Dekker, Thomas. The Dead Term (1608). The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. 5 vols. 1885. Rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963. 4:1-84.

NOTE.

For my exemplar of 'The Dead Terme' I am indebted to the British Museum (C. 39. 34). 'Witts Terme' (in British Museum: 12316 q.q. 37), has been erroneously ascribed to Dekker, probably from misrecollection of the title-page of the present book.—G.

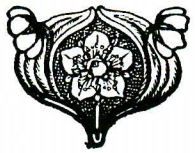
THE Dead Tearme.

OR

Weſtminſters Complaint for long Va-cations and ſhort Termes.

Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes London and Weſtminſter.

The Contentes of this diſcourſe is in the Page following. *By T. Dekker.*



LONDON.

Printed and are to be ſold by Iohn Hodgets at his houſe in Pauls Churchyard. 1608.



The Principall matters contay-

ned in this diſcourſe.

A Short Encomiaſticke ſpeech in praiſe of Charing-croſſe. 11-12

The ſinnes of Weſtminſter. 12-14

The ſinnes of London. ,54-

The Buildings of Weſtminſter and London. 14-15

The Names of all the Kings and Queenes that lie buried in Weſtminſter. 15-20 < Thames 20-21

Weſtminſters complaint. 21-27

Vacations and Tearmes compared. 27-29

A paradox in praiſe of going to Law. 30-34

A paradox in praiſe of a Pen. 34-36

Londons anſwere to Weſtminſter. 37-42; 52-53; 62-63; 69-72

Paules ſteeples Complaint. 42-50

The walkes of Paules deſcribed. 50-52 - ſpoken by Steele

The Stewes on the Banke-ſide, and the Suburbe-houſes of iniquity at this time compared together. 56

A paradox in praiſe of Vacations. 63-65
An Inuectiue againſt a Pen. 65-
The Originall of London. 73-77
A deſcription of Sturbridge-Fayre. 79-
A merrie Ieſt of two London Porters performed there, about burying of a Londoner.



To the very Woorthy, Learned,

Iuditious, and Noble Gentleman, Syr John Harrington Knight.

SIR, *the Loue (which your immortall* Arioſto *tels to the world) that you really beare to* Diuine, (*but now* Poore *and* Contemned) Poeſie, *hath a long time made me an* Honorer *of thoſe bright aſcending* Vertues in you, *which thoſe* Holy *and* Pure Flames *of* Her *haue kindled in your boſome.* Happy *you are by* Birth, *Happy, by your bringing vp, but moſt happy in that the* Muſes *were your* Nurſes, *to whome you haue beene ſo tender, that they make you an* Elder *ſonne and* Heyre *of their* Goodlieſt Poſſeſſions. *So that your* Loue *to* Them, *hath drawne from* Others, *an* Honourable Loue *and* Regarde *of you. The* Path *which* True Nobleneſſe *had wont (and ought) to tread, lyes directly before you: you haue beene euer, and are now in the way,*

which emboldens me to preſume, that as our Greateſt Commanders *will not diſdaine to inſtruct euen* Freſh-water-ſouldiers *in the Schoole-poynts of war, ſo (out of your Noble diſpoſition) you will vouchſafe to viewe the labours of ſo dull a* Pen, *as* This *that writes vnto you. Two* Citties *haue I ſummoned to a* Parley, *and of their great* Enter-view *haue I choſen you to be* Arbiter. *It is* Boldnes *in me, I confeſſe, but it is the* Boldnes, *of my* Loue, *referring which (and my ſelfe) to your worthy* Cenſure, I Reſt.

Deuoted to you in all ſeruice:

Thomas Dekker.



Weſtminſters ſpeech to *London.*

Thou goodlieſt Queene, euen ouer the greateſt Citties! How glad am I (*O London*) that we two are met together? For now will I poure my ſorrows into thy boſome. Thou art Reuerend for thy Age, (as béeing now, two thouſand, ſeauen hundred and foure-téene yeares old, which is more then my ſelfe, am, by a thouſand, ſix hundred and foure yeares, for I am but one thouſand, one hundred, and tenne yeares of age.) Thou art Grandam almoſt to this whole Kingdome: A bleſſed Mother thou art, for no leſſe thē one hundred and thréeſcore *Emperours, Kinges* and *Queens,*

Brute builded London: he conquered this Ile in A 1108. *yeares before Christ.*

Sybert King of the East Saxons, builded Westminster & he raigned in An. 596. *after Christ.*

haſt thou borne in thy Wombe. Healthfull thou art of body: it appeareth by thy ſtrength in holding out ſo long; pure thou art of complexion; It is ſeene by thy Chéekes, the Rooſes of them are nothing wythered: Rich thou art in the treaſure of all thinges: witneſſe the number of Nations, that for thy ſubſtaunce, are thy dayly ſuitors: ſtored are thy breaſtes with wiſedome, and the glory thereof ſhines in the gouernment of thy *Rulers*.

160. *Kinges in Brittaine since Brute.*

Thou / art full of pollicy, great with experience, renowned for Learning; Thou art full of loue, full of pitty, full of piety: yea, thou art (O Nobleſt Daughter of Brutus) my Eldeſt Siſter; thou rather (if our deſcents bee well looked into) art my Mother.

Vnto whom therefore can my condolements better come than to thée. Vpon whoſe lap ſhall I lay my aking temples if not vpon thine? One eye of Heauen lookes downe vpon vs both; one and the ſame handfull of earth, ſerues vs both to dwell vppon: The teares that fall from both our eyes, make vp one *Riuer*, and that *Riuer* ſerues againe for both our bodyes to bath in.

Since therefore wee are partners in all other thinges, why ſhould wee not be Sharers in our mothers affliction! Thou ſtandeſt ſilent, I ſee at theſe my ſpeeches, as béeing driuen into wonder,

why I (that haue alwayes kept company with the proudeſt, and beene euer Iocond) ſhould now ſinke downe into any kinde of complayninges. But to kéepe thée (O my beſt and fayreſt Neighbour) from tormenting thy ſelfe with thinking on the cauſes of this my grieuing: let mée tell thée (thou Nurſe to many thouſandes of people) that I doe not pine, to ſee that Auncient and oldeſt * Sonne of mine, with his Limbes broken to péeces, (as if hee were a Male-factor, and hadde beene tortured on the *Germaine* Wheele:) his *Reuerend Head* cut off by the cruelty of *Time*; The Ribbes of his body bruized; His Armes lop't away; His backe (that euen grew crooked with age) almoſt cleft in ſunder: yea, and the ground (on which hée hath dwelt for ſo many * hundreds of yeeres) ready to bee pulled from vnder his feete, ſo that with gréefe his very heart ſéemes to be broken.

* *Charing-Crosse.*

* 316 *yeeres since Charing Crosse vvas builded by Ed:* 1, *Anno Chri.* 1291.

I confeſſe (thou braueſt of Citties) that this *Graund-childe* of mine hath beene the talleſt and hardieſt of all the Sonnes of my body: for thou knoweſt it aſwell as I, that hée hath borne himſelfe valiantly, (and without ſhrinking) in many a ſtorme. Many a tempeſt hath beene flung from Heauen to ſhake him, yet ſtill hath hee kept his owne footing.

An Encomion of Charing Crosse.

Many a ſtounding blow hath he taken on his

head, yet for a long time did he beare them without reeling. So well beloued hath hee beene amongſt the Kinges and Princes of this Nation, that they would almoſt neuer paſſe, to thoſe Royall Pallaces where I inhabit, and neuer repayre to their Houſes of Parliaments, or to their places of Kingly Tryumphes, but they would of purpoſe take their way by him: yea, ſo greatly hath hée in times paſt beene helde in honour, that the knees of common people hath beene bowed before him, and the bare heades of the greateſt Prelates heretofore haue ſhewed to him a kinde of reuerence. Yet it is not for his ſake (O farre-renowēd *Troynouant*) that my Soule liues in ſorrow: albeit, I ſee him now laughed at and contemned.

Neither am I afflicted by beholding the vnrulyneſſe of thoſe Children that are vnder my keeping. It were a madneſſe in mee to frette at theyr wickedneſſe, becauſe no ſorrow of mine can amend it. I know it, and am aſhamed to tell thée, that *Drunkenneſſes* reeles euery day vp and down my ſtreetes. Fellowes there are that follow mee, who in déepe bowles ſhall drowne the Dutchman, and make him lie vnder the Table. At his owne weapon of *Vpſie freeze* will they dare him, and beat him with wine-pots till hée be dead drunke. Out ſwagger they will beſides (being armed with that French

The sinnes of Westminster.

Drunkennesse.

weapon) a whole Fayre full of Butchers and Tinkers, who commonly are the greateſt Fighters, and moſt profound ſwearers. As for that ſin that is after ſerued in dinner, and after Supper: or rather that ſinne that is vp night and day, and can ſée aſwell in darkeneſſe as in Light; that Monſter with two bellies, (Lechery I meane) doe what I can, no whips are able to make it leape out of my Iuriſdiction. More Mayden-heades I verily beléeue / are cut off vpon my owne feather-beds (in one year) than are heads of Cattell cut off in (in two) amongſt the Butchers that ſerue my families.

Quarrelling.

Lechery.

But I feare (*O London*) that by dwelling ſo near thée thou haſt infected my houſes with theſe two plagues, that now run ouer all the Kingdome: for all the world knowes that euen thy ſhopkéepers and pooreſt Tradeſmen lay by their owne occupations, and fall to theſe.

Other ſinnes lies knawing (like diſeaſes) at my heart, for Pride ſits at the doores of the rich: Enuy goes vp and downe with the Begger, féeding vpon Snakes: *Rents* are layde vpon the racke (euen my own ſight) and by my own Children that I haue borne, whilſt *Conſcience* goes like a foole in pyed colours, the ſkin of her body hanging ſo looſe, that like an *Oxford* Gloue, thou

Pride.

Enuy.

Extortion.

Sins of London ↓

wouldſt ſwear there wer a falſe ſkin within her.

Auarice. *Couetouſnes* hath got a hundred handes, and all thoſe hands do nothing but tye knots on her Purſe-ſtrings, but Prodigality hauing but two handes, vndoes thoſe knottes faſter, than the other can tie them. O thou Darling of *Great Brittaine*, thy Princes call thée *Their Treaſurer* and thou art ſo. But more peeces of Siluer and Gold paſſe not through thy fingers, then oathes from the mouthes of my inhabitants.

Vnthriftines.

Swearing. Thou art held to be (*O London*) the lowdeſt ſwearer in the kingdome, becauſe (ſome ſay) thou haſt whole ſhoppes and Ware-houſes filled with oathes; yet I feare, I haue thoſe about me that for filthy mouthing wil put thée down, for I am haunted with ſome that are called *Knights* onely for their ſwearing. Ranckely doe theſe and other ſtinking wéedes grow vp in my walkes, and in my Gardens; the ſauours of them are Peſtilent to my Noſthrils, and are able to kill me: yet much good wholeſome fruits do I féed vpon, that are to my life a preſeruation. So, that for the aches that their diſeaſes bréed in my bones I doe not languiſh neyther.

Knights of the Post.

Thou / knoweſt and I confeſſe it, (for if I ſhould not, the whole world would ſwear it) that thou

poſſeſſeſt the more but I the more goodly buildings: thy houſes are contryued for thrift and profitable vſes, mine for ſtate and pleaſure: thou dwelleſt vnder plaine roofes, I within royall Pallaces: euery roome that thou lodgeſt in, is but called a Chamber, and euery Chamber I ſleepe in, is a Kinges Court: In thine Armes lie the ſonnes of England to ſuck wealth, but in my lap ſit the Princes of England to be Crowned, In my boſome doe they ſlumber whileſt they liue, and when they dye, they deſire to bee buried betwéene my breaſts.

The building of Westminster and London compared.

To teſtifie this, all the annoy[n]ted kinges and Queenes, (except one, who receiued his Crowne at Gloceſter) with all the Wiues of thoſe kinges, that haue raigned heere ſince that *Norman* Conqueror, would if they were now liuing ſpeake on my ſide in that behalfe, for the full number of 21. Kinges and two Queens (being a payre of Siſters) haue receiued the glorious Titles of Maieſtie, and were ſeen the very firſt day of their ſitting on the Engliſh throne onely at my hands, and in my preſence, of which that conquerour, and *Matilda* (his wife) had the honor to begin; for till hys tyme, other places wer made happy by that dignity, as *Kingſton*, &c. which

21 Kings and two Queenes besides the wiues of those Kinges haue bin crowned at Westminst.

William conquerour, and his wife the first that were crowned in Westminster.

but ỹ their ſtatues & ſumptuous monuments, do ſhine in my Temples, and worke ſuch aſtoniſhment in the eyes (euen of ſtraungers) that I eſtéeme that hurt of mine, the beſt part of my glory. Beſides all theſe gallant obiects, the ſwifte-footed *Thameſis*, daunceth all the day long, (in wanton Water-ringes) before mée: ſhee transformes her Chriſtall body into a thouſand ſhapes to delight mee: Sometimes does ſhee chaunge her ſelfe into* a Girdle of Siluer, and then doe I weare it about my middle. Sometimes lookes ſhee like an* Amazon, (a long curled hayre hanging looſely about her ſhoulders) and then dooes ſhee fight with the windes, and her combates are diſcharged with excellent grace. Anon ſhall you beholde her lymbes ſtretcht out to an infinite, (but comely* length,) and then (O my worthyeſt Siſter) doe we two grow proude, and take her for a *Ryuer*: whileſt ſhee continues in that ſhape, thou knoweſt what delicate turnings and windinges ſhee does make euen at our feete: thy habitations ſtande then like a rich Embrodery about the ſkirts of an imperial garment, but my buildinges ſhew like ſo many Caſtles, raiſed by *Enchantment*, where faire Ladies locke vppe their beauties, whilſt knights aduenturers come armed thether with loyalty,

Description of Thames

* *High water.*

* *Rough water.*

Ebbing water for then shee runs into the Sea, where hir length can not be measured.

challenging them for their loues: yea in ſuch goodly, & in ſo artificial an order are my Turrets and Towers erected, that the Sun (at his riſing) makes mee beléeue / they are Rockes of Burniſht Siluer, & with his bluſhing vpon them (at his going downe) I haue a thouſande times ſworne they were ſo many hils of Gold.

Bée thou now an indifferent Iudge (*O London*, thou fayreſt Daughter of Europe) if I, beeing accuſtomed to this fulneſſe of dignitie, and this variety of pleaſures, haue not good cauſe to languiſhe when I am depriued of them all. The more princely are my gueſts, the more inſufferable, and more to be pittied are my paſſions, ſpent for their abſence. Well was it for thée (thou Metropolis of the world) that the honours, the *Habits*, the *Tryumphes*, the gifts of Kinges, and the *Reuennewes* that belong to my *Royaltyes*, are not made *Thine*: thou ſwelleſt in thy heart enough already, but then wouldſt thou haue bin too proud and inſolent.

How therefore can I chooſe but buffet mine owne chéekes through the anguiſh of my Soule? Teare mine own hayre to ſée my ſelfe diſtreſſed? and euen drinke mine own hart-bloud in teares, to looke on my preſent miſerie? Liſten to me: for now (O my déereſt *Play-fellow*) ſhalt thou heare the very true tunes of my moſt iuſt bewaylings.

West's Complaint.

Thoſe throwes of ſorowe come vppon mee foure times euery yéere, but at one time more, (and with more paines) then at all the reſt. For in the height and luſtieſt pride of Summer, when euery little Village hath her Bachilers & her Damoſels tripping deftly about May-pols; when Medowes are full of Hay-makers: when the fieldes vpon the workidaies are full of Haruеſtars ſinging, and the town gréenes vpon Hollydayes, trodden downe by the Youthes of the Pariſh dancing: when thou (O thou beautifull, but bewitching Citty) by the wantonneſſe of thine eye, and the Muſicke of thy voyce allureſt people from all the corners of the Land, to throng in heapes, at thy Fayres and thy Theators; Then, (euen then) ſit I like a Widdow in the middeſt of my mourning: then doe my buildings ſhew like infected lodgings, from which the Inhabitants are fledde: then / are my chambers empty, and my common paths vntrodden· then doe I not looke like thy next neighbour, but like a creature forlorne and vtterly forſaken. Were it not that my ſtate is vpheld by fiue great Pillers, (the chiefe of them being ſo hie, that Kinges and Princes ſit on the top of it) I ſhould euen looſe my name, and the memory of mee would be buryed in the earth, that now beares

Westminsters complaint.

Bartholmew-tide.

The long vacation before Michelmas Tearme.

The Court & 4 Tearmes.

me vp. That firſt and *Capitall* Columne* (on which leanes all my ſtrength) is a * *Pyramides*, whoſe point reaches vppe to the Starres: whileſt that ſtands in mine eye, I behold *a Maieſty, equall to *Ioues*: I ſée a **Vine*, whoſe braunches ſhall ſpread ſo farre, and ſo hie, that one day they ſhall couer Kingdomes. I ſée likewiſe a **Table*, at which ſit none, but *Thoſe*, whoſe heads grow white onely with the *Cares* of a Kingdom: I ſée a *Row of* * *Lords* too, whoſe flouriſhing doth dignify the place vppon which they grow, and whoſe ſhady boughes beate backe, and kéepe off from the people the violent heate of Tyrany and oppreſſion: Beſides all theſe, do I behold a goodly Fountain,* large, cleare, ſtrongly and curiouſly built, out of which come a thouſand pipes, (ſome greater then the reſt) thorough whome a ſwéete water flowes, that giues life vnto the Soule. And laſt of all (ſo full is my happineſſe) in ſtead of earthly Creatures, I ſée none but *Goddeſſes. But (woe is me) when th gre at *Piller* is remoued from my ſight, then (caſting vp mine-eye) me thinks I looke vpon nothing but my owne *Ruines*. Nay, that calamitie of mine doth euen ſtretch to thée: for thou thy ſelfe, for all thy loftineſſe and boaſting

* *The Court.*

* *The King.*

* *The Queen and her Progeny.*

* *The Counsell.*

* *The Nobility.*

* *The Clergy.*

* *The Ladyes of the Court.*

dooeſt at that time droope, and hange the head.

But note how the *Rulers* of this Land haue loued mee; though they giue mee woundes, they giue mée *Balme* to cure them: though the Sunne goe from me yet am I comforted with the brightneſſe of the Stars. The Law (which lyes in, at euery Vacation) is brought to bed in foure ſeuerall months of the yeare, and deliuered of foure* Sonnes. Thoſe Sonnes inuite me to foure kingly Feaſts; they kéep their / *Tournes*; and their *Returnes*, are ſo many ſeuerall Seruices. They are the *Foure Elements* that gouerne and giue life to my body; yea, ſo déere doe I make them vnto me, that I account of them, as of *Foure Golden Ages*. Whileſt any of theſe foure abide in my Company, I am more Jocond then a Woman in the embracements of her Louer. My Chéekes looke then red, with a high and luſty colour, for I waſh them in Wines: my heart is merry, for I nouriſh it with gladneſſe. Then doe my Tenants ſléepe ſoundly, (for they drinke ſoundly:) Then dare they talke any thing, for they haue Lawe on their ſides; Then are they content to take crackt Crownes°, though at another time they would ſtabbe him that ſhould but hitte theyr eare.

* *The foure Tearmes.*

The good that the terms bring to Westminster.

Vintners are then as buſie as Bees are in Hiues,

° Coins that are damaged; also broken heads.

for as Bées flye from one Flower to another to ſucke out Hony, ſo both the Drawers leape from one Hogſhead to another to let out Wines. In euery roome are the Pottle-Pottes working, to bring in gaines to their Maiſter, as the other labor, to bring forth wax for their hiues. The ſtings are in the tailes, and that is at the end of their Cups, when they come to a barre for the *Reckoning*: The Drones are thoſe that drinke that which ſhould doe others good, yet hurt themſelues by it, taking too much of it.

How busie Westminster is in a tearme time.

Neither do *Tauernes* alone fall into this profitable and healthfull ſweating *Sickneſſe*: but all other Trades, Occupations, Miſteries, and Profeſſions, do row vp & down this Spring-tide ſtreame of buſineſſe; and ſuch good Draughts haue they, that all is *Fiſh* that comes into their Net.

Yea, in the open ſtreetes is ſuch walking, ſuch talking, ſuch running, ſuch riding, ſuch clapping too of windowes, ſuch rapping at Chamber doores, ſuch crying out for drink, ſuch buying vp of meate, and ſuch calling vppon Shottes, that at euery ſuch time, I verily beléeue I dwell in a Towne of Warre.

For / euery morning do the men of law march to the Hall, as it were to the fielde: The Coun-

UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR LIBRARY
72230

ſellors are the Leaders, Atturnies and Clarkes, are petty Commaunders, and Officers of the band: the trayned old Weather-beaten Souldiers, are thoſe that haue followed the Law a long time, and haue vndoone themſelues by brabblinges. The raw, freſh-water-Souldiers, are ſuch as entered but yeſterday into the action.

Going to law compared to going to war.

In which March of theirs, if you fall but in amongſt the Rankes, you will by and by ſuppoſe your ſelfe in the Low-Countries; for as the Souldiers (there) ſo theſe (here) talk of nothing but Stratagems and poyntes of War. Some threaten to ouerthrow their aduerſaries, vpon aſſaults and Battryes: Some (as if an enemy were to be blown vp in a Towne) ſweare to driue them out of their houſes by way of Eiectments: Others, as if they came to the ſacking of a Citty, cry out vpon nothing but *Attachments*, both of goodes and body.

And as among Souldiers, ſome delight in bloud more then others, ſo amongſt theſe, ſome take a pryde in crueltie more then others, and labour onely to haue their Enemies in *Execution*. At the length, they come into the fielde, (that is to ſay, to the *Barre*) where they muſt try the quarrell by Arbitrement of wordes in ſtead of ſwords: for there either the one ſide or other is ouerthrown:

There ſtand the Pikemen (that is to ſay, ſuch as haue had long ſutes) and being wearyed, care not almoſt which end goes forward, becauſe they are at a ſtand; the *Bill-men* hard by them, but they for the moſt part are for euer complayning. And thus (thou Minion of ſo many Kinges) doth this ſtirring vp and downe of my body, ſtirre vppe my bloud, and keepes mee ſound: this peopling of my ſtréets, makes me to be crowned with the title, dignity, and liberties of a Cittie, (for what are Cities if they be not peopled:) this Phiſick (ſo long as I take it) preſerues my body in health: But becauſe I am compelled ſometimes to giue it ouer, which is commonly in / Harueſt, and now a little at the beginning of the fall of the leafe, (for this part of the yeare doth moſt trouble mee) I féele the ſtate of my body weake, and ſubiect to infirmities. For alaſſe there are certaine Canker-Wormes (called Vacations) that deſtroy the Trées of my Inhabitants, ſo ſoone as euer they beare any fruite. Theſe Vacations are to mine owne body, like long and waſting conſumptions; they are more grieuous to my remembrance, then the comming on of a tedious night to a man tormented with ſicknes: or then marriages delaied, to them that lie ſighing for the delights thereof.

They that haue had long sutes are like Pike-men, Chancery-mē like Bill-men.

The hurt vacations doe to Westminster.

The vnwholeſome breath of Autumne, who is ſo full of diſeaſes, that his very blowing vppon trées, makes theyr leaus to fal off (as the French Razor ſhaues off the haire of many of thy *Suburbians*,) euen that, and all the foure Maiſter-windes that kéepe ſuch a bluſtring in the world, do not more ſcatter the duſt of the Earth, then the cold blaſtes of foure Vacations, doe blow abroad the wealth that before I haue gotten together.

In the Tearme times, euery day to me is a day of feaſting, but euery Vacation ſtarues me with ill dyet, for all the daies of them are to me nothing but faſting daies. Yea, the Dog-dayes are not halfe ſo vnwholeſome, ſo peſtilent & ſo perilous to the bodyes of mẽn, as thoſe are to mee. The Tearmes are my flowings, the Vacations my ebbinges. So that (if I were ſure the world would not hold mée for a miſerable and couetous wretch) I could euen wiſh, that theſe battayles of the law, were fighting all the yeare long. It were as much glory, fame, and preferment for mée to haue it ſo, as it is for the Low-countries, to be all the year vp in armes.

And tell me I pray, (thou prouident Miſtris ouer ſo many families) tell mee in thine opinion, if it were not fit to haue all theſe foure Riuers of the law, run into one ſtream, without any ſtoppings

or turnings. For, do but conſider what voyage a man is to make when he ſayes, *I muſt goe to / Law*. It is a *Voyage*, but ſhort and eaſie to finiſh, if you méete with an honeſt and ſkilfull *Pilot*, that knowes the right puttings in, the watering-places, and the *Hauens*, and can auoyd the *Rockes*, Gulfes, Créekes, & quick-ſands that lie cleane out of the way; and yet many a thouſand do deſperately runne themſelues on ground, and ſuffer Ship-wracke vppon them. But on the contrary part, if a Man ſets out careleſly, not taking the Counſell of men experienced in thoſe *Seas*, though he be neuer ſo well furniſhed, neuer ſo well manned, neuer ſo ſtrong in heart, neuer ſo able to brooke ſtormes and tempeſts; yet let him bee ſure to be toſſed from coaſt to Coaſt, to bee driuen forward with one proſperous gale to day, and to be blown three times further backward with a boiſtrous breath to morrow: to haue his Soule afflicted with cares, and his heart eaten vppe with frettinges, and in the end to finde (to his coſt) that he had beene better to haue vndertaken a *Voyage* to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indyes*: and ſooner hadde he made his returne home. So that to hoyſt vppe Sayles in this *Ocean of Controuerſies*, and to méete with a fortunate and faire *Ariuall*, is as much honor, as to go to *Ieruſalem*, and ſafely to come back againe.

Is it not pitty then (O thou wiſeſt Cenſurer of worldly matters) Is it not great pitty, that an Inſtrument of ſo muſicall a ſound, of ſuch excellent rarity and perfection, ſhould at any time lie dumbe and vntouched, and not rather be played vpon, euen from the beginning of the *Suns* early progreſſe to his ending, and without intermiſſion?

It is, It is, and I know for all thy ſilence thou ſubſcribeſt in thought to this my opinion.

Thus haue I made thée a witnes of my lamentings; the teares of mine eyes haue in their falling down, dropt vpon thine owne chéekes: I haue opened vnto thée my Bowels, and thou ſéeſt what conſumptions hang vpon me, to make me pyne to nothing. Be thou now (O thou Bryde woorthy the loue euen of the greateſt king) Be thou and the whole worlde my witneſſes, if I deſcend into theſe complaynings without iuſt inforcement.

I haue héere, and there (in this ſtory of my fortunes,) reckoned vp ſome part of my owne worth, and my own inioy/inges, leaſt ſwimming altogether, or too long in the ſtreame of my ſorrowes, I ſhould vtterly quicke haue ſunke, and ſo drowne my honour, by forgetting that I am a Citty.

Counſell mee therefore now, (O thou *Charitable Releeuer* and *Receiuer* of diſtreſſed *Strangers*) how I may either make this burden of my affliction

lye more lightly on my ſhoulders, or elſe how my ſhoulders may bear it with a commendable patience.

Londons aunſwere to Weſt-*minſter*.

AT theſe wordes, (The *Mother* of the twelue *Companies*,) once or twice ſhaking her aged but reuerend head, on the top of which ſtood (as the Crowne of her honour) a heape of lofty Temples and Pynnacles, to the number of one* hundered and nine, thus grauelie began.

* 109. *parishes in London.*

That I haue ſummoned vppe more yeares, and therefore more care than thou haſt (O beloued of all our Englyſh Princes) the Chronicles of *Tyme*, (who ſets downe al Occurrents) can teſtifie.

I dare boaſt, that *Experience* hath with her owne finger written her Hiſtories on my fore-head; for I haue had Negotiation with all the Nations that be in the world. I haue ſeene the growing vppe and the withering of many Empyres: the obſeruation of forraigne Countreyes hath bin my ſtuddy, whyleſt the polliticke and ſtayed gouernment of my owne hath béene my glory. So carefull haue I béene, and ſo Iealous of my own eſtate, (ſéeing cittyes greater than my ſelfe, to lye as lowe nowe

as their firſt Foundation) that I haue Printed downe theyr mutabilities and their greateſt miſeries in the midſt and depth of / my palmes, becauſe they ſhould be euer in mine eye as Cautionery proſpects. So that it ſhall well become thee, (neyther needeſt thou be aſhamed) to borrow aduice from me that am thine Elder, and ſo beaten to the affayres of the world.

Counſell is the cheapeſt gift that one Friend can beſtow vpon another, yet if it be well huſbanded, the Intereſt of no Gold nor Siluer, can amount to halfe the value of it.

Giue me leaue therefore to ſpeake (O thou Courtly *Paramour*) and to ſpeake my minde boldly; for albeit thou art the *Fauourite* of *Greatneſſe*, & ſtandeſt *Gracious* (as theyr Minions) in the eyes of our princes, yet will I be no ſlaue to my owne thoughtes (like a Paraſite) to flatter thée in euils, wherein I ſhall finde thee woorthy of repre-henſion.

If I ſpy any blemiſhes on thy body, I will lay euen my finger vpon them (not to haue them hidden but diſcouered) and whatſoeuer I doe or ſay, take it not thou, as done in ſcorne, or in thy diſhonour, but as out of the office of integrity, zeale, & hawty affection of an honeſt friend. For wee two haue reaſon to aſſiſt one another with all the faculties and powers that are within vs, ſithence

no calamitie can fall vpon the one, but the other muſt receiue many bruiſes by it.

Noble thou art of byrth, as my ſelfe am, for from two ſeueral kings had we both our beings. Noble is thy bringing vppe as is thy raiſing to high fortunes. Such therefore as thou arte, would I haue thée ſtill to beare thy ſelfe, and not to be deiected into vulgar, low, & earthlie proſtitutions, for any threatninges or any blowes of inſulting *Fortune*. Well did it become the greatnes of thy place, thy ſtate and calling, not to be throwne downe into a womaniſh ſoftnes, for that aged and reuerend (but * wry-necked) ſonne of thine, whoſe woorthineſſe thou haſt ſufficientlie proclaimed.

* *Charing Crosse.*

Miſeries that fall vpon vs by our owne wil-fulnes, or by others Tyranny, are to be grieued at, becauſe wee ſuf/fer iniuſtly: But ſtroakes ẏ are ineuitable, are to be receaued, yea, to bee met and ſtood vnder with a moſt conſtant and reſolued fortitude.

His downefall, though it ſéeme great, yet is it not to be lamented, but to be borne, becauſe he fell not vpon a diſhonorable Graue; but into ſuch a one, as by the frailety of *Time*, *Nature*, and deſtiny, was preordayned for him. His end was no like the end of Traytors, who are cut off in the pride of their bloud and youth, or as the end

of Cities, that reuolt from the obedience of their Soueraignes, and haue their Obloquies growing vp ſtill, euē in their Aſhes: but he threw himſelfe vppon the earth, ſéeing the hand of extreame age (which muſt pull downe at laſt the whole frame of this Worlde) lay ſo hardly, and ſo heauily vppon him. Had his *Ruine* béene wrought by thoſe terrible thunder-Clappes of ciuill Warre, when (in the raigne of King *Stephen*) all the Realm was in a flaming combuſtion of diſcord, kindled by *Maud* the Empreſſe, in the quarrell of Duke *Henry* (her Son,) Or had he been condemned in that mad Parliament held at *Oxford*, when the *Barons* of this Land (within fewe monthes after) firſt forced their King (*Henry* of that name the third) to take my Tower for his Sanctuary, and after tooke him pryſoner with his Sonne, and many of his Nobility, at the battaile at *Lewes*. Or had he béene brought to ſlauery and confuſion, as I my ſelfe (for all my ſtrength of friendes, and my owne greatneſſe) was likely to haue béene in two ſeuerall rebellions: The one in the raigne of *Richard* the ſecond, by *Eſſex* men, who beheaded all men of Law, deſtroyed the *Records* and Monuments of Learning; tyranized ouer Straungers, and threatned to lead me and my

Warres of the Barons in K. Stephens raigne.

Mad parliament at Oxford held by the Barons in 23. of Henry the third.

Rebellion in Essex by Wat Tyler.

Inhabitantes into Captiuity, and ſo bring vpon me vtter diſolation. The other in thoſe tempeſtuous and variable toſſinges of that vertuous, but wretched King *Henry* the ſixt, in the handes of *Fortune*, when a fire of commotion was kindled by Kentiſh-men, whoſe flames euen beganne to burne in my owne boſome. Or / had that Sonne of thine periſhed betwéene the rage of thoſe two great *Families*, (the *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*) that was nouriſhed ſo many yéers together, with the liues, honors, and ouerthrowes of ſo many Princes of the bloud Royall, and with the fall of ſo many Subiects, that in one battaile were diſcomfited on both ſides 35111. Perſons; then if thou hadſt not lamented for him, I ſhould worthily haue blamed thée, then would I my ſelfe haue beene a part in thy ſorrow.

Rebellion in Kent. Iack Cade.

Dissention of the two Families, Lancaster and Yorke.

Battaile on Palm Sunday.

A better, and not ſo blacke a fate hath weighted vppon *That Mirror of antiquity* belonging to thee, than (euer ſince the firſt rayſing) hath falne vpon the *Goodlieſt*, the *Grea*[*t*]*eſt*, the *Higheſt*, and moſt *Hallowed* * *Monument of mine.* His miſeries haue béene ſo many, and the top of his calamities is clymbed vp to ſuch a height, that I ſhould do his ſorrows wrong, to ſet thē to the tune of my voyce, whē no notes

* *Pauls steeple.*

but his owne are able to ſing them forth. Lift vp therefore thy heauy head (*O thou that art maintayned by the Pillers of the Church*) and though thou haſt a leaden countenance, of which may be gathered the true and full weight of that which lies vppon thée to preſſe thée downe, yet with a voyce (lower than theirs that are daily *Singers* of heauenly ſongs in thy hearing,) ring thou forth the *Allarum* of thoſe paſſionate heart-breaking vlulations, which (like the raptures of Thunder) force a continuall paſſage through thy boſome. Bee thou attentiue likewiſe (thou Nurſer vp of all our *Engliſh* Nobility) and as I haue lent an erected and ſerious eare to thoſe *Complaints* which thou powreſt forth in behalfe of thy Sonne, So be thou (I coniure thée) a ſilent and obſeruing Auditor of theſe Lamentations, which I ſée are already ſtriuing to make way through the lips of this afflicted *Child* of mine. Marke him well, for now he begins.

London speaking to Pauls steeple.

Paules / Steeples complaint.

WHerein? O wherein haue I (the moſt infortunate of all this Kingdome) offended ſo highly, that thus often, and with ſuch dreadfull blowes, I ſhold be ſmote by the hand of heauen? So cruelly haue

I béene ſtrucke that euen fire (to my thinking) hath flaſhed out at mine eye: and ſuch deepe woundes haue I receiued on my head, that inſtead of teares, my very battlements haue dropt downe, and in their falling haue ſcalded my chéekes, as if they had béene ſhowers of molten Lead. Doth this hot Vengeance fly (as if it were with the ſwifteſt winges of Lightning) from aboue, to ſeize vpon me, for my owne ſinnes, or for his, that firſt beganne to ſet me vppe? But alaſſe: How ingratefull am I, to haue of my Patron ſo vnrighteous, and ſo godleſſe a remembraunce? *Ethelbert* (King of *Kent*) was my *Founder*: out of the duſt of the earth did he raiſe mée: out of the hard Rock was I faſhioned to a beautifull ſhape, and by him conſecrated to a moſt holy and religious vſe: For *Ethelbert* (that good King) was the firſt that gaue entertainment to *Auguſtine*, *Melitus*, *Iuſtus*, and *Iohn*: who by Saint *Gregory* were ſent hither to preach the Miſteries Diuine: The deuotion of which men, like foure ſtreames, cauſed the Chriſtian Fayth to fly into this land, and that princely father of mée was the firſt whom they conuerted.

The first bringers of the fayth into this Land.

In aduauncement of *Religion*, and to make it ſpread higher, did he ſet mee into the earth, planted mee, and hadde a reuerend care to haue mee grow vppe in ſtate and beauty. It cannot

233

be therefore, that ſo good and meritoryous a worke in him, ſhould be ſo ill rewarded.

No, / no, it is not for his ſake that I haue béene punniſhed, but eyther for my owne or ſome others wicked deſeruing.

Howſoeuer it be, or in whom-ſoeuer the fault lyes, on mée are the plagues inflicted, on my head are heaped the diſgraces and diſhonours, mine is the ſmart, mine is the Sorrow. And though the eyes of euery Straunger, and of euery ſtarting Paſſenger be caſt vp vppon mee, all of them wondering at, but none pittying my misfortune, becauſe to them it appeares ſleight, or elſe it appeares to them nothing at all, yet let mée ſtand before a Iuditious, cléere, and impartiall Cenſor, and the condition of the moſt wretched will not ſéeme ſo miſerable and baſe as mine.

When the Hawthorne and Low Bryer are cut downe, the ſpoyle of them is not regarded, for it mooues not any: But when the Prince of the Forreſt (the mighty and ſacred *Oake*) hath the Axe layed to his roote, at euery blow that is giuen, the very woods ſend out Grones. Small Cottages béeing on fire, are quickly either quenched, or if not quenched, the wound that a Common-wealth receiues by them is eaſily cured: But when a body (ſo noble; So antient, ſo comely for Stature, ſo reuerenced for State, ſo

richly adorned, ſo full of beauty, of ſtrength, of Ceremonies: ſo followed, ſo kneeled vnto, and almoſt ſo adored as my ſelfe am, and euer haue beene daily) is defaced by flames, and ſhaken into duſt by the wrath of the breath Almighty. The very ſight of this is able to bréede Earthquakes in Citties that behold it.

And euen from ſuch a height, ſuch a happineſſe, and ſuch an honor am I fallen. My head was aduanced with the loftieſt in the Kingdome, and ſo tender a care had the heauens ouer it, that it was taken vp and layde in the boſome of the Clouds.

My aking browes reſted themſelues vpon the Chriſtall Chariot of the Moone, and the Crowne of my head (when I ſtood on Tiptoe and ſtretched my body to the length,) touched / that Celeſtiall roofe, emboſſed all ouer with ſtuds of golde; I did not only ouer-looke the proudeſt buildinges in thée (O thou *Land-lady* to ſo many thouſands of houſes) with thoſe alſo that are the inheritance of her thy next neybour: but mine eye at euery opening hadde the greateſt part of the kingdome as a proſpect.

The Marriner then called mee his Sea-marke, for to him I ſtood as a Watch-tower to guide him ſafely to our Engliſh ſhore. No ſooner did ỹ *Traueller* by land ſée me, but his heart leaped for ioy, and the weariſomneſſe of his way ſéemed to

go from him, becauſe he knew he was in ſight of the moſt goodly Cittie which he loued. But how often hath this glory of mine bin Ecclipſed, and at ſuch times when it was in the fulnes? whether my own ambition (in aſpyring too high) or whether the Iuſtice of thoſe aboue mee in puniſhing my pride, were the cauſe of my *Fall*, I know not. But ſure I am that my head hath beene often laid to the blocke, and many blowes giuen to ſtrike it off.

The firſt blow was* giuen me when I had ſtood vntaynted, and vnblemiſhed 477. years after the beginning of my foundation, for I was raiſed, and intituled to the name & honour of a *Temple*, about the yeare after the *Incarnation* 610. And in the yeare of *Redemption* 1087. was I, (with a great parte of thy body, O thou beſt of *Citties*) conſumed in Fyre. But I was in a ſhort time healed of thoſe hurts by *Mauritius** (thy *Byſhop*), who to defend me from after-burnings, mounted me vpon Arches, & gaue me ribs of ſtone, which was fetched from *Cane* in *Normandy*.

* *Pauls church builded about the year after Christ* 610. *& about* 477. *yeares after was consumed by fire* 1087 *in the time of Willi*[*am*] *Conqueror.*

* *Mauritius repayred it & new-built it of stone.*

Frée from the mallice (at leaſt from the ſtrokes) of ruinating *Time* and the enuious* blaſts of *Fortune*, did I continue full 357. yeares together after this firſt blowe, but in *Anno* 1444. heauen ſmote me with

* 1444 *in the the raign of Henry* 6, *Burnt with lightning.*

lightning, yet did I preſently recouer, and held vppe my heade loftier then before, for* in *Anno* 1462. did my body carry in heigth 520. foot, the ſtone worke being 260. foot and the Spire as many. In length was 1720. foot, and in bredth 130. At the ſame time / did I weare on the Crowne of my head (as it hadde bin a Creſt vnto it) a *Cocke* or *Eagle*, which béeing inconſtant was (I thinke) deſtroyed for turning about with euery winde: It carryed in weight forty poundes, being of copper gilded ouer: the length from the bil to the taile four foote, the breadth ouer the wings, three foote and a halfe, the croſſe (from the bole to the Eagle) fifteene foote, and ſixe ynches of a ſize, the length thereof ouer-thwarte, was fiue foote and ten ynches. The compaſſe of the bole nine foote and one ynch: of which croſſe (which ſtood aboue my head as a rich Diadem) the inner part was Oke, the next couer was lead, and a third (vppon that) of copper, which with the bole and Eagle (being of Copper alſo) were al gilded ouer.

* *The description of the Steeple when it was at the Heigth, & of the body of the church as it is now.*

In this magnificence was I arrayed, thus was I with Marble Towers and Pynnacles crowned: the wonder of the world was I counted in the iudgement of all eyes that beheld mee, and the onely marke that enuie of forraigne Kingdomes ſhot at, who did but heare of my *Greatnes*.

335

But (alacke) how momentary is all earthly happineſſe? How fading is our painted Glory? Many yeares were not numbred, but behold in *Anno* 1561. the hand of Heauen was once more filled with vengeance, which in clouds of fire, was there throwne vpon my heade, ſo that in leſſe than the ſpace of foure houres I that was the Mirrhor of the world (for beauty) was made the miſerableſt creature in the worlde by my deformity. Yet did that woorthy and my euer to be honoured Miſtris* beſtow vpon me in Gold 1000. Markes to make good my loſſes, and gaue (beſides) warrant for a 1000 loades of Timber, to repayre my ruines: Thy Cittizens likewiſe (O my deareſt Mother) and the Cleargy of the Lande, were euen Prodigall of theyr purſſes to ſet me vp againe.

1561. in the raigne of Q. Elizabeth fyred by lightning 4. of Iu:

** Q. Elizabeth gaue 1000 marks in gold to reedifie the Church.*

Some good was done vnto mee, and much good lefte vndone.

This laſt blow was to mee fatall and deadly, for now, am / I both headleſſe, and honourleſſe: my ſhoulders being daily troden vpon in ſcorne, branded with markes and Letters, and ſcoared vppon with the points of kniues and Bodkins, which howſoeuer the ignorant laugh at, thoſe that are wiſe know they are Characters of my infamy; yea to ſo low a ſtate am I brought, that madmen

and fooles, & euery ydle companion lay wagers in mockery, onely to abuſe mee. Some (ſéeing me ſo patient to endure Crowes and Dawes) pecking at my ribs, haue driuen tame Partridges ouer my boſome, others euen riding ouer me, and Capring vpon my backe, as if they had bin curvetting on the horſe, which in deſpight they brought to Trample vpon me.

8 Partridges on the top of Powles in an. 1597.

A horse there likewise in An. 1600.

Who therefore that did but eyther knowe or hath but heard of my former proſperity, would not gréeue to ſée mée fallen into this baſenes, and moſt contemptible bondage? but I haue deſerued (I confeſſe) I haue moſt iuſtly deſerued to haue theſe afflictions, theſe diſhonours, and theſe open punniſhmentes layd vppon mee, albeit they were tenne times numbred ouer and ouer.

For whereas I was at firſt conſecrated to a miſticall & religious purpoſe (the Ceremonies of * which are daily obſerued in the better part of me, for my hart is euen to this hower an Altar vpon which are offred the ſacrifices of holy prayers for mennes Sinnes) yet are ſome limbes of my venerable bodie abuſed, and put to prophane, horrid and ſeruile cuſtomes: no maruell though my head rotte, when the bodie is ſo ful of diſeaſes: no maruell if the Diuine

** The quyre in which is diuine seruice twice euerie day in the yeare.*

The bodie of the Church serues onely for walkes.

936

Executioner cut mee off by the ſhoulders, when in my boſom is ſo much horrible and cloſe Treaſon practiſed againſt the King of the whole world.

For albeit though I neuer yet came downe all my ſtayres, to bée an Occuler witneſſe-bearer of what I ſpeake, and what is (ſometimes ſpoake openly, and ſometimes ſpoke in priuate) committed in my Walkes, yet dooeth the daily ſounde and Eccho of much knauiſh villanie / ſtrike vp into mine eare. What whiſpering is there in *Terme* times, how by ſome ſlight to cheat the poore country Clients of his full purſe that is ſtucke vnder his girdle? What plots are layd to furniſh young gallants with readie money (which is ſhared afterwards at a Tauern) therby to diſſurniſh him of his patrimony? what buying vp of oaths, out of the hands of Knightes of the Poſt, who for a few ſhillings doe daily ſell their ſoules? What layinge of heads is there together and ſifting of the braine, ſtill and anon, as it growes towardes eleuen of the clocke (euen amongſt thoſe that wear guilt Rapiers by their ſides) where for that noone they may ſhift from Duke *Humfrey*, & bée furniſhed with a Dinner at ſome meaner mans Table? What damnable bargaines of vnmercifull Brokery, & of vnmeaſurable Vſury are there clapt vp? What ſwearing is there, yea, what ſwaggering, what facing and out-facing? What

The walks in Paules.

ſhuffling, what ſhouldering, what Iuſtling, what Ieering, what byting of Thumbs to beget quarrels, what holding vppe of fingers to remember drunken méetings, what brauing with Feathers, what bearding with Muſtachoes, what caſting open of cloakes to publiſh new clothes, what muffling in cloaks to hyde broken Elbows, ſo that when I heare ſuch trampling vp and downe, ſuch ſpetting, ſuch halking, and ſuch humming (euery mans lippes making a noiſe, yet not a word to be vnderſtoode,) I verily beléeue that I am the Tower of *Babell* newly to be builded vp, but preſently deſpaire of euer béeing finiſhed, becauſe there is in me ſuch a confuſion of languages.

For at one time, in one and the ſame ranke, yea, foote by foote, and elbow by elbow, ſhall you ſée walking, the Knight, the Gull, the Gallant, the vpſtart, the Gentleman, the Clowne, the Captaine, the Appel-ſquire, the Lawyer, the Vſurer, the Cittizen, the Bankerout, the Scholler, the Begger, the Doctor, the Ideot, the Ruffian, the Cheater, the Puritan, the Cut-throat, the Hye-men, the Low-men, the True-man, and the Thiefe: of all trades & profeſſions ſome, / of all Countreyes ſome; And thus dooeth my middle *Ile* ſhew like the *Mediterranean Sea*, in which as well the Merchant hoyſts vp ſayles to purchace wealth honeſtly, as thé *Rouer* to light vpon prize vniuſtly. Thus

232

am I like a common Mart where all Commodities (both the good and the bad) are to be bought and ſolde. Thus whileſt deuotion kneeles at her prayers, doth prophanation walke vnder her noſe in contempt of *Religion*. But my lamentations are ſcattered with the winds, my ſighes are loſt in the Ayre, and I my ſelfe not thought worthy to ſtand high in the loue of thoſe that are borne and nouriſhed by mee. An end therefore doe I make heare of this my mourning.

The *Steeple* of S. *Paule* abruptly thus breaketh off, becauſe he felt himſelfe not ſo well as he could wiſh; The *Lady* of Citties (who is gouerned by the wiſedome of 24. graue ſenators, all of thoſe 24. ſubmitting themſelues to the authority onely of *One*,* thereby teaching examples of *Obedience*) did thus breake ſilence, and renew her ſpéech: Tell me now (O *Weſtminſter*) which of *Vs two*, haue greateſt cauſe to complaine for the misfortune of our ſons; yet thou and I are not indifferent Iudges in this caſe, becauſe it is our owne particuler: let vs therefore leaue the cenſure of it to the Arbitrement of the world; and whileſt the Controuerſie is in deciding, bee not thou offended ẇ me, if now a litle I take vpon me the office of a Mother, & fall into a gentle reprehenſion of thée. I remember, that when thou

24 Aldermen.

** L: Mayor.*

Londons speech to Westminster continued.

haddeſt layd abroad the Ruines of thy Sonne, and yet on the top of them haddeſt builded vp his honors, which to doe, did in thée ſéeme glorious; thou diddeſt then preſently beginne to rip open the adulterous Wombe of thoſe ſinnes that are euery day begotten vnder thy roofes: the very naming of which, though it be odious to heauen and earth: yet diddeſt thou ſéeme to haue ſo little feeling of thine owne infamy, that thou diddeſt laugh at thy diſhonor, and wert not ſory for thoſe euilles which thou thy ſelfe confeſſeſt, aboundantly ſwarme within thée.

O / how palpable is thy blindneſſe! How groſſe thine ignoraunce, in running into this errour! What vpholdeth Kingdomes but gouernement? What ſubuerteth licentiouſneſſe and diſorder? Vices in a common-wealth are as diſeaſes in a body; if quickly they be not cured, they ſuddenly kill. They are Weedes in the fayreſt Garden, if eare they take roote, you pull them not vp, they ſpoyle the wholeſome Hearbes and Flowers, and turne the Ground into a Wilderneſſe. There is no deſtruction ſo fearefull to a Citty, as that deſtruction which a Citty brings vpon it ſelfe: and neuer is it more néere a fall, then when it maketh much of thoſe ſins, which like Snakes lie in the boſome of it, and ſucke out the bloud.

Cities soonest destroy themselues.

All thoſe Cankers of a State, that lye gnawing to eate thée vppe; All thoſe ſenſuall ſtreames, that flow about thy body, and labour to drowne it in impieties, flowe in thy Veynes, but as little Riuolets, but in mine they excéede all boundes, and ſwell vppe to an Ocean. And that the very leaſt of them vndermineth and ſhaketh my ſtrongeſt buildings.

The sinnes of London.

What abhomination reigneth in thée, which is not in me doubled? If Pride ride vp and downe in thy Coaches, She is all the fore-noone at her Glaſſe in my priuate chambers, and in the after-noone ſits like a proſtituted Harlot, tempting Paſſengers to the Stalles of my Inhabitantes.

First Pride.

If Vſurers (who are Chriſtiã Jews) dwell in thy ſtréets; I haue both *Vſurers* and *Brokers*, (who are the Engliſh Deuils) opening ſhoppes in mine. Dooſt thou bring vppe Swearers, I can ſweare thée down? Art thou Quarrelſome? I thirſt after bloud. Is there any one in thée that ſcoffes at Religion? Many there are in mee that ſweare there is no Religion.

Vsury. Brokery.

Periury. Murder. Atheisme.

As for that Monſter with many heades, that Beaſt, (both Male and Female) I meane Letchery, it is within my Fréedome more made of, then Iſland Dogges are amongeſt

Lechery.

Cittizens Wiues; and when it gets out of my frée / dome, it is then like the place where it deſires to lurke it, for then it lyes out of the circuite of all ciuill Liberty.

In the troubleſome reigne of King *Stephen*, there were ſhewed at one muſter twenty thouſand armed Horſemen, and three ſcore thouſand Footemen, all which number were Cittizens that liued within my walles: But I verily beléeue, that in this peaceable reigne of our Princes in theſe dayes, if a true muſter were taken, there would be found almoſt as many Strumpets as would bee able to dare the *Turke*, (with all his Concubines) into the fielde, or to ouer-runne all the Lowe Countries, and to ſpoyle the enemy, were he neuer ſo ſtrong or deſperate, if it came to handy-gripes.

Beaſts in their Act of generation vſe not more community: ſauage people that know not their Maker, breake not more the limites of Modeſty: Common Iuglers, Fidlers, and Players, doe not more baſely proſtitute themſelues to the pleaſures of euery two-penny drunken *Plebeian*, than doe thoſe *Quadrantariæ Meretrices*, the Mercenary Hackneies that ſtand at racke and manger within my ſuburbes.

As Buls and Beares are for ſmall pieces of Siluer to be bayted, ſo are theſe. As at common *Outropes*, when houſholds-ſtuffe is to bée ſold, they

A Cittizen of mine (to his immortal memory) dyd in one day, feaſt at his Table *Foure Kings* (*viz.*) *Edward* the third (king of *England*) *Iohn* King of *France*, *Dauid le Bruce*, King of Scots, and the King of *Cyprus*, and now of late (imitating that example) did another of my *Prætors* * feaſt (tho not foure kinges) one equall in power, in Maieſty, and in Dominion, to all theſe 4. (euen the Heyre and preſent *Inheritor* of 4. mighty Empires, our ſoueraign Lord & maiſt. *Iames* the 6.) To looke but back vpon which happy daies (becauſe I haue ſéene but few of thē) makes my hart beate againſt my ribbes for ioy: I am proud eũen in the remembraunce of them, and to the intent they may neuer be forgotten, thoſe yeares and months that brought forth this honour vnto me, ſhall be Chronicled in the midſt of my boſome in *Charecters* of Gold.

Henry Pichard vintner, maior in An. 30. of Edward 3.

**Sir Iohn Wats Cloth worker Lord Mayor now this present yea[r], 1607.*

Thus do I comfort my ſelfe by repeating euer ỹ bleſſings beſtowed / vpon me by a few of our Princes, but how many of them haue feaſted, banqueted and reuelled with thée? And yet wouldſt thou barre any of them from taking hys pleaſures abroad, but onely in thy preſents. Thou arte proude, and takeſt vpon thée to ſtretch forth too imperious a hand.

Thou art contented to receiue in the *Golden*

Harueſt, but loath to bée ſhaken with the breath of *Autumne*. Thou likeſt it well to haue a Summer all the yeare, but doſt not conſider, that *Winter* is as wholeſome for thy body. This ſhewes thy indiſcretion, thy improuidence, and indulgence of thy ſelfe, to bée pampered like an *Epicure*.

Thou art gréedy as the Sea, and wouldeſt deuoure all things, but wouldſt part from nothing: thou art catching as fire; ſo thy ſelf mayſt be fed, thou careſt not who periſh. Vncharitable are thy wiſhes, immodeſt are thy longings, and moſt vnconſcionable are thy aſpyrings, and moſt vnneighborly are thy fore-ſtallings. That which thou wouldeſt haue done, is not (I graunt) againſt all Law, but it is with *All Law*, for thou deſireſt to haue men go to Law all the yeare long; which wiſh of thine is as diſhoneſt as if it were to haue continuall warres: and continual wars are continuall ſlaueries. It is as if thou ſhouldeſt wiſh to haue an euerlaſting thunder; for what are pleadinges of cauſes, but noiſe without ceaſing?

Thou ſayeſt the foure *Tearmes* are vnto thée as foure great *Feaſts*, yet dooſt thou in bitternes of thy ſorrow, cry out vpon foure *Vacations*: wherein thou behaueſt thy ſelfe all one, as if thou ſhouldeſt complain, becauſe thou art not euery houre féeding. If

A paradox in praise of Vacations.

foure *Tearmes* ſhould be without tearme and neuer come to an end, thoſe feaſtes which they incite thée to, would be to their incurable ſurfeits, and ſo conſequently thy deſtruction. If the ſounde of Lawyers tongues were but one whole twelue month in thine eare, thou thy ſelfe wouldſt euen loath it, tho it were vnto thée neuer ſo delicate Muſicke.

Nothing / increaſes in vs as a delight in any pleaſure, but to haue that pleaſure taken away for a time. But that the night offends vs with darknes, we ſhould grow weary of the day. So that foure *Vacations* (if thou canſt rightly make vſe of them) may be vnto thée as 4. ſeueral ſawces, to ſharpen thy ſtomacke againſt thoſe great feaſts are ſerued vp to thy Tables.

To goe to Law (I confeſſe) is neceſſary in a *Republike*; So is it to haue a *Plague*, for thereby the ſuperfluous numbers of people, which otherwiſe (if they increaſed) would deuoure one another, are ſwept away: So is it to haue *War*, for the Sword cuts off thoſe idle branches that ſteale away the Sap from the profitable boughes of a Kingdome. But to haue a *Warre* without end, or a *Plague* without mercy, is the vndoing of a Realme; and ſo would it be, if men were euer in brablings.

The 4. *Vacations* are like ſo many ſoundings of *Retreat* after 4. *Battailes*; in which breathing-times men renew their courages, their forces, and

their manners of fight: where (elſe) the *Pleader* (neuer giuing ouer) would grow too rich, and ſo bée enuied, and the clyent euer ſpending would be made a Begger, and ſo gather into faction.

Inuectiue againſt a Pen.

Vaine therefore, idle, ſenceleſſe, ſhapeleſſe, and of no validity are thoſe *Encomiaſticke* honors, with which thy rhetoricall cunning hath fethered a *Pen* ſo gaily. An Idoll haſt thou made of it, whereas in the true nature it is a pyneon puld from the left wing of the deuill. *A Pen!* The inuention of that, and of *Incke* hath brought as many curſes into the world, as that damnable Witch-craft of the *Fryer*, who tore open the bowels of Hell, to find thoſe murdering engines of mankind, *Guns* and *Powder*.

Both theſe are alike in quality, in miſchiefe: yea, and almoſt in faſhion; The *Pen* is the Piece that ſhootes, *Inck* is the powder that carries, and *Wordes* are the Bullets that kill.

The one doth onely deſtroy men in time of warre, the other conſumes men, both in warre and peace.

The one batters downe *Caſtles*, the other barters them away. *Cedant Arma Togæ*, let *Guns* therefore giue place to *Gownes*, for the *Pen* is the more dangerous weapon to run vpon.

Why then dooſt thou, nay, howe canſt thou without bluſhing defend a cauſe ſo notoriouſly

Copporas. Accurſed therefore be that *Bird*,* out of whoſe wing ſo peſtilent and malitious an enemie to humane creatures is taken: offenſiue to the ſtomacke, be for euer the meat of it, and apt to engender mortall ſurfeits, ſithence ſo ſmall a part of it (as a *Quill*) hath bred from the beginning, and (til the diſſolution of this *Vniuerſall Frame*) will be the cauſe of ſo much diſtemperature in the body of the Worlde. Which miſchiefe that worthy *Romaine* Captain, who (about the eight yéere of the raigne of *Caſſibelan*, Brother to King *Lud* (my firſt *Founder*) and 54. yéeres before the King, both of Heauen and earth, ſent his Sonne to dwell amongſt men), entred this Land, conquered it, & made it tributary to the people of *Rome*, wiſely looking into, and obſeruing, that Princes, Rulers, and Great perſonages, muſt of neceſſity (being bound thereto by the ceremony of their birth, or by their place in the ſtate) yéeld ſometims to that, which otherwiſe ỹ noblenes of their owne bloud would abhor, did often wiſh that he could not know how to handle a *Pen*.

* *A Goose.*

Iulius Cæsar, 54. yeeres before Christ, conquered Brittaine.

And / that Mirror of her Sexe, both for magnanimity of minde, inuincibleneſſe of Spirit, and (which is to her the greateſt part of her fame) for the cloſing vppe of ſo long a raigne, with ſo full and ſo grieuous a period, that Goddeſſe vpon

Elizabeth.

earth whileſt ſhe liued, that our *Good Miſtris (Eliza)* when ſhee was to ſigne any warrant for the death of any Péere, would paſſionately (yet with a Spirit equal to *Cæſars*) ſay thus, *Would to God wee had neuer beene taught how to write.*

And thus (O thou that ſitteſt crowned like an Empreſſe) withall our riches and faireſt Monuments have I diſcharged the Office of a faithfull Surueior, by telling thée what part of thy goodly body is builded too high; wherein my Counſell is that thou ſhouldeſt a little plucke downe thy *Pryde*. And in what other part thou ſtandeſt too low; where I could wiſh thée to raiſe it vp to a more noble *Eminence*. I haue likewiſe pointed with my finger, at al thoſe *Cracks*, diſioynings, *Flawes*, and *Flyings out*, which if they bée not repayred, are able in time to ſhake into duſt a Citty greater then thy ſelfe: And (in my Reall loue to thée,) I haue ſcored ſuch plaine markes vpon thy hidden *Ruines*, which (like Treacherous Seruants) receiue in ſtormes (for euer to vndo thée) that if in any fit ſeaſon, thou vnderprop them, and take down whatſoeuer is amiſſe, thou ſhalt in this thy old age growe ſtrong and luſty againe, and with an eaſie *Reſt* ſaue thy ſelfe from *Falling*.

With a frée and vn-mercenary voyce, haue I pleaded for thy good, by diſcouering what is ill in thée: ſo that my Lectures of *Reprehenſion* may

ſerue as wholeſom *Councell*. Thou canſt not blame me for opening thy woundes, and ſearching them to the quick, ſithence thou ſéeſt I ſpare not mine owne. My pils perhaps may ſéeme a little bitter in going downe, but in the working thou ſhalt finde them as comfortable as *Reſtoratiues*.

Take courage therefore to thee, and like a Prince that can commaund his owne affections (which is the Nobleſt Soueraignty,) / be bold not onely to ſtrike off thoſe ſicke and infected parts, about the body of the Weale-publicke, whych threaten daunger to thoſe that are ſounde, but alſo applie thou the ſame ſharp medicines, which I haue miniſtred to thée, if hereafter (as I often féele my ſelf) thou perceiueſt me ready or ſubiect to fall into loathſome diſeaſes.

We are now both of vs as *Buildings* belonging to one Land-lorde, ſo cloſely ioyned together in league, that the world thinkes it a thing impoſſible, by any violence, vnleſſe we fall to ciuill diſcention within our ſelues, euer to be ſeperated: our handes as if it were at a marriage, are plighted one to another: our bodies are ſtill embracing, as if they were *Twinnes*: wee are growne ſo like and euerie day doe more and more ſo reſemble each other that many who neuer knew vs before, woulde ſweare that we were all *One*.

Sithence we then are held to be ſo, let vs neuer

bée taken to be otherwiſe. But as ſiſters do, if the one féel ſorrow let the other mourne, if the one bee lifted vp to honors, let not the other repine. And as ſtringes to an inſtrument, tho we render ſeuerall ſoundes, yet let both our ſoundes cloſe vp in ſwéet concordant Muſicke. Arme thy ſelfe therefore (with *Mee*) to maintaine that *Vnion*, without whych *Realmes* are builded vpon ſand, and *On whych* they are ſtronger then if they ſtood vpon *Rockes*.

And becauſe al Citties were bound in common ciuility, in pollicie, and in honour to maintaine their Names, their Callings, their Priuiledges, and thoſe Ancient houſes that Spring out of them, I wil in thy preſence Annatomize my ſelfe; euen from head to foot, thou ſhalt know euery limbe of me, and into how many parts my bodie is deuided. My birth, my bringing vp, and my riſing ſhall bee as manifeſt to thy vnderſtanding as to mine, becauſe by the wilfull ignorance of thoſe that ought of duety to preſerue my credit, my good name is oftentimes and in many places abuſed & taken from me.

Ney / ther would I haue thée account me inſolent, vain-glorious, or ambitious, in erecting theſe *Trophyes* of *Fame* to my ſelfe, with mine owne handes: for vpon them ſhall neither be ingrauen the Actes of my ſumptuous *Builders*, (whych would

be too great an oſtentation) nor the battels which my Citizens haue oftentimes fought and won in defence of my liberties, which (more to my glory) might be rehearſed by others.

But paſſing ouer the names of ſome (which to repeate would be to me an euerlaſting renown), as to boaſt (which lawfully & without the blot of arrogance I could doe) that *Conſtantine* the Emperor ỹ builded *Conſtantinople*, drew his breath from my boſome, or that *Maud* the Empreſſe, did honour to me as to the mother that gaue her life, or that King *Henry* (ſon to *Henry* 2) was begotten in my womb, which *Henry* at the age of 7. years was maried to *Marg.* (ỹ French kings daughter) being not two years old, & afterwards with her in the life time of his father, were crownd at *Winch.* But burying this glory of mine (to be forgotten) in the *Graues* where theſe my children lye (now conſumed to nothing) I will onely content my ſelfe (& it is but a poore ambition) to tell thée how I came to be called a Citty.

Constantine the Emperor Mawd the Empresse, and Henry son to Henry 2 born in London.

By what Names London from time to time hath bin called, and how it came to bee diuided into Wardes.

OBſerue me therfore (O my moſt ingenious *Pupill* and ſcorne not to cal me thy *Tutor*) for I muſt héere and there ſpeake of ſome matters, that I was an Eye-witneſſe to, long before thou hadſt any being. Kno thē (*becauſe Time* who alters all things, may perhaps heereafter as hée hath done already, giue me ſome other new vpſtart name) that *Brute* from whom I tooke my byrth, after he had / brought me (as thou ſéeſt to this day I abide) cloſe to the *Ryuer* of *Thames*, did there beſtow a Name on me, & called me *Troynouant*, or *Tri-nouant*, and ſometimes *Trinobant*, to reuiue (in me) the memory of that Citty which was turned into Cinders, and that for all the ſpight of thoſe Gods who hated it, there ſhould be a new *Troy*, which was my ſelfe.

The Names of London.

That was the ſtyle by which I was knowne, for the ſpace of more than one thouſand years, and then *Lud* challenging me as his owne, tooke away none of my dignities, but as women marryed to great perſons, looſe theyr old names, ſo did I mine being wedded to that king, and (after him ſelfe)

278

was crowned with the Title of *Laire-Lud*, that is to ſay, the Citty of *Lud* or *Ludſtone*, vpon whych ſome nations cald me *Londonũ* or *Longidinũ* & *Laõdinũ*, others *Lundayne*, the *Saxons Londonceaſter*, and *Londonbridge*; the Spaniardes *Londra*, the French *Londres*, and nowe in theſe dayes the people of our owne countrey, *London*.

In my Infant-riſing was I but of baſe and meane eſtimation amongeſt other Citties, and was ſcarcelie knowne for all I was the Daughter of a king. But *Ludde* lifted mee vppe to high honours and great aduauncementes; for hee ſet a Coronet of Towers vppon my heade: and although it were not beautifull for Ornament, yet made he for me a Gyrdle, ſtrong for defence; which being made of Turffe and other ſuch ſtuffe, trenched rounde about, ſerued in the nature of a Wall or Rampyre, to keepe and defend off the aſſaulting enemies.

Lud made a wall about London of Turfe &c, but the Romains caused it to be made of stone.

Afterwardes the *Romaynes* beeing the Lordes of the whole Kingdome, and ſo conſequently of mee, inſteede of throwing mee into ſeruile Slauery, rayſed mee vppe to high dignity and honour, and whereas I trembled wyth feare to haue my buildinges flaming about mine eares, they / adorned my body, and apparelled it rounde about with ſtone, for til the arriuall of that warlike and induſtrious

Nation on our ſhores, the Brittons dwelt in Townes as baſely builded, as thoſe now of the wild Iriſh.

After I was thus faſhioned and refined into the ciuill and beautifull ſhape of a Citty, I began to be courted, and to be the onely Minion of the *Land*, the *Romaines* fought in my quarrell, the *Brittons* heaped vpon me honours, the *Saxons* (that draue out them) bound Garlands of victorye about my forehead.

The seuerall Nations that conquered this land frõ time to time.

But theſe being beaten from my company by the *Danes*, I was by them ſpoyled of all my Ornamentes, and proſtituted as a ſtrumpet to the luſt of ciuill diſcord. In heate of which the *Normans* came in reſcue, chaſed hence ỹ *Danes*, recouered the whole Empyre, and reduced it into one *Monarchy*. From that day haue I euer ſince flouriſhed; euer ſince haue I ſwelled vp in greatnes, euer ſince haue I bin loued of our kings, becauſe euer ſince haue to our kinges bin loyall.

In which proſperous growing vp of mine, all my boughes and my branches, haue more and more in ſtead of bearing fruit, bin repleniſhed with multitudes of peoples, whoſe numbers increaſing, it was thought fit (in policy) that they ſhould be quartered like Souldiers into bands, the better to bring them into order. According therfore to the *Romans* cuſtome of Citties, was I diuided into certaine *Signories*, all

How London cam to be deuided into Wards.

of them notwithſtanding, like ſo many ſtreames to one *Head*, acknowledging a priority and ſubiection, to *One Greater* than the reſt, and who ſit[tet]h aboue them, thoſe *Diuiſions* or *Partages* are called *Wardes*, or *Aldermanries*, being 26. in number; which are ciuilly guarded and wiſely prouided, for by 24. *Aldermen*: in whom is repreſented the dignity of *Romaine Senatours*, and of *Two Sheriffes*, who perſonate (in theyr Offices and places) the *Romane Conſuls*.

Then is there a *Subdiuiſion*; for theſe greater *Cantles* are / againe cut into leſſe, being called *Pariſhes*, which are in number 109; which are vnto me like ſo many little Cities within themſelues: ſo beautifyed they are with buildings, ſo furniſhed with mannuall Trades, ſo peopled with wealthy Cittizens, and ſo pollitikely, wiſely and peaceably gouerned.

Theſe things are aſwell knowne to thée, as to my ſelfe; which notwithſtanding I am willing to repeate ouer, becauſe that both of vs calling to minde, the greatneſſe of our byrthes, and caſting our eyes on the ſtate and flouriſhing glory, wherein we haue alwayes carryed our ſelues, our misfortunes may be the more pittyed (at the hands of forren Cities, who may fall into the like) ſéeing the preſent condition in which wee nowe ſtand. For (alacke!) what auayles it vs to boaſt of our

former ſtrength, of our beauties, of our honours, of our poſſeſſions, or of the Riches wherein we flow, when that wée cannot inioy our healthes, which is worth all theſe. *Sickneſſe* hath dwelt a long time in thy Chambers, ſhe doth now walke ſtill in a ghoſtly and formidable ſhape vppe and downe my ſtréets. Shee (with her *Ill Company*) infecteth my Sonnes and Daughters, and leades them dayly into ſuch daungers, that (in hundreds at a time) doe they looſe theyr liues. Fiue yéeres hath ſhée beene a troubleſome *Gueſt* vnto me; I receiued her at firſt, (though I loued not her Company yet) I gaue her good entertainement, and patiently endured her inſulting ouer mee and mine, becauſe I knew ſhée was a *Meſſenger ſent from aboue*.

Londons cõplaint about the Plague.

But woe to mee (infortunate Citty!) Woe vnto vs both (O my diſtreſſed Neighbour,) ſhall wee neuer ſhake handes with her and part? Shall our faire bodies neuer recouer of this *Diſeaſe*, which ſo often and often hath run all ouer them, and doth nowe againe beginne to bee as a plague vnto vs? Howſoeuer (out of the faſhion of Conference, or out of a pride to ſhew my wit) I haue checkt thée for deiecting the Spirits for any ſtroakes of calamity, yet be / léeue me, the care that I haue of my Children, whom I ſée drooping, Conquers the height of my minde, ſubdues my Nature, and

makes me (with ſorrow) almoſt lie groueling on the ground. Dead vnto vs both, are our liueliеſt dayes, whileſt this peſtilent vapour hanges ouer our heades: Dead are our pleaſures, for wee do now take delight in nothing but mourning: Dead are our houres of leyſure, and thoſe which are full of buſineſſe: yea euen the Lawe it ſelfe, (of whoſe preſence wee both are glad, becauſe wee gayne by her, and becauſe ſhée euer brings vs good and merry Company to cheere our heartes) will ſitte heauily in thy *Courts* of *Iuſtice*, nay, I feare ſhee will bee vnwilling (ſéeing vs ſo ſubiect to diſeaſes) to ſit there at all.

Many a ſad & black *Tearme* hath bin ſéen walking in thy Hall (like a *Mourner*) and I perceiue by thy lookes, thou art now in feare to bee troubled with the like. I cannot blame thée, neither will I chide thée, for I purpoſe to be as great with griefe as thy ſelfe. Neyther if that *Blacke* and *Ominous* day ſo happen and fall vpon vs, ſhall I wonder: For I cannot ſee, how the *Diuine Vengeance* ſhould bee driuen back, ſince ſo many bold darings are giuen, forcing it to breake through the gates of heauen.

The ſhaking of the Rodde is not thought of, the ſtripes mooue vs not, the very drawing of bloud, is by ſome but made a mockery: to proue it I will recite vnto thee (though to tell it, my

buildinges will ſhake at the very horrour of the ſame) a ſtory of death, both true and new. And this it is.

A description of Sturbridge fayre.

One (vppon whom I had but lately beſtowed the *Title* and dignity of a Cittizen) of whome I had good hope, cauſe I founde him woorthy to bee aduaunced, taking his laſt leaue of mee (as ſince it hath falne out) departed to that quarter of the Land, to which from all other partes men in multitudes repayre, to ſucke the ſwéeteneſſe of honeſt gaynes, and ſo to increaſe theyr wealth. It / is a place, where (in a large fielde) a Citty as it were is in a fewe dayes builded vppe, and ſo quickely rayſed, as if it had beene done by Enchantment, and in as few daies is it afterwardes pulled down, no memory remayning of it, nor Monument to ſhewe that there it ſtoode: though whilſt the earth beareth it vppe, there be *Fayre ſtreetes*, ſo filled with people, that they ſéeme to bée paued euen with the féete of men: whileſt on eyther ſide, ſhops are ſo furniſhed and ſet forth with all rich and neceſſary commodities, that many comming thyther, haue taken that place for my ſelfe, and haue not ſtucke to call it by the name of *Little London*, ſo like do they ſweare it hath been vnto me, both in face and faſhion of body.

Thither went this young Sonne of mine, and

missing p. 80-81

158