naked. Therefore Tullie faieth well, to finde out reafon and aptly to frame it, is the part of a wifeman, but to commende it by wordes and with gorgious talke to tell our conceipt, that is onely proper to an Oratour. Many are wise, but fewe haue the gift to set forth
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forth their wisedome. Many can tel their mind in English, but fewe can vse meete termes and apt order: such as all men shoulde haue, and wisemen will vse: such as needes must bee had when matters should be vutterd. Now then what is he at whom al men wonder, and fiand in a maie at the vewe of his wit: whose doings are best esteemed? Whom we doe moost reverence, and compt half a God among men? Euen such a one assuredly that can plainly, distinctly, plentifully and aptly, vutter both words and matter, and his talke can vse such composition, that he may appere to keepe an uniformitie, and (as I might faie) a number in the vuttering of his sentence. Now an eloquent man being smally learned can much more good in perfwading by shift of wordes, and meete placing of matter: then a great learned clarke shalbe able with great flore of learning, wanting words to set forth his meaning. Wherefore I much meruaile that so many seke the onely knowledge of things, without any mind to commend or set forth their intendement: seing none can knowe either what thei are, or what they haue without the gift of vutterance. Yea bring them to speake their minde, and enter in talke with such as are saine to be learned, and you shal finde in them such lacke of vttrance, that if you iudge them by their tongue, and expressing of their minde: you muft needes say they haue no learning. Wherin me thinkes they do like some rich snudges haung great wealth, goe with their hofe out at heeles, their shoes out at toes, and their coates out at both elbowes. For who can tell if such men are woorth a groate, when their apparell is so homely, and all their behauiour so base? I can call them by none other name but fouens, that may haue good geare, and neither can nor yet wil once weare it cleny. What is a good thing to a man, if he neither nowe the use of it, nor yet (though he knowe it) is able at all to vse it? If we think it comelineffe and honetie to set forth the bodie with handsome apparell, and thinke them worthy to haue money, that both can and will vse it accordingly: I can not otherwise see but that this part deserueth praife, which standeth wholy in setting forth matter, by apt wordes and sentences together, and beautifieth the tongue with great chaunge of colours, and varietie of figures.
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Fower partes belonging to Elcution.

1. Plainneffe.
2. Aptneffe.
3. Composition.
4. Exornation.

Plainneffe, what it is.

Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that we never affect any strange vnkeborne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seeking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer-carelesse vsing our speeche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were alioe, thei were not able to tell what they say: and yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man shoule charge them for counterfeiting the Kings English. Some farre journeyed gentleman at their returne home, like as they loue to goe in foraine apparell, so thei wil pouder their talke with ouersea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer bluſh at the matter. An other chops in with English Italienated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that profeſſeth to utter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of strange antiquitie. The Lawyer will store his stomacke with the prating of Pedlers. The Auditor in making his accompt and reckening, cometh in with fie fould, and cater denere, for viis. iiiid. The fine courtier wil talke nothing but Chauuer. The misticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blinde Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkenſe, especially, when none can tell what they doe say. The vnlearned or foolish phantaſcally, that smelles but of learning (ſuch fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil fo Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely they speake by some reuelation. I know them that thinke Rhetorique to stande wholie vpon darke wordes, and hee that can catche an ynke horne terme by the tale, him they coumpt to be a fine Englisheman, and a good Rhetorician. And the rather to set out this foly, I will addde fuch
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such a letter as William Sommer himself, could not make a better for that purpose. Some will think and swear it too, that there was never any such thing written: well, I will not force any man to believe it, but I will say thus much, and abide by it too, the like have been made heretofore, and praised above the Moone.

A letter devised by a Lincolnshire man, for a voyde benefice, to a gentleman that then waited upon the Lorde Chauncellour, for the time being.

Pondering, expending, and resolving with myself, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacity for mundane affaires: I cannot but celebrate, & extol your magnificent dexteritie above all other. For how could you have adopted such illustrious prerogative, and dominical superiority, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnant. Now therefore being accersited to such splendente renoume, and dignitie spendidious: I doubt not but you will adiuuate such poore adnichilate orphanes, as whilome ware disciples with you, and of antique familiaritie in Lincolnshire. Among whom I being a Scholasticall companion, obtestate your sublimitie, to extoll mine infirmitie. There is a Sacerdotall dignitie in my native Countrey contiguate to me, where I now contemplate: which your worshipfull benignitie could sole impetrare for mee, if it would like you to extend your sedules, and collaude me in them to the right honourable lord Chaunceller, or rather Archgrammacian of Englande. You know my literature, you knowe the pastorall promotion, I obtestate your clemencie, to inuigilate thus much for me, according to my confidence, and as you knowe my condigne merites for such a compendious living. But now I relinquish to fatigate your intelligence, with any more frivolous verbozity, and therefore he that rules the climates, be evermore your beautreur, your forterre, and your bulwarke. Amen.

Dated at my Dome, or rather Mansion place in Lincolnshire, the penulte of the moneth Sextile. Anno Millimo, quillo, trillo. Per me Ioannes Obst.

What wiseman reading this Letter, will not take him for a very Caulf that made it in good earnest, and thought by his inke pot terms to get a good Parsonage. Doeth wit rest
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in strange wordes, or els standeth it in wholesome matter, and apt declaring of a mans minde? Doe wee not speake because we would haue other to vnderstande vs, or is not the tongue giuen for this ende, that one might know what an other meaneth? And what vnlearned man can tel, what half this letter signifieth? Therfore, either we must make a difference of English, and say some is learned English and other some is rude English, or the one is court talke, the other is countrey speech, or els we must of necessitie banish all such Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of language. When I was in Cambridge, and student in the kings College, there came a man out of the toune with a pint of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the prouost of that house, that lately came from the court. And because he would bestow his present like a clarke, dwelling among the scholers: he made humblie his three curtesies and sayd in this maner. Cha good euen my good Lord, and well might your Lordfhip vare, understanding that your Lordshippe was come, and knowing that you are a worshipfull Pilate, and keepes abominable house: I thought it my duetie to come incantuante, and bring you a pottell of wine, the which I befech your Lordship take in good worth. Here the simple man, being desirous to amend his mothers tongue, shewing himselfe not to bee the wisest man that euer spake with tongue.

An other good fellowe of the countrey, being an Officer and Maior of a toune, and desirous to speake like a fine learned man, hauing iust occasion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, sayd after this wise in a great heate. Thou Roperipe yngrame and vacation knaue, if I take thee any more within the Circumcision of my damnation: I will so corrupt thee, that all other vacation knaues shall take ilsample by thee.

An other standing in much neede of money, and desirous to haue some helpe, at a gentlemans hande, made his complainte in this wise. I pray you sir be so good vnto me, as forbeare this halfe yeres rent. For so help me God and halidome, we are so taken on with contrary Bishops, with reuuiues, and with Southsides to the King, that all our money is cleane gone. These words he spake for Contribution, Releeft, and Subsidie. And thus we see that poore simple men are much troubled, and talke oftentimes they knowe not what.
what for lacke of wit, and want of Latine and French, whereof many of our strange wordes full often are deriv'd. Those therefore that will eschew this folly, and acquaint themselves with the best kind of speech, must seek from time to time such wordes as are commonly receiued, and such as properly may expresse in plaine manner, the whole conceipt of their minde. And looke what wordes we best vnderstande, and knowe what they meane: the same should soonest be spoken, and first applied to the utterance of our purpose.

Now whereas wordes be receiued, aswell Greeke as Latine, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because we would enrich the language: it is well done to vse them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation, when all other are agreed to followe the same waie. There is no man agreed when he heareth (Letters Patents) and yet Patentes is Latine, and signifieth open to all men. The Communion is a fellowship, or a coming together, rather Latin then English: the kings prerogatiue declareth his power roiall aboue al other, and yet I know no man greeued for thefe termes, being vfed in their place, nor yet any one suspected for affectation, when such generall wordes are spoken. The folie is espied, when either we will vse such wordes as fewe men doe vse, or vse them out of place, when an other might serue much better. Therefore to avoide such folly, we may learne of that most excellent Oratour Tullie, who in his third booke, where he speaketh of a perfect Oratour, declareth vnder the name of C tius, that for the choise of words fewer things should chiefly be observed. First that such words as we vse, should be proper vnto the tongue wherein wee speake, againe, that they bee plaine for all men to perceiue: thirdly, that they bee apt and meete, most properly to sette out the matter. Fourthly, that words translated from one signification to another (called of the Grecians Tropes) be vset to beautifie the sentence, as precious stones are set in a ring to commend the gold.

Fower things ob-
served for choise of wordes.

Aptness what it is.

Such are thought apt wordes, that properly agree vnto that thing which they signifie, and plainly expresse the nature
nature of the same. Therefore they that have regard of their
estimation do warily speake, and with choise utter wordes
most apt for their purpofe. In weightie causes grave wordes
are thought most needful, that the greatnesse of the matter
may the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So
likewise of other like order must be taken. Albeit some not
only doe not obferue this kind of aptnesse, but also they doe
fal into much fondnes, by using words out of place, and
applying them to divers matters without all discretion. As
thus. An ignorant fellowe comming to a gentlemans place,
and seeing a great flocke of sheepe in his pasturie, saied to the
owner of them, nowe by my trueth sir, here is as goodly an
audience of sheepe as euer I sawe in my life. Who will not
take this fellowe meeter to talke with sheepe, then speake
among men?

An other likewise seeing an house faire builded, said to his
fellow thus: good lord what a handsome phrase of building is
this? Thus are good words euill vfed, when they are not
wel applied and spoken to good purpofe. Therefore I wish that
such vntowarde speaking, may giue vs a good lefson to vse our
tongue warely, that our wordes and matter may still agree
together.

Of Composition.

When wee haue learned usuall and accustomable words
to set forth our meaning, we ought to ioyne them
together in apt order, that the Eare maie delite in hear-
ning the harmonie. I knowe some Englishmen that in this
point haue such a gift in the English, as fewe Latine hath
the like, and therefore delite the wise and learned so much
with their pleasaunt composition: that many reioyce when
they may heare such, and thinke much learning is got when
they may talke with them. -Composition therfore is an apt
ioyning together of wordes in such order, that neither the care
shall efpie any ierre, nor yet any man shalbe dulled with
ouerlong drawing out of a sentence, nor yet much confounded
with mingling of causes such as are needeleffe, being heaped
together without reafon, and vfed without number. For by
such meanes the hearers will be forced to forget full ofte,
what was sayd first, before the sentence bee halfe ended: or
eels be blinded with confounding of many things together.
Some againe will be fo short, and in such wise curtall their sentences, that they had neede to make a commentary immediatly of their meaning, or els the moft that heare them shalbe forced to keepe counfaill.

Some will speake Oracles, that a man can not tell which way to take them, some will bee fo fine and fo poetical withall, that to their seeming there shall not finde one haire a miffe, and yet euery body els shall thinke them meeter for a Ladies chamber, then for an earnest matter in any open assemblie.

Some will roue fo much and bable fo farre without order, that a man would thinke they had a greate loue to heare them selues speake.

Some repeate one worde fo often, that if such wordes could be eaten, and chopt in so oft as they are vttered out, they would choke the widift throte in al England. As thus. If a man knew what a mans life were, no man for any mans fake woulde kill any man, but one man would rather helpe an other man, considering man is borne for man to helpe man, and not to hate man. What man would not be choked, if he chopt al these men at once into his mouth, and neuer dronke after it?

Some vfe ouermuch repetition of some one letter, as pitifull pouertie praieth for a penie, but puffed presumption pafleth not a point, pampering his panch with pestilent pleafure, procuring his passeport to pofte it to hell pit, there to bee punished with paines perpetuall. Some will fo fet their words, that they must be faine to gape after euery word fpoken, ending one word with a vowell, and beginning the next with an other, which undoubtedly maketh the talke to feeme moft vnpleafaunt. As thus. Equitie assurledly euery iniurie auoideth. Some will fet the Cart before the horfe, as thus. My mother and my ehoufe did weare no breches, or that the graie Mare were the better Horfe. And what though it often fo happeneth (God wot the more pitty) yet in speaking at the leaft, let vs keepe a naturall order, and fet the man before the woman for maners fake.

An other comming home in hafte, after a long journey, saieth to his man: Come hether fir knaue, helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praie you fir, giue him leaue first to plucke of your spurres, ere he meddle with your bootes,
or els your man is like to haue a madde plucking. Who is so foolish as to say, the Counfaile and the King, but rather the King and his Counfaile, the Father and the Sonne, and not contrary. And so likewife in all other, as they are in degree first evermore to set them foremost.

The wise therefore talking of divers worthie men together, will first name the worthiest, and keepe a decent order in reporting of their tale. Some end their sentences all alike, making their talke rather to appeare rimed Meeter, then to seeme plaene speche, the which as it much deliteth being meafurably vfed, so it much offendeth when no meane is regarded. I heard a preacher deliting much in this kind of composition, who vfed so often to ende his sentences with wordes like unto that which went before, that in my judgement there was not a dozen sentences in his whole sermon, but they ended all in Rime for the most parte. Some not best disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he might vse some pleasant melody, and so the people might take pleasure divers waies, and dance if they list. Certes there is a meane, and no reason to vse any one thing at all time, feing nothing deliteth (be it never so good) that is alwaies vfed.

Quintilian likeneth the colours of Rhetorique to a mans eye sight. And now (quoth he) I would not haue all the bodie to be full of eyes, or nothing but eyes: for then the other partes should wante their due place and proportion. Some ouer-thwartly sette their wordes, placing some one a mile from his fellowes, not contented with a plaene and easie composition, but seeke to set wordes they can not tell how, and therefore one not liking to bee called, and by print published Doctor of Physicke, would needes bee named a Physicke Doctor, wherein appeared a wonderful composition (as he thought) strange undoubtedly, but whether wise or no, let the learned fit in judgement upon that matter.

An other. As I rose in a Morning (quoth one) I met a Carte full of stones emptie. Belike the man was fasting, when the Cart was full, and yet wee see that through strange composition, his sentence appeareth darke.

Some will tell one thing twentie times, nowe in, nowe out, and when a man would thinke they had almost ended, they are
are ready to beginne againe as freth as euer they were. Such vaine repetitions declare both want of witte, and lacke of learning. Some are so homely in all their doings, and so grofle for their inuention, that they use altogether one maner of trade, and seeke no varietie to eschue tedioufneffe.

Some burden their talke with needleffe copie, and will feeme plentifulfull when they should be short. An other is so curious and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the world what to speake. Every sentence seemeth common, and every worde generally vsed, is thought to be foolish in his wife judgement. Some use so many interpositions, both in their talke and in their writing, that they make their sayings as darke as hell. Thus when faltes be knowne they may bee auoyded: and vertue the sooner may take place, when vice is foreseen and eschued as euill.

Of Exornation.

When wee haue learned apte wordes, and usuall phrases to set foorth our meaning, and can orderly place them without offence to the Eare, wee may boldly commend and beautifie our talke with diuers goodly colours, and delitefull translatons, that our speech may seeme as bright and precious, as a rich ftone is faire and orient.

Exornation, is a gorgious beautifying of the tongue with borowed wordes, and change of sentence or speech with much varietie. First therefore (as Tullie faith) an oration is made to seeme right excellent by the kind felle, by the colour and juice of speech. There are three maner of stiles or inditings, the great or mightie kinde, when we use great wordes, or vehement figures.

The small kinde, when wee moderate our heate by meaner wordes, and use not the most stirring sentences. The lawe kinde, when we use no Metaphores nor translated words, nor yet use any amplifications, but goe plainly to worke, and speake altogether in common wordes. Now in all these three kindes, the Oration is much commended, and appereth notable when wee keepe vs still to that stile which we first professed, and use such wordes as seeme for that kinde of writing most conuenient. Yea, if we minde to encrease or diminish: to be in a heate, or to use moderation. To speake pleasantly or grauely: To be sharpe or soft: to talke lordly,
The arte of Rhetorique.

lordly, or to speake finelly: to waxe aucient or familiare (which all are comprehended vnder one of the other three: we must euer make our wordes apt and agreeable to that kinde of stile which we first began to vs. For as Frenche hoods doe not become Lords: so Parliament robes are vnfitting for Ladies. Comelineffe therefore must euer be vsed, and all things obserued, that are moft meete for every cause, if we looke by attemptes to haue our desire.

There is an other kind of Exornation, that is not egally sparpled throughout the whole Oration, but is so disueuered and parted as fтарres stande in the Firmament, or flowers in a garden, or pretie deuised antiques in a cloth of Arras.

What a figure is.

A Figure is a certaine kinde, either of sentence, Oration, or worde, vsed after some newe or straunge wise, much unlike to that which men commonly vs to speake.

The deuision of figures.

Here are three kindes of figures, the one is, when the nature of wordes is chaunged from one signification to an other, called a Trope, of the Grecians: The other serueth for words when they are not chaunged by nature, but only altered by speaking, called of the Grecians Scheme. The third is, when by diueritie of inuention, a sentence is many wayes spoken, and also matters are amplifhed by heaping examples, by dilating arguments, by comparing of things together, by similitudes, by contraries, and by diuers other like, called by Tullie Exornation of sentences, or colours of Rhetorike.

By all which figures euery Oration may be much beautified, and without the fame, not one can attaine to be coumpted an Oratour, though his learning otherwise be neuer so great.

Of the first use of Tropes.

W hen learned and wisemen gan first to inlarge their tongue, and sought with great utterance of speeche to commende causes: They founde full oft much want of words to set out their meaning. And therfore remembrance things of like nature vnto thos whereof they speake: They vsed such wordes to expresse their mynde, as were most like vnto other. As for example. If I should speake against some notable Pharifey. I might vs translation of wordes in this wise: Yonder man is of a crooked judgement, his wittes are cloudie,
he liueth in deepe darkneffe, dusked altogether with blinde ignorance, and drowned in the raging sea of bottomleffe Superftition. Thus is the ignorant set out by calling him crooked, cloudie, darke, blinde, and drounde in Superftition. All which words are not proper vnto ignorance, but borowed of other things that are of like nature vnto ignorance. For the vnskilfull man hath his witte set out of order, as a mans bodie is set out of ioynt, and thereupon it may be sayd to be crooked. Likewise hee maybee called Cloudie, foras the Cloudes keepe the Sonne shining from vs, so doth his ignorance keepe him blindfolde from the true understanding of thinges. And as when the eyes are out, no man can see any thing: So when parfite judgement is wanting, the troth can not be knowne. And so likewise of all other. Thus as necessitie hath forced vs to borowe wordes translated: So hath time and practize made them to seeme moft pleafaunt, and therefore they are much the rather vfed. Yea when a thing full ofte can not bee expreft by an apt and meete worde, wee doe perceiue (when it is spoken by a worde translated) that the likeffe of that thing, which appeareth in an other word much lighteneth that, which we would moft gladly have perceiued.

And not onely doe men vse tranflation of words (called Tropes) for neede sake, when they can not finde other: but also when they may haue moft apt words at hand, yet will they of a purpose vse translated wordes. And the reaon is this. Men coumpt it, a point of witte, to pafs over such words as are at hand, and to vse such as are farre fetcht in stj, in stj, or els it is because the hearer is ledde by cogitation vpon rehearfall of a Metaphore, and thinketh more by remembrance of a worde translated, then is there expressly spoken: or els because the whole matter seemeth by a similitude to be opened: or laste of all, because every translation is commonly, and for the most part referred to the senses of the bodie, and especially to the sense of seeing, which is the sharpest and quickest aboue all other. For when I shall say that an angrie man someth at the mouth, I am brought in remembrance by this translation to remember a Bore, that in fighting vseth much foming, the which is a foule and lothly sight. And I cause other to thinke that he brake pacience wonderfully, when I set out his rage comparable to a bores foming.
The arte of Rhetorique.

An other being offended with checkes giuen will faie, I maruaile fir what you meane to be euer fnarling at mee, wherein is declared a brutifhneffe, considering he speaketh byting wordes, and much without reafon, and as vncomly as a dog doth, when he fnarreth, the which wee see is nothing seemely. There is nothing in all the worlde, but the fame may haue the name of some other worde, the which by some similitude is like vnto it. Notwithstanding, there ought much wareneffe to be vfed in chofing of words translated, that the fame be not vnlike that thing whervnto it is applied, nor yet that the translation bee vncomely, or such as may giue occaſion of any vn cleane meaning.

A Trope.

Tropes are either of a worde, or a long continued speeche or sentence.

Tropes of a worde are these.
- A Metaphore or translation of wordes.
- Intellection.
- Abufion.
- Transmutation of a worde.
- Transumption.
- Change of name.
- Circumlocution.

Tropes of a long continued speeche or sentences, are these.
- An Allegorie, or inuerfion of wordes.
- Mounting.
- Reſembling of things.
- Similitude.
- Example.

What is a Metaphore?

Metaphore is an alteration of a worde, from the proper and naturall meaning, to that which is not proper, and yet agreeth thereunto by fome likeneſfe, that appereth to be in it.

An Oration is wondereſully enriched, when apte Metaphors are got, and applied to the matter. Neither can any one perfwade
The arte of Rhetorique.

First, we alter a word from that which is in the mind, to that which is in the body. As when we perceive one that hath begiled us, we say, Ah sirrah, I am glad I have smelled you out. Being grieved with a matter, we say commonly we cannot digest it. The lawyer receiving money more than needeth oftentimes, will say to his client without any translation: I feel you well, when the poor man thinketh that he doth well understand his cause, and will help him to some good end. For so commonly we say when we know a man's mind in any thing. This kind of mutation is much used, when we take earnestly of any matter.

From the creature without reason, to that which hath reason.

The second kind of translation is, when we go from the creature without reason, to that which hath reason, or contrary from that which hath reason, to that which hath no reason. As if I should say, such an unreasonable brailer did nothing else but bark like a dog, or like a Fox. Women are said to chatter, burles to grunt, boys to whine, & youngmen to yell. Contrariwise we call a fox false, a Lion proud, and a dog flattering.

From the living, to that which hath no life.

From the living to the not living, we use many translations. As thus. You shall pray for all men, dispersed throughout the face of the earth. The arm of a Tree. The side of a bank. The land crieth for vengeance. From the living to the not living. Hatred buddeth among malicious men, his words flow out of his mouth. I have a whole world of business.

In observing the work of Nature in all several substances we may finde translations at will, then the which nothing is more profitable for any one, that mindeth by his utterance to stirre the hearts of men, either one waie or other.

A wordmaking called of the Grecians Onomatapoeia, is wordmaking when we make wordes of our owne minde, such as bee derived from the nature of things. As to call one Patche or Coulson,
The arte of Rhetorique.

Coulfon, whom we see to doe a thing foolishly, because these two in their tyme were notable fooles. Or when one is lustie, to say Tarataunta, declaring thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delightfull and stirring: or when one would seeme galant, to cry hoigh, whereby also is declared courage. Boyes being greeued will say some one to another: sir, I will cap you, if you use mee thus, and withhold that from me which is mine owne: meaning that he will take his cap from him. Again, when we see one gaiie and gallaunt, we use to say, he courtes it. Quoth one that reasoneth in Divinitie with his fellowe, I like well to reason, but I cannot chappe these textes in Scripture, if I should dye for it: meaning that he could not tell in what Chapter thinges were conteined, although he knewe full well, that there were such sayinges.

Intelllection.

Intelllection, called of the Grecians, Synedochc, is a Trope, when we gather or judge the whole by the part, or part by the whole. As thus: The King is come to London, meaning thereby that other also be come with him. The French man is good to keepe a Fort, or to skirmish on Horsebacke, whereby we declare the French men generally. By the whole, the part thus. All Cambridge sorrowed for the death of Bucer, meaning the most part. All England rejoyceth that Pilgrimage is banisshed, and Idolatrie for euer abolishe: and yet all England is not glad but the most part.

The like phrascs are in the Scripture, as when the Magians came to Hierusalem, and asked where he was that was borne King of the Jewes. Herode start vp being greatly troubled, and all the Citie of Hierusalem with him, and yet all the Citie was not troubled, but the most part. By the signe weunderstand the thing signified: as by an Iuie garland, we judge there is wine to sel. By the signe of a Beare, Bull, Lyon, or any such, we take any house to be an Inne. By eating bread at the Communion, we remember Chrystes death, and by faith receiue him spiritually.

Abusion.

Abusion, called of the Grecians Catechresis, is when for a certaine proper worde, we use that which is most nigh vnto it: as in calling some water, a Fishe Pond, though there be no Fish in it at all. Or els when wee say, there is long talke,
The arte of Rhetorique.

talke, and small matter. Which are spoken unproperly, for wee cannot measure, either talke, or matter by length, or breadth.

Transmutation of a worde.

Transmutation helpeth much for varietie, the which is, when a word hath a proper signification of the owne, and being referred to an other thing, hath an other meaning: the Grecians call it Metonymia, the which is divers waies vsed. When we vs the author of a thing, for the thing self. As thus: Put vpon you the Lord Jesus Christ, that is to say, be i. in liuing such a one as he was. The Pope is banished England, that is to say, all his Superstition and Hipocrisie, either is or should bee gone to the Deuill, by the Kings exprefle will and commaundement. Againe, when that which ii. doth conteine, is vsed for that which is conteined. As thus. I haue dronke an Hoggeshead this weeke: Heauen may reioyce, and Hell may lament, when olde men are not couetous. Contrariwise, when the thing conteined, is vsed for the thing iii. conteyning. As thus. I pray you come to me, that is to say, come to my house. Fowerthly, when by the efficient caufe, the iii. effect is freight gathered thevpon. As thus. The Sunne is vp, that is to say, it is day. This fellowe is good with a long Bowe, that is to say, he shooteth well.

Transumption.

Transumption is, when by degrees wee goe to that, which is to be shewed. As thus. Such a one lieth in a dark Dungeon: now in speaking of darkenesse, we vnderstand closenesse, by closenesse, we gather blacknesse, & by blacknesse, we judge deepenesse.

Change of name.

Chaunge of name, is when for the proper name, some Autonomasia. name of an Office, or other calling is vsed. As thus: The Prophet of God faith: Bleffed are they, whose finnes bee not imputed vnto them, meaning David. The Poet faieth: It is a vertue to eschue vice: wherein I vnderstand Horace.

Circumlocution.

Circumlocution is a large description, either to fet forth Periphrasis. a thing more gorgiously, or els to hide it, if the cares can not beare the open speaking: or when with fewe words, we cannot open our meaning to speake it more largely. Of the first
first thus. The valiant courage of mightie Scipio, subdued the force of Carthage and Numantia. Henry the fifth, the most puissant King of England, with seven thousand men, took the French King prisoner with all the flower of nobility in France. Of the second. When Saul was eating himself upon the ground, David took a piece of his garment, took his weapon that lay by him, and might have slain him. Such a one defiled his body with such an evil woman. For the third part, the large Commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus Englished: are sufficient to shew the use thereof.

§ What is an Allegorie.

An Allegorie is none other thing, but a Metaphor, used throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speaking against a wicked offender, I might say thus. Oh Lord, his nature was so evil, and his wit so wickedly bent, that he meant to bouge the ship, where he himself failed: meaning that he purposed the destruction of his own country. It is euill putting strong Wine into weak vessels, that is to say, it is euill trusting some women with weighty matters. The English Proverbs gathered by John Heywood, help well in this behalf, the which commonly are nothing else but Allegories, and darke devised sentences. Now for the other seven figures, because I minde hereafter to speak more largely of them, and Quintilian thinketh them more meete to be placed among the figures of Exornation, I will not trouble the Reader with double inculation, and twice telling of one tale.

§ Of Schemes, called otherwise sentences of a worde and sentence.

Might tary long time, in declaring the nature of divers Schemes, which are wordes or sentences altered, either by speaking, or writing, contrarie to the vulgare custome of our speech, without chaunging their nature at all: but because I knowe the use of the figures in worde, is not so great in this our tongue, I will runne them ouer, with as much haft as I can.

The division of Schemes.

Strange usig of any worde or sentence, contrary to our dailie wont, is either when we adde or take away a fillable, or
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or a worde, or encrease a sentence by change of speech, contrary to the common maner of speaking.

**Figures of a worde.**

There be called figures of a word, when we change a word and speake it contrary to our vulgare, and dayly speech. Of the which sort, there are fice in number.

1. Addition at the first.
2. Abstraction from the first.
3. Interlacing in the middeft.
4. Cutting from the middeft.
5. Adding at the ende.
6. Cutting from the ende.

**Of Addition.** As thus: He did all to berattle him. 

Wherin appeareth that a stillable is added to this word (rattle). Here is good nale to sell, for good ale.

**Of Abstraction from the first,** thus. As I romed all alone, I gan to thinke of matters great. In which sentence (gan) is vfed, for began.

Interlacing in the middeft. As Relligion, for Religion.

Cutting from the middeft. Idolatrie, for Idololatrie.

Adding at the end. Haften your business, for Haft your business.

Cutting from the ende. A faire maie, for maide.

Thus these figures are shortly set out, and as for the other Schemes, which are vtttered in whole sentences, and expressed by varietie of speech: I will set them forth at large among the colours and ornaments of Elocution, that followe.

*Of colours and ornaments, to commend and set forth an Oration.*

Now, when we are able to frame a sentence handsomely colours of together, obseruing number, and keeping composition, such as shall like best the care, and doe knowe the vse of Tropes, and can apply them to our purpose: then the ornaments are necessarie in an Oration, and sentences would bee furnishe with most beautifull figures. Therefore, to the end that they may be knowne, such as most commend and beautifie an Oration: I will set them forth here in such wise, as I shall best be able, following the order which Tullie hath vfed in his Booke, made of a perfect Oratour.
When we are earnest in a matter, and feel the weight of our cause, we rest upon some reason, which serveth best for our purpose. Wherein this figure appeareth most, and helpeth much to set forth our matter. For if we still keepe vs to our strongest hold, and make oft recours thither, though we be druen through bytalking to goe from it now and then: we shall force them at length, either to auoyd our strong defence, or els to yeeld into our hands.

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<td>Resting upon a point.</td>
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This figure is called a description, or an evident declaration of a thing, as though we saw it eu'd now done. An example: If our enemies shal invade, and by trea'zon winne the victorie, we shal all dye euery mothers sonne of vs, and our Citie shalbe destroyed sticke and stone. I see our children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiuces caried away, the father forced to kill his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, the sonne his father, the fucking child slaine in the mothers bosome, one standing to the knees in an others bloud, Churches spoyled, houses pluckt downe, and al set in fire round about vs, every one cursing the day of their birth, children crying, women wayling, and olde men pass'ng for very thought, and every one thinking himselfe most happie that is rid out of this world, such will the crueltie bee of our enemies, and with such horrible hatred will they seeke to dispatch vs. Thus, where I might haue faid we shal all be destroyed, and saie no more, I haue by description set the euill forth at large. It much auayleth to vs this figure in diuers matters, the which whofoever can doe, with any excellent gift, vndoubtedly he shal much delite the hearers. The circumstaunces well considered in euery cause, giue much matter, for the plaine opening of the thing. Also similitudes, examples, comparisons, from one thing to an other, apt translations, and heaping of Allegories, and all such figures as serv'e for amplifying, doe much commend the lively setting forth of any matter. The miferies of the Courtiers life, might well bee described by this kind of figure. The commoditie of learning, the pleasure of Plowmen, and the care that a King hath. And not onely are matters set out by description, but men are
are painted out in their colours, yea, buildings are set forth, Kingdomes and Realmes are portured, places and times are described. The Englishman for feeding and chaunging for apparell. The Dutchman for drinking. The Frenchman for pride & inconstance. The Spanyard for nimblenes of body, and much disdaine: the Italian for great wit and policie: the Scots for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse.

Many people are described by their degree, as a man of good yeares, is coumpted sober, wise, and circumspect: a young man wilde and carelesse: a woman babbling, inconstaunt, and readie to beleue all that is tolde her.

By vocation of life, a Souldier is coumpted a great bragger, and a vaunter of himself: A Scholer simple: A Russet coate, sad, and sometimes craftie: a Courtier, flattering: a Citizen, gentle.

In describing of persons, there ought alwaies a comelinesse to bee vset, fo that nothing be spoken, which may bee thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might cal him gentle, milde of nature, led by perfwasion, and readie to forgiue, carelesse for wealth, suspecing none, merciful to all, fearfull in aduerfitie, and without forecast to espie his miffortune. Againe, for Richard the third, I might bring him in, cruel of heart, amitious by nature, envious of mind, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge, and fearfull to losse his high estate, trustie to none, liberall for a purpose, caftting still the worst, and hoping euer the beft. By this figure alfo wee imagine a talke, for some one to speake, and according to his person, we frame the Oration. As if one shoulde bring in noble Henrie the eight, of moft famous memorie to enueigh against Rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. What if Henry the eight were a liue, and fawe fuch Rebellion in this Realme, would not he fay thus, and thus? Yea, me thinkes I heare him speake euen now. And fo set forth fuch wordes, as we would haue him to fay.

Sometimes it is good to make GOD, the Countrey, or some one Towne to speake, and looke what we would fay in our owne person, to frame the whole tale to them. Such variety doth much good to auoyde tediousnesse, for he that speaketh

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all in one fort, though he speake thinges neuer fo wittely, shall none wareie his hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoyd facietie, and cause delight: to refresh with pleasure, and quicken with grace the dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke on a white wall an hower together, where no workmanship is at all? Or who will eate still one kinde of meate, and neuer desire chaunge? Certes as the mouth is daintie: so the witte is tickle, and will none loth an vnfauery thing.

Stop, or halfe telling of the tale.

A Stop is when we breake off our tale, before we haue told it. As thus. Thou that art a young man of such to-warsenell, hauing such friendes, to play me such a part, well I will fay no more, GOD amende all that is amifle. Or thus. Doth it become thee to bee, shal I tell all: Nay, I will not for very shame.

Close vnderstanding.

A Close vnderstanding is, when more may bee gathered, then is openly express'd. A naughtie fellowe that vfed much robberie, founde himselfe grieued, that the great Oratour Demofthenes spent so much Oyle, whereby he watched from time to time, in compassing matters for the Common-weale: In deede (quoth Demosthenes) darke nights are best for thy purpose: Meaning that he was a great Robber in the night.

One alfo being set in a heate, because an other had con-traried him for the choife of meates, was much more greued when he gaue him this taunt. You may boldly (quoth he) speake for fift eating, for my maister your father, hath many a time and oft, wipte his nofe vpon his fleue: meaning that his father was a Fiumonger.

Short sentences.

Then short claues or sentences are vfed, when wee speake at a word part of our mind, and next after speake as briefly againe, vning to make almost euery worde a perfect sentence. As thus. The man is fore wounded, I feare me he will dye. The Phisitions mistrust him: the partie is fled, none pursueth: God fende vs good lucke.

Abating, or leffening of a thing.

We make our doinge appeare leffe, when with wordes we extenuate and leffen the fame. As when one had giuen
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given his fellowe a found blowe, being rebuked for the same, said he scant touched him. Likewise, when two haue fought together, to say, that the one had his legge prickt with a sworde, when perchance he had a great wounde.

Wittie jesting.

Any pleasaunt Gentlemen, are well practised in merie conceipted iefts, & haue both such grace and delite therein, that they are wonderfull to behold, and better were it to be sharply chid of diuers other, then pleasauntly taunted by any of them. When a Gentleman of great Lands and small wit, had talked largely at a supper, and spake words scant worth the hearing, an other being much grieued with his folly, said to him: Sir, I haue taken you for a plaine meaning Gentleman, but I knowe now, there is not a more deceiptfull body in all England: with that, other being grieued with the yong Gentlemans folly, boldly began to excufe him for deceit, and therefore said he was to blame to charge him with that fault, considering his nature was simple, and fewe can say that euer he was craftie. Well (quoth the other) I must needes say he is deceiptful, for I took him heretofore for a sober wittie yong man, but now I perciue he is a foolish babling fellow, and therefore I am sure he hath deceiued me, like a falfe crafty child as he is: with that they al laughed, and the Gentleman was much abashd. But as touching sharpe taunts, I haue largely declared them in place, wher I treated of laughter.

Digression, or swaruing from the matter.

We swarue sometimes from the matter, vpon iust con-

siderations, making the same to serue for our purpose, as well as if we had kept the matter still. As in making an inuictiue against Rebelles, and largely setting out the filth of their offences, I might declare by the way of digression, what a noble countrey England is, how great commodities it hath, what traffique here is vsed, and how much more neede other Realmes haue of vs, then we haue neede of them. Or when I shall giue evidence, or rather declame against an hainous murtherer, I may digrессe from the offence done, and enter in praife of the dead man, declaring his vertues in most ample wise, that the offence done may be thought so much the greater, the more honest he was, that hath thus bene slaine.

Notwithstanding,
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Notwithstanding, this would bee learned, that (when we make any such digression) the same may well agree to the purpose, and bee so set out that it confounde not the cause, or darken the fence of the matter devised.

Proposition.

Proposition is a short rehearfall of that, whereof wee minde to speake. I will tell you (quoth one) there is none hath a worse name then this fellow, none hath bene so often in trouble, he may be faultleffe, but I can hardly beleue it, there are enow that will testifie of his naughtinesse, and auouch his euill demeanour to be such that the like hath not bene heard heretofore.

An ouer passage to an other matter.

When we goe from one matter to an other, we vfe this kind of phrafe. I haue tolde you the cause of all this euill, now I will tell you a remedie for the same. You haue heard of iustification by faith only, now you shal heare of the dignitie of works, and how necessary they are for euery Christian body.

Of comming againe to the matter.

When we haue made a digression, wee may declare our returne, and shew that whereas we haue roued a little, wee will now kepe vs within our boundes. In this kinde of digression, it is wisedome not to wander ouer farre, for feare we shall wareie the hearers, before we come to the matter againe. I knewe a Preacher that was a whole hower out of his matter, and at length remembring himself, faied well, now to the purpose, as though all that which he had spoken before, had bee ne little to the purpose, whereat many laughed, and fome for starke wearinesse were faine to goe away.

Iterating and repeating things faied before.

When a man hath largely spoken his minde, he may repeate in fewe wordes the somme of his saying. As if one shoulde bee charged with Felonie, that is a man of wealth and honestie, he might thus gather his minde together after a long tale told. First, I will prowe there is no cause that I shoulde steale. Againe, that I could not possibe at such a time steale, and laft, that I stole not at all.
The conclusion or lapping up of matter.

The conclusion, is an apt knitting together of that, which we have said before. As thus. If reason can persuade, if examples may move, if necessity may help, if pity may provoke, if dangers foreseen may stirre us to be wise: I doubt not but you will rather use sharpe lawes to represse offendours, than with dissolute negligence suffer all to perish.

Mounting above the truth.

Mounting above the truth, is when we do set forth things exceedingly and above all mens expectation, meaning onely that they are very great. As thus. God promised to Abraham, that he would make his posterity equal with the sandes of the earth. Now it was not so said, that there should be so many in deed, but that the number should bee infinite. For whether shall wee understand those to bee the children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in flesh, or els take them for the children of Abraham, that have the faith of Abraham: we shall never prove the number of men to be equal with the sands of the sea, though we could reckon all that have beene, from the beginning of the world. Therefore in this speech, we must understand there is a mounting, called of the Grecians Hyperbole: we use this figure much in English. As thus. He is as swift as a Swallowe, he hath a belly as bigge as a Barrell, he is a Gyaunt in making: the whole Themes is little enough to serve him, for washing his hands. In all which speeches we mount euermore a great deale, and not mean so as the wordes are spoken.

Asking other, and answering our selves.

By asking other, and answering to the question our self, we much commend the matter, and make it appeare very pleasant. If I would rebuke one that hath committed a Robberie, I might say thus. I wonder what you meant to commit such Felonie. Have you not Lands? I knowe you have. Are not your friends worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Were you not beloved of them? No doubt you were. Could you have wanted any thing that they had? If you would have eaten golde, you might have had it. Did not they alwayes bid you seeke to them, and to none other? I knowe they did. What euill hap had you then to offend in such sort, not going to your friendes, which would not see you want, but seeking for
that which you should not have, endangering your self by
ven true dealing, to feel the power and strength of a lawe, when
otherwise you might have liued in sauegarde?

The like kind of writing is also vied, when we make an
other bodie to speake, and yet not aske them any question at
all. As when Doctor Haddon had comforted the Duches
of Suffolkes Grace for her children, and had said they were
happely gone, because they might have falne hereafter, and
lost that worthie name, which at their death they had: at laft
hee bringeth in the mother, speaking motherlike in her
childrens behalfe of this sorte, and aunswereth still to her
sayinges. But all these euilles whereof you speake (quoth he)
had not chaunced: yet such things doe chaunce. Yet not
alwaies: Yet full oft. Yet not to all: Yet to a great many.
Yet they had not chaunced to mine: Yet we know not. Yet
I might have hoped: Yet better it had beene to have
feared.

Snapplsh asking.

We doe aske oftentimes, because we would knowe: we
doe aske also because we would chide, and set forth our
griefe with more vehemencie, the one is called Interrogatio,
the other is called Percontatio. Tullie enveighing against
Catiline that Romaine Rebell, beginneth his Oration chiding-
ly, questioning with Catiline of this sorte. How long (Catiline)
wilt thou abuse our sufferaunce? How long will this rage
and madnesse of thine goe about to deceiue vs.

Dissimulating or close iesting.

When we iest closely, & with dissembling meanes grig
our fellowe, when in words we speake one thing, and
meane in heart an other thing, declaring either by our
countenaunce, or by vteraunce, or by some other way,
what our whole meaning is. As when wee see one boastinge
himselfe, and vaine glorious, to holde him vp with ye and
nay, and euer to add more to that which he faith. As I
knowe one that saied himselfe to be in his owne judgement,
one of the best in all England, for trying of mettalles, & that
the Counsaill hath often called for his helpe, and cannot
want him for nothing. In deede (quoth an other) England
had a fore losse, if God should call you. They are al
bungelers in comparison of you, & I think the best of them
may
may thank you for all that he hath: but yet sir your cunning
was such that you brought a shilling to nine pence, nay to
fixe pence, and a groat to two pence, and so gave him
a frumpe even to his face, because he sawe him so foolish.

A glorious gentleman that had two seruaunts, and belike
would be knowne not onely to have them, but also to have
moe, faied in the presence of a worshipful man, I maruaile
much where all my seruaunts are? Mary sir (quoth one) that
thought to hit him home: they were here al two euen now.
Thus he closly mockt him, and worthely. For the number
is not great, that standeth upon two, and (all) is to much,
when we speake of so fewe.

**Doubtfulnesse.**

**Doubtfulnesse** is then vfed, when we make the hearers **Dubitatio.**
believe that the weight of our matter causeth vs to
doubt what were best to speake. As when a King findeth his
people vnfaithful, he may speake in this wise. Before I begin,
I doubt what to name ye. Shall I cal you subiects? You
deruer it not. My friends ye are not. To cal you enemies
were ouer little, because your offence is so great. Rebelles
you are, and yet that name doth not fully vter your folly. Tray-
tors I may call you, & yet you are worse then Traytors, for
you seeke his death who hath giuen you life. The offence is
so great, that no man can comprehend it. Therefore I doubt
what to call you, except I should cal you by the name of them
al. An other: whether shall I speake or holde my peace?
If I speake, you will not heare, if I hold my peace, my
conscience condemned my silence.

**Distribution.**

**Distribution,** is when we applie to euery bodie, such things **Distributio.**
as are due vnto them, declaring what euery one is in his
vocation. It is the duetie of a King, to haue an efpeciall
care ouer his whole Realme. It is the office of his Nobles,
to caufe the Kings will to be fulfilled, and with all diligence
to further his Lawes, and to see Iustice done euery where. It
is the parte of a Subiect, faithfully to doe his Princes com-
gaundement, and with a willing heart to serue him at all
needes. It is the office of a Bishop to set forth Gods worde,
and with all diligence to exhort men to all Godlineffe. It is
an Husbands duetie to loue his wife, and with gentle meanes
to
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to rule her. It is the wiuues office humbly to submit her self
to her husbands will. Servaunts should bee faithfull to their
Maifters, not onely for feare of a lawe, but also for conscience
fake. Maifters should vfe their servaunts accordingly, paying
them that which is due vnto them. A father should bring vp
his children in the feare of God. Children should reuerence
their fathers with al submifion. It is also called a distribution,
when we deuide the whole into feueral parts and say wee
haue fower points, whereof wee purpofe to speake, compre-
hending our whole talke within compaffe of the fame.

Correction.

Correception, is when we alter a word or sentence, other-
wise then we haue spoken before, purpofing thereby to
augment the matter, and to make it appeare more vehement.
Tullie againft Verres, giueth a good example. We haue brought
before you my Lords, into this place of judgement, not
a theefe, but an extortioner and violent robber, not an
Aduouterer, but a rauiifer of Maides: not a ftealer of Church
goodes, but an errant traytour, both to God and all Godli-
neffe: not a common Ruffine, but a moft cruell cutthrote,
such as if a man mould rake hell for one, he could not finde
the like. Againe, if one would enueigh againft backbiters
after this fort. Thou haft not robbed him of his money, but
thou haft taken away his good name, which paffeth all world-
ly goodes: neither haft thou flaundered thine enemie, but
thine owne brother and freend that meant thee wel, and haft
done thee pleasures: Nay, thou haft not flaundered him, but
thou haft flaine him. For a man is halfe hanged, that hath
loft his good name. Neither haft thou killed him with the
fword, but poisoned him with thy tongue: fo that I may call
it rather an enchanting, then a murther. Neither haft thou
killed one man a lone, but fo many as thou haft brought out
of charitie, with thy moft venemous backbyting. Yea, and
laft of all, thou haft not flaine a man, but thou haft flaine
Chrift in his members, fo much as lay in thee to doe. But
of this figure I haue spoken heretofore, where I wrote of
amplification.

Reiection.

Reiection is then vfed, when wee lay fuch faultes from vs,
as our enemies would charge vs withall: saying it is folly to
to thinke any such thing, much more to speake it: or els to say, such a mans worde is no flaunder, or it needeth not to talke of such toyes. Or thus. Who would thinke that I would doe such a deede? Or is it like that I would doe such a deede. Antony charged Tullie, that he was the occasion of ciuill battaile. Nay (quoth Tullie) it is thou, it is thou man and none other that icts Caesar on worke, to seeke the slaughter of his Countrey.

A Buttreffe.

A Buttreffe is a fence made for that, which we purpose to holde vp, or goe about to compasse. As thus. I hope my Lordes, both to perswade this man by reason, and to haue your judgement in this matter. For whereas it is a fore thing to be iuftly accufed for breaking frendfhip, then assuredly if one be wrongfully flaundered, a man had neede to looke about him.

A familiar talke, or communica­tion vsed.

Communication is then vsed, when we debate with other, and aske questions as though we looked for an aunfwer, and fo go through with our matter, leauing the judgement thereof to their discretion. As thus. What thinke you in this matter? Is there any other better meanes to dispatch the thing? What would you haue done, if you were in the fame case? Here I appeale to your owne conffience, whether you would suffer this unpunifhed, if a man should doe you the like displeasure.

A Description of a mans nature or maners.

We describe the maners of men, when we fet them forth in their kinde what they are. As in speaking against a couetous man, thus. There is no such pinch peney on liue as this good fellowe is. He will not lofe the paring of his nailes. His haire is neuer rounded for sparing of money, one paire of fhone serueth him a twelue moneth, he is fhod with nailes like a Horfe. He hath bene knowne by his coate this thirtie Winter. He spent once a groate at good ale, being forced through companie, and taken fhort at his worde, whereupon he hath taken such conceipt fince that time, that it hath almoft coft him his life. Tullie describeth Pifd for his naughtinessse of life, wonderfully to heare, yea, worfe then haue
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haue set forth this couetous man. Reade the Oration against Pifo, such as he learned.

Error.

Error is, when we thinke much otherwise then the truth is. As when we haue conceiued a good opinion of some one man, and are often deceived, to say, who would haue thought, that he euer would haue done so. Now of all men vpon earth, I would haue least suspected him. But such is the world. Or thus. You thinke such a man a worthie personage, and of much honestie, but I wil proue that he is much otherwise: a man would not thinke it, but if I doe not proue it, I will giue you my head.

Mirth making.

I Haue heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth making, and therefore I little neede to renue them here in this place.

Amplification or Prevention.

Anticipation is, when we preuent thofe wordes, than an other would say, and disprue them as vntrue, or at leaft wise aunfwered vnto them. A Godly Preacher enueighed earnestly againft thofe, that would not haue the Byble to bee in English, and after earnest probation of his caufe, faied thus: but me thinkes I heare one fay. Sir, you make much a doe, about a little matter, what were we the worfe if we had no Scripture at all? To whom he aunfwered: the Scripture is left vnto vs by Gods owne wil, that the rather we might knowe his commaundements, and liue thereafter all the daies of our life. Sometimes this figure is vsed when wee say, wee wil not speake this or that, and yet doe notwithstanding. As thus. Such a one is an officer, I will not fay a briber. Right is hindered through might, I will not fay ouerwhelmed. Thus in sayeing we will not speake, we speake our minde after a fort notwithstanding.

A Similitude.

A Similitude is a likenesse when two thinges, or moe then two, are so compared and resembled together, that they both in some one propertie feeme like. Oftentimes brute Beaftes, and thinges that haue no life, minifter great matter in this behalfe. Therefore, thofe that delite to proue thinges by Similitudes, muft learne to knowe the nature of diuers beastes,
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beastes, of mettalle, of stones, and al such as haue any vertue in them, and be applied to mans life. Sometimes in a worde appeareth a similitude, which being dilated helpteth well for amplification. As thus. You striue against the streame, better bowe then breake. It is euill running against a stone wall. A man may loue his house well, & yet not ride vpoun the ridge. By al which, any one may gather a similitude, and enlarge it at pleazure. The Proverbes of Hewood helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In comparing a thing from the leffe to the greater. Similitudes help well to set out the Similitude matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses & sentences, wee may with ease talke at large. This shall serue for an example. The more precious a thing is, the more diligently should it bee kept, and better heede taken to it. Therefore time (considering, nothing is more precious) would warily be vsed, and good care taken, that no time bee lost, without some profite gotten. For if they are to bee punished that spende their money, and waift their Landes, what follie is it, not to thinke them worthie much more blame, that spende their time (which is the chiefeft treasure that GOD giueth) either idely, or els vngodly? For what other thing doth man lose, when he loseth his time, but his life? And what can bee more deare to man then his life? If wee lose a little money, or a Ring of golde with a stone in it, we coumpt that great loffe. And I pray you, when wee lose a whole day, which is a good portion of a mans life, shall we not compt that a losse, considering though our money bee gone, wee may recouer the same againe, but time lost can never be called backe againe. Againe, when we lose our money, some bodie getteth good by it, but the losse of time turneth to no mans auaile. There is no man that loseth in any other thing, but some bodie gaineth by it, sauing onely in the losse of time: yea, it hath saued the life of some to lose al that they had. For riches bee the occasion sometimes of much mischiefe in this life, so that it were better sometimes waftefully to spende, then warily to keepe: by the losse of time, no man hath profited him selfe any thing at all. Besides this, the better and more precious a thing is, the more shame to spend it fondly. Though men keepe their goodes neuer so close, and locke them vp neuer so fast, yet oftentimes, either
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either by some mischance of fire, or other thing, they are lost, or els desperate Dickes borowes now and then against the owners will al that euer he hath. And now though the owner be undone, yet is he not therefore dishonest, considering honestie standeth not in wealth, nor heapes of money: but the losse of time, seeing it happeneth through our owne folly, not only doth it make vs wretches, but also causeth men to thinke that we are past all grace. A wonderfull kinde of infamous, when the whole blame shal rest vpon none other mans necke, but vpon his onely that suffereth all the harme. With money a man may buy lande, but none can get honestie of that price: and yet with well vsing of time, a man not onely might get him much worshipe, but also might purchase himfefe a name for euer. Yea, in a small tyme a man might get great fame, and liue in much estimation. By losing of money we lose little els: but losing of time we lose all the goodnesse and gifts of God, which by labor might be had. Thus similitudes might be enlarged by heaping good sentences, when one thing is compared with an other, and conclusion made thereupon. Among the learned men of the Church, no one vseth this figure more then Chriſtome, whose writings the rather feeme more pleafaunt and sweete. For similitudes are not onely vsed to arnplifie a matter, but also to beautifie the fame, to delite the hearers, to make the matter plaine, and to fhewe a certaine maieftie with the report of such resembled things, but because I haue spoken of similitudes heretofore in the booke of Logique, I will furcease to talke any further of this matter.

Example.

HE that mindeth to perswade, must needes be well stored with examples. And therefore much are they to be commended, which searche Chronicles of all ages, and compare the state of our Elders with this present time. The Historie of Gods booke to the Christian is infallible, and therefore the rehearfall of such good things as are therein conteined, moue the faithfull to all vpright doing, and amendment of their life. The Ethnicke Authours stirre the hearers, being well applied to the purpose. For when it shalbe reported that thei which had no knowledge of God, liued in a brotherly loue one towards an other, detested aduoutry,
aduoutry, banished perjuries, hanged the unthankful, kept the idle without meate till they laboured for their living: suffered none extortion, exempted bribes from bearing rule in the Commonweale, the Christians must needes bee ashamed of their euill behauiour, and itudie much to passe those which are in calling much vnder them, and not suffer that the ignorant and Pagans life, shall counteruaile the taught children of God, and passe the Christians so much in good living, as the Christians passe them in good learning. Unegall examples commend much the matter. I call them vnegall when the weaker is brought in against the stronger, as if children be faithfull, much more ought men to be faithfull. If women be chast and vndefiled: men should much more be cleane and without fault. If an vnlearned man wil do no wrong, a learned man and a Preacher, must much more be vpright and liue without blame. If an Housholder will deale iuftly with his servaunts: a King must much the rather deale iustly with his subiects. Examples gathered out of histories, and vfed in this forte, helpe much towards perfwasion. Yea, brute beaftes minister greate occasion of right good matter, considering many of them haue shewed vnto vs, the paterns and Images of diuers vertues.

Doues feing an Hauke gather all together, teaching vs none other thing, but in aduerfitie to stick one to an other. Craines in the night have their watch, warning vs neuer to be carelesse, for if their watch faile them, they al neuer leaue till they haue killed that one Craine, teaching vs that no traitors are worthy to liue vpon earth. The watch for his safegard, and because he would not slepe, holdeth a stone in his foote, the which falleth from him, when he beginneth to waxe heauie, and fo keepeth himselfe still waking. Whereby we may learne that all men in their vocation, should be right ware and watchfull. The Hen clocketh her Chickens, feedeth them, and keepeth them from the Kite. Women must clocke their Children, bring them vp well, and keepe them from euill happ. Now I might in speaking of some odious vice, largely set out some example belonging to the same, and compare it with other by heaping of Chronicles, and matching of things together. The unthankfull in this age (whereof there is no small nomber) can not haue enough faide against them.
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And therefore I am minded to say somewhat against them, to the utter abhorring of all such unkind dealing. For he that is unthankfull, for hartie loue sheweth cankard hatered: wanteth all other vertues that are required to be in man. The chief perfection and the absolute fulfilling of the law, standeth in the loue which man oweth first to GOD, and next to his neighbour. Let a man haue faith, that he may be able to tranflate mountaines (as S. Paul faith:) yea, let him haue neuer so good qualities, or bee he neuer so politique a man for the safegard of his Countrie, be he neuer so wise, so ware, and so watchful: yet if he want loue he is nothing els but as a founding Brass, or a tinckling Cim-ball. Now hee that is churlissh and unthankfull, must needs want loue, and therefore wanteth he all other goodnesse.

The Persians therefore seeing the greatenesse of this offence, and that where it rested, all vices for euer were banished: Provided by a Lawe that such should suffer death as felons, which were found faultie with unthankfulness. And yet I can not see but they deserve rather an exquisite kinde of death (such as fewe haue seen, or few haue felt) then to suffer like death with other, that haue not like offended with them. But now because this offence is an euill most odious and the principall caufe of all other mischief: I will set foorth three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the second of a dog, and the third of a Lion (which all three in thankfulnesse, if that be true which is reported of them, wonderfully exceeded) and the rather I seeke to set them out, that the wicked hereby may well knowe, what they them selues are, when brute beafts shall set them all to schoole.

There was a man (as Plinius writeth) which fostered vp a young Dragon, who seeing the same beast to waxe wonderful greate, feared to keepe this Dragon any longer within his house, and therefore he put him out into a wilde Forrest. It happeneth afterwarde, that the same man trauayling on his journey through the Forrest, was befet with Theeues. And nowe beeing in this distresse, and looking for none other ende but death, made (as lothe to departe) a great shoute and out-crie: straignt vpon whose noyfe, and at the knowledge of his voyce, the Dragon came to him in all the haste possible. Whereupon the Theeues beeing greatly afraied, ranne cleane away.
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away to faue themselues harmelesse. Thus through the thankfulnesse of a Dragon, this mans life was faued.

The Dog of the Romaine Fulioius is more wonderfull. This Thankfulnesse of a Dog, trauailing by the way was slaine with slaues, that laie in waite for him. His Dogge seeing his maister dead, laie by him for the space of two daies. Whereupon when the man was missing, and search made for him: They founde him dead with his Dog lying by him. Some maruelling to see the Dog lye there by his dead Maister, stroke him and would haue driuen him from the dead corfe, and could not: some seeing such kindnesse in the dog, and pitying him that he should lye there without meate two or three daies before: cast him a piece of fesh: whereupon the Dog straight caried the meate to his maisters mouth, and would not eate any whit himselfe, though he had forborne meate fo long before. And laft of all when the dead body should be cast into the Riuer (according to the maner of the Romaines) the dog kept in after, and holding vp his maister fo long as he could, did chufe rather to dye with him, then to liue without him.

The Lion (whereof Appian the Grammerian doeth speake) is also strange for his kindnesse, and almost incredible. A feruant that had run awaie from his maister, and hid him felfe for feare in a Caue within a great wood, tooke a thorne out of a Lions foote, which then came to him for succour as he laie there. Now when he had done, the Lion to requite his good turne, brought fuch meat to the Caue as he could kill in the Wood. The which meate the feruant roling against the Sunne (being in the moft hot Countrey of all Africa) did eate from tyme to time. At length yet being wearie of fuch a lothsome life, hee left the caue and came abroad, by meanes whereof he was taken again, and being a flawe to his maister (who had power of life and death ouer him) he was condemned to be cast to wilde beasts at Rome, there to be deuoured of a Lyon. The poore caitife stoode pitifullly in the fight of thousands, euer looking when he should be deuoured. It happened at the fame time when this fellow was thus adjudged to die: that the same Lion was taken, whose foote he healed in the wood. When the Lion was put to him, he came first very terrible towards the fellowe, and immediatly knowing what he was, stood still, and at length fauned gently upon
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upon him. This fellowe at first being amased, began to take harte vnto him afterwardes, as half knowing him likewise, and thus they began both to take acquaintance the one of the other, and plaied together a good space without all daunger, whereupon the people being amased, much wondered at the strangeuenesse of this thing. And standing thus aftenied, they sent to know of the slaue what this matter should mean. Unto whom this poore wretch opened the whole thing al- together even as it happened. When the people heard this, they not onely reioyced much at the sight thereof, but also they made earnest request to his maister for his life. His maister marueiling as much as any of them at such an unuon ANd now becaufe examples enriched by copie, helpe much for amplification: I will giue a tafte howe these and such like histories may bee encreased. And for the better handling of them, needfull it is to marke well the circumstances: that being well obsrued and compared together on both partes, they may the rather bee enlarged. As thus. That which brute beastes haue done, shalt thou being a man, seeme not to haue done? They shewd themselfes naturall, and wilt thou appeare unartistall? Naie, they ouercame Nature, and wilt thou be ouercome of them? They became of beastes in bodie, men in Nature, and wilt thou become of a man in bodie, a beast in Nature? They being without reacon, declared the propertie of reasonable creatures, and wilt thou, being a man endued with reaon, appere in thy doings al- together.
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together unreasonable? Shall Dogges be thankfull: and men,
yea, Christen men want such a vertue? shall wormes shewe
such kindnesse: and men appeare gracelesse? It had bene no
matter if they had bene vnthankful: but man can neuer escape
blame, feing God hath commaunded, and Nature hath graffed
this in al men: that they should do to other, as they would
be done vnto. Againe, they for meate onely mewed them-
selfes fo kind: and shall man for fo many benefites receiued,
and for such goodnesse shewed, requite for good will euill
deedes: for hartie loue deadly hatred: for vertue vice:
and for life giuen to him, yeeld death to other? Nature hath
parted man and beast: and shall man in Nature bee no man?
Shamed be that wretch that goeth againft Nature, that onely
hath the shape of a man, and in Nature is worse then a beast.
Yea, worthy are all such rather to be torne with deuilles,
than to liue with men. Thus an example might most
copiously be augmented, but thus much for this time is
sufficient.

The sayeing of Poetes and all their fables are not to be for-
gotten, for by them we may talke at large, and win men by
perswafion, if we declare before hand that thefe tales were
not fained of such wisemen without caufe, neither yet con-
tinued vntill this time, and kept in memorie without good
consideration, and therupon declare the true meaning of all
such writing. For undoubtedly there is no one tale among
all the Poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended some
thing that partteineth, either to the amendment of maners,
to the knowledge of the trueth, to the setting forth of
Natures work, or els the vnderstanding of some notable
thing done. For what other is the painfull trauaile of
Vliffes, described so largely by Homer, but a liuely picture of mans milerie
in this life. And as Plutarch faith: and likewise Baslius
Magnus: in the Iliades are described strength, and valiantnesse
of the bodie: In Odiffea is set forth a liuely paterne of the
minde. The Poetes were wisemen, and wilhed in hart the
redresse of things, the which when for feare, they durft not
openly rebuke, they did in colours painte them out, and tolde
men by shadowes what they should doe in good sooth, or els
because the wicked were vnworthie to heare the trueth, they
spake so that none might vnderstande but those vnto whom

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they please to utter their meaning, and knewe them to be men of honest conversation.

We read of Danae the faire damosell, whom Jupiter tempted full oft, and could never have his pleasure, till at length he made it raigne golde, and so as she sat in her Chimney, a great deale fell vpon her lappe, the which she tooke gladly and kept it there, within the which golde, Jupiter himselfe was comprehended, whereby is none other thing els signified, but that women haue bene, and will be overcome with money.

Likewise Jupiter fancying the faire maide Isis, could not haue his will, till he turned himself into a faire white Bull, which signified that beautie may overcome the beast.

If a man could speake against couetous caitiues, can he better fiew what they are, then by setting forth the fireauge plague of Tantalus, who is reported to be in Hell, having Water comming till to his chin, and yet neuer able to drinke: And an Apple hanging before his mouth, and yet neuer able to eate?

Icarus would needes haue winges, and flie contrarie to Nature, whereupon when he had set them together with Waxe, and joyned to his side, and mounted vp into the Ayre: But so soone as the Sunne had somewhat heated him, and his Waxe beganne to melt, he fell downe into a great River, and was drowned out of hand, the which water was euer after called by his name. Nowe what other thing doeth this tale shewe vs, but that euery man mould not meddle with things above his compasse.

Midas desired that whatsoeuer he touched, the same might be gold: whereupon when Jupiter had graunted him his bound: his meate, drinke, and all other things turned into golde, and he choked with his owne desire, as all couetous men lightly shalbe, that can neuer be content when they haue enough.

What other thing are the wonderfull labours of Hercules, but that reason should withstand affection, and the spirit for euer should fight against the fleth? Wee Christians had like Fables heretofore of ioyly felowes, the Images whereof were set vp (in Gods name) euin in our Churches. But is any man so madde to think that euer there was such a one as Saint Christopher was painted vnto vs? Mary God forbid.

Assuredly
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Assuredly when he liued vpon earth there were other houses builded for him, then wee haue at this time, and I thinke Tailers were much troubled to take measure of him for making his garments. He might be of kinne to Garganteo if he were as bigge as he is set forth in Antwerp. But this was the meaning of our elders (and the name self doth signifie none other) that every man shoule beare Christ vpon his backe, that is to say, he shoule loue his brother, as Christ loued vs, and gave his bodie for vs: he shoule travaile through hunger, cold, forowe, sickenesse, death, and all daungers, with al sufferance that might be. And whether shoule he travaile? to the euerluiuing God. But how? In darkness? No forsooth by the light of his worde. And therfore S. Christopher being in the Sea, and not wel able to get out (that is to say) being almost drowned in sinne, (and not knowing which waie best to escape) an Eromite appeared vnto him with a Lanterne and a light therein, the which doth signifie none other thing to the Christian, but the true worde of God, which lighteneth the hearts of men, and giueth understanding to the young lings (as the Prophet doth say.) Againe, S. George he is set on Horfebacke and killeth a Dragon with his speare, which Dragon would haue d euoured a Virgine, whereby is none other thing meant, but that a King and every man, vnto whom the execution of Iustice is committed, shoule defende the innocent against the vngodly attempts of the wicked, and rather kill such deuilles by Marciall lawe, then suffer the innocentes to take any wrong. But who gaue our Cleargie any such authoritie that those Monsters shoule be in Churches, as lay mens bookes? God forbad by express worde, to make any grauen Image, and shal wee bee so bold to breake Gods will for a good intent, and call these Idolles laie mens bookes? I could talke largely of examples, and heape a number here together, aswell of Ethnic Authours, as of other here at home; but for feare I shoule be tedious, these for this time shal suffice.

Of Fables.

The seined Fables, such as are attributed vnto brute beastes, would not be forgotten at any hande. For not onely they delite the rude and ignorant, but also they helpe much for perfwasion. And because such as speake in open audience,
audience, have ever more fools to hear them, then wise men to give judgment: I would think it not amiss to speak much, according to the nature and phantasm of the ignorant, that the rather they might be won through Fables, to learn more weightie and grave matters, for all men can not brooke sages causes, and auncient collations: but will like earnest matters the rather, if some thing be spoken there among agreeing to their natures. The multitude (as Horace doth say) is a beast, or rather a monster that hath many heads, and therefore like unto the diversities of natures, varietie of invention must always be used. Talk altogether of most grave matters, or deeply search out the ground of things or use the quiddities of Dunce, to set forth Gods mysteries: and you shall see the ignorant (I warrant you) either fall a sleepe, or else bid you farewell. The multitude must needs be made merie: & the more foolish your talke is, the more wise will they count it to be. And yet it is no foolishness, but rather wisdom to win men, by telling of Fables to hear of Gods goodness. Undoubtedly fables well set forth, have done much good at divers times, and in divers Commonweales. The Romaine Menenius Agrippa, alluding upon a time, a Fable of the conflict made betwixt the parts of a mans bodie, and his bellie: quieted a marvelous stirre that was like to ensue, and pacified the uprore of feditious Rebels, which else thought for ever to destroy their Countrey. Themistocles persuaded the Athenians not to change their officers, by rehearsing the fable of a scabbed Foxe. For (quoth he) when many flies stood feeding upon his raw flesh, and had well fed themselves, he was contented at an others persuasion, to have them flapt away: whereupon there ensued such hungry flies afterwards, that the forie Foxe being all alone, was eaten vp almoist to the hard bone, and therefore cursed the time, that ever he greed to any such evil counsel. In like manner (quoth Themistocles) if you will change officers, the hungry flies will eate you vp one after another, whereas now you liue being but onely bitten, and like to haue no farther harme, but rather much wealth and quietness hereafter, because they are filled and haue enough, that heretofore suckt so much of your blood.

Now likewise, as I gaue a lesson how to enlarge an example, so may fables also in like sort be set out, and augmented at large
large by Amplification. Thus much for the use of Fables. Again, sometimes feined narrations, and witty invented matters (as though they were true in deed) help well to set forward a cause, and have great grace in them, being aptly used and well invented. Lucian passeth in this point: and Sir Thomas More for his *Utopia*, can sooner be remembered of me, then worthily praised of any, according as the excellency of his invention in that behalf doth most justly require.

§ Digestion.

Digestion is an orderly placing of things, parting every matter severally. Cicero hath an example hereof in his Oration which he made for Sextus Roscius Amarinus. There are three things (quoth Cicero) which hinder Sextus Roscius at this time, the accusation of his adversaries, the boldness of them, and the power that they bare. Erosius his accuser hath taken upon him to forge false matter, the Roscians kinfolke have boldly adventured, and will face out their doings, and Chrysogonus here that most can doe, will press vs with his power.

§ A whisht or warning to speake no more.

A whisht is when we bid them holde their peace, that have Reticentia. Least cause to speake, and can doe little good with their talking. Diogenes being upon the Sea among a number of naughtie packes, in a great storme of weather, when diuers of these wicked fellowes cried out for feare of drowning, some with feined praier to Jupiter, some to Neptune, and every one as they best fantasied the Gods aboue: whisht (quoth Diogenes) for by Gods mother, if God himselfe knewe you to be here, you were like to be drowned every mothers sonne of you. Meaning that they were so naught, and so fainedly made their praier to false Gods, without mind to amend their naughtie life, that the liuing GOD would not leaue them vnpunished, though they cried out never so faft. We use this figure likewise when in speaking of any man: we say whisht, the Woule is at hand, when the same man cometh in the meane seafon, of whom we spake before.

§ Contrarietie.

Contrarietie, is when our talke standeth by contrary wordes Contentio. or sentences together. As thus. Wee might dispraise some one man, he is of a straunge nature as euer I saw, for to his
frend he is churlifh, to his foe he is gentle: guie him faire wordes and you offend him: checke him sharply, and you winne him. Let him haue his will, and he will flie in thy face: keepe him short and you shall haue him at commandement.

\section*{Frenesse of specke.}

Frenesse of speche, is when we speake boldly and without feare, even to the proudest of them, whatsoeuer we please or haue lift to speake. \textit{Diogenes}, herein did excell, and feared no man when he faue lust caufe to say his minde. This worlde wanteth such as hee was, and hath ouer many such as neuer honest man was, that is to saie, flatterers, fauners, and soothers of mens sayings.

\section*{Stomacke greese.}

Stomacke griefe, is when we will take the matter as hot as a tofte. We need no examples for this matter, hot men haue too many, of whom they may be bold and spare not that find themselues a cold. Sometimes we entreate earnestly, and make meanes by praier to winne fauour. Sometimes we seeke fauour by speaking well of the companie present. As thus. Through your help my Lords, this good deede hath bin done. Sometimes we speake to hurt our aduersaries, by settynge forth their euil behauior. Sometimes we excuse a fault, & accuse the reporters. Sometimes wee wish vnto God for redresse of euill. Sometimes wee curse the extreme wickednesse of some past good Rolsters. In all which I thinke neither examples neede, nor yet any rehearfall had bin greatly necessary, considering al these come without any great learning, fauing, that for apt bestowing, judgement is right needfull.

\section*{Of figures in sentences called Schemes.}

When any sentence vpon the placing or setting of wordes, is sayd to be a figure: the sayd is alwaies called a Scheme, the which words being altered or displaced, the figure straight doth lose his name, and is called no more a Scheme. Of this fort there is diuers, such as hereafter followe.

\section*{Doublets.}

Doublettes, is when we rehearfe one and the same worde twike together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am. \textit{Tullie} against \textit{Catesline}, enuieing tore against his traterous attempts, faieth after a long rehearfed matter, and yet notwithstanding al this notorious wickednesse: The man liueth still, liueth?
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Naie Marie, he cometh into the counfaile house, which is more. An other. Dareft thou shew thy face, thou wretched theefe, thou theef, I say to thine owne father, dareft thou looke abroade? Thus the oft repeating of one worde, doth much stirre the hearer, and makes the worde feeme greater, as though a sworde were oft digged and thruft twife, or thrife in one place of the body.

\[ \text{Altering part of a worde.} \]

Altering parte of a worde, is when we take a letter or fillable from some worde, or els add a letter, or fillable to a worde. As thus. William Somer seeing much ado for accompltes making, and that the Kings Maiestie of most worthie memorie Henrie the eight wanted money, such as was due unto him: and plesse your grace (quoth he) you haue so many Frauditours, so mony Conueighers, and so mony Deceiuers to get vp your money, that they get all to themselues. Whether he sayd true or no, let God iudge that, it was unhappely spoken of a foole, and I thinke he had some Schoolemaister: He shou'd haue faide Auditours, Surueighours, and Receiuers.

\[ \text{Repetition.} \]

Repetition, is when we beginne diuers sentences, one after an other: with one and the same worde. As thus: When thou shalt appeare at the terrible day of iudgement, before the high Maiestie of God, where is then thy riches? Where is then thy daintie fare? Where is then thy great band of men? Where are then thy faire houses? Where are then thy Landes, Pastures, Parkes, and Forefts? I might say thus of our soueraigne Lorde the Kings Maiestie, that now is: King Edward hath ouerthrown Idolatrie, King Edward hath banifhed superstition: King Edward by Gods help, hath brought vs to the true knowledge of our creation: King Edward hath quieted our consciences, and laboured that all his people shou'd seeke health, by the death and passion of Christ alone.

\[ \text{Conuersion.} \]

Conuersion, is an oft repeating of the laft worde, and is contrary to that which went before. When iuft dealing is not vied: wealth goeth awaye, friendship goeth awaye, trueth goeth awaye, all goodnesse (to speake at a worde) goeth awaye. Where affections beare rule, there reafon is subdued, honestie is
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is subdued, good will is subdued, and all things els that withstand euill, for euer are subdued.

Comprehension.

Comprehension, is when both the aboue rehearsed figures, are in one kind of speaking vied, so that both one first word must oft bee rehearsed, and likewise all one last worde. What winneth the hartes of men? liberalitie? What causeth men to adventure their liues, and die willingly in defence of their maifters? liberalitie. What continueth the state of a king? liberalitie. What becometh a woman best, and first of all? silence. What second? silence. What third? silence. What fourth? silence. Yea, if a man shoulde ask me till Doomes daie, I would still cry silence, silence: without the which no woman hath any good gift, but hauing the same, no doubt she must haue many other notable gifts, as the which of necessitie, doe euer followe such a vertue.

Progression.

Progression standeth vpon contrary sentences, which aunswere one another. If we would rebuke a naughtie boy, we might with commending a good boye, say thus. What a boy art thou in comparifon of this fellow here. Thou sleepe: he wakes: thou plais: he studies: thou art euer abroade: he is euer at home: thou neuer waites: he still doth his attendance: thou careft for no bodie: he doeth his dutie to all men: thou doest what thou canst to hurt none, and please none: he doeth what he can to hurt none, and please all.

Like ending, and like falling.

Then the sentences are saide to end like, when those wordes doe ende in like fillables which do lacke cases. Thou liues wickedly, thou speakest naughtely. The rebels of Northfolke (quoth a most worthie man that made an inuicuitive against them) through slauerie, shewe nobilitie: in deede miserably, in fashion cruelly, in caufe devilliishly. Sentences also are saide to fall like when divers wordes in one sentence ende in like cases, and that in rime. By greate travauale is gotten much auailie, by earnest affection men learne discretion.

These two kindes of Exornation are then most delitefull, when contrary things are repeated together: when that once againe is uttered which before was spoken: when sentences are turned and letters are altered. Of the first this may be an example:
ample: where learning is loued, there labour is esteeme: but when slothe is thought solace, there rudeness taketh place. A King is honoured that is a King in deed: will you drinke or you go, or will you go or you drinke. There is a difference betwixt an Horse milne, and a Milne horse. He is a meeter man to drive the cart, then to serve the court: through labor cometh honor, through idle living foloweth hanging. Divers in this our time delight much in this kinde of writing, which being measurably used, deliteth much the hearers, otherwise it offendeth, and wearieth mens ears with facetie. S. Augustine had a goodly gift in this behalf, and yet some thinkes he forgot measure, and used overmuch this kind of figure. Notwithstanding, the people were such where he liued, that they tooke much delite in rimed sentences, and in Orations made ballade wise. Yea, they were so nice and so waiward to please, that except the Preacher from time to time could rime out his sermon, they would not long abide the hearing. Tacitus also sheweth that in his time, the Judges and Seriantes at the lawe, were druenen to use this kinde of phrase, both in their writing, and also in their speaking. Yea, great Lords would think themselves condemned, if learned men (when they speake before them) sought not to speake in this fort. So that for the flowing stile and full sentence, crept in Minstrels elocution, talking matters altogether in rime, and for weightinesse and grauitie of wordes, succeding nothing els but wantonneffe of invention. Tullie was forsaken, with Livie, Caesar, and other: Apuleius, Ausonius, with such Minstrell makers were altogether followed. And I thinke the Popes heretofore (seeing the peoples folie to bee such) made all our Himnes and Anthemes in rime, that with the singing of men, playing of Orgaines, ringing of Belles, and riming of Himnes and Sequences, the poore ignorant might think the harmonie to be heauenly, and verely beleue that the Angels of God made not a better noyce in heauen. I speake thus much of these ii. figures, not that I thinke folie to use them (for they are pleasant and praife worthy) but my talke is to this ende, that they should neither onely nor chiefly be used, as I know some in this our time, do overmuch use them in their writings. And overmuch (as all men knowe) was never good yet. Yea a man may haue overmuch of his mothers blessing if she will never leave blessing. Therefore a measure is
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is best, yea, even in the best thinges. And thus farre for these two figures.

§ Egal members.

Egal members are such, when the one halfe of the sentence answereth to the other, with iust proportion of number, not that the Sillables of necessitie should bee of iust number, but that the eare might judge them to be so egall, that there may appeare small difference. As thus. Law without mercie, is extreme power, yet men through foly deserue such lustice. Learning is daungerous, if an euill man haue it. The more noble a man is, the more gentle he should bee. Ifocrates pasleth in this behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in number, keeping iust proportion in framing of his sentence.

§ Like among themselves.

Sentences are called like when contraries are set together, and the first taketh as much as the other following: and the other following taketh as much awaie, as that did which went before. As thus. Lust hath overcome shamefaftnesse, impiudence hath overcome feare, and madness hath overcome reafon. Or els sentences are said to be like among themselves, when every part of one sentence is egall, and of like waight one with an other. As thus. Is it knowne, tried, proued, euident, open, and assured that I did such a deed? An other. Such riot, Dicing, Carding, picking, stealing, fighting, Ruffians, Queanes and Harlottes must needes bring him to naught.

Gradation.

Gradation, is when we rehearfe the word that goeth next before, and bring an other word thereupon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should goe vp a paire of stayres and not leaue till he come at the top. Or thus. Gradation is when a sentence is diuered by degrees, so that the word which endeth the sentence going before doeth begin the next. Labour getteth learning, learning getteth fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth bliffe for euer. An other. Of floth cometh pleafure, of pleafure cometh spending, of spending cometh whoring, of whoring cometh lack, of lacke cometh theft, of theft cometh hanging, and there an end for this worlde.

§ Regression.
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§ Regression.

That is called regression, when we repeate a worde utfone, that hath bin spoken and rehearsed before, whether the same be in the beginning, in the middeft, or in the latter ende of a sentence. In the beginning, thus. Thou art ordeined to rule other, and not other to rule thee. In the middeft, thus. He that hath money hath not giuen it, and he that hath giuen money, hath not his money still: and he that hath giuen thankes, hath thanks still, and he that hath them still, hath giuen them notwithstanding. In the latter ende, thus. Man muft not liue to eate, but eate to liue. Man is not made for the fabboth, but the fabboth is made for man. If man do any filthy thing, and take pleasure therein: the pleasure goeth away, but the shame tarieth still. If man do any good thing with paine, the paines goe away, but the honestie abideth still.

§ Wordes loose.

Wordes loose are such, which as are vttered without any addition of coniunctions, such as knitte words and sentences together. As thus. Obeye the King, feare his lawes, keepe thy vocation, doe right, seeke rest, like well a little, vie all men, as thou wouldeft they mould vie thee.

§ Outcrying.

Out crying, is when with voyce we make an exclamation. Oh Lord, O God, O worlde, O life, O maners of men? O Death, where is thy stinge? O Hell, where is thy victorie?

§ Oft using of one word in divers places.

An he haue any mans harte in him, or def erueth hee the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a poore innocent man, who neuer thought him harme.

§ A cause giuen to a sentence uttered.

Feare not mine aduerarie, becaufe I am not guiltie. I mis-trust not the Judges, because they are iust, the Quest will not cast me, the matter is so plaine.

§ A cause giuen to things contrary.

Etter it were to rule, then to serue. For, he that ruleth, liueth: because he is free. But he that serueth, cannot be faide to liue. For where bondage is, there is no life properly.

§ Sufferaunce.

Take your pleasure for a time, and doe what you lif, a time will come when accoumpt shall be made. When things
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things cannot be that we would have, we should will that, which we can have. Pacience is a remedie for every diseafe.

A doubting.

Shall I call him foole, or shall I call him varlet, or both? An other. What made him to commit such a Robberie? Lacke of money, or lacke of wit, or lacke of honestie? I doubt whether to call him a foolish knaue, or a knauish foole. When much matter was here in England, for calling the Pope supreme head of the Church (quoth a Spanyard, that whilome was of the Popes Court in Rome) you doubt much here in England, whether the Pope be head of the Church or no, and great variaunce there is amongst you, at the which folly of yours I do much maruaile, for wee doubt much at Rome whether hee bee a member of the Church at all or no.

Reckening.

Eckening is when many thinges are numbred together. There is no strete, no house, no man, no childe, no shoppe, no lodging in all this Towne, but he hath bene in it. There is no Stone, no Diamond, no Saphire, no Rubie, no Christall: no Turcaffe, no Emerode, but he knoweth them perfectly. By this figure we may enlarge that, by rehearsing of the partes, which was spoken generally, and in fewe wordes. This may bee an example. Such a Gentleman being an vnthrift, hath spent all that euer he had. Thus the sentence may be amplified, if wee shew particularly what he had, and tell feuerally how he spent it. Looke what enheritance came to him (which was no smal thing) by the death of his owne kinne, and his wifes kinffolke: What dower foever he had by mariage of his wife, which by report was a very great thing: Whatfoever he got by Executorship: Whatsoeuer the Kings Maiestie gaue him. What booties soever he got in Warrefare: looke what money he had, what Plate, what Apparel, what Houfhold stuffe, what Land and Lordships, what Sheepe, Goods, Parkes, and Medowes, yea, whatsoeuer he had moueable, or vnmuoeable, his house, and all that euer he had: he hath so spent in fewe daies, so waifted it, and made such hauocke of all together, among the beastly companie of filthie Queanes, among abhominable Harlottes, with banquettting from day to day, with sumptuous rare suppers, with drinking in the night, with dainties and delicates, and all such sweete delites, with

Dicing,
The arte of Rhetorique.

Dicling, Carding, and all maner of gameing: that he hath now left neither croffe nor crucisixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde to bleffe himselfe with all. Thus these wordes (he hath spent al his goodes in riot) are dilated and set forth at large, by rehearsing euery thing one after an other.

Reasoning a matter with our selues.

When we reason the matter with our selues, when we ask questions of our selues, and answer thereunto. As thus.

How came this, good fellowe by all that he hath? Did his father leave him any Lande? Not a foote. Did his friends giue him any thing? Not a groate. Hath he serued in any vocation, to heape vp so much wealth? None hath liued more idely. Doth he not leane to some Noble man? Yea, but he never received more then fower marke wages. How then commeth he by al that euer he hath, liuing without labour, hauing no frendes to helpe him, hauing fo little to take vnerto by all outward apparance, and spending fo liberally, and owing no man a groate in all the worlde? Assuredly, it cannot be otherwise, but that he commeth naughtly by most of that which he hath.

An other. Seing thou art fo baste born, so poore in state, so smally learned, so hard fauoured, and haft no witte at all, what meanest thou to vaunt thy selfe so much, and to make such bragges as thou doest. What doth make thee to waxe so proude? Thy stocke whereof thou diddest come? Why man they are very base folk. Thine owne wealth? Tush, thou art as poore as Job. Thy learning? Marie thou never canst yet where any learning did growe. Thy beautie? Now in good soth, a worfe fauoured man can there not be vpon earth ayaine. Thy witte? Now God he knoweth, it is as blunt as many bee. What other thing then is all this thy bragging, but plaine madnede.

Resembling of things.

Resembling of thinges, is a comparing or liking of looke, with looke, shape, with shape, and one thing with an other. As when I see one in a great heate, and fiercely set upon his enemie, I might say, he let flee at him like a Dragon. Or thus. He lookes like a Tiger, a man would think he would eate one, his countenance is so ougle. He speakes not, but he barkes like a Dog: he whets his teeth like a Bore, he beats the ground with his foote like a great Horse: he is as ramping
ramping as a Lyon. By this figure called in Latine *Imago*, that is to say an Image, we might compare one man with another, as *Salut* compareth *Cesar* and *Cato* together, or wee might heape many men together, and proue by large rehearfall any thing that wee would, the which of the *Logicians* is called induction.

**Answering to our selfe.**

We are saied to answere our selfe, when we seeme to tell our selfe what we will doe, *Phedria* in Terence being much troubled and out of quiet, because hee was not receiued of his woman, but shut out of doores, when he was most willing to see her, made as though he would not come to her afterwards, nor yet see her at all, when she did most gently sende for him. And therefore being in his anger, thus he saied: Well, what shall I do? Shall I not goe, not euen now when she sends for me of her owne accorde? Or shall I bee of such a nature, that I cannot abide the despitefulnesse of Harlottes? She hath shut me out, she calles me againe. Shall I goe to her? Nay I wil not though she entreate me neuer to faire.

**Order.**

Order is of two forts, the one is when the worthier is preferred and set before. As a man is set before a woman. The second is, when in amplification, the weightieft words are set laft, and in diminishing the fame are set formost. With what looke, with what face, with what heart dare thou doe such a deede?

**Briefe describing, or circumscriptio.**

Circumscription is a briefe declaring of a thing. As thus. He is free that is subie& to no euill. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diuers other colours of *Rhetorique*, to commend and set forth a sentence, by chaunge of wordes and much varietie of speech, but I had rather offende in speaking to little, then desuerue rebuke in saying to much. For asmuch as close silence may sooner be pardoned, then immoderate babling can want iuft blame, and therefore thus an ende.

**Of Memorie.**

As I haue laboured to set out the other parts of *Rhetorique*, in such ample wise as I thought most needfull, so it standeth me in hande, not to slacken mine endeauour, now that I am come
The arte of Rhetorique.

come to speake of memorie. For, though man haue understanding and judgement, which is one part of wisedome: yet wanting a remembrance to apply things aptly, when time and place shall best require: he shall doe but small good with all his understanding. And therefore it is saied not without reason, that the same is memorie to the mind, that life is to the bodie. Now then what els must they doe that esteeme reason and loue knowledge, but cherishe the memorie from time to time, as an especiall and souerainepreferuative, against the infection of cankard oblivion. The Faulkners say, it is the first point of hauking to holde fast. And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in all good learning also, it is best & most expedient evermore to holde fast. For what auaille good things if wee cannot keepe them, if we receiue them in at one eare, and let them out as fast againe at the other eare? A good thriftie man will gather his goodes together in time of plentie, and lay them out againe in time of need: and shall not an Oratour haue in store good matter, in the chest of his memorie, to vse and bestow in time of necessitie? I doubt not, but all men defire to have a good remembrance of thinges, the which what it is, how it is deuided, and how it may be preferued, I will shewe in as fewe wordes as I can.

¶ What is memorie.

Memorie is the power retentive of minde, to keepe those thinges, which by mans wit are conceiued, or thus. Memorie is the power of the minde that conteineth things receiued, that calleth to minde things past, and reueth of fresh, things forgotten.

¶ The places of Memorie.

The Phisitions declare, that in the former part of the head lieth the common fence, the which is therefore so called, because it giueth judgement, of all the fiue outward fences, onely when they are prefently occupied about any thing. As when I heare a thing, or see a thing, my common fence judgeth, that then I doe heare, or see the fame. But the memorie called the Threasure of the minde, lieth in the hinder part, the which is made most perfect by temperatenesse, and moderation of qualities in the braine. For where humours exceede or want,
want, there must needs ensue much weakenes of remem-
braunce. Children therefore being ouer moyft, and old men
ouer drie, haue neuer good memories. Againe, where ouer
much colde is, and extreme moyfture, there is euers much for-
getfulnessse. Therefore it auaileth greatly, what bodies we
haue, and of what constitution they bee compact together.
For such as be hot and moift, do sone conceiue matters, but
they keepe not long. Again, they that be colde and drie, doe
hardly conceiue, but they keepe it surely when they once haue
it. And the reaizon is this, heate beeing chiefe qualitie, doth
drawe thinges vnto it (as we may see by the Sunne) the which
notwithstanding are foner after dissipated and refoluued. Againe,
who hath feene a print made in water of any earthly thing?
Then—though heate and moyfture together drawe thinges vnto
them, yet (wee see plainly) they cannot long hold them. But
when the braine is cold and drie, things are therfore the fatter
holden, because it is the propertie of colde and drought, to
thicken all things, and to harden them faft togerther, as we fee
the water through coldnesse is congeled, and foft thinges are
froen oftentimes: almoft as hard as a ftone. So that moyfture
through heate being chiefe qualitie, doth drawe: and drought
through coldnesse, which is chiefe contrary to heate, doth
harden and make things faft togerther. But now how doe wee
knowe, that the memorie refteth in the latter part of the head?
No doubt experience hath proued, and confirmed this to bee
moft true. For there hath beene some, that beeing hurt in
that part, haue vttterly forgot their owne name. I doe re-
member one man, that (beeing hurt in that place, at the
insurreciton of the Lincolneshire men, fijeteene yeres paft) could
not deuife the making of fome Letters in his Croffie rowe,
when he tooke penne and inke to write to his friend, whereas
before that time, he wrote both faft and faire, and was well
learned in the Latine. And therefore when he wrote, he would
stand musing a great while, before he could cal to remem-
braunce, how he vfed to make a P. a. G. or fuch an other
Letter: wherevpon diuers much maruailed what he would haue,
or what he ment at the firft time. For being grieued and
willing to afske helpe, he could not vttter his meaning, for
lacke of remembrance, and yet his tongue serued him well
otherwise, to vttter whatfoeuer came in his head.
The arte of Rhetorique.

Memorie is partly naturall, and partly artificiall. Naturall memorie, is when without any precepts or lessons, by the onely aptnesse of nature, we beare away such things as we heare. Wherein some heretofore did much excell, and greatly passe al other. As Themistocles, who had so good a memorie, that when one proffered to teach him the art of Memorie: nay by Saint Marie (quoth he) teach me rather the arte of forgetting. Declaring thereby that his memorie was passing good, and that it was more plaine for him, to forget such thinges as he would not kepe, then hard to remember such thinges as he would knowe.

Mithridates also had such an excellent memorie, that where- as he was Lorde and Ruler over xxii strange Countries, that speake diuers speeches one from an other: he was able to talke with every one of them in their owne countrey language.

Likewise Cyrus King of the Persians, hauing a great armie of cyrus men, knewe the names of all his Souldiers.

Cynneas Ambaffadour for King Pyrrhus, called every one by cyneas his name, that was in the Parliament houle at Rome, the second day after he came thether, the number of them being foure times as many as they bee, that belong vnto the Parliament here in England.

Julius Caesar is reported that he could reade, heare, and tell Julius one what he should write, so fast as his penne could runne, and endite Letters himselle altogether at one time.

Thus we see that naturally men haue had wonderfull memories, as contrariwise there haue bene heard of as strange forgetful wittes. Some hath not knowne his right hand from his left. An other hath forgot his owne name. An other hath caried his knife in his mouth: and hath runne rounde about the house seeking for it. An other hath told a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgot what he spake all that while.

Cicero telleth of one Curio, that where as he would make a deuision of three parts, he would either forget the third, or make vp a fourth, contrary to his first purpose and entent.

This I remember beeing a boye, that where as a Preacher Belike this man had the art of forgetting, had taken vpon him to set forth the twelve Articles of our belief, he could not in all the worlde finde out past nine: so that
that he was faine to say, he was assured there was twelue, wherefoever the other three were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knew them better then he did, and therefore he would for his part say no more, but commit them all to God, and those nine (thought he) were enough for him at that time, to set forth and expounde for their understanding.

Now the best meane both to amende an euill memorie, and to preserve a good, is first to keepe a diet, and eschewe surtites, to sleepe moderatly, to accompanie with women rarely, and last of all to exercise the witte with cunning, of many things without booke, and euer to be occupied with one thing or other. For euen as by labour the witte is whetted, so by lithernesse the witte is blounted.

But now concerning the other kinde of memorie called artificiall, I had need to make a long discourse, considering the strangenesse of the thing to the English ear, and the hardnesse of the matter, to the ignorant and unlearned. But first I wil shew from whence it hath beginning, and vpon what occasion it was first inuented, before I adventure to declare the precepts that belong vnto the same.

The invention of this Arte, is fathered vpon Simonides, for when the same man (as the Fable recordeth) had made in behalfe of a triumphant Champion called Scopas, for a certaine somme of money a Ballade, such as was then wont to be made for Conquerours: he was denied a piece of his reward, because he made a digression in his song (which in those daies was customably vsed) to the praise and commendation of Castor & Pollux (who were then thought being Twinnes, & got by Jupiter to be Gods) of whom the Champion willed him to ask a portion, because he had so largely set forth their worthy doings. Now it chaunced, that where as there was made a great feast, to the honour of the same Victorie, and Simonides had beene placed there as a guest, he was sodainly called from the Table, and told that there was two yong men at the doore, and both on horisback, which desired most earnestly to speake with him out of hand. But when he came out of the doores, he saw none at all: notwithstanding, he was not so sone out, and his foote on the Threfholde, but the Parlour fell downe immediatly vpon them all that were there, and so crushed
crushed their bodies together, and in such fort, that the kinfolke of those that were dead, comming in, and desirous to burie them every one according to their calling, not onely could they not perceiue them by their faces, but allo they could not discerne them by any other marke of any part in all their bodies. Then Simonides well remembring in what place every one of them did sit, tolde them what every one was, and gaue them their kinfolkes carcases, so many as were there. Thus the arte was first inuented. And yet (though this be but a Fable) reason might beate thus much into our heades, that if the like thing had bene done, the like remembrance might haue bene vfed. For who is he that seeth a dozen fit at a table, whom he knoweth very wel, cannot tell after they are all risen, where every one of them did sit before? And therefore, be it that some man inuented this tale: the matter serueth well our purpose, and what neede wee any more?

What things are requisite to get the art of Memorie.

They that will remember many thinges, and rehearfe them together out of hand: must learne to haue places, and digest Images in them accordingly.

A place what it is.

A place is called any roume, apt to receiue thinges.

An Image what it is.

An Image is any Picture or shape, to declare some certaine thing therby. And even as in waxe we make a print with a feale, fo we haue places where liuely pictures must be set. The places must be great, of small distaunce, not one like an other, and euermore the first place must bee made notable aboue the rest, hauing alwaies some feuerall note from the other, as some Antique, or a hand pointing, or fuch like, that the rather hauing a great number of places, wee might the better knowe where wee are, by the remembrance of fuch notable and straunge places. And thus hauing them well appointed, we must keepe them freth in our memorie, and neuer chaunge them but vse them still, whatsoeuer we haue to say. But the Images we may chaunge, as the matter shal giue iuft cause, vsing fuch as shal serue best for the knowledge of thinges. The which Images must bee set forth, as though they were stirring, yea, they must be sometimes made ramping, & last of al, they must be made of things notable, such as may cause earnest
earnest impression of things in our minde. As a notable euill fauoured man, or a monstruous Horfe, such as Sainct Georges Horfe was wont to be, or any such like helpe well for remembrance.

The places of Memorie are resembled vnto Waxe and Paper.

Images are compted like vnto Letters or a Seale.

The placing of these Images, is like vnto wordes written.

The utterance and vſing of them, is like vnto reading.

And therefore, as we doe referue Paper, and yet chaunge our writing, putting out wordes as occasion shall serue, and fetting other in their roume: so may we doe for the Images inuented, chaunge our Picture oft, and referue the Papers stil. Some gather their places & Images out of the Croffe rowe, beginning euery Letter with the name of some Beaf, and so goe through the whole, making in euery beaft fiue feueral places, where the Impression of things shall bee made, that is to fay, in the Head, the Bellie, in the Taile, in the former parte of the legges, & alfo in the hinder part. So that by this meanes there shall be gathered, an hundred and fifteene places. Some againe will fet their places in his head or bodie, with whom they speake. As to make the nofe, the eyes, the forehead, the haire, the eares, and other partes to serue for places. And for making places in any house, Church, or other roume, this lefson is alfo giuen, that we enter our first places alwaies vpon the right hande, neuer returning backe: but going on stil as I might fay in a Circuite, till we come to that place where wee first began. But first before the Images bee inuented, the places must bee learned perfectly, and therefore one giuen counfaile that we should goe into some solitarie place where no companie is, and there make our places, walking vp and doune fower or fiue times, and calling stil to our remembrance what, and where the places are. And not only to doe this once or twife, but to labour in it two or three daies at feueral times vntil we fhallbe able to tel our places vpon our fingers ends.

And now to make this hard matter somewhat plaine, I will vfe
The arte of Rhetorique.

vse an example. My friend (whom I tooke euer to bee an honest man) is accused of thefte, of adulterie, of ryot, of manslaughter, and of treafon: if I would keepe thefe wordes in my remembrance, and rehearfe them in order as they were spoken, I muft appoint fiue places, the which I had neede to haue fo perfectly in my memorie, as could be possible. As for example, I will make thefe in my Chamber. A doore, a window, a presse, a bedftead, and a chimney. Now in the doore, I wil set Cacus the theefe, or fome fuch notable verlet. In the windowe I will place Venus. In the Presse I will put Apitius that famous Glutton. In the Bedstead I will set Richard the third King of England, or fome notable murtherer. In the Chimney I will place the blacke Smith, or fome other notable Traitor. That if one repete thefe places, and thefe Images twife or thriſe together, no doubt though he haue but a meane memorie, he shall carie away the wordes rehearfed with eafe. And like as he may doe with thefe fiue words, fo may he doe with fiue score, if he haue places frefh in his remembraunce, and doe but vse himſelfe to this trade one fortnight together.

Therefore though it feeme ſtraune and foolish to them that knowe it not, yet the learned haue taken this way, and doubt not but maruailes may bee done, if one haue places readie made for the purpoſe, and haue them frefh in his remembraunce. For what other thing els do they that appoint Images in cer‐taine places made for that purpoſe, but write (as a man would fay) vpon Paper, that which is fpoken vnto them? What maketh the old man (that for lacke of natural heate and moyſture, scarce knoweth his right hand from his left) remember in the morning where he laid his purfe all night, but the beds head which lightly is the appointed place for all mens purses, especially such as bee wayfaireſers, and haue but little store. Shalſome Gentleman play blindfold at the Cheffe, and cannot a learned man be able to rehearfe vp a score or two of ſtraune names together. A Neteheard hauing the charge and keeping of twentie score head of Beastes in a wilde Fenne, that belong to diuers men, will not onely tell who be the owners of al fuch cattel, but alſo he will shew a man twiſe a weeke where any one is feeding, and if he want one among the whole, he will tell immediatly what it is, and whose it is that is wanting. Then fonde are theſe that coumpt the Arte of memorie fo hard, seeing
The arte of Rhetorique.

seeing they will neither proove the hardnesse of it, nor yet blush at the matter, when they see poore Neteheards goe so farre beyond them. How many things doth memorie containe marueilous to beholde, and much more would, if we were not altogether slouthfull, and as carelesse to keepe, as wee are to get, good things I meane, not goodes of this world. Every Artificer hath through exercise and labour, an artificiall memorie, sauing the learned man onely, who hath most neede of it above all other.

When we come to a place where we haue not bene many a day before, wee remember not onely the place it selfe, but by the place, wee call to remembraunce many thinges done there. Yea somtimes a window maketh some remember, that they haue stolne in their daies some thing out of it. Somtimes a chimney telleth them of many late drinkinges and fitting vp by the fire. Somtimes a Bedstead putteth them in remembraunce of many good morowes: sometimes a doore, & somtimes a parler. Thus we see places euener without Images, helpe oft the memorie, much more then shall we remember, if we haue both places and Images.

But now, because I haue halfe wearied the Reader with a tedious matter, I will harten him againe with a mery tale. At the time of rebellion in Northfolke, there was a Priest among all other, adjudged to die upon a Gibet in a greene place, a little from the high way side. This Priest seeing the place at his last ende, stooed a while musing with himselfe, and said to the companie there. Now Lorde God what a thing is this. It comes to my remembraunce now, that about fouerteen yeares past, I was merrie here vpon this bancke, with an other Priest, and wallowing me downe vpon the graffe, I faied these words: Hec requies mea in—seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. The which Sentence being a Psalme of Dauid, is nothing els in English: But this is my resting place for euer and euer, here shall be my dwelling, because I haue chosen it. And now (quoth he) I finde it to bee ouer true, so that I thinke it bee Gods will I should die, and therfore I take it in good worth, and thus I desire you al to pray for me. Thus we see that the place brought him in remembraunce of a sentence, spoken fouerteen yeares before.

Therefore, this knowledge is not to bee neglected, no though
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wee doe contemne it, yet we haue the vfe of it. For if we be fully disposed to remember a thing, wee doe call vp the memorie, and stirre it to minde thinges there vnto. As if one bee called Wingfeelde, and I feare to forget this name, I might remember the wing of a birde, and a greene feelde to walke in. Sometimes we remember the whole, by keeping in minde some parte of a word. As when one is called Crowcroft, I might by remebring of a Crowe, the rather minde his name. Notwithstanding there bee some (among whom is Eras mus) which like not this Art of Memorie, but say it rather hindereth then helpeth a mans wit. And yet Tullie the greatest Orator among the Romaines, did well allowe it, and proued it good by a natural reason. For where as we knowe some things (faith he) onely by understanding, and some by the fence of seeing, those wee keepe best in our mindes, which we know by fight, and haue marked with our eyes. As for example. When I see a Lyon, the Image thereof abideth faster in my minde, then if I shoulde heare some report made of a Lyon. Among all the fences, the eye sight is most quicke, and conteineth the impression of things more assuredly, then any of the other fences doe. And the rather when a man both heareth and seeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie, he doth almost see things lively, hee doth remember it much the beter. The sight printeth thinges in a mans memorie, as a Seale doth print a mans name in Waxe. And therefore, heretofore Images were set vp for remembrance of Saincts, to be Lay mens booke, that the rather by seing the Pictures of such men, they might be stirred to follow their good living. The which surely had beene well done, if GOD had not forbidden it. But seing thinges must be done, not of a good entent, but euin as GOD hath commaunded, it is well done that such Idolles are cleane taken out of the Church. Mary for this purpose whereof wee now write, they would haue serued gaiely well. Thus the art is sone tolde, but the pradtice of it is all. And therefore, if one desire to excell herein, let him take paines to gather his places together, and keepe them well in remembrance, prouing by halfe a score, how he shalbe able to vse a hundred. And no doubt, but time and exercife shall make him perfect. For the best art of memorie that can be, is to heare much, to speak much, to reade much, and to write much. And exercife
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exercise it is that doth al, when we haue faied all that euer we can.

Of Pronunciation.

Pronunciation is an apt ordering, both of the voyce, countenaunce, and al the whole bodie according to the worthinesse of such wordes and matter, as by speech are declared. The vfe hereof is such, for any that liketh to haue praiie, for telling his tale in open assembly, that haung a good tongue, and a comely countenaunce, he shall be thought to passe all other, that haue the like utteraunce: though they haue much better learning. The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery matter, and beautifieth the caufe in like maner, as a sweete founding Lute, much ssetteth forth a meane deuised Ballad. Or as the founde of a good instrument stirreth the hearers, and moueth much delite, so a cleare founding voyce, comforteth much our deintie eares, with much sweete melodic, and caueth vs to allow the matter, rather for the reporters fake, then the reporter for the matters fake: Demoſthenes therefore, that famous Oratour, beeing asked what was the chiefeft point in all Oratorie, gaue the chiefe and onely praiie to Pronunciation, being demaunded, what was the second, and the third, he stil made aunfwere Pronunciation, and would make no other aunfwere till they left asking, declaring hereby, that arte without utteraunce can doe nothing, utteraunce without art can doe right much. And no doubt, that man is in outwarde apparaunce, half a good Clarke that hath a cleane tongue, and a comely ieſture of his bodie. Aſchines likewise, beeing banished his Countrey through Demoſthenes, when he red to the Rodians his owne Oration, and Demoſthenes aunfwere therevnto, by force whereof he was banished, and all they marueiled much at the excellencie of the fame: then (quoth Aſchines) you would haue marueiled much more, if you had heard himſelfe speake it. Thus beeing cast in miferie and banished for euer, he could not but giue such great report of his moſt deadly and mortall enemie.

The parts of Pronunciation.

Pronunciation standeth partly in fashioning the tongue, and partly in framing the ieſture.

The tongue or voyce is praiıe worthie, if the utteraunce be audible, strong, and easie, and apt to order as wee lift. Therefore,
The arte of Rhetorique.

fore, they that minde to get praise in telling their minde in open audience, muft at the first beginning, speake some what softly, vfe meete paufing, and being somewhat heated, riſe with their voyce, as time and caufe hall best require. They that have no good voyces by nature, or cannot well utter their wordes, muft feek for helpe els where. Exercise of the bodie, fasting, moderation in meate and drinke, gaping wide, or finging plaine Song, and counterfeyting those that doe speake distinctly, helpe much to haue a good deliuerance. Demofthenes beeing not able to pronounce the first letter of that Arte which he professed, but would say, for, Rhetorike, Letolike, vfed to put little ftones vnder his tongue, and fo pronounced, whereby he speake at length fo plainly, as any man in the world could doe. Musicians in England haue vfed to put gagges in childrens mouthes, that they might pronounce distinctly, but now with the losſe and lacke of Muſick, the loue also is gone of bringing vp children to speake plainly. Some there bee that either naturally, or through folly haue iuch euill voyces, and such lacke of utteraunce, and such euill ieſture, that it much defaceth all their doings. One pipes out his wordes fo small, through default of his winde pipe, that ye would thinke he whiftled. An other is hource in his throte, that a man would thinke, he came lately from scouring of Harneffe. An other speakes, as though he had Plumes in his mouth. An other speakes in his throte, as though a good Ale crumme ftocke faſt. An other rattles his wordes. An other choppes his wordes. An other speakes, as though his wordes had neede to bee heaued out with leauers. An other speakes, as though his words fhould bee weighed in a Ballaunce. An other gapes to fetch winde at euery third worde. This man barkes out his English Northren-like, with I say, and thou lad. And other speakes fo finely, as though he were brought vp in a Ladies Chamber. As I knewe a Prieſt that was as nice as a Nunnes Henn, when hee would say Maffe, he would neuer say Dominus vobiscum, but Dominus vobiscum. In like maner, as some now will say the Commandements of G O D. Blacke Uellet, for Commandements, and blacke Uellet. Some blowe at their noſtrilles. Some fighes out their wordes. Some fignes their fentences. Some laughes altogether, when they speake to any bodie. Some grunts like a Hogge. Some cackles like a Henn, or a Lacke Dawe.
The arte of Rhetorique.

Dawe. Some speakes as though they should tell in their sleeue. Some cries out fo loude, that they would make a mans eares ake to heare them. Some coughes at every worde. Some hems it out. Some spittes fire, they talke fo hotly. Some makes a wrie mouth, and fo they wreft out their wordes. Some whines like a Pigge. Some suppes their wordes vp, as a poore man doth his Porrage. Some noddes their head at every sentence. An other winkes with one eye, & some with both. This man frouneth alwaies when he speakes. And other lookes euuer as though hee were mad. Some cannot speake but they must goe vp and downe, or at the leaft be ftirring their feete, as though they stood in a cockering Boate. An other will play with his cappe in his hand, and so tell his tale. Some when they speake in a great companie, will looke all one way, as I knewe a Reader in my daies, who looked in like sorte, when hee read to Scholers, whom one thought to difapoint of fuch his conftant lookes: and therefore againft the next day, he painted the Deuill with homes vpon his head, in the self fame place, where the Reader was wont alwaies to looke, the which straunge Monfter, when the Reader fawe, he was half abafhed, and turned his face an other way. Some pores vpon the ground as though they fought for pinnes. Tullie telles of one Theophrastus Taurijcus, who is faied to declaime arfee verfee. Some swelles in the face, and filles their cheekes full of winde, as though they would blowe out their wordes. Some fets forth their lippes, two inches good beyond their teeth. Some talkes as though their tongue went of pattines. Some shewes all their teeth. Some speakes in their teeth altogether. Some lets their wordes fall in their lippes, scant opening them when they speake. There are a thoufand fuch faultes among men, both for their speech, and alfo for their iefture, the which if in their young yeares they bee not remedied, they will hardly bee forgot when they come to mans state. But the rather that these faultes may be redressed: I haue partly declared heretofore, the right vfe of vtteraunce. And now I minde by Gods helpe to shewe the right vfe of iefture.

What is iefture.

Lesture, what it is. Lesture is a certaine comely moderation of the countenance, and al other parts of mans bodie, aptly agreeing to those
things which are spoken. That if we shall speake in a pleaſant matter, it is meeſte that the looke alfo should bee chereſfull, and all the iſturance stirring thereafter. The head to bee holden vpright, the forehead without frowning, the browes without bending, the noſe without blowing, the eyes quicke and pleaſant, the lippes not laied out, the teeth without grenning, the armes not much caſt abroade, but comely set out, as time and caufe shall best require: the handes sometimes opened, and sometimes holden together, the fingers pointing, the breast laied out, and the whole bodie stirring altogether, with a feemely moderation. By the which behauiour of our bodie after ſuch a forte, we ſhall not onely deſlite men with the fight, but perſwade them the rather the trueth of our caufe.

Hortenſius had ſuch deſlite to vſe comely iſturance, and had Hortenſius. ſuch grace in that behalfe: that I doubt whether men had a greater deſire to fee him, then they had to heare him. His countenaunce fo well agreed with his wordeſ, and his wordeſ were fo meete for his countenaunce: that not onely hee did pleafe the iudgement of his hearers, and contented their minde: but also he pleafed their eyes, and deſlited their eares, fo much as could be wifhed.

Tullie faieſth well: The iſturance of man. is the fpeech of his bodie, and therefore reaſon it is, that like as the fpeeche muſt agree to the mater, fo muſt also the iſturance agree to the minde, for the eyes are not giuen to man onely to fee, but alfo to ſhewe and fet forth the meaning of his minde, eu'n as vnto a Bore, are giuen brifelles: To a Lion, the taile: To a Horſe, his eares: whereby their inclinations and fodaine affections are fone espied. When wee see a man looke redde in the eyes, his browes bent, his teeth bying his vpper lippe, we iudge that he is out of paſcience.

Therefore as we ought to haue good regard, for the utterance of our words, fo wee ought to take heede that our geſturance be comely, the which both being well obſervered, ſhall encrease fame,

and get eſtimacion vniuerſally.

But
But here an ende. And now as my will hath bene earneft, to
doe my beft: so I wish that my paines may be taken
thereafter. And yet what needes wishing, seeing
the good will not speake euill: and the
wicked can not speake wel. Therefore
being staied vpon the good, and
assured of their gentle bearing
with mee: I feare none,
because I stand
vpon a faufe
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<td>1585; him 1560</td>
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<td>ymgrame</td>
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<td>so all editions. The sense seems to require Iufe.</td>
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<td>57, margin.</td>
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<td>1560, 1567; Alceftes. Wife Julia 1585</td>
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<td>66, 1. 1</td>
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l. 9. dedly] 1585; daily 1567
l. 12. deferre] 1567; referre 1585
l. 38. order] omitted 1567


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Page 71, l. 13. us] omitted 1585
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Page 76, ll. 2, 3. li] 1567; l' 1585
l. 21. facietie (soil, satiety) 1567; societie 1585

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l. 19. through] 1567; rather 1585

Page 79, l. 35. part] point 1567

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l. 39. amongst a] 1567; among the 1585

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Page 84, l. 9. them] 1567; then 1585
l. 11. were like] 1567; were not like 1585

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l. 29. with] omitted 1585
l. 30. winne] 1567; winne with 1585

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Page 88, l. 11. for] omitted 1585

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l. 35. their] 1560, 1567; omitted with space left 1585
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