STUDIES IN THE WORKS OF HENRY PEACHAM.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Life</td>
<td>1 -- 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix, Two Wills</td>
<td>72 -- 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Compleat Gentleman</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (1) Place in Peacham's Work</td>
<td>80 -- 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (2) Scope and Contents</td>
<td>84 -- 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (3) Literary Criticism</td>
<td>106 -- 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (4) Place in History of 'Courtesy Literature' and History of Education</td>
<td>124 -- 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Peacham's Verse</td>
<td>162 -- 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix, Peacham and Parrot</td>
<td>188 -- 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Minor Prose Works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (1) Works of Information</td>
<td>208 -- 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (2) Political Tracts</td>
<td>228 -- 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section (3) Pamphlets of Literary, Topical, and Personal Interest</td>
<td>239 -- 276b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EPILOGUE</td>
<td>277 -- 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES</td>
<td>281 -- 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>310 -- 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED</td>
<td>313 -- 321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I  THE LIFE

Henry Peacham’s life-time spans the transition from the Renaissance to the Modern Period, his varied activities and wide circle of friends brought him into contact with many aspects of the life of his day, and for this reason his career is full of historical as well as personal interest. There was scarcely any occupation proper to the Gentleman-scholar which he did not at some time pursue, and he brought to all his undertakings, whether work or play, an eager interest and a degree of real ability which elicited the following tribute from one of his friends:

"Grammaticus, Pictor, dum Musicus atque Poeta,
His cunctis mira dexteritate valens;
Instruis atque alios his cunctis, nemo meretur
De patria melius, judice Aristotele." (1)

More weight is carried by the testimony of William Webb, undersheriff of Chester and author of a treatise on Chester included in The Kings Vale Royall (1656), who shows himself glad to claim Peacham as a kinsman and speaks warmly of his valuable genealogical researches (2):

(1) Complimentary verse addressed Ad.D. Henricum Peachamum acicum singulararum et in picture exercitatissimum from John Thorpe the surveyor and architect, prefixed to Graphic (1612).
(2) The Kings Vale Royall, published in 1656 by Daniel King, contain four treatises, one of which is by William Webb gent. This Webb was tentatively identified with the author of A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586) by George Crasgood, who reprinted the greater part of The Kings Vale Royall in his History of Cheshire (1619) – (see vol. I, pp. 92 and 122), but it is extremely unlikely that the Elizabethan critic who was at the University before 1570 (cf. D.N.B. and J. Venn’s Athenae Cantabrigenses) is
"How great a place it was to be constable of Chester, may well be gathered from those many honourable descendants of the several houses of Constables, who all derive their original from this root, as I find it learnedly collected by my kinsman Mr Henry Peckham (sic), in his Complete Gentleman chap xiii in the Practice of Almanerie; and has my fates been such, that I had been as near unto him in my place of abode as I am in my love and in blood, I might have had help from him in this my rude labour, that might better have fitted it for the eyes and ears of judicious readers". (1)

The cleavage in political opinion in the seventeenth century meant that no man could avoid making enemies as well as friends. Peacham's royalist sympathies brought him into disfavour with the Puritans, and Richard Braithwaite referred to The Complete Gentleman in slighting terms in the preface to his own English Gentleman (1630):

"Now for the title, I am not ignorant how a subject entitled the Complete Gentleman was heretofore published; which...consorts with this rather in Title than Fenor, Name than Nature". (2)

The writer of the Preface to the 1661 edition referred to the "envy and unkind censures, which the book itself hath already vanquished and defeated, having got a double Triumph and publick entertainment in the world before". (3)

Undoubtedly these words refer to Puritan opposition, which had been countered by a new edition in 1634, and finally defeated by

---

(2) The English Gentleman (1630) Dedication.
(3) Address to the reader, signed M.S. Complete Gentleman (1661)
at the Restoration. In 1663 The Compleat Gentleman was
publicly commended by the Lord Chief Justice at Sir Charles
Sedley's trial for improper behaviour; this fact is recorded
by Anthony a Wood (1), who mentioned Peacham in two other
connections (2) but did not give any account of his life
because he was not an Oxford man.

In 1664 the publisher William Lee brought out an edition
of Peacham's topical tract The Worth of a Penny, prefaced by
an 'Advertisement to the Reader' which includes a certain
amount of biographical information. Like all other publisher's
advertisements this is in the nature of a 'puff', but it
testifies to the kindly remembrance in which Peacham was held
after the Restoration:

"Many Gentlemen of great Worth were very importunate with
me to print the book anew...and...I have in an orderly
way re-printed a small number of them word for word as it
was in the Original; Only a friend of his that knew him
well in the Low Countrey, and when he was tutor to the
Earl of Arundell's children, hath added some few notes in
the margent...To speak much of the Worth of the Author is
needless, who by his own works hath left unto the world a
worthy memorial of himself. His book called the Compleat
Gentleman being in the year 1661 reprinted the third time,
and divers other books of his." (3)

The passage of time, the disposal of the surviving copies
of Peacham's less popular works, and the inaccessibility of

(1) Athenae Oxoniensia ed Bliss (1613-20) Iv.731. The story
of the trial has been retold by Prof. V. de Sela Pinto in
his Life of Sir Charles Sedley (1927).

(2) Once in a list of contributors to the Oxonian Banquet
(1611), and once as the tutor of Hannibal Baskerville.
Op cit. ii, 206, and Life xxxii.

(3) Advertisement to the Reader. Worth of a Penny (1664)
biographical material led to a certain blurring and obscuring of the facts, and those accounts of Peacham's life which appeared in the eighteenth century were based (for want of other evidence) upon autobiographical references in such books as had been published since 1660, and on Lee's casual reference. In addition, a mythical conception of his later years was elaborated from a manuscript note, signed 'Johan Gibbon, Bluemantle', found on the flyleaf of a copy of the tract entitled A dialogue betweene the Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross (1641):

"This dialogue was made by Hen. Peacham author of the Compleat Gentleman, who was reduced to Poverty in his old age and wrote penny pamphlets" (1)

The scanty and inaccurate accounts given of Peacham by those eighteenth century writers (2) who used the appropriate

(1) The book in which this note was found was described in West's Catalogue (1773) p.226, No.4391; see Cole's Collectanea for Cantabrigenis, published by S.E. Brydges in Restituta (1616) vol.iii, p.71.

John Gibbon, Bluemantle Pursuivant at Arms, flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century, and may have had some acquaintance with Peacham. His remark may therefore be based on a certain knowledge of Peacham's circumstances, but it may also be no more than an inference that one who could sink from writing The Compleat Gentleman to publishing such trivial stuff as The Cross at Cheap and The Worth of a Penny (perhaps 'penny pamphlets' contains an allusion to this title) must have been 'reduced to poverty'.

(2) George Vertue (fl.1713-54) compiled a long series of M.S. notes on the history of painting and engraving, in which he several times quotes Peacham. His note-books are preserved in the British Museum (Addit.M.S.S. 21,111, 23066-98, and 33406).

Horace Walpole. Published Anecdotes of Painting (1762-71) and Catalogue of Engravers (1763), both principally compiled from Vertue's notes, in each of which appears a
chapters of the *Compleat Gentleman* as sources for the history of Art and Music reveal how little was then known of him, and how readily deficiencies were made good by the imagination. The misinterpretations and embroideries of Walpole and Hawkins are largely responsible for the misconception at present embodied in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. These writers had seized upon Lee's simple statement and Gibbon's somewhat contemptuous remark, and by leaping to unjustifiable conclusions set in motion a snowball which gathered here a conjecture and there an invention until Peacham's career assumed the character of a rake's progress from the intimate society of dukes to a pauper's grave.

Walpole's account runs thus:

"He was of Trinity College Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts, and was tutor to the earl of Arundel's children, whom he attended into the Low Countries ... Besides the *Compleat Gentleman* he wrote a little tract with some humour, called *The Worth of a Penny*; and divers other works, as is said, in an advertisement at the end of the second edition of this last mentioned volume". (1)

---

short account of Peacham's career.

Henry Hawkins published a History of Music in 1776, and gives an account of Peacham in a footnote.

Charles Burney published a History of Music in 1789. The terms in which these writers speak of Peacham show that he was well esteemed as an authority on Art and Music. It should be noted in this connection that Dr. Johnson relied on Peacham's definitions of the terms of Heraldry, and referred in the edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* to his statement that the Pedant was a stock comic character-type.

This apocryphal theory that Peacham travelled abroad with the young Howards is nowhere supported by his own statements, and evidently rests on a misreading of Lee's perfectly lucid words, 'a friend of his who knew him well in the Low Countries, and when he was tutor to the Earl of Arundell's children' (i.e. on two separate occasions). Hawkins, although he does not explicitly connect Peacham's travels with the Howards, makes some wild guesses at his association with the Italian musicians, and also - for some reason best known to himself - equates 'penny pamphlets' with 'children's books':

"Peacham seems to have been a travelling tutor, and was patronised by the Howard family. He was well acquainted with Dowland the lutenist, and while abroad was a scholar of Horatio Vecchi, and was probably the bearer of that letter from Luca Marenzio to Dowland inserted in the account hereafter given of Dowland. Besides the Compleat Gentleman Peacham published a Collection of Emblems entitled Minerva Britannica, with moral reflections in verse, and a diverting little book entitled the Worth of a Penny. In his advanced age, he was reduced to poverty, and subsisted by writing those little penny books which are now the common amusement of children". (1)

The notion of Peacham's poverty-stricken old age was taken up by R. Gough, who used The Cross at Cheap, and Charing Cross (1641) for his account of London's monuments (2), and described the author as "Henry Peacham the author of the Complete Gentleman, who was reduced to such poverty in his old age that he wrote penny pamphlets, as 'The Worth of a Penny'.

(1) History of Music (1776) p.430.
(2) In British Topography (1730) vol. I, p. 715. It is not improbable that Gough was using the very copy containing Gibbon's inscription.
and this, whose chief merit is its wooden frontispiece. A different picture, more complimentary but equally out of perspective, was drawn by James Dallaway in *The Origins and Progress of Heraldry* (1793):

"Henry Peacham wrote the Compleat Gentleman, and is allowed to have been a good proficient in the arts and sciences, of which he recommends the attainment as necessary to form that character. Lord Arundel, the Maecenas of the Arts, patronized him and retained him in his family...He possessed great ingenuity, extensive literature, and excellent judgement in the fine arts. These qualifications recommended him to his noble patron with whom he is said to have passed his days in elegant retirement...Peacham was a native of the county of Lincoln, and an M.A. of Trinity College Cambridge. He was a frequent writer both in prose and verse. His 'Worth of a Penny' an entertaining little book subjected him to ridicule on account of its title". (1)

At the end of the eighteenth century the awakening of interest in scientific biography based on first-hand information led Edward Malone to make enquiries into the history of the Peacham family at North Mirr and Leverton - places which Peacham himself had mentioned in his published works. The results of Malone's researches (which include a notice of Peacham's connection with the Edmund Peacham who was tried for sedition in the reign of James I) are recorded on the flyleaves of copies of his books now in the Bodleian (2). Further points were noted by Thomas Park in the foreword to his edition of *The Art of Living in London* (3). Both Park and Malone fostered the idea that Peacham journeyed abroad in the entourage of...

(2) Particularly: Bodl. Malone 631, 580, 582, 584, 748.
(3) Bodleian Miscellany vol.IX (1812).
the Earl of Arundel, and died in poverty at an advanced age.

The first account of Peacham's life to attain any degree of completeness was that included by Joseph Hunter in a series of literary biographies drawn up about 1845 under the title *Chorus Vaticum*. This valuable collection is preserved in M.S. in the British Museum (1) together with the rest of Hunter's notebooks. The fact that Hunter's biography compares very favourably with other later efforts (especially if it be remembered that he was working almost entirely from a study of *The Compleat Gentleman* and *The Truth of our Times*) may perhaps be explained by his personal interest in Peacham:

"This has always been a very favorite author of mine, since when I was little more than a schoolboy I bought at an auction at Sheffield the copy of the Complete Gentleman which I now possess", (2)

One of Hunter's most interesting references has not yet been run to earth; an earlier draft of the chapter in *Chorus Vaticum* contains the statement that "He was master of Heighington School in Washingborough parish co Linc. So Ashmole D. II" (3); while the fuller, later version runs thus:

"He seems to have settled in some country town as teacher... I take it the place was Heighington in Washingborough parish in Lincolnshire where in Ashmole D.II. it is said that he was sometime schoolmaster. But cf p. 491, where we find he was Master of the Free School at Rynondham". (4)

M.S. 'Ashmole D.II.' was not easy to trace, as the Ashmolean

---

(1) Addit.M.S.S. 24489
(2) Addit.M.S.S. 24490 f.257
(3) Addit.M.S.S. 24478
(4) Addit.M.S.S. 24490
collection has been re-numbered since Hunter's day; it was finally identified with M.S.Dugdale II, one of a small sub-group of Ashmolean M.S.S. Unfortunately, although M.S.Dugdale II treats of heraldry and genealogy, and one section of the codex is so much in Peacham's manner that but for the dates it contains he might have written it himself, no trace of any reference to 'Peacham', 'Heighington', or 'Washingborough' is to be found in it. This is, of course, no reason for doubting Hunter's accuracy, for it is quite possible that he was speaking of another M.S. or that the leaf containing the reference to Peacham has been lost. The fact that Peacham taught at Wymondham does not preclude the possibility that he also taught at Heighington. (1)

During the fifty years following Hunter's compilation of the results of his researches, various 'discoveries' were published in *Notes and Queries*, and the canon of Peacham's works began to take shape in W.C.Razlitt's *Bibliographical Handbooks* (2). The only valuable contribution to *Notes and

---

(1) Especially since Heighington is close to Lincoln, on the Lincoln-Boston Road, and thus within the radius of Peacham's travels.

(2) Razlitt's lists of publications are usually accurate, but he contributed to the confusion of posterity by fathering Gibbon's remark on Antony a Wood in his description of The Art of Living in London: "This is perhaps one of those ad captandum performances which drew upon Peacham the sneer of Wood who mentions in the *Athenae* that he gained his living latterly by putting together little taking pamphlets for the book-sellers." *Handbook* (1867).
American was the publicity given in 1867 to the remarks written in Malone's books which had been in their day genuine discoveries.

At the end of the nineteenth century most of the available information, including various errors, and excluding certain useful details, was collected for the Dictionary of National Biography. The old fallacies were handed on in the following forms:

"The years 1613-1614 Peacham spent in foreign travel. He acted for part of the time as tutor to the three elder sons of...the Earl of Arundel." (1).

"He is also said by the Herald John Gibbon to have written children's books at a penny each" (2).

It is upon this article that Prof. G.S. Gordon appears to have based the biographical remarks in his Introduction to The Compleat Gentleman (1906) (3).

An example of the slip-shod work sometimes set before the public by a man in a hurry is to be found in the Introduction to Social England Illustrated (4); although the writer gives no sources, this unnecessarily patronizing paragraph has obviously been hashed up from the D.N.E.

"Henry Peacham (1576-1643) was a literary struggler of a higher feather (i.e. than John Taylor the water-poet, who forms the subject of the preceding paragraph). A scholar of Trinity (Cambridge) and a schoolmaster, he could sketch, write Latin verses, English verses, and compose music to his own words. He produced occasional loyal odes. He wandered on the Continent, sometimes as bear leader to young men of rank, sons of Lord Arundel, sometimes alone.

(1) The Earl's eldest son was six years old in 1613; the youngest was not born until the following year.
(2) It will be remembered that Gibbon mentioned only 'penny pamphlets', and that the idea of 'children's books' was →
He was the author of The Compleat Gentleman, a successful manual of accomplishments; he compiled anecdotes, wrote reminiscences, political tracts (Royalist), and even books for children. In short he was a literary hack-of-all-work, and of course was 'reduced to poverty in his old age', probably before he received any royalties from 'The Worth of a Penny'.

The myth of Peacham's early association with the Earl of Arundel (1) and that of his death in some seventeenth century Grub Street (each of which is demonstrably founded on some misinterpretation of second-hand authority), are the principal 'facts' which are generally known about him at the present day. Joseph Hunter, handicapped by his inability to consult Peacham's rarer works, showed great wisdom in remarking that 'a careful examination of his books would no doubt bring more information to light on his personal history', but his advice was not followed by later critics. Hitherto, no serious attempt has been made to assemble and weigh all the evidence afforded by Peacham's own words, or to seek out the concrete facts regarding the man, his family, and his friends, which are to be found in various official papers. An enquiry based on this two-fold plan has given coherence and significance to the salient features of Peacham's career as

introduced by Hawkins.

(3) Tudor and Stuart Library.


(1) Even the compilers of that monument of accurate research the Alumni Cantabrigensia (1924), J and J.A. Venn, tell us that Peacham was 'tutor to the sons of the Earl of Arundel 1614-15'.

(2) The Methuen German Library (1924), J and J.A. Venn, tell us that Peacham was 'tutor to the sons of the Earl of Arundel 1614-15'.

(3) Tudor and Stuart Library.

schoolmaster, traveller, and author, and in addition certain
dates have been established and various errors and
ambiguities cleared up.

The official documents which have yielded information are
these:

Will of Richard Peacham of Scampton (1594)
See Index Library, Lincoln Calendar of Administrations
P.103. Wills proved in Consistory Court of Lincoln
(1506-1600) now in Lincoln District Probate Registry.
(A iii 153; B i 109)

Will of John Peacham of Stamford (1625)
See as above p.307.
(A x 80; B i 125).

Will of Philips Peacham of St Marys Stamford, widow of
above (1626)
See Index Library, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills
vol.6. Somerset House (J Barrington).

Will of Richard Peacham of Leverton (1624)
See Public Record Office Lists and Indexes xxxi.
Inquisitions Post Mortem vol.III James I (1902) p.275
P.R.O. Chancery 142. 635. (9).

Will of Jane Peacham of Leverton, widow of above (1626)
See Index Library, Lincolnshire Wills vol.2 (1601-59)
P.140. Lincoln District Probate Registry (11.106)

Will of Henry Peacham of Leverton, clerk (1634)
See as above p.140. (11. 68)

Chancery Proceeding. William Hawarden and Agnes alias Anne
his wife v. Henry Peacham clerk and Richard Peacham
See P.R.O. Lists and Indexes vol.47. Chancery Proceed-
ing (Series I) James I vol.I p.422 P.R.O. (C.2. James I
H.16.12).

Documents relating to the Benefices of North Leverton
Br. Thomas Cooper’s Act Book. Admissions to benefices
in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln A.D.1573. Sir William
Lane to the church of Leverton ex parte australi
(bovealii) vacant by death. Patron the queen. At Lincoln
3 July.
See Lincoln Episcopal Records. Canterbury and York
Archdeaconry of Lincoln. Leverton, north part. On the
petition and recommendation of Mr. Aylmer. Presented
4 June. 15 Eliz. 1573.

as above p.275

Liber Cleri A.D.1576 Holland xxii August.
William Lane, ordained priest by the bishop of Peterborough,
17 March 1570-1; rector of Leverton ete boreali (15l. 
18s 9d) of the right of patronage of the queen; aged 30;
murried; is skilled in Latin; well versed in sacred learning;
preacher, licensed 9 Aug 1570, by the bishop of Lincoln in
all Churches within the Archdeaconries of Lincoln and Storo;
resides; performs the holy (mysteries) prescribed by public
authority.

See as above p.204.

Bishop Thomas Cooper's Act Book. Admission to Benefices in
the Archdeaconry of Lincoln. A.D.1578 Sir Henry Peaches,
to the church of Leverton ete boreali, vacant by death.
Patron - the Queen. At Aug 1578.

See as above, p.22.

cf. Crown Presentations etc. etc. Leverton, north part on
the petition and recommendation of John Brockett. kt.

Presented 29 Sept. 1578.

As above p.277

Liber Cleri A.D.1580 North Holland
North Leverton - Sir Henry Peaches, rector; instituted 9 Nov.
1578; ordained by the bishop of Peterborough, 14 Aug. 1574.

As above p.223.

Documents relating to the Benefice of South Leverton.
Bishop Thomas Cooper's Act Book. Admissions to Benefices in
the Archdeaconry of Lincoln. A.D.1576. Master Henry Holland
clerk to the church of Leverton ete boreali, vacant by
the death of Sir Thomas Bawdrie. Patron - William Hamston
esq. At Buckden, 24 June.

As above p.16.

Liber Cleri A.D.1576. Holland xxi, August.
Henry Holland, ordained priest by the bishop of Ely, 29 July
1569; vicar of Boston (32l. 6s 8d) of the patronage of
William Hamston esq. aged 30; not married; resides at Boston
etc. etc. See as above, p.206.

Liber Cleri A.D.1580 North Holland
South Leverton - Master Henry Holland, rector; ordained by
the bishop of Ely 29 June 1565 plurality, 13 miles...;
instituted 24 June 1576. See as above p.223.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Clerk</th>
<th>Name of Patron</th>
<th>Reason for Vacating Living</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Heerde</td>
<td>James Caunter</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>30 June 1559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Henry Holland</td>
<td>William Hinwood</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 June 1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Peacock</td>
<td>Thomas Rystedt</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>1 Dec. 1634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Brown</td>
<td>Edmund Rystedt</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>3 Feb. 1634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Brown</td>
<td>Edmund Rystedt</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>17 Nov. 1641</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Henry Peacham's family headquarters was Lincolnshire. The
emblem on p.172 of Minerva Britanna (1612), which represents
a pious soul longing for its heavenly home, is dedicated 'to
my Father, Mr. Henry Peacham of Leverton in Holland in the
Countie of Lin.' Leverton is a village in the fen-country,
about four miles N.E. of Boston on the Boston-Wainfleet road.
In one of his later pamphlets Henry Peacham junior gave a
description of Wrangle (the next village but one to Leverton
and not more than three miles distant) which might well be
applied to Leverton itself:

"To make a Topographical description of this Towne, it
standeth seven miles beyond villam Butolphi alias Boston,
at the hither end of the spacious and fruitful marshes,
well knowne for the plenty of the biggest and fattest
sheepes of England; it is adjoyning to that arm of the Sea,
called by Ptolemy, Neteris Aestuarius; it was sometime a
Market Towne, and in the time of Canutus the Dane, it had
a faire Haven, which since the sea hath forsaken, and is
now toward the Sea filled up with Sand, and upon Land
become a deep valley, wherein grasse growth, and is
common for their Sheepes." (1)

It may be ascertained from the Episcopal Records cited
above that Henry Peacham (senior) was ordained by the Bishop
of Peterborough in 1574, presented to the benefice of North
Leverton by the Crown on the recommendation of Sir John Brockett
in September 1576, and admitted by the Bishop of Lincoln in
November of the same year, and was holding the benefice when
the Liber Clerii of 1580 was compiled. The parish of Leverton
was until recently, for some reason best known to the
Diocesan authorities, divided in two (2). There was one

(1) Neau and Turn (1639) p.6.  (2) See The History and
Antiquities of Boston (1856) by Pinhey Thompson.
Church with two rectories and two rectories, the northern mediety being, in the late sixteenth century, worth £15.8.9d per annum, and the southern mediety £16.6.0½d per annum. The Lincoln Episcopal records of the seventeenth century have not been published but we learn from the List of Rectors which hangs in Leverton Church, and from Henry Peacham's senior's will (1) in which he describes himself as "Clerke and Rector of the Church of Leverton of both the medieties", that he was Rector of South Leverton as well as North before his death in 1634. From the will it also appears that he died at the advanced age of 88 (having therefore been born in 1546), that he was possessed of considerable property in the way of furniture, horses, carts, ploughs and brewing vessels, and that he could afford to give generously to the poor of the district, including, it is pleasing to note, "Edward Nicklos my ancient laborer".

(1) The will is given in full in the Appendix to this chapter.
A visit to the Church of St. Helena at Leventon resulted in the discovery that the young Peacham had carved his name, his age, and the date on the stone sill of the vestry window. The carving is bold, and can easily be read, but the details are more clearly apparent in a rubbing than in the original.
South side of the Chancel of St. Helena's, Leverton, showing the vestry door-way with the carved windowsill beyond, and the fifteenth century stone sedilia of which the parish is justly proud, and which were mentioned in Henry Peacham senior's will in 1634:

"my bodie to be buried in the quire or Chancell of the said Church of Leverton aforesaid under the marble stone nje the freestone seats".
Henry Peacham junior speaks of himself as having been born in the parish of North Mimas, Herts:

"Henry John Haywood wrote his Epigrams as also Sir Thomas More his Utopia in the parish wherein I was borne; ...Northmimases in Harfordshire neere to S. Albaines". (1)

This statement leads to the identification of Henry Peacham, clerk, of Leverton with the Henry Peacham, minister, who published The Garden of Eloquence in 1577 and dedicated it to John Elmer Bishop of London, from North Mimas on April 24th. Peacham senior probably held some curacy or chaplaincy at North Mimas before being presented to the benefice of North Leverton, and this dedication was very likely an attempt to help himself to preferment; the following sequence of events (2) shows the success of his effort:

1573 Benefice of North Leverton presented to William Lane on the recommendation of Mr. Aylemar, archdeacon of Lincoln.
1577 John Aylmer became Bishop of London.
1577 Garden of Eloquence dedicated to Bishop Elmer of London by Henry Peacham.
1578 On the death of William Lane, benefice of North Leverton presented to Henry Peacham on the recommendation of Sir John Brokett.

Although no longer able to recommend incumbents in person, Aylmer could no doubt influence the recommendation made by his successor.

From Henry Peacham senior's will, and that of his daughter-in-law Jane (nee Boade; who made her will in 1623, and died in 1631)

(1) Compleat Gentleman: p.97
cf. also The Mare the Merrier (1608) Epigram No. 34
Thalia's Banquet (1620) Epigram No. 30.
See below p. 201.
(2) Gleaned from the Lincoln Episcopal Records cited above.
1628) it appears that his wife's name was Anne, and that he had two sons Richard and Henry, and two daughters Anne, alias Agnes, and Jane. Henry Peacham junior only mentions his mother once, and then in connection with her family coat-of-arms. The lady of the house of Faireclough referred to in the Compleat Gentleman (1622)(1), is almost certainly the same person as the 'Anne' described as Henry Peacham's 'nowe wife' in Jane Peacham's Will of 1623. Weston, the home of the Hertfordshire branch of the Faireclough family, is close enough to North Mims for us to conjecture that the author of the Garden of Eloquence was on visiting terms at Weston Hall, but reference to the Heralds' Visitations of Hertfordshire (1572-1634) (published for the Earl. Soc. in 1866, vol.22) provides no support for the theory that his wife was a member of the Weston branch.

The facts that Peacham received his early education at schools near St. Albans and in London (2), and that the new dedication to the second edition of The Garden of Eloquence (1593) is dated from North Mims, indicate that Peacham's father retained his appointment (whatever it may have been) at North Mims and did not remove to Leverton until after 1593.

Henry Peacham junior refers on one occasion to 'my brother

(1) "Faireclough, an ancient family in the County of Lancaster, whence the Fairecloughs of Weston in Hertfordshire, and those of Bedfordshire derive themselves, as also myselfe and my brother...our mother being of the same name and family": Compleat Gentleman, p.206.

(2) See Infra p.12.
Master Richard Peacham of Levertong, in Holland, in the Countie of Lincolnne' (1). Richard, who was 46 years old when he died in 1623 (2), was the elder of the two brothers; he does not appear to have gone to the University, or to have been forced to earn his living away from home, but married Jane Bowde (3) from the neighbouring parish of Freiston (4), and settled down in Levertong. From the Inquisition Post Mortem, and from documents relating to the lawsuit 'Henry Peacham clerk and Richard Peacham of Levertong defendants v William Hawarden and Anne, alias Agnes his wife, complainants', we learn that he was a considerable landowner, probably a farmer. Other branches of the Peacham family had their homes in Scampton and Stamford; accessible documents (for example, the Wills described above) show them to have been in comfortable

(1) Complete Gentlemen, p.206.
(2) See Inquisition Post Mortem (1624) on Richard Peacham cited above. (P.R.O. C.142.688) "...Juratores dicit quod praedictus Richard Peacham absit xxvi die mensis Aprilis ultimo praeterito ante captione inquisitionis, et quod sit sextis quadraginti et sex annorum temporis mortis dicti Richardi Peachami..."
(3) See Jane Peacham (nee Bowde)'s will (1623):
"I Jane Peacham Wid. the late Wye of Richard Peacham late of Levertong...gent, deceased, etc." 
"Item I give to Mary Bowde the wife of William Bowde, my sister in law xls."
(4) That the Bowdes were established at Freiston at this time is proved by the number of Wills in that name from that Parish to be found in Index Library Lincoln Wills vol.2 (1601-59). These are now preserved in the Lincoln District Probate Registry.
circumstances, some of the men rejoicing in the appellation 'gent.' or 'generosus'. A reconstruction of the family tree illustrates the extent of Henry Peacham's connections in the Leverton district.
TABLE OF PEACHAM'S FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

? PEACHAM = ?

Thomas Peacham of Scampton

Richard Peacham of Scampton d. 1594

Henry Peacham of Leerton (1546 - 1634)

? Fairclough = ?

? Bowde

William of Freiston = Mary ?

Jane = Richard Peacham of Leerton (1577 - 1623)

? = HENRY PEACHAM (1578 - 1642 ?)

Francis = Jane Wrayley of Wramble

John (1) = Anne, spiegnes (2) William Hawarden Garnier of Bennington

Henry Anne Thomas

Henry William Elme

Mary Garnier

Mary Chamberlain

daughter

daughter

Mary Chamberlain of Wramble

daughter
Henry Peacham the younger was born at North Mimms; a passage in *Coaeh and Sedan* (1636) helps towards the establishment of the date.

"Queene Elizabeth...rode...to heare a Sermon presently upon the victory obtained against the Spaniard in '88... when I remember (being then a Schoolie-boy in London, about tenne yeares of age) so many Spanish-Ensignes, in triumph were hung up, that the laudes of the Church...seemed to be veiled with Gold Silk and Silver". (1)

If, therefore, Peacham was ten years old in 1588, he must have been born in 1578; this date is confirmed by the evidence of the windowsill-carving illustrated above. The words 'HENRY PECHAM AET 19 1597' are perfectly clear to read, and the scratches below might be taken as 'Iunij: 21'. Whatever Peacham's exact birthday may have been, it is obvious that anyone aged nineteen in 1597 was born in 1578, and that the date 1576 which is usually conjectured is incorrect.

Such information as we have concerning Peacham's early years shows that he went to school in the St. Albans district and in London. His recollections of his school-days were not always happy ones and he seems to have found plenty to criticize in the methods and manners of his masters.

"I had, I remember, myself (near St Albans in Hertfordshire where I was born) a master who by no entreaty would teach any Scholar he had, further than his father had learned before him". (2)

His taste for drawing seems to have got him into trouble.

---

(1) *Coaeh and Sedan* (1636) p.22.
(2) *The Compleat Gentleman* p.27.
on more than one occasion, and he retaliated by taxing with a lamentable Latin howler; one of the undiscerning pedants who attempted to cramp his artistic talent:

"When I was young I have been cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant Schoolmasters, when I have been taking in black and white, the countenance of some one or other (which I could do at 13 or 14 years of age...yet could they never beat it out of me. I remember one Master I had (and yet living not farre from St Albanes) took me one time drawing out with my penne that pear-tree and boyes throwing at it, at the end of the Latine Grammar; which hee perceiving in a rage strooke me with the great end of the rodd, and rent my paper, swearing it was the onely way to teach me to robbe Orchards; besides, that I was placed with him to be made a Scholler and not a Painter, which I was very likely to doe; when I well remember he construed unto me the beginning of the first Ode in Horace, Elite, set ye forth, Maecenas, the sports, atavis resilio, of our ancient Kings". (1)

In one of the later pamphlets occurs an account of a school-play; the speaker is supposed to be an honest Country farmer, but it seems more than likely that Peacham is actually drawing on personal experience, and that the passage records one of his youthful successes:

"When I was a Grammar Scholler our master to revive our spirits dulled with studie would make us Comedies...I will repeat the Prologue of one of our plaies which I myselfe spoke upon the stage...Which I pronouncing distinctly and with a good grace I was marvelously applauded (by the clapping of hands) of the multitude; Maides tossed apples to mee, and our Schoolemaster's wife offered me her bottle of rosa solis to drink" (2)

Peacham's early acquaintance with the drama was not confined to amateur acting, for he tells us of a play in which he saw Tarleton act:

(1) Compleat Gentleman, pp 126 and 7.
(2) Coach and Sedan (1636) (C4)v.
"I remember when I was a Schoolboy in London, Dick Tarleton acted a third son's part" (1).

This visit to the theatre must have taken place before Peacham was ten years old for Tarleton died in 1588; it must have made a profound impression on his mind, for Tarleton's name occurs several times in his books and he does not mention any other actor. His powers of observation were evidently well-developed even at that early age; we may picture him drinking in every detail, his child's eyes wide with wonder and excitement, so that he was able, over fifty years later, to describe not only the plot of the play but the costume of his hero, the famous actor, who "came in like a rogue in a foule shirt without a band, and in a blew coat with one sleeve, his stockings out at the healles, and his head full of straw and feathers". (2)

In 1592, at the age of fourteen, Peacham matriculated as a sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the next year his name appears amongst those of the scholars. The Records containing the names of those who graduated B.A. at Cambridge in the session 1594-5 have been lost, but Peacham presumably graduated in 1595 as he would not otherwise have been able to receive the degree of M.A. in 1598 (3). His course at the

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) p.103.
This passage was quoted by Mr. J.Isaacs (in a lecture delivered to the Shakespeare Association in 1926 and published in 1927) as illustrating a typical clown's costume of the period.
(3) See Admissions to Trinity College Cambridge (1913) vol II 1546-1700, p.179, ed. W.W.House Ball and J.A.Venn.
Cf also Book of Matriculations and Degrees Univ. Cambridge (1913) p.516, ed. John Venn and J.A.Venn.
University doubtless followed orthodox lines; his principal study would have been "the categories of Aristotle", but it may be safely assumed that one of his alert mind let no subject pass by him untasted, and that he assimilated at this time much of the information about the various branches of mathematics, geometry, geography and astronomy, which he reproduces in The Compleat Gentleman. His talent for drawing and painting led to an interest in map-making:

"I could do at the age of 13 or 14 years of age...the Mappe of any Towne according to Geometricall proportion, as I did of Cambridge when I was of Trinity College, and a Junior Sophister" (1).

From 1593 onwards Dr. Nevill was Master of Trinity and the college throve under his wise and rational administration; Peacham refers to him in terms of the greatest respect:

"I must never forget my duty towards that noble and worthy-minded gentleman Mr. Dr. Nevil our Master of Trinity College". (2)

He also was fortunate in having an exceptionally able tutor in the person of John Layfield, who held the position of "Lector Linguae Graecae" at Trinity when Peacham went up to College, and became rector of St. Clement Danes in 1602 (3). In 1612 Peacham dedicated one of the emblems in Minerva Britannia to 'Mr D.Layfield, sometime my tutor at Trinity'. He had nothing but praise for the University and the people he met there, and his six years' residence seem to have been at once pleasant and

(1) Compleat Gentleman, p.126.
(2) Graphice (1612) p.157.
(3) See Alumni Cantabrigiensis (1924) by J Venn and J.A.Venn.
profitable. About forty years later, in Coach and Sedan (1636) he visualised a meeting with one of his old friends and recalled some of the escapades of his student days:

"I was laid hold on in an evening, by our Vice-master D.R. for whistling in the court; and I told him (and told him truly) I could never whistle in all my life; you made answer, no sir, it was not hee; for could he have whistled his father would never have sent him to Cambridge; meaning he would have made a plough boy of mee".

"Let me remembre you likewise (said I) of another merrie accident when we were boyes and Sophisters in the schoolies when you and two more of your old acquaintance, went one frostie morning to eate Blacke-puddings to break-fast, and wanting a penny of the reckoning to pay for an odd pudding (having no more mony amongst you all three) you ventured on it, and spyt out a single penny that was buried in the Puddings end; so that by wonderfull fortune the pudding payed for itself; and after you declaimed upon Audaces Fortuna juvat". (1).

Although he spent quite as long at College as most men, and was in his twentieth year when he graduated M.A. in 1598, Peacham afterwards complained of having been 'left young to the wide world to seeke my fortune', and in 1620 addressed a pathetic verse to a young friend holding a fellowship at Trinity:

"So let me Sir beloved of Heaven be,
As I do love my Nurse your Trinitie;
Whereof I was a member, bleeding yet,
To think how rawlie I was torn from it:
But wholy not divided though in part,
Since (fellowes) yet amongst you lives my heart" (2).

(2) Thalia's Banquet (1620) Epigram No 51 To Mr Sam. Simson, Fellow of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge.

Note: Samuel Simson was admitted a sizar at Trinity in 1606, became a scholar in 1611, graduated B.A. in 1612, became fellow in 1614, graduated M.A. in 1615, was ordained in 1618, and admitted to the benefice of Blyth, Notts, in 1622. (Alumni Cantabrigiensia (1924)).
His preparation for the battle of life being completed, in 1598, Peacham passes from view for several years. From stray references in his first published book The Art of Drawing with the Pen (1606), and in a manuscript which belongs to about the same period, we may assume that he obtained a post as schoolmaster, found the work distasteful, and earnestly cultivated his literary and artistic talents in an effort to better his position. Every glimpse that we catch of him between leaving the University and the years 1610-1612, when his ambitions began to be realised, shows him striving to attract the attention of influential persons, to bring his undoubted ability before the public eye, and to catch the flood-tide of fortune.

It must have been soon after James I's accession in 1603, that he was seized with the bright notion of translating the new king's manual of princely deportment, the Basilicon Doron into a series of emblematical drawings explained in Latin verse. Certain lines in the Minerva Britanna (1612) suggest that the idea originated during a stay at Oxford, but the hint is vague and cannot be taken as definite evidence that Peacham spent any time at that University:

"Dear Sister of my ever loved Mother
From whom this little that I have I drew,
Ingratefully, great light, I cannot another
Some lesser sparkes which I derived from you,
Which first inflamed to this my duller spright,
And lent in darke, my Muse her candle-light". (1)

(1) Minerva Britanna (1612) p.98.
King James' book of instruction had been prepared for the use of his sons. When it was printed in 1599 it was received with the respectful acclamation accorded to the literary efforts of royalty. The many subsequent editions, and the numerous imitations (1), each more prosaic and uninspired than the last, which appeared from all quarters, testifying to its immediate and continued popularity. Peacham's contribution to the throng of pettity Basilica Dora bears witness to his originality. He took the kings dull commonplaces, made each weighty sentence the text for a symbolical drawing, and expounded the meaning in a few lines of Latin verse. The drawings are briskly executed, all are ingenious and some very amusing. Such a well-known platitude as *Tyrannum morbus suscipio* acquires a new capacity to penetrate the mind when vividly illustrated by a drawing of a murderer hiding under an elaborately-canopied four-poster bed.

Peacham's rendering survives in three manuscripts, two in black and white, and the third 'limned in lively colours'. That which appears to be the earliest draft is contained in Bodl. M.S.Rawl. Poet. 146 (2). This is shorter and in less perfect condition than the others and there are several alterations and blank spaces. The drawings are all surrounded by elaborate ornamental borders, while in the other versions a simple ruled border suffices; it is probable that Peacham found these borders

(1) E.g. W. Willyams's *Speculum Principis* (1603), and The Father's Blessing (1624).
(2) For full description of this and other M.S.S. see Bibliographical Notes.
tiresome and gave up the project of making them in later copies. This first M.S. has no formal preface or introduction, but is dedicated on the titlepage to Prince Henry Frederick, son of King James.

The second version, dedicated to the king himself, is contained in Brit. Mus. M.S. Harl. 6855 art 13; this is more carefully drawn, and includes eleven new emblems, an introductory address to the king and a set of verses on the Union of England and Scotland. The emphasis laid on the union of the two crowns seems to indicate that Peacham completed the work soon after 1603, in which case certain personal remarks in the Preface may be taken as applying to that period. He mentions London and Huntingdon and speaks of himself as a schoolmaster, hinting that he would be glad to leave the "schola ubi hinc inde gauditus et puorchorum strepitus (hoc enim sub onere ingenioso) nec per semi horae otio frui liceat". He tactfully adds, however, that the hardship of trying to write amid the hubbub of the classroom was cheerfully endured for the king's sake:

"Quid non Principi? Cui suram qua vesceatur et vitam".

The third M.S. (Brit. Mus. Royal 12 A lxvi) was dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales, and prefaced by a Latin address explaining the origin and use of emblems. Peacham referred on several subsequent occasions (1) to the fact that he had presented the Prince with an emblematical version of his

---

(1) e.g. _Graphica_ (1612) pp. 7 and 159.
royal father's book, and there can be little doubt that the beautifully executed, elegantly bound copy preserved in the royal collection is that actually received by the Prince. (1)

In the preface to Minerva Britanna (1612) Peacham says: "It is now two years since I presented unto your Highness some of them (i.e. Emblems), then done by me into Latin verse, with their pictures drawn and limed by mine owne hand, in their lively contours." (2)

This means that about 1609 or 10 Peacham achieved the honour of having a gift accepted by the Prince of Wales. He had evidently been working towards this scheme for obtaining recognition at court for several years, but the only tangible evidence of his doings and whereabouts (apart from the references to Huntington and Schoolmaстерing noted above) between 1598 and 1609 appears in his two first publications, a textbook of drawing entitled The Art of Drawing with the Pen (1606) by H. Peacham gent. and a collection of epigrams entitled The More the Merrier (1608) by H. P. gent. The first of these is dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton, who must therefore be regarded as Peacham's first patron:

"I confess though I had never bin obliged unto you for some particular favours; yet the love you bear to the arts above any other I know, should have enforced my genius to have awaked and sought you out wheresoever". (3)

(1) The Royal M.S.S. also include a miniature coloured portrait of Prince Henry, accoutred for a tournament, with the signature H.Peacham. Unfortunately the paint is much oxidised. See Brit.Mus.Royal M.S. 16.E.xxxviii.

(2) Minerva Britanna (1612) Dedication.

(3) The Art of Drawing with the Pen (1606) Epistle Dedicatory.
This dedication is dated "from my study in Kimbalton this
eighth of November", and Peacham introduces one anecdote with
the words "while I lay in Huntingdon"; it should be noticed
that Kimbalton is in Huntingdonshire quite close to Sir
Robert Cotton's country seat at Cunnington. Peacham's
connection with Kimbalton is more firmly established by a
reference to a coat of arms which "I remember standeth in the
great Chancell Window in the Church of Kimbalton" (1). His
acquaintanceship with Sir Robert Cotton may have stimulated
Peacham's interest in heraldry, genealogy, and antiquities;
he was certainly grateful for the considerable advantages
which he derived from the use of Sir Robert's library:

"Not only our Brittaine but Europe her selfe is obliged
for his industry, cost, and care in collection of so many
rare Manuscripts and other Monuments of venerable
Antiquity, being of the same most free and communicative,
to all men of learning and quality" (2).

"I find out of a faire parchment Manuscript in French...
(which my honoured and worthy friend Sir Robert Cotton
hath)...a writ thus directed etc " (3).

"A very faire manuscript of this kind (i.e. illuminated)
Sir Robert Cotton my worshipfull friend had of me, which
was King Edward the fourthes, compiled by Anthony Earle
Hivers, and as Master Camden told me, it was the first
books that ever was printed in England" (4).

That Peacham's occupation, the 'important businesse' which
prevented him from extending the scope of his book in 1606, was
schoolmastering, is proved by the preface to the enlarged

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.176.
(2) Op cit, p.197.
(3) ibid.
(4) Graphicè (1612) p.73. This must refer to a copy of the
Dites and Sayinges of the Philosophres, but there is now
no copy of it in the Cottonian collection.
32
e d itio n o f 16X2 t
"I p u b lle te d t h is sh o r t d isc o u r se o f th e Art o f larawing
fo r th e b rn iefit o f many young üeotlem m i who were my
sC holX ers fo r tlie L atin e am Greek toogues" ( 1 ) .
Â ltïio u ^ he d oes n o t s p e c if ic a lly sa y s o , Peachaa h at
alm ost c e r ta in ly found h is way to London by 1606 in ord er to
n e g o tia te th e p u b lic a tio n o f h is book, h is n ex t book, a
c o lle c t io n o f B pigrw is e n t it le d The. More .tlia .l e f r i e r . make s frovei
-it^-M etsr th a t he bad sp en t some th ae in th e c it y by loOO.
S ev era l o f th e epigram s r e fe r t o or d e sc r ib e London sc e n e s and
ty p e s ( 2 ) , a te th e E p is tle i s dated "fram my lo d g in g in F e tte r la n e n eere unto F ie e t s t r e e t , t h is 4 . o f A p r ill" . Peachaa adopts
tow ards h is couuti*y c o u sin s the u su a l p a tr o n isin g a ttitu d e o f
th e new-maae 'm an-about-tow n' ; he has h is f l i n g a t th e Country
Maior (ho 2) and th e Ccrtintry Peaant (l»o 2 1 ), b ut he p rese rv es
h is p refei'en ce fo r r u r a l a ir and scen ery and e x p r e sse s th e
countrym an's n a tu r a l d is t a s t e fo r th e sounds and s c e n ts o f a
Jacobean c i t y . A lo n g poem in p r a ise o f country l i f e api>ear8
in t h i s c o lle c t io n ; i t i s in th e u su a l c la s s ic a l tr a d it io n , but
i t s v iv id n e s s ana sin eerA ty make i t c le a r th a t Peacham i s
drawing upon h is own sdoewhat u n p leasa n t ex^ ieriences:
"Lord, who would l i v e w ith in t t e t i t l e p en t,
lîmaured l i k e a f i s h w ith in a S e l l ,
Where thou co n st se e th e good ly firm am ent.
In some b lin d lan d the space o f sc a r c e an e l l ?
I fin d th e C itie to confound my se n se s
With lo a th ed sm els, w ith a ir e to o th ic k and muddy:
it e r e t h is or t t e t s t i l l draws me to exjiensea,
And C artes and Coaches hind er me from stu d y". (3 )
5 T 'ë raoM ce (!iù i2 )'~ lM s tie ''t6 th e R eader. '
' "
(2 ) % igram s ho 5 - t t e fro zen Thazties; Ho l o - t t e Temple and *
(35

ojts. ove^


This inbred love of the countryside runs throughout Peacham's work like a refrain; in later years when the city was affording him his livelihood he regretted his inability to leave it or rejoiced in the opportunity of a holiday:

"Wert thou thy life at liberty to choose,
And as thy birth, so hast thy being free,
The Citie thou shouldst bid adieu my Muse,
And from her streets as her infection flee" (1).

"So now this Spring my merry Muse and I
Must walke the World abroad and take the aire,
Who at our work all Winter close did ly,
And our decailed Spirits go repaire" (2).

In an essay, written quite near the end of his life, Peacham praised the country with renewed enthusiasm:

"Men are more sprightly, lively, and merry in an upland perfumed and fanned with the flower-scented aire of the countrey, and of better complexions, than in close lanes and noysome allies about the City". (3)

The fresh unspoiled outlook with which Peacham surveyed scenes which had become stale by long association to the London-bred, enabled him to invest them with a new significance; the comparison which he makes between the teeming fancies of his own brain and the motley crowd thronging St. Paul's testifies to his wit and ingenuity as well as to the

(1) Minerva Britanna (1612) p.185.
(2) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No 73.
(3) The Truth of our Times (1638) p.196 (which is misprinted 201).
varied nature of his interests and accomplishments:

"This head of mine with sundry humors fraught
To spaticous Poulæs I have resembled oft;
Where, in the Quier, for my soules salvation,
At morn and even I make my meditation,
My Musick takes another plane, hard by,
Next painting, gilding, and my Imagerie;
...Descending doun a world of fancies walkes,
Of Traffique these; of warre the other talke:
Others discoursing of the Silver Mine
And some devising where were best to dine,
And as we see their pressing out of doores,
Knights, Schollers, Courtiers, Porters, Rogues, and
whores,
So such a throng some times accrew together
In coming forth that one doe hinder either,
And never will I feare be voided quite,
Till Death the Sexten locks out all at night." (1)

In 1608 Peacham compared his Muse to a 'country-wench new
ladified', veiling her 'Sunburned face' under a mask, and
'scrning to tell her father's homely name'; it was not long
before he had succeeded in making a place for himself in the
artistic and literary society of London. The Art of Drawing
had shown that he was at once scholarly and ingenious (its
popularity is proved by its re-issue in 1607 and by the new
and enlarged edition of 1612) and The More the Merrier
appeared opportunely at a time when epigrams were in high
favour amongst the wits of the Inns of Court. In 1610 and 1611
verses bearing Peacham's name prefaced three very different
publications: a book of songs and airs collected by Robert
Dowland, a memorandam by Arthur Standish (2) deploring 'the

(1) The More the Merrier (1608) No 43.
Note: line 3 runs: 'Wherein, the Quier, for my soules
salvation' in the edition of 1608, but as this is evidently
a misprint I have amended it as above.
(2) Standish was a Lincolnshireeman, perhaps a personal friend
of Peacham's, and to be identified with the A.S. who
general destruction of woods and the extreme dearth of victuals', and (most significant of all) Thomas Coyate's Crudities. The traveller-extraordinary was the man of the moment at Prince Henry's court, and the courtiers vied with each other in commending the Crudities. Coyate's preface to the collection of complimentary verses tells us that contributions had been sent unsolicited 'by persons of eminent quality and rank', and that the Prince had expressly commanded that all those which had been read to him should be printed. The appearance of Peacham's name amongst those of 'the worthiest spirits of the kingdom' shows that he was in touch with doings at Prince Henry's court, even if he was not a member of the inner circle. We may assume that he had obtained some recognition there, since his Minerva Britanna (a collection of emblems based on the earlier M.S. collections with sundry additions; completed 1611, published 1612) was dedicated to the Prince in gratitude for favours received:

"Having by more than ordinary signes tasted heeretofore of your gratious favour: and evidently knowen your princely and Generous inclination to all good learning and excellencie, I am emboldened once againe to offer up at the Altar of your gratious acceptance these mine Emblemes". (1).

Some indication of the nature of the Prince's 'favours' is to be found in the remarks of his biographer Sir Charles Cornwallis (2), who commends his having given pensions 'to divers

\[ \text{contributed a Latin verse 'ad autorem' to The Period of Mourning in 1613.} \]

(1) Minerva Britanna (1612) Dedication.

(2) Author of A Discourse of the most illustrious Prince Henry (1626)
of his servants...in whom he noted want', and in the following anecdote:

"A good Poet, and right honest man, presenting him a small poem, he received it verie graciously, and willed a Gentleman that had his purse to bestow on him some token of his gracious acceptance; the Gentleman asking him whether two Jacobus would not serve. By for shame (said his Highnes) give him at least ten pieces". (1)

The Minerva Britanna is prefaced by a goodly company of panegyrical verses in assorted languages (Latin, English, French, and Italian). Three of the signatures are foreign; the four others are those of Thomas Hardinge, Tho: Heywood, William Seger, and E.S. The first may be identified with one of the same name who was second master at Westminster School 1610-1622 (2). The second has been identified by his biographer (3) with Thomas Heywood the dramatist, who has therefore been assumed to be a friend of Peacham; there was however a certain 'Thomas Heywarde' who was master of St. Albans Free Grammar School 1595-1600 (4), and who has an equal claim with the dramatist to be that Thomas Heywood, who matriculated at Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1591, and was therefore Peacham's contemporary at the University. The dramatist was, of course, a Lincolnshire man and may have come into contact with Peacham through that fact; also, it is not

(1) The True Picture of Prince Henry his noble and vertuous Disposition (Leyden 1634) by W.H.
(2) He had been at St Johns College Cambridge 1603-1608. See Alumni Cantabrigiensis (1924) by J. and J.A. Venn.
(3) A.M. Clark Thomas Heywood (1931) p.66.
(5) Alumni Cantabrigiensis (1924) J. and J.A. Venn.
impossible that the three Thomas Heywoods are one and the same person, for although the dramatist began writing plays and working for Henslowe before 1600, St Albans is no great distance from London and he may have combined the two professions for a time. No doubt exists concerning the identity of William Segar, Garter King at Arms, who almost certainly made Peacham’s acquaintance through a common interest in heraldry, but on the other hand the owner of the initials E.S. has not yet been satisfactorily identified (1).

Most of the persons to whom the two hundred emblems in the Minerva Britannia are dedicated were prominent public figures of the time, whom Peacham addressed out of courtesy; a few of these (e.g. Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir David Foulis, Elizabeth Apsley, Anne Dudley, etc.) were perhaps personally known to him in their capacity as attendants on Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth. There are also a few addressed to Peacham’s own friends, and this last group includes his father, his college tutor, one of his pupils, John Dowland, Mr Adam Newton the Prince’s tutor, and Mr and Mrs Collard of the parish of St Martins in the Fields (2). (3)

From Graphice (1612) we learn that Peacham had made several influential friends in the last-named parish (4); he speaks of Master John Thorpe of that parish as “my especiall friend, and

---

(1) The following names have been suggested: Edward Story, Edward Stubbes, Edward Sylvester.
(2) See pp. 170, 69, 106, 107, 39, 92 respectively.
(3) An enlarged version of the Art of Drawing, also issued in 1612 as The Gentlemen’s Exercise.
(4) It is unlikely that he was living there himself at the
excellent Geometrician and Surveyor", and also recalls "the friendship that I have ever found at the hands of three in that parish...to whom I have been most beholden...Master Christopher Collard (whose sonne my scholler is now of Magdalen College in Oxford), Master Simon Greens, purveyor of his Majestie's stable; lastly the aforesaid Master John Thorpe his sonne, to whom I can in words never be sufficiently thankful" (1).

Although Peacham's name does not appear in the Parish Records of St Martins, reference to these documents has corroborated his statements about his friends. The family of Thorpe flourished exceedingly in the period 1592-1619, and we find that John Thorpe married Rebecca Green, daughter of Simon Green, Woodmonger, in 1592 (2). John Thorpe who is the best known of early British domestic architects (3), was associated with Inigo Jones (whom Peacham also calls friend in the Compleat Gentleman (1622) p.154), and no doubt the two of them obtained wood for buildings and the erection of scaffolds for Court-Masques and the like from Simon Green. It was Peacham's friendship with this circle of respectable middle-class people, rather than his efforts to attract the attention of Prince Henry, that enabled him to get close enough to the

(1) Old Times (1612) p.172, 173.
(3) See Henry Sibb's article on John Thorpe in Journal of the R.I.B.A. (1911). Thorpe's name appears in the Calendar of
Kris to draw his portrait (1); the whole question is illuminated by the following remark from one of the later pamphlets:

"How bold, confident, merry, lively and even in humour are monied men...these can bring their wives and friends to see in Court the King and Queen at dinner; or to see a Maske, by means of some eminent man of the Guard, or the Carpenter that made the Scaffold" (2).

The fact that Peacham mentioned young master Collard (3) as his pupil indicates that he had been teaching in London. In the preface he emphasised his professional status and disclaimed any attempt to win pecuniary advantage by his book, "since by profession I am a Scholler". The book is dedicated to Sir Edmund Ashfield, deputy-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, in token of 'that dutie I owed to yourselfe for many favours towards me at your Chesham'. A passage describing the finest prospects includes some with which Peacham was himself familiar, and his list reveals something of the extent of his acquaintance with various parts of the country:

\[ \text{State Papers Domestic (1611) where he is to be paid 252.3.0 for repairs to posts and rails in Richmond Park.} \]

(1) "I have often take his Majestie's portrait sitting at dinner, or talking with some of his followers". Graphics (1612) p.25.


(3) This young gentleman's successful career, established as follows from various sources, may owe something to Peacham's talents as a tutor. From St Martin's Parish Register we find that he was baptized in 1593. In 1611, at the age of 18, he matriculated at Magdalen College Oxford; he received degree of B.A. in 1615 and M.A. in 1617. (Univ. Oxon. Register (1857-8) vol.2 i p.278, 2 ii p.323, 2 iii p.332). He held various lectureships at Magdalen College from 1618-1630. Held various benefices from 1626-1639. (Alumni Cantabrigienses, (1924)).
"In England I like best at Windsor, and the country thereabouts, the prospect which you take of the citie of London upon high gate, and all the country about Roistone". (1)

There is a note of contentment in the publications of this period which implies that Peacham was satisfied with the position he had achieved, and felt himself in harmony with his world. For him the time was one of ripeness and fulfilment; his society and his services were sought after and well remembered, and he had every reason to think his position secure for many years to come. His hopes and ambitions seem to have been only temporarily dashed by Prince Henry's untimely death in November 1612, and Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine in February 1613. He celebrated both events at once in The Period of Mourning (1613), in which elegies stand side by side with nuptial hymns. This collection of verses (which contains, be it noted, contributions in Greek and Latin from no less a person than John Selden) was dedicated to the Lord Mayor of London and two Aldermen; the reason for this choice is not immediately clear, but it is just possible that Peacham hoped to obtain some employment in the organisation of masques and entertainments in the City.

The next definite date in his history is January 16th, 1615, when two more books were registered at the Stationers' Hall. Their contents show that he had been abroad in the Low Countries

(1) Gresham (1612) p.44.
for some months before, but it is not possible to determine the exact length of his absence from England. It was probably during this absence, however, that a certain Edmund Peacham, who was arrested and tried for sedition in the spring of 1614, attempted to lay the blame upon another 'Peacham' whose description tallys fairly closely with what we know of Henry Peacham. Edmund Peacham (1), who was a country parson, had been accused of preaching sedition against the King. His case received more attention than it seems to have deserved, partly because James I was particularly anxious to secure a conviction, partly because the accused was one of the last Englishmen to be examined under torture, and partly because Francis Bacon was one of the examiners. Several relevant documents appear amongst the State Papers, and the matter is discussed at length by Spedding (2). The only phase of the trial which concerns us here is Edmund's accusation of his namesake at an examination made at the Tower on March 10th 1614:

"Being asked touching one Peacham, of his name, what knowledge he had of him and whether he was not the person that did put into his mind divers of those traitorous passages which are both in his loose and contexted papers? He saith this Peacham, of his name, was a divine, a scholar and a traveller, and that he came to him some years past, the certainty of the time he cannot remember, and lay at this examinates house a quarter of a year, and took so much upon him as he had scarce the command of his own house or

(1) Edmund Peacham, matriculated at Cambridge in 1577, rector of Hinton St George (an out-of-the-way and extremely beautiful Somerset village, seat of the Pevsner family) 1597, arrested 1614, died in prison March 27, 1616.

(2) Life and Letters of Bacon (1869) Vol V, chap.IV.
study; but that he would be writing, sometimes in the Church, sometimes in the steeple, sometimes in the examiners' study; and now saith further that those papers as well loose as contextual where he had formerly confessed to be of his own hand, might be of the writing of the said Peacham."

"Being required to describe what manner of man the said Peacham that lay at his house was, he saith that he was tall of stature, and can make no other description of him, but saith, as he taketh it, he dwelleth some times at Bonslow as a minister; for he hath seen his letters of orders and licence under the hand of Mr D. Chatterton sometime Bishop of Lincoln.


On March 12th Bacon wrote to the King:

"That further enquiry be made of this other Peacham...I hold it necessary". (1)

There is, however, no record of any further enquiry, which may be due to the fact that Henry Peacham had already gone abroad. If Edmund Peacham was actually referring to Henry Peacham, his statement establishes that he was in deacon's if not in priest's orders. According to the Alumni Cantabrigensiae (1924) no record exists of Henry Peacham’s ordination, but a certain 'Thomas Peacham', described as 'quondam Alumnus' of Trinity College Cambridge, was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln on June 15th 1606. Chadderton was Bishop of Lincoln until his death in 1608; Henry Peacham was a member of Trinity College, and no Thomas Peacham appears in the University records until 1638. These facts seem to point towards the conclusion that 'Thomas' is a mistake for 'Henry', and that the subject of this

(1) Life and Letters of Francis Bacon (1869) Vol V cap.4. by J. Spedding.
study was actually ordained in 1606. By a curious coincidence the possibility of confusion between Thomas Peacham and Henry Peacham is supported by a similar case in the list of Rectors in St Helena's Leverton, where 'Thomas Peacham B.A.' appears opposite the date of Henry Peacham senior's installation, and 'Henry Peacham M.A.' (the M.A. borrowed no doubt by posterity from the son) has been written in below without a date.

The reason for Peacham's expedition to the Low Countries is not altogether clear. It is certain, of course, that after Prince Henry's death, and Princess Elizabeth's removal to Heidelberg, his advance on the path of court preferment received a check, and he had to cast about for some new way of improving his fortunes. The rumour that he was about to be implicated in Edmund Peacham's trial may have precipitated his departure, but it seems more likely that he left England before March 1614, and that the knowledge of his absence prompted Edmund Peacham's accusation (1). It has generally been assumed that he went abroad as a travelling tutor; no support for this theory is found in his own works except the following rather vague epigram addressed to 'Meister Christopher Sherland (2) of Graies Inn', which means no more than that Sherland and he had traversed the same ground:

"Beloved sir, since you have followed me,
In your unthought of journey thorough France,

(1) It will be remembered that Edmund Peacham referred to his namesake as a "traveller".
(2) Since C. Sherland gent of Easton Manduit in Northants entered Grays Inn as early as 1604, it is unlikely that he travelled with Peacham in statu pupillari."
The Lower Belfia and High German.
I wish again it were my happy chance
To follow you, and my estate to raise,
By thrift the only travaile of our dailes".(1)

If the leisurely rate of seventeenth century travel be taken into consideration, it will be seen that the number of places Peacham visited and the variety of his occupations and acquaintances provide sufficient reason for supposing him to have been in the Netherlands for at least a year. The story of his travels has to be compiled from scattered references which are not sufficiently consecutive for any definite itinerary to be established. A sketch-map showing the relative positions of most of the places Peacham mentions is appended. He occupied part of the time wandering from place to place alone, sightseeing, reading in libraries, observing educational methods, and making the acquaintance of artists and scholars, while a certain period was spent in camp with the detachment of English soldiers under Colonel Sir John Ogle, who had come to help Prince Maurice of Nassau in his campaign against Spinola. The limits of Peacham’s journeying according to the following passages, seem to have been Artois in the South-West, Haarlem in the North-West, and Westphalia in the East:

"When I was beyond the Seas, and in a part of France, adjoyning upon Artoise, I was invited oftentimes to the House of a Noble persouage, who was both a great Souldier and an excellent Scholler...M. de Ligny...was his name" (2)

(1) Thalia’s Banquet (1620) No 34.
(2) The Compleat Gentleman (1622) To the Reader.
SKETCH MAP OF THE NETHERLANDS TO ILLUSTRATE PEACHAM'S TRAVELS 1613-1615.

from W.R. Shepherd's Historical Atlas (1922) p117.
"Goltzius was living at my last being in the Low Countries at Harlem". (1)

"Such a one I met withal, travelling in a very rainy evening, through a moody part of Westphalia". (2)

A life-like picture of Peaches, strolling about the streets of a foreign city, amazed and interested by all about him and stopping to examine anything unusual which caught his eye and touched his fancy is conveyed by the following lines from one of his essays:

"One day when I was walking in Breda in Brabant, not farre from the Market-place, I passed by a Gentleman's and Merchant's house, over whose great gates was written in letters of gold upon a blow goldeind 'Totus mundus regitur Opinione'. I stood still and pondering upon it I found (it) witty and weighty". (3).

Being a man of painstaking disposition, it seems likely that, like other travellers finding themselves confronted by a vast sea of new scenes and experiences, he became immersed in the flood and visited more churches and inspected more pictures than he could possibly remember;

"There is likewise a very rare and admirable peace in Andwarpe, done by a Blackesmith... It hengeth in one of the great Churches there, S. Georges or our Ladies, I remember not well which". (4).

Although Peaches's travels played a larger part in enriching his mind and enabling his judgement than any other factor in his life, the intellectual stimulus which he then received was

---

(1) The Compleat Gentleman (1622) p.126.
(2) The Truth of our Times (1635) p.126.
(3) Op cit. p.53.
(4) The Compleat Gentleman (1622) p.137.
delayed in its effects. The objects and customs which he observed stood him in good stead as illustrations and examples from the first (1), but he did not bring forth the finest treasures from his storehouse of memories until in later years he was driven to look in himself and his own experience for literary and didactic material. He cannot have understood in 1614 the true nature of the benefits that he was deriving; if he thought of the matter at all, he saw himself learning to speak Dutch (2), making the acquaintance of such well-known artists as Michael Janss of Delft and 'my honest loving friend Crispin de Pas of Utrecht', reading in the monks' library at S'Hertogenbosch, and indulging in

---

(1) E.g.: "In the Low Countries, mine old host at Arnhem in Gilderland, changed his Coate and Crest thrice in a fortnight because it did not please his young wife". The Compleat Gentleman (1622) p.15
"Let me tell you what I have known...(i.e. of Puritans) having remained a good time at Leiden in Holland...where they have their congregations". The Truth of our Times (1638) p.150.
"Not far from Leiden in Holland, in a village called Landsdum, there is yet a faire Table of Marble...I myselfe have twice or thrice, when I lived in Holland, seen the same". Valley of Variety (1638) p.140.
"That Emblem was not improper which I once saw in Andwerpe, which was an Hee and a Shee foole turning a Wheele". The North of a Penny (1647) p.27.

(2) "There is the story of Troilo Savello translated out of Italian into English by Sir Tobie Matthew. I have often scene and read it over in Dutch". The Truth of our Times (1638) p.101.
pleasantries with the Librarian (1).

The two books which Peacham wrote during his stay abroad show no great advance on previous efforts. These were entered in the Stationers' Register on January 13th 1615, and published in the same year. The first is a complimentary poem entitled Prince Henry Revived, addressed to Prince Henry Frederick, eldest son of Princess Elizabeth, born at the Elector's Court at Heidelberg in the Spring of 1614. Peacham apologised for the delay in publishing his natal ode, acknowledged his indebtedness to the little Prince's Mother for former favours (received doubtless for The Period of Mourning in 1613), and expressed his regret at being unable to present the poem in person (2):

"Sithence it hath pleased your Highnesse, heretofore to take notice of me and my labours...nothing hath been oftener in my wishes then abilitie to pay the debt owed to...so peerelesse a Patronesse". (3).

In the Preface, which is dated from Utrecht, the book is described as "done by me the most part in my travailes heere in the Low Countries upon the way...and now ended under the aspect of that star of honour...Sir John Ogle, Lord Governour of Utrecht, my noble friend" (4). Peacham refers several times

(1) See Thalia's Banquet (1620)
No 108: "A Latin distich which a Frier of Shertongen Bosch wrote in my Greeke Testament, while I was busy persuing some books in their Library".
No 109: His back being turned, I left this behind me, in the first printed page of a faire Arias Montanus Bible to requite him".

(2) "The way to Heidelberg was dangerous while the armies were lying at Rees and Wesel, for I had got so far in my pilgrimage with this little candle". Prince Henry Revived (1615) Dedication.

(3) See next page (4) Ibid
to his association with this gentleman:

"When I was at Utrecht, and lived at the table of that Honourable Gentleman, Sir John Ogle, Lord Gouvener, whither resorted many great Schollers and captaines...it had been enough to have made a Scholler or Soldier to have observed the several disputationes and discourses among many strangers". (1)

Since England was not officially engaged in the dispute over the duchies of Cleves and Juliers which opened the Thirty Years War, Sir John Ogle's soldiers must have been mercenaries and adventurers. Peacham was certainly with the army from September 7th to October 9th 1614, since the doings of that period are described in detail in the second of the two books mentioned above, A Most True Relation of the Affaires of Cleve and Gulick; he also claims an acquaintance with military life in a couplet in Thalia's Banquet (1620):

"Since our Author hath borne Arms too
He cannot chuse but welcome you".

This connection with warfare does not harmonize with what we know of Peacham as a scholar and an artist, who was possibly in Holy Orders, but his presence in camp may be explained by some personal acquaintanceship with Sir John Ogle, who was a Lincolnshire man, and seems to have had a taste for letters. Peacham may have come out with him in some vague non-combatant capacity as secretary or interpreter. The Preface to Prince Henry Revived, however, in which he speaks of the work as 'now ended' at Utrecht 'under the aspect of that star of honour Sir

---

(3) Prince Henry Revived (1615) Dedication
(4) The Compleat Gentleman (1613) p.231, also p.5.
John Ogle renders it more probable that he came to the Netherlands independently to study and travel and having passed some time in Artois and Brabant turned northwards, found his way endangered by skirmishing soldiery, introduced himself to Sir John's notice, obtained some position in his entourage, and returned to England soon after the cessation of hostilities in November 1614.

The address to Sir John Ogle which prefaces the Affaires of Cleve and Galick, and is dated from Breda in Brabant, implies that Peacham had received from him so substantial a present that he was enjoying a holiday on the strength of it:

"I present you with this the fruit of my leisure, for the which also I am beholden unto you since my return from the Armie before Rees". (1)

The date of Peacham's return to England can be established within a few weeks; he was evidently at Breda after the signing of the Treaty of Xanten in November 1614, and must have come to London before the entry of his two new books at Stationers' Hall on January 18th 1615. For the next few years his movements are uncertain, but his next publication, a collection of Epigrams entitled Thalia's Banquet (1620) tells us something of what had been going on in the interval (2).

(1) Sir John was not the only important person who entertained Peacham to dinner; cf "I having been one day at dinner with that noble gentleman the Graf of Culemburg..." (Meum and Tuum (1639)). Peacham also found opportunities to observe the customs of the Prince of Orange and Ambrose Spinola and the musical ability of Prince Maurice of Hesse and the Duke of Venosa. cf The Compleat Gentleman pp227-99
(2) And if the following reference is to be taken as accurate Peacham was living in London in 1616: "I remember, when I lived in St Martine Parish in the Fields, twenty years..."
Many of the verses contained in this book are addressed to pupils, friends, patrons and acquaintances (nearly all living in East Anglia) and one epigram records Peacham's tenancy of the mastership of Wymondham Free School:

"Windham I love thee, and I love thy soile, 
Yet ever loathed that never ceasing toile 
Of thy faire schoole, which whiles that it was free, 
Myselfe the Maister lost my libertie" (1).

(over)

since" etc. The Valley of Variety (1638) p.130.
(1) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No.30.
THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL HOUSE WYMondham, NORFOLKS.

from the South West

The schoolhouse at Wymondham was originally the Chantry-Chapel of SS Mary and Thomas a Becket; at the time of the Reformation a school was established (no doubt to replace that which was almost certainly kept before by the Chantry-priest), and the master's salary endowed. This Grammar School flourished until shortly before the late War, when it was closed, the building being now used as a Public Library.

(From N.Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools (1818) vol.2, p.199, and personal observation).
Former biographies have assumed that Peachan held this position soon after leaving College; the weight of evidence, however, is all in favour of his having resided at Wymondham during the period immediately preceding the publication of Thalia's Banquet - i.e. 1615-1620. Investigations in the County Histories have shown that the new friends whose names are recorded in 1620, several of whom lived near Wymondham, were nearly all country gentlemen of position, lords of their respective manors, with livings in their gift (1). In certain epigrams Peachan acknowledges gifts from his patrons, one of whom was Mr Bartholomew Hales J.P. of Warwick, to whom he writes:

"Whethersoever, Sir, it be my chance
To see thy face yet once again, or no,
You ever live in my remembrance,
And since I cannot pay the debt I owe
To your deserts, yet will I have it told,
To one unthankful you gave not your gold". (2)

A more ingenious expression of gratitude is addressed to Sir Thomas Southwell of Norfolk:

"How ever Heavens have suited my estate,
They never, Sir, could make me yet ingrate...
No, with respect I'll ever blesse the tree;
Whose fruit hath fed, or shelter shaded me". (3)

---

(1) For example: No 29: "The noble-minded and most worthy Maister Thomas Kuyvet of Ashwellthorp".
No 55: "The onely favorer of the Muse and all excellencie Maister Dru Drury of Riddlesworth, Norfolk".
No.63: "Maister Thomas Townsend"; mention is made of 'that respect and cheere I found at your compareless Testerton".
No.121: "My very worthy and honest friend Mr Robert Constable of Hingham".

(2) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No.62.
(3) Op cit. No.54.
By what services Peacham had earned these benefactions is not absolutely clear, for a mere country schoolmaster was unlikely to command any such respect; it is probable, however, that he was able to use his position at Wymondham to bring himself to the notice of the neighbouring squires, their friends and their relatives, and so to open the way to further preferment. He could have made himself useful to the gentlemen of his acquaintance in a variety of ways. He was well-fitted to take charge of and instruct children; he knew sufficient of painting, glazing, and heraldry to give advice in tricking coats of arms, and to undertake genealogical researches; he was learned enough to act as a Librarian, and if, as we have reason to suppose, he was in deacon's orders, he may well have held temporary posts as chaplain.

His attitude to teaching and his quality as a teacher are illustrated by an epigram addressed to a private pupil, Mr Edward Chamberlaine of Barnham Broome; it is not surprising that one who could take such an intimate interest in the development of a single mind found a large and possibly unruly grammar-school class a less pleasurable proposition:

"Ned, never look o' a single clove of a tree,
Thou lift'st when thou appliest thy books with me,
What true affection bare we each to either;
How often walking in the fields together
Have I in Latin giv'n the names to thee,
Of this wild flower, that neat, this blossom'd tree,
This speckled Flie, that hearb, this water rush,
This worme, or weed, the Bird on yonder bush?
How often when yee have been asked a play,
With voices, viols have we pass'd the day..."
Another while with pencil or with pen,
Have limned or drawn our friends pourtailes (sic) and then
Composing many colours into one,
Have imitated some carnation,
Strange field-found flower, or a rare scene fline,
A curious land-schap or a clouded sky?
Thus past our leasurable howers away,
And yee did learne even in the midst of play". (1)

In describing the unmanerly behaviour of a less 'towardly
and hopefull' pupil who had been spoilt by his mother,
Peacham contrived to give himself a sly pat on the back:

"This young gentleman was the only one whom I ever knew
to prove towardly and good after such a motherly
education. Indeed...he was sometimes my scholar, and at
this day is as understanding, civill, discreet, and as
thriftys a Gentleman as in the West part of England". (2)

Were it not for his varied and useful accomplishments, it
would be difficult to understand how Peacham managed to find
work to support himself and at the same time to travel about
the country as much as he did. The keen pleasure that he found
in travelling appears in the course of a comparison between
indoor and outdoor recreations in one of the later pamphlets.
Peacham's evident sincerity informs his words with a force
that at once communicates itself to the reader in a series of
vivid pictures:

"The most pleasing (recreation) of all, is riding with a
good horse, and a good companion in the spring or
summer season into the country when blossoms are on the
trees, flowers in the fields, corn and fruit are ripe;
in autumn what sweet and goodly prospects shall you
have on both sides of you upon the way, delicate green
fields, low meadows, divorces of Christall streams.

(1) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No.70.
(2) Truth of our Times (1632) p.93.
Usually Peacham's excursions did not take him into 'The
West Part of England'; possibly Mr. Halps of Warwick was
woody hills, parks with deer, hedge rows, orchards, fruit trees, churches, villages, the houses of Gentlemen and husbandmen, several habits and faces, variety of country labour and exercises, and if you happen... to converse with countrymen of the place...there be who out of rusticall simplicity will afford you matter of mirth if you stay to talk with them". (1)

Most of his activities, together with evidence of his wide reading, are reflected in his next publication, The Compleat Gentleman (1622), which was dedicated to a young scion of the nobility, the Earl of Arundel's third son Sir William Howard, an eight-year-old boy whom Peachesam had met in his capacity as tutor.

"It was my good hap to enjoy your acquaintance, and to spend some hours with you at your books in Norwich; where you had your education under the Reverend, Religious, and my Honourable good Lord, the then Lord Bishop of Norwich". (2)

Since he speaks of the 'then' Bishop, we must assume that Peachesam is referring to Bishop John Overall who was installed at Norwich in 1618 and died in 1619 (being succeeded by Samuel Harsnett), and that therefore his relationship with William Howard goes back to his fifth year. For all Peachesam's modest protestations that the book was intended to be no more than an elementary manual for the young scholar hastily compose during a period of convalescence, it must actually have taken a good while to write, and probably occupied all his spare time from at least 1618 onwards. The Dedication is

(2) The Compleat Gentleman (1622) Dedication.
dated "from my house at Hogdon by London, May 30", and as
the book was entered in Stationers' Hall on July 3rd 1622,
it may be assumed that Peacham completed it in the spring
of that year. The book is important not only as his longest
and most sustained piece of work, but as his first public
justification of his claim to the title of 'scholar', and as
an index to the extent of his reading and experience at the
summit of his career.

Peacham's activity in the collection of heraldic and
genealogical material (the fruits of which appear in the
chapter on 'Armory' in The Compleat Gentleman) is further
illustrated by two documents in his autograph preserved in
the British Museum which record details of the history of
the house of Cater (1). In the same connection should be
noticed Bodleian M.S.Bugdale 11 (that referred to by Hunter
as Ashmole D.11. supra p. 8), of which folios 137-160 from
a commonplace book of armorial bearings observed by the
writer in hatchments, memorial brasses of Church-, College-,
and domestic windows in the course of journeys in Oxfordshire,
Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Nottingham, and elsewhere.
Some of the incidental descriptions of places visited are
much in Peacham's manner, but since the M.S. contains no
personal reference (2), and the dates (ranging from 1632-1648)

(1) M.S.Harleian 1900. Joseph Hunter noted their existence
but he did not describe them. Other leaves in the same
codex are of a similar nature, but do not bear Peacham's
signature. This information was probably gleaned by
Peacham after the publication of the third edition of the

(2) ever
I do find that one Thomas Cale of Arringey for
so he is jured living in Leicestershire had two
formes John and Hugh whereas one was slaine
at Bosworth field, in the Battle thereof, the
Henry the 7 and Richard the third in of
them but it was I cannot find but they
were long time before that possessed of
lands in that Country, and they lived
mooore unto Gately but what their Aumes
was, there I cannot finde.

Magn: Fabre. [or] Indepline
Hue Cq.cxpin.
Harman Beachyn.
Seynt persoates et futurui quad ego cellatim domincus th
Hysyngh di Jthelby m Comitatu Lincastria dch. et comes
Jean Cate Harrison custodiae epriti mi apud Ashby
predict feli et filio suo Hugoni durante vita eorum
naturali m causa seu testimonium appelle sigillum msum
his testibus Thoma di Ferrayi Soanne Hugford et solis
Johanni apud Ashby. 12. die Apriliis anno Reginis Edwarii 41

Seyntse:

Codent unde dicit Henr. Henry the 1. gone to the other
brothers of Cate who was shalme certain lands in Birkshir,
iom porcupus of the age of this Brother. et of his good fortune
& wealth (it is thought) gave him a byon present as an
agumentation to his cash.

This is found in a Route of such gentlem. & king hez who
then they made & perfised in the time of his seyntagen.

Henry Bracham
do not coincide with the known limits of his life, it can only be described as precisely the type of record that he himself must have kept. To Peacham, whose interest in heraldry was living and active, bands, labels, and quarterings were not only the technical terms of a complicated science, but also a necessary part of social life, and a treasury of associations gathered from the chequered history of noble families. His devotion to the subject increased as time went on; the only chapter in the Compleat Gentleman which grows with each successive edition is that on 'Blazing of Arms'. Peacham displays more than a mere collector's interest; he always selects as fresh examples coats with whose owners he was acquainted, and which could be fitted into appropriate places without disturbing the arrangement of the chapter as a descriptive treatise on the terms of 'armory'.

In the first edition of the Compleat Gentleman some confusion occurred in the binding of the section relating to the pedigree of the Earl of Dorset. The gatherings V-Z are arranged 'V4, X5, Y6, Z4', gathering Y is signed 1,2,3,4,5, and the section is irregularly paged '145-162,161,162,163-172, 168,170,171 etc.' These variations may be accounted for by the fact that a fuller account of the Sackville family was not used in his book, in many instances the Reader is referred in the chapter on Armory to Rolls and Documents in the Tower of London and in Private Libraries.

(2) Apart from a vague 'taken by Mr Dodsworth' and a vaguer 'per me W.D.'
inserted after the book had gone to press, because Peacham had, made the earl's acquaintance about this time. He was unfortunate enough to lose this new patron very shortly afterwards, for Richard Sackville died on March 26th 1624, and there was nothing to be done but to publish an elegy (which duly appeared as *An April Shower* (1624)) and hope for the best. From the dedication to the Countess dowager, we learn that Peacham was more obliged to the late Earl 'than to any other of his rank in the land', and there can be little doubt that he was quite sincere in exclaiming:

"Ah! would it were untrue,
   And that mine Eyes not needed to bedew
   With silver-dropping Aprill his blacke Horse".

Peacham's relations with Dorset are typical of the middle period of his life, when his aim was still to make the best of himself (in Bacon's phrase, sed ostentare) by proving useful and agreeable to those in a position to assist him. That his efforts were rewarded by the hospitality of the great, as well as by gifts of money, is clear from this passage:

"Rare poet sure was Dorset, therefore he
   Was great Maecenas of all Poesie,
   What state, what traine, what Order, House kept hee
   At his faire Knowle, a Paradise to see
   That seemed for site, a Court for greatest Prince,
   The home of Honour and Magnificence."

At this time, while Peacham was making a name for himself in society, and finding his way into some at least of the stately homes of England, the rest of his family stayed
quietly at home. In 1618 his sister Anne, or Agnes, who
was now married to her second husband, went to law with his
father and brother over a dead relating to her first
husband's estates (1). This is unimportant in itself, but
it illustrates the interests and activities of the family-
circle at Leverton. In 1623 Peacham's brother Richard died,
apparently intestate, for an Inquisition Post Mortem (2) was
held on one Richard Peacham of Leverton in the following
year. In this document appear the following words:

"Et præterea juratores praedicti dicunt quod Mauritius
Peacham frater est heres praedicti Richardi Peacham
in dicta Inquisitiones specificata".

Henry Peacham does not appear to have profited by his
brother's death, for Richard is reported to have made a
declaration in favour of his wife, and the property almost
certainly passed to her:

"Quamquidem ultimam volutatam suam idem Ricardus Peacham
inter alia voluit modo et forma necnon in his Anglicanis
verbis sequentibus vist In the name of God amen the xxvi
daie of Aprill Anno domini 1623...Item I give and bequeat
unto Jane my wife all my lands etc to have and to hold
for her owne and onlie use during her naturall life".

Before the holding of this inquisition but after her
husband's death, Jane Peacham had made her will and having no
children had left nearly all her property (which presumably
had been her husband's) to her neices and nephews. In this
document appears the first hint of Peacham's marriage, an

(2) P.R.O; C.142. 688 (9).
event shrouded in almost as much obscurity as his ordination:

"Item I give to Henry Peacham my brother in lawe and (space) his nowe wife either of them xxx".

Mistress Peacham was evidently not well enough known to her relations in Levertont for them to remember her name. It might be suggested that Jane Peacham had left this space deliberately, intending that it should be filled in if and when Henry married, but that he was not only a husband but a father is demonstrated by his father’s will (made in 1634):

"Item I doe give unto Henry Peacham my some ten shillings and to his two daughters ten shillings a piece in money".

Nothing in Peacham’s writings suggests the married man. On the contrary, women seem to have played an even more insignificant part in his calculations than in those of most men of his day, and certain words of his in The Truth of our Times (1638) have given rise to the assumption that he remained a bachelor all his life:

"For my part I am not married; if I were, I should find my wings clipt, and the collar too streight for my neck".

These words certainly leave the impression that he had not tried the experiment, but he evidently meant that he was without a wife, at the moment of writing. This information about his marriage clears up the difficulty (noted by Malone) of explaining the term 'me and mine', occurring in a dedication of 1638, which sounds strangely from a bachelor but is readily explicable by the possession of two daughters:
"I stand obliged unto your Countesse,...for her really expressed favour to me and mine". (1)

After the publication of the *April Shower* in 1624, nothing is heard of Peacham for the space of ten years, except a new edition of *The Compleat Gentleman* in 1627. The two new chapters ('Of Warre' and 'Of Fishing') add nothing to our knowledge of him, but the new names in the chapter of Blazonry show that he had met several important persons since 1622 (2). The third edition of the *Compleat Gentleman* which appeared at the end of this period of silence in 1634 contains further additions to the chapter of Blazonry (3), and a new chapter on 'Antiquities', in which Peacham displays his knowledge of statuary, pictures, coins and medals, and first mentions the Earl of Arundel, who has always been previously supposed to have been one of his earliest and most important patrons.

It may be conjectured, with some degree of probability, that during the great part of this period Peacham was absent from London, employed in some country household, and out of touch with the general current of affairs. He must, however, have visited London from time to time, for certain matters to which he refers in the new chapter (such as the visits of

---

(1) The *Valley of Variety* (1638) Dedication.
(2) Amongst these are Sir William Coke, an ex-Lordmayor, and his two daughters, Sir George Rivers of Chafford, Kent, and the Cages of Cambridgeshire. Peacham seems to have met the younger members of this last family at Grays Inn and Lincolns Inn.
(3) Including Sir Thomas Coventry of Alesborow, Sir Robert Coke, Sir Edmund Wheeler of Ridingcourt, Bucks, the Harbys
Rubens, and the casting of Hubert le Sueur's equestrian statue of the king) took place during the early years of the reign of Charles I. Some light is shed on this dim passage of Peacham's life by Thestylis Atrata (1634), an elegy on Frances, dowager Countess of Warwick, late of Sharford in Lincolnshire, to whom he was 'much bounden...for her Honourable respect'. His association with this lady's family (she was by birth a Wray) went back several years, 'it being now eleven yeares since I published anything in this Elégiacks kind; which was then an April Shower...and soon after upon the too untimely decease of the young Lady Frances, daughter to Sir William Wray, (and sometime wife unto...Sir Antony Irbie of Boston) who lyeth buried at Asbie, where the Lady Wray her Mother at this time liveth'. (1).

The Dedication (addressed to the three nephews of the departed Sir John, Sir Christopher, and Mr Edward Wray) suggests that Peacham had known the Countess and had possibly been in Lincolnshire or in touch with Lincolnshire families for some time. It also illustrates the kind of commission which he may quite frequently have received in his capacity as draughtsman and designer:

"Some few yeares agoe, her Honour sent unto me, and requested mine advice for the erecting of a Monument in

of Adston, Northants, and London, Tobias Wood of Leiton, Essex, and Mr Abraham de Laane of Sharstead, Kent.

(1) Thestylis Atrata (1634) To the Reader."
Snarford Church for her selfe according to the convenience of the place: I drew the Medall of one, and presented her Honour with the same...leaving underneath a space for an Epitaph...which it pleased her Honour to impose upon me to performe...So that since herein I could not performe my promise, her Honours minde for the disposing of her corps (for some reasons perhaps knowne unto herselfe) being altered, I tooke mine owne time, and adventured to show her...in a fuller light". (1)

Whatever he may have been doing during the ten preceding years, we have it on Peacham's own authority that he was very busy in 1634:

"As my little leasure would serve, at spare houres, shortly after her death (being employed ina toylsome calling) I composethis small Poem" (2)

This remark, taken in conjunction with certain passages in **Coach and Sedan** (1636) where he speaks of himself as 'but newly come out of the country' and not having seen a Sedan-chair before, lead to the inference that he left his employment in Lincolnshire and returned to London about the end of 1635, after an absence of some years, to find his old friends dispersed and the threads of his old associations snapped:

"A Counrty-Vicar of my acquaintance claps me on the shoulder saying...It is a wonder to meet you heere in London, which I think you have not scene in these dozen yeares. It is true said I and something more, and I find myselfe to bee a great stranger heere, for whereas here-to fore I could walke in some one streete and meets with a dozen of my acquaintance, I can now walke in a dozen streets and not meet one, yea both in people and building, I find, Novam rerum faciam". (3)

(1) *Ethesia Atrata* (1634) Dedication. [Note that the Lady Frances' will (preserved at Somerset House) gives instructions for her burial and the erection of a simple memorial not to exceed a cost of £400, in the Church at Snarford (77Sayer).]


(3) *Coach and Sedan* (1636) p.22.
The last phase of Peacham's life is one of increased literary activity. The preface to *Coach and Seden*, dated February 16th 1636, informs us that he was 'in hand with a serious and laborious work for the Presse, ere long to see Light' and that the Printer had published this short and frivolous pamphlet 'that he might not sit idle in the meantime'. The 'work' in question may be either *The Valley of Variety* or *The Truth of our Times*, both of which were published in 1638 (1); the description is almost certainly intended for the former book which, although it cannot compare with *The Truth of our Times* in intrinsic value, had more claim to be called 'serious and laborious' in that it consists of a collection of select items of general knowledge, many of them translated from other authors, 'for the enabling of Ingenious and Schollerly discourse'.

In the preface to the *Valley of Variety* (1638), which is addressed to the Earl of Dover and his family, Peacham records his gratitude to the nobility for the last time (2). Henceforth his work was either dedicated to private patrons or published anonymously without preface or epistle. *The Truth of our Times* was dedicated to 'my Honoured and much Respected

---

(1) Note, however, that *The Truth of our Times* was entered in the Stationers' Register on July 25th 1637, and *The Valley of Variety* not until March 10th 1638. See Bibliographical Notes.

(2) "I have beene very much engag'd to your Honour as well for many noble Courtesies conferred upon mee as your respect and ever well wishing towards mee...since my last being at your house in Bread-street...as also to my Lord of Rockford, the hope of your ancient and renowned family".
Friend, Mr Henry Barnwell of Turrington in Marshland near
Kings-Lynne in the County of Northfacke', that the author
might not 'bee forgotten so long as you shall have this
little Booke (the pledge of my affection) lying by you', and
The Worth of a Pency to Mr Richard Gipps the eldest son of
a prominent city magistrate whose hospitality Peacham seems
to have enjoyed (1). The reason for this new effort towards
independence is not very clear; but there are two possible
explanations; either Peacham was unable to find patrons and
was forced to make the best of a bad job, or his financial
position was such that he did not need to bother. It is not
easy in the light of what we know of his past history, to
believe his assertion in The Truth of our Times (1636) that
"I never gained one halfpenny by any Dedication that ever I
made...Neither cared I much for what I did was to please
myselfe onely...I had rather present any work of mine to a
private Patron, with whom I might conferre of the subject,
heare his judgement and speake mine freely" (2).

The principal theme of this collection of essays is man's
ingratitude; Peacham sums up his own abilities and deserts,
and weighing his earthly rewards finds them seriously wanting;

"I have seene and knowne much as well in England, as some-
where else abroad, and have had much acquaintance (and

(1) "My obligation is so much to your learned and good father,
and for goodnesse to your incomparable mother".
(2) The Truth of our Times (1636) p.36.
which hath beene my Hapinessse, if it bee an happiness) with the most famoues man of our time in all excellent professions, whence I am not altogether ignorant in the noble Sciences, aswel the Theorique as the Practique, but to say the Truth, I have ever found multiplicity of knowledge in many things to have beene rather an hinderaunce then ever any way tending to Advancement. Having hereby found such employment to no purpose; but as we see a Carrier's horse...hath Bela hung about his neck...to alay the paine of his burthen: So have I taken paines and deserved well at the hands of many of good rank, yet got I never anything hereby save the Horsebels of Praise, Thanks, and fruitlesse promises", (1).

Apart from such generalisations as these, The Truth of our Times contains certain definite references to Peacham's activities. He claims to have taken leave of pedagogy and of complimentary verse-writing, having apparently found some more lucrative employment:

"For my part I have done with that profession, having evermore found the world unthankfull how industrious soever I have beene" (2).

"I have spent too many good hours in this folly and fruitlesse exercise,...but now having shaken hands with those vanities (being exercised in another calling) I bid them (though unwillingly and as friends doe at parting with some reluctancy) Adieu" (3).

Malone conjectured that this 'other calling' meant that Peacham had at last obtained preferment in the Church, but whatever it was it must have been short-lived for in the pamphlet Neum and Tuum (1639) he refers to himself as 'having at this time no employment at all'. His literary work must, however, have kept him fairly busy; in the same year appeared

(1) The Truth of our Times (1638) To the Reader.
(3) Op cit. p.41. Peacham's reluctant adieu to the Muse in 1638 did not prevent him from composing in 1641 an Emblematical Broad Sheet entitled 'En Surculus Arbor' with verses in
a dissertation on patriotism entitled The Duty of all True Subjects to their King and Country, containing a vast store of historical information which must have taken a long time to prepare, and five more pamphlets were published by 1642. These last add nothing definite to our knowledge of his doings, beyond the fact that he remained in London.

A certain confusion which has arisen concerning the date of the first publication of The Worth of a Penny contributes to the solution of the question of the date of Peacham's death (1). The first extant edition is dated 1647, but the pamphlet was registered at Stationers' Hall on April 20th 1641, and (as Malone noted on the flyleaf of a copy now in the Bodleian) must have been written only very shortly before that date:

"The first sentence of this tract (2) shows that it was written in 1641 or 1642, when it was probably first published. The Ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco here alluded to arrived in London Oct. 8th 1637. He lodged at the house of an Alderman in Wood Street. See 'An account of the Entertainment of the Ambassador Alkaid Isasar ben Abdella etc. 4to 1637'" (3)

Some have supposed the '1647' on the title page of the earliest extant edition to be a mistake for '1641', but in spite of the notorious carelessness of seventeenth century compositors, and the similarity of the Arabic numerals 1 and

Latin and English, addressed to William of Nassau.

(1) For material for this discussion see Bibliographical Notes.
(2) The first sentence runs: "The Ambassador of Muley Hamet, Shiek, K of Morocco, when he was in England about four or five years since"... etc.
(3) M.S. note on flyleaf of Malone 585 in Bodleian.
it seems unlikely that a mistake of six years in the current date would pass uncorrected. It is equally unlikely that the book was first published as late as 1647, since Peacham had almost certainly been dead for some years by that date. Possibly the problem is solved by the following description of an edition of The Worth of a Penny "By H.P. Master of Arts. London. Printed by R. Hearne 1641. Quarto A-E in fours", which appears in the Catalogue of the Ruth Library (1880) vol.4. That this description is genuine and not made up from the Stationers Register is proved by the presence of the initial 'R. Hearne' corresponding to the 'Master Hearne' of the Register. The copy described has now disappeared, and cannot be easily traced, since it is outside the range of The Short Title Catalogue of English Books to 1640 (1925).

A faint light is shed on the matter by the Advertisement to the Reader affixed to the edition of 1664 by the publisher William Lee:

"Mr Peacham many years since having finished this little Book of the Worth of a Penny did read it unto me; and some eminent friends of his being then present we were much pleased with his Conceits. The chief interest of printing it, was to present them to his friends. But some years after, Mr Peacham dying and the book being so scarce that most of the considerable Book-sellers in London had never heard of it, many Gentlemen of great Worth were very importunate with me to print the book anew; but after much search and enquiry I found the book without any printer's name, and without any true date; and having procured it to be licensed and entered, and corrected all the mistakes in it, I have in an orderly
way reprinted a small number of them word for word as it
was in the Original" (1).

The fact that Lee described the edition from which his
reprint was made as 'without any printer's name' shows that
he was using the 1647 edition. The ambiguous expression
'without any true date' can only be explained if we assume
that Lee being unaware that more than one edition had been
published, and knowing that the book had originally been
printed in Peacham's lifetime, thought that the date '1647'
must be incorrect.

A very much shortened version of The Worth of a Penny
really amounting to little more than a series of notes on
the subject, which has not hitherto been noticed in any
connection by bibliographers (2), was published anonymously
as A Caution to Keep Money (which is the subtitle of The
Worth of a Penny) in 1642. The name of publisher, G. Lindsey,
also appears on the titlepage of Square Cape turned into
Round Heads (1642) from which we may assume that he had
bona fide business relations with Peacham and was therefore
unlikely to print an abridged version without his consent.
Undoubtedly the longer version, entered as by 'H.P.' in the
Stationers' Register in 1641, and published as by 'H.P.
Master of Arts' was that which Peacham himself prepared for

(1) Advertisement to the Reader. Worth of a Penny (1664).
(2) Unless Joseph Hunter's mention of an edition of The Worth
of a Penny in 1642 is genuine, and means that he had
heard of this pamphlet. See E.M. Addit. M.S. 24490.
the Press; the only plausible reason for the appearance in print of *A Caution to Keep Money* is that it was printed from a collection of rough notes found amongst Peacham's effects after his death, and obtained—possibly in payment of some debt, or under the terms of some contract—by Mr G. Lindsey. Although the little tract is quite complete and coherent in itself, the rapid sequence of ideas, and the somewhat careless stringing together of the sentences, which characterize the style of this pamphlet and distinguish it from Peacham's other books, bear out the hypothesis that although *A Caution to Keep Money* contains ample evidence of his authorship, it is an unfinished piece of work, and only reached the publisher's hands accidentally after its author's death in 1642.

Tradition, set on foot by 'the herald Gibbon', would have us believe that Peacham died friendless and neglected, pinched by want and bowed down by years. William Lee's statement that he read the *Worth of a Penny* to a circle of 'eminent friends', and could afford to allow the tract to be printed not for gain, but for their private delectation does not support this theory. Peacham may have had no regular employment, and he may have been hit by the general economic depression, but he must have been in receipt of something from his publishers, added to which the undoubted literary quality and independent tone of his later pamphlets reveal no flagging of energy. It is impossible to believe that he would have flouted patronage deliberately
if he had stood in desperate need of assistance, or that one who wrote so confidently on 'The Art of Living' should not have been able to support himself - even if it were only as 'gentleman usher to some Lady or other'. (1) His family too was flourishing in Lincolnshire, and although he had only profited by his father's death in 1634 to the extent of ten shillings (2), and does not speak at all graciously of his kinsfolk (3), it is extremely unlikely that his nephews and nieces (boorish farmers though they may have been) would have allowed the cultured ornament of their house to starve.

(1) In The Truth of our Times p.49. Pe scheam had numbered the 'Master of Arts' who turned 'Gentleman Usher to an ordinary Lady' amongst those who 'choose a servile condition before Liberty and Freedome', but in The Worth of a Penny p.34, he tells us that 'they are not a few that have thrived passing well in this way'. It is not unlikely that he was writing from personal experience.

(2) Supra p. 60

(3) "I confess myselfe to have found more friendship at a stranger's hand...yea and in forraine parts beyond the seas, then amongst the most of my neerest kindred and old acquaintance heere in England" Truth of our Times, p.52.
Appendix to Chapter I.

Two wills made by members of Peacham's family.

(1) His sister-in-law Jane Peacham.

(2) His father Henry Peacham.

(1) LINCOLN WILLS. Consistory Court, 1628, fo. 106 (Book 2).

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN The firste daie of September Anno D'm 1623 I JANE PEACHAM WID. the late Wyfe of Richard Peacham late of LEVERTON in the County of Lincoln Gent. deceased beinge sicke in body but of good and p'fecte remembrance God be praised for the same doe make and ordaine this my laste Will & Testament in manner and forme followinge. First I comend my soule into the hands of God my Maker hopinge assuredly through the onyley merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour to be made p'taker of life everlastinges. And I comend my body to the earth whereof it is made and doe desire my Executs hereinafter named that it maie be buried in the Chancell of the Church at Levertorn as neare the body of my deceased husband as maie conveniently be. And as concerninge my goodes I give and bequeathe unto Henry Peacham of Levertorn aforesaid my father in lawe & Anne his nowe wyfe to either of them xxs to buy either of them a gold ringe in token of my love towards them. Item I give to Henry Peacham my brother in lawe and (blank) his nowe wyfe either of them xxs. Item I give to Jane the wyfe of Francis Wyley & Agnes the wyfe of Willm Hawerdon either of them
Item I give to Mary Bowde the wife of Willm Bowde my sister in lawe xxs.

Item I give and bequesthe to Anne Harte the late wife of Willm Harte late of (blank) deceased tenne pounds of lawfull English money.

Item I give and bequesthe unto Willm Harte, Anthony Harte & Anne Harte sonnes and daughters of the aforesaid Anne Harte to every one of them the some of xx li of like lawfull Englishe money.

Item I give and bequesthe unto John Leache, Richard Leache, Thomas Leache, George Leache & Heaster Leache sons and daughters of John Leach of Fullable to every of them x li of like lawfull Englishe money and to Elizabeth Leare & Jane her daughter to either of them v li.

Item I give unto John Wright of Welton v li of like lawfull English money.

Item I give and bequesthe unto Anne Gouche the daughter of Edward Gouche of Wranage, to John Knight the son of Willm Knight of Leake, to Henry Wile the son of Francis Wile of Wranage, to John Julian the son of John Julian of Boston and to John Collinwood the sonne of Leon'd Collinwood of Leake aforesaid my godchildren to everyone of them xs. All which aforesaid legacies & bequests I will and appoynte shalbe paid that daie twelve monthes next after my decease by my Executor hereafter named.

Item I give to the poore people of the town of Leverton xxs.

Item I give to the poore people of the town of Leake xxs.

Item I give to the poore people of the town of Wranage xxs.
give to the poore people of the towne of Burghe in the H'she xxx.  Item I give to the poore people of the towne of Benington xx.  Item I give to Mr. Allen Viccar of Burghe xxx & he to preache at my funerall.  All the rest of my goods & chattalls reall and personall not by this my last Will and Testament form'lie bequeathed my debts & form' legacies paid my fun'all expences discharged and my body decently brought to the ground I doe give and bequeathe unto Robert Creswel of Burghe Gent. whom I doe make the sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament.  And whereas Thomas Spelke late of Wrange by his writings indented bearing date the tenth daie of Maye in the third yeares of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord Kinge James of England (i.e. 1606) & of Scotland the eight and thirtith hath given granted and confirmed unto John Carden of Wrange Yeom. and John Pickle of the same Yeom. all straight and singular his messuages lands tenements and hereditam'ts lienege and beinge in the townes feilds and territur-ories of Munby and Munby Chappell in the aforesaid County of Lincoln To have and to hold all and singular the said messuages lands tenements and hereditam'ts with th'app'tences unto the said John Carden and John Pickle their heires and assignes to the uses intents and purposes in the said Indenture mentioned and expressed.  I the said Jane Peacham for the hartie love and good will w'ch I bear unto Elizabeth Creswell the sole
daughter and heire of the sd Robt Creswell doe will devise and give unto the said Elizabeth Creswell & her heires and assigns all my reversion right title interese and claime of in and unto all and singular the said lands tenements & hereditam'ts w'th all and singular their app'tenances To have and to hold the same unto the said Elizabeth Creswell her heires and assigns for ev'. In witness whereof I the said Jane Peacham have hereunto put my hand and seale the daye yeares and monthe firste before written.

JANE PEACHAM

Red sealed and declared in the presence of

Wm Allen

Mathew Gouge

Proved at Lincoln on the 8th. December,

1628.
IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN  The three and twenty day
of September Ano Domi 1634 and in the years of the reign of
our Sovereign Lord Charles by the grace of God of England
Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c
tenth I HENRY PEACHAM of LEVERTON IN HOLLAND in the County &
Diocese of Lincoln CLARICE AND RECTOR OF THE CHURCH OF LEVERTON
aforesaid of both the medieles in the years of mine aige four score and eight yet beinge in good & p'fect helth minde &
memorie I praise Almighty God doe ordaine & make this my last
Will & testament in maner & forme followings.  Firste I
bequeathe and comend my soule into the hands of Almighty God
my Maker & Redeemer and my bodie to be buried in the Quire or
Chancell of the said Church of Leverton aforesaid under the
marble stone nye the freestone seates.  It* I doe give
unto William Garner my grandchild ten pounds in money in lue &
consideration of his share & part in a legacye which his Uncle
(my sonne Richard Peacham deceased) gave to him & to his
sisters Mary Garner & Eline Garner concerninge his lease of
John Briers house land and pasture which became little or
nothinge worth by reson the said Breir deceitfully had made a
former lease to be paid unto him within ten weeks next after
he shall come to his full aige of one a twentie yeares.
It* I doe give unto Ellen Garner my grandchild in lue &
consideracon of her share & parte of the legaeye aforesaid ten pounds in money to be paid unto her within ten weckes next after she shall come to her full aige of two & twentie yeares. It’ I do give unto Henry Wildye my grandchild my trust'bedstead in the parlour with the curtaines rodes the fether bed the greene rug & all other furniture to it belonginge the chest with two lockes the cubbard the liverye cubbard the table & joyned stooles the bench bord & bench all beinge in the said parlor my longe table in the Hall with the forme a little square table my brewinge vesseles all my cartes and plowes. It’ I do give unto Willyam Garner my grandchild one sorrald mare which I bought of Mr. Heywood, a quie unto Henry Wildye aforesaid all my draught mares & naggs all but one before given. It’ I doe give unto Thomas Wildy my grandchild ten pounds in money to be paid him at his aige of twentie & two yeares. It’ I doe give unto Anne Wildye my grandchild ten poundes in money to be paid her at her aige of one & twentie yeeres. A quie unto the same Anne Wildye my grandchild a chest in the parlor a trustbedstead in the Chamber with the fether bed & all other furniture to it belonginge my lesuer brase pot bought of Richard Smith. It’ I doe give unto Henry Peacham my soune ten shillinges and to his two daughters ten shillinges a peace in money. A quie unto Elizabeth Peacham my brothers daughter forty shillinges in money to be paid to her at her aige of one & twentie yeeres.
I give unto my daughter Bowde ten shillings in money and to my daughter Hawarden ten shillings and to my daughter Hawardens thr
three daughters Mary Anne & Francis ten pounds in money to be equally divided amongst them at their severall ages of one & twantie yeares. I give unto Mary Chamberlain my great grandchild ten shillings & to Marye Garner my great grandchild ten shillings. I give to the most poore people of Leveton fortye shillings to be distributed amongst them by myne Executor upon Ploymunday next after my decease whereof I will that Edward Nicklos my ancient laborer shall have five shillings of the said money. All the rest of my goods and chattells not before given & bequeathed I give them wholy unto Henry Wildye my grandchildes aforesaid whom I make the sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament to perform the same fullie to pay my debts & legacies truly & to bring my bodie to the ground decentlie and finally I doe desier & appoynt Simon Chamberlain of Wrangle yeoman & Mr Thomas Byrne of Leake yeoman my lovinge frends to be the Supervisars of this my last Will & Testament in good hope that they will vouchsafe & plese to be aidinges to mine Executor in thinges wherin they may doe him good by ther counseell & assistance haveinge ther charges borne and I doe give them for ther paines ten shillings appeace. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel Amen. In witness wherof I have to this my last Will & Testament sett myne hand in the presence of thes Witnesses hearunder written the day & yeres above written.
HEN. PEACHAM

John Batcher
Edward Parker
Briget Dighton.

CHAPTER II. THE COMPLEAT GENTLEMAN

(1) INTRODUCTION. Place of the book in Peacham's work.

The publication of Peacham's longest and best known work The Compleat Gentleman (1) in 1622 seems to be the highwater mark of his career. From his own remarks and from the general tone of this book and others which appeared about this same time (2) we may assume that he had plenty of friends, and, lacking neither patrons nor employment, was prepared to look upon life with contented optimism.

Upon everything, that is, except the state of Education in England; for he assures his readers that only his concern at the shameful disparity between educational standards at home and abroad led him first to compile this book for the use of a noble young gentleman his friend, and later to make known to the world at large that:

"there is nothing more deplorable than the breeding in generall of our Gentlemen, none any more miserable than one of them, if he fall into misery in a strange country." (3)

(1) For full titles of this and later editions etc., see Bibliographical Notes.
(2) i.e. Thalia's Banquet (1620); An April Shower (1624)
(3) To My Reader, Compleat Gentleman (1622)
With the usual modesty of the preface-writer of his day he informs us that he is well aware that many 'curious Masters' have already dealt with the problem of 'fashioning the nobility after the best presidents':

"so that my small Taper among so many Torches were as good as out, as seeming to give no light at all" (1)

Next he offers his excuses for venturing into print, saying that the book was written to occupy an enforced holiday (2), and that it was primarily intended for the private use of a child:

"as you may perceive by the plain and shallow current of the discourse." (3)

Since William Howard (4), the little boy for whom Peacham wrote, was only eight years old at the time of publication, it was imperative for the discourse to be "fitted to a young and tender capacity." Peacham was wise in choosing so young a recipient of advice, for since the book was a

---

(1) To My Reader, Compleat Gentleman.
(2) "Being Taken through change of ayre with a Quartane Fever, that leisure I had ἐὰν ἔχω ἔμμοι multitude, as I may truely say, by fits I employed upon this discourse...; not intending it should ever see light." Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) William Howard (1614-1680), fifth son of Thomas, earl of Arundel and Surrey, was brought up a Roman Catholic. 1626 made K.B. by Charles I. Through his wife, whom he married in 1637, he became Viscount Stafford in 1640. Retired to Antwerp upon outbreak of Civil War. Was implicated in Titus Oates plot, and beheaded in 1680.
vademecum for every stage of education from the stumbling
efforts of the grammar-school boy to the urbane self-possession
of a cultured gentleman, only a small child whose education was
not very far advanced could make full use of every part of it.
Peacham hoped that taking time by the forelock, he would set
little William's feet on the right path, in his earliest years,
and thus help him to avoid the common errors and pitfalls of
the day:

"yet...let us recover you from the tyranny of these
ignorant times; and from the common Education; which is,
to weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe, drinke much, and
to know nothing." (1)

Inspite of his protestations to the contrary, there can be
little doubt that another more personal motive prompted
Peacham to undertake this long and laborious piece of work.
At this time men of letters were, and indeed had to be, cunning
masters of the art of indirect self-advertisement. Peacham had
already shown that he was unlikely to miss any chance of
bringing himself to the notice of those who might advance his
interests. In 1622 he had every reason to be pleased with his
progress; he had reached the coveted honour of acting as tutor
to the son of the Earl Marshall of England, and he was able to
feel himself honestly suited to such a position. He was well-
educated in a general, rather than in a scholarly or bookish

(1) Epistle dedicatory, Compleat Gentleman (1622).
sense; he understood the Arts and Sciences, was 'well seen' in ancient and modern languages, had travelled abroad, and had even borne arms. He was forty-two years of age, a man of the world, and an experienced school-master. It is hardly surprising that an ambitious man with all these qualifications should make haste to display them as attractively and convincingly as possible. Twelve years later in a short topical pamphlet Coach and Sedan, he described himself in terms which hark back to this period:

"I told him I was a piece of a scholar and had seen the world abroad in my travels, and many countrieys, and was now returned to make use (for the good of myself and my countriey) of whatsoever I formerly had known or seen." (1)

Peacham himself, apparently, looked upon The Compleat Gentleman as his most important contribution to literature and learning. Although he assures us that the book contains none but 'the first and plainest directions,' and that if the public be pleased the author will 'be encouraged to a more serious piece,' it is clear from the care with which he added new material to subsequent editions that he regarded the book as his chief claim on the world's attention. Time has shown that this estimate was a just one; the book has been more frequently quoted by later writers than any of Peacham's other works, and critics and bibliographers, taking it at his

(1) Coach and Sedan (1636) p. B.
valuation, have concentrated upon it at the expense of his Epigrams, Essays, and Pamphlets, which have only been considered important in so far as they shed light on the author of The Compleat Gentleman.

Section (2). Scope and Contents.

(a) General

There is plenty of variety in the style and contents of the book. The sixteen chapters of the first edition fall into two groups, one of which forms a treatise on educational theory with remarks upon the place and function of the Nobility in a modern state, while the second is made up of a series of elementary instructions in various school and university 'subjects.'(1)

Under the first heading Peacham dealt with those problems discussed by all Renascence writers on Manners and Education, and, speaking chiefly of what might or should be, cast a good

---

(1) The science of Heraldry, which is represented by two chapters in this group, would not usually form part of school or university curriculum, but plainly Peacham thought it a necessary branch of education, and that he was not alone in this opinion is proved by the following: "I know a private schoolmaster in Suffolk that instructs his scholars in this science; were it generally put in use the effect would be this: Such as are designed for Ecclesiastics would retain a genius to Armory, and so consequently be curious in preserving the memorials which adorn the churches of their incumbencies. And this perhaps not privately but in the public Church book; which usage had it began when Church Registers were instituted (30th Henry VIII) the memory of many worthy things of this nature
aspersions upon the state of affairs which actually existed:

"Such are the miserable corruptions of our times, that Vices goe for prime Vertues: and to be drunke, sweare, wench, follow the fashion, and to do just nothing, are the attributes and markes now adayes of a great part of our Gentry." (1)

The eight chapters which form the first group are these:

"Of Nobilitie in Generall,"
"Of the dignitie and necessitie of Learning in Princes and Nobilitie,"
"The time of Learning,"
"The dutie of Parents in their Childrens Education,"
"Of a Gentleman's carriage in the Universitie,"
"Of Excercise of Body,"
"Of Reputation and Carriage,"
"Of Travaile."

Peacham's usual method in the theoretical chapters was to give a short outline of the general principles involved, with anecdotes and references to ancient and modern authorities to re-inforce each argument or proposition, and the names of books which might profitably be consulted for further and deeper study. His manner of exposition is clear and concise, and, while much of the subject matter is now out-of-date, the book is made readable by frequent personal references and witty asides. For example, Peacham follows the humanist tradition of the efficacy of learning in trying to encourage historical study by relating stories of its curative powers, but slyly adds a sentence which, although it destroys the force of his argument, preserves our

1 had been happily preserved, in reference to which we are now greatly at a loss." From Preface to Introductio ad Latinam
Blasomiam: (1682) by John Gibbon (Bluemantle).
(1) Compleat Gentleman p.9.
respect for his common sense:

"It is credibly affirmed of King Alphonsus that the onely reading of Quint. Curtius cured him of a very dangerous fever. If I could have beene so rid of my late quartane ague, I would have said with the same good king: Valeat Avicenna, vivat Curtius." (1)

In 1622 the subjects comprising the second, or 'textbook' section were also eight in number:

"Of Stile in speaking and writing, and of reading History,"  
"Of Cosmography,"  
"Of Memorable Observation in Survey of the Earth,"  
"Of Geometry,"  
"Of Poetry,"  
"Of Music,"  
"Of Drawing, and Painting in Oyle,"  
"Of Armory, or Blazing Armes."

It will be readily seen that the first edition was neatly balanced and arranged. Having spoken of the necessity of a right method of educating the young Noble, Peacham proceeded to outline those subjects in which proficiency was required, and concluded with advice upon physical exercise, manners, and that final rub of polish - the tour in foreign parts.

In the edition of 1627 this balance was somewhat upset by two extra chapters, which were added at the end without much regard for propriety of position. The flourish of trumpets with which these additions, 'Of Warre' and 'Of Fishing,' were announced on the titlepage seems hardly justified by their intrinsic value. The chapter on 'Warre' is no more than a list

(1) Compleat Gentleman (1622) p. 52.
of the commands given in Musket and Pike Drill, with hints on the place and duties of various members of a troop, which could hardly have proved very helpful to the practical soldier. 'Of Fishing' is more interestingly written, and deals cursorily but efficiently with the various implements that "do most properly belong to the most honest ingenious quiet and harmless art of angling." (1) The last sentence of this chapter is worthy of record for the naive manner in which it discourages the pursuit of the pastime it professes to extol:

"I will conclude with all seasons which are naught to Angler in, as the violent heats of the day, high winds, great Rain, Snow and Hail, Thunder, Lightning, or any wind that bloweth from the East, Land floods, and thicke waters, the falling of the leaves into the water, and such like impediments which are enemies to Anglers." (2)

In 1634 the scope of The Compleat Gentleman was further augmented by two more chapters; one of these, 'Of Statues and Medals', finds an appropriate place amongst the fine arts, and appears between Music and Painting; and the other, 'Of Sundry Blazons', forms a fit introduction to the chapter on Heraldry. Besides this, the 1612 edition of the Gentleman's Exercise (3) was republished in the same volume, which thus became a formidabley thick book of no less than 418 quarto pages.

Furthermore, in each new edition Peacham added considerably to his chapter on Armory. He seems to have used the armorial

(2) Compleat Gentleman (1627) p.260.
(3) See Bibliographical Notes.
bearings of such new friends as he made in the intervals to illustrate points of technique; he was doubtless glad to seize such a golden opportunity of improving his book and doing honour to his friends in one stroke. Who these new friends were, and how they may have affected his fortunes, has been discussed elsewhere; it suffices here to call attention to the enterprising way in which Peacham gathered up and made use of any new information which came his way, or any new subject which excited his interest.

(b) **Historical and Topical.**

The light which Peacham's magnum opus sheds on the contemporary world of Art and Knowledge constitutes one of its chief claims to the attention of the modern reader. It is to Peacham's credit that he was one of the first to attempt an account of the works and characteristics of sixteenth and seventeenth century composers and musicians. When discussing the virtues and attributes of music in the abstract he quoted freely from such classical authorities as Plato, Homer, Aristotle, and Cicero, but he had no book to guide or support him in criticising the composers of his own day, and was therefore forced into originality. He had no alternative but to give his own views for what they were worth:

"To deliver you my opinion, whom among others authors you should imitate and allow for the best, there being so many equally good, is somewhat difficult, yet as in the rest herein you shall have my opinion." (1)

---

(1) *Compleat Gentleman* p.100.
Apart from Peacham's brief remarks, historians have had to rely upon casual references in Prefaces (1) and Dedications to eke out the biographical information obtainable from letters and wills. For want of other material his words have been quoted by nearly all the later historians of music, amongst whom may be numbered Hawkins (2), Burney (3), and Grove (4). An examination of the relationship of their full-length 'Histories' to the chapter 'Of Musicke' included by Peacham in The Compleat Gentleman reveals something of the nature and extent of the use made of the book by later writers.

In the eighteenth century some confusion arose from a misinterpretation of Peacham's criticism of William Byrd, and until very recently a false conception of this composer's genius was in circulation. Peacham, who admired Byrd profoundly, praised his devotional compositions at the expense of his madrigals, but asserted that even his lightest songs equalled the work of the

(1) For example, Dowland's friendship with Luca Marenzio is established by a remark in his 'Address to the Courteous Reader' prefixed to the First Book of Ayres (1597).
(3) Charles Burney, History of Music (1789) quotes Peacham but does not always accept his statements without question.
(4) Sir George Grove, Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1876) quotes Peacham freely wherever possible.
Italian school:

"For Motets and Musicke of piety and devotion, as well for the honour of our Nation as the merit of the Man, I preferre above all other our Phenix, Mr. William Byrd, whom in that kind, I know not whether any may equall, I am sure none excell, even by the judgement of France and Italy, who are very sparing in the commendation of strangers...Being of himself naturally disposed to Gravity and Piety, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his Virginellas and some others in his first set, cannot be mended by the best Italian of them all." (1)

Hawkins and Burney took this to mean that Byrd's less serious madrigals were both few and ineffective, but actually (as his favourable comparison with the Italians shows) Peacham intended to praise them highly, and his judgement has been vindicated by modern criticism.

Apart from Byrd, little is said of the English musicians; they were probably too well known to need discription, but for the benefit of less experienced critics Peacham asserts that Dowland and his fellow lutenists and madrigalists "are inferior to none in the world (how much soever the Italian attribute to himself) for depth of skill and richness of conceipt." (2) The work of the Italians receives more detailed attention; here Peacham speaks with a note of authority, but we cannot be sure how his information was obtained, or how he was able to test its reliability. Many musicians at this time travelled from place to place in search of patronage, and in this way news of a famous composer would be passed along by word of mouth.

(1) Compleat Gentleman p.100
(2) Ibid. p.103.
Dowland - a typical rolling stone - gives some account of his travels in the Preface to The First Book of Aires (1597):

"About 16 years past, I travelled the chiefest parts of France, a nation furnish'd with great variety of Musicke: But lately...I bent my course towards the famous Provinces of Germany, where I found both excellent masters, and honourable Patrons...Thus having spent some moneths in Germany to my great admiration of that worthy country, I past over the Alpes into Italy, where I found the cities furnished in all good Arts, but especiallie Musicke...I cannot disseamb the great content I found in the proffered amity of the most famous Luca Marenzio, whose sundry letters I received from Rome, and one of them because it is but short, I have thought good to set downe, not thinking it any disgrace to be proud of the judgement of so excellent a man."

Peacham, no doubt, picked up many items of information on his travels, which enabled him to speak with more assurance about the foreign composers. His remarks in this connection have proved somewhat misleading to later readers; for example Hawkins, who trusted Peacham implicitly (1), was led by his reference to Horatio Vecchi (2) to assume that he had studied music in Italy, and to conjecture that he had been the bearer of Marenzio's letter to Dowland mentioned above. More recent investigations have proved that Vecchi died at Modena in 1605 (3), having spent the latter part of his life in the service of Court and Cathedral in that city, and that he probably never came to England. Unless therefore Peacham went to Italy, or Vecchi came to England before 1605 (each of which theories seems equally unlikely)

(1) "This writer has given a short character of Vecchi, which as he was a man of veracity and judgement may be depended upon." History of Music (1776) p.430.
(2) "I bring you now mine owne Master, Horatio Vecchi of Modena." Compleat Gentleman p.102.
(3) See Sir George Grove's Dictionary of Music (1875).
Peacham could not have been Vecchi's student. It seems ungenerous to suspect one whose statements can so frequently be verified of deliberate misrepresentation. Possibly Peacham did not intend to imply more than that he had taken Vecchi's works as a model (1), and studied them more closely than those of other composers. This last suggestion is supported by the fact that Peacham only ventures upon a detailed technical criticism in the case of Horatio Vecchi:

"Upon 'Io cateno more', with excellent judgement, he driveth a Crotchet thourow many Minims, causing it to resemble a chaine with the linkes. Again in 'S'io potessi raccor' i mai sospiri' the breaking of the word sospiri with Crotchet and Crotchet rest into sighes..." (2)

He is content to deal with the rest in general terms, commending one for 'delicious aire and sweet invention in Madrigals', and another for 'judgement and depth of skill', or 'a full, lofty, and sprightly vein.'

(1) Peacham refers to Vecchi's 'Madrigals of five and six' and to his 'Canzonets printed at Norimber'. The latter is probably Canzonetti a quattro Voci (Nuremberg, 1600-1). One song by Vecchi appears in the second book of Musica Transalpina (London, 1597) translated as 'The White Delightful Swan'. We may assume Peacham's familiarity with this last publication from certain lines in Thalia's banquet (1620) Epigram 21. "With voices, viols have we passed the day Now entertaining those weak aires of mine, Anon the deep delicious Transalpine."

(2) Compleat Gentleman p.102.
Although this chapter has proved of service to historians of Music, the lives of the Painters, being gleaned — as Peacham admits — from the works of Carel van Mander (1) and Giorgio Vasari (2) rather than from personal research or observation, have little value as independent sources. An exception should be made of his tribute to the work of Nathaniel Bacon (3), and his anecdotes of those Dutch painters with whom he was acquainted, such as Peter Paul Rubens (4), Michael Janss (5), and Crispin de Pas (6), which have a first hand flavour that the lives of

(1) Lived 1546-1606. Dutch, painter, poet, and biographer. His great biographical work which did for the Northern Countries what Vasari's had done for Italy was completed in 1603.
(2) Lived 1511-71. Italian humanist, painter, architect, and biographer. His 'Belle vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori' was first published in 1550.
(4) "While he is at work he useth to have some good historian or Poet read to him, which is rare in his profession yet absolutely necessary." Compleat Gentleman p.110.
(5) "I have known Michael Janss of Delft in Holland, the most excellent painter of all the Low-countries, to have beene a whole halfe-yeare about a picture, yet in the end to have blurred it out for some small disresemblance in the mouth." op cit p.130.
(6) "In our age the works of...my loving honest friend Crispin de Pas of Utrecht are of most price; his pieces will best instruct you in the countenance for the natural shadows thereof...et cetera." op cit p.129.
the Italians lack.

The chapters on Painting and Sculpture are interesting to the student of manners and conditions rather than to the historian of the fine Arts. Peacham's account of the activities of the early seventeenth century collectors of 'antiquities' and objets d'art reflects a fashionable cult amongst the English nobility. The enthusiasm for ancient coins and statuary which had swept through Italy a century before, was just beginning to have its effect in England, and Peacham was fully aware that "he that will travel must both heed them and understand them, if he desire to be thought ingenious and be welcome to the owners." (1)

The movement is to be traced in the Calendars of State Papers for this period, where repeated references are found to negotiations for the purchase and shipment of precious 'antiquities'. It appears, too, that the costly gifts made by one nobleman to another frequently took the form of some rare picture or statue, and that diplomatic relationships were made more cordial by this common interest (2). Charles I's

(1) Complayant Gentleman p.105
(2) Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1616. In a letter to Dudley Carleton from Edward Sherburn a message that the Earl of Arundel hesitates to accept the Jupiter's Head, having had so many presents from Carleton. 1616: Earl of Arundel thanks Carleton for a great 'antick' head. 1616: Lord Roos, on going to Spain, is said to have presented his Italian statues to the Earl of Arundel. 1621: Earl of Arundel thanks Carleton for a Dutch picture of Aeneas fleeing from Troy which is in colouring like a Caravaggio. 1622: Earl of Arundel thanks Sir Thomas Roe for his pains in purchase of antiquities.
fondness for works of art was well known all over Europe; the painter Rubens was sent to England on a secret errand in the interests of Spain, and in 1629 we find the Venetian Ambassador writing to the Doge and Senate as follows:

"I can say no more about Rubens as he has not yet negotiated with anyone. I do not know whether the king will see him, but he may under the pretence of pictures, in which he delights greatly." (1)

Rubens' rapid progress in the royal favour is apparent in the following letter, written a year later:

"Rubens was made a knight, and received a jewel, which his majesty took from his own finger...It is thought that the painter may come as ordinary ambassador, and he himself does not deny it." (2)

Peacham does not seem to have known anything of Rubens' real object in visiting England, but he tells us something of his public activities:

"At Yorke house, the Galleries and Roome are ennobled with the possession of those Romane Heads and Statues, which lately belonged to Sir Peter Paul Rubens (sic) knight, that exquisite Painter of Antwerp." (3)

There had been no mention of 'antiquities' in the editions of 1622 and 1627, but by 1634 Peacham must have felt that this was an omission to be remedied. By this date enormous sums had been disbursed by Englishmen in acquiring pictures and statues from abroad. Various documents amongst the State Papers reveal how much Charles I spent on his collection, how his agents

(1) Cal. State Papers, Venetian (1629) p.84.
(2) Compleat Gentleman p.302. op.cit.
(3) op.cit. p.108. Compleat Gentleman
quarrelled amongst themselves, and what difficulty they had in obtaining the money owing to them (1).

In a petition presented to the Venetian Senate in 1635 by the English Ambassador, the king's name is coupled with that of the Earl of Arundel:

"That the English Ambassador be permitted as a favour to export ten cases of crystal glass and nine of pictures, which he is sending to England for the service of his Majesty, and of the Earl of Arundel, free of all duty, which would amount to about forty ducats." (2)

As was only right and proper, it was over the doings of his patron that Peacham waxed most enthusiastic:

"To whose liberal charges and magnificence this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Grecian and Roman Statues, with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel House about twenty years agoe (i.e. about 1614), and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England." (3)

(1) Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1626: Daniel Mytens received £120 for a copy of Titian's Venus.
1628: Gentileschi and Gerbier are at variance about certain statues and pictures procured for Buckingham and the King.
1629: Warrant to pay Durlamachi £11,500 for pictures and statues for which the king has contracted with Daniel Nys.
1630: Daniel Nys complains that he is out of pocket.
1630: Warrant to pay £4,325 to Daniel Nys besides the £11,500 mentioned in another warrant.
1631: Warrant to pay £19,000 to Daniel Nys.
1630: Warrant to pay William Jacobs of Delft £100 for pictures sent to his majesty.
1631:-edimion Porter to pay £75 to Antonio Vandyck of Antwerp for a picture of Reynaldo and Armida.
(2) Cal. State Papers Venetian (1635) p.419.
The State Papers also supply information concerning the quality and activities of craftsmen and dealers mentioned by Peacham, some of whose names have been lost in oblivion. Hubert le Sueur 'the most industrious and excellent Statuary in all materials that ever this country enjoyed' is said by Peacham to be busy upon 'a great horse with his Majestie upon it, twice as great as the life'; a full account of the negotiations for making this statue is to be found in documents of 1630 (1). Peacham also refers to the king's agent, the 'ingenious Master Gage' (2), who, together with the Earl of Arundel's agent William Petty, comes to life for a brief moment in the following documents:

1624: The Earl of Arundel writes to Sir Thomas Roe to recommend William Petty, who loves and understands antiquities, books, medals, and stones, and desires to travel and see Turkey. (3)

1630: George Gage the king's agent writes to Edmund Porter to report that Signior Rubens parteth well satisfied and is sorry for Porter's present affliction. (4)

Besides these passages of historical interest inserted deliberately to meet a current demand for information, The Compleat Gentleman contains various descriptions of contemporary

(1) Calendar State Papers Domestic 1630. Instructions for Scrivener to draw up an agreement between the Lord Treasurer and Hubert le Sueur for casting a horse in brass with the figure of his Majesty. In making his model he was to take the advice of the king's riders of great horses for the shape and action both of the horse and of his majestie's figure on the same. For the complete work he was to receive £600.

(2) Compleat Gentleman p.108.

(3) Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1624).

(4) Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1630).
life and manners which Peacham introduced merely for the sake of supporting his arguments. Those pictures of life in the home and at the University which historians have found useful or enlightening (1) were often quite casually drawn by Peacham to illustrate some obsolete argument concerning the respect which a tutor should receive in the household, or the age at which boys should be sent away from home.

The current state of general knowledge in the seventeenth century is illustrated by Peacham's conception of what a gentleman should know of Physical Science. This is contained in the chapters entitled 'Of Cosmographie', 'Of Geometrie', and 'Of Memorable Observation in Survey of the Earth', in which both the theory and practice of seventeenth century scientific education are exemplified. Peacham insists rather upon the utility than the interest attaching to a knowledge of such matters as Geometry, Surveying and mapmaking; and appears more intent upon fitting the 'gentleman' for his public duties as Soldier and Landlord, than upon developing his natural faculties for observation and logical deduction:

"The use you shall have of Geometry will be in surveying your lands, affording your opinion in building anew or translating; making your miles as well for grinding of corne as throwing forth water from your lower grounds,"

(1) For example, J.H. Mullinger in his History of the University of Cambridge (1884) vol. II, p.394, quotes (from The Compleat Gentleman, p.33) Peacham's account of those undergraduates who - having been sent to College too young to take the course seriously - wasted their time in frivolous amusements.
bringing water farre off for sundry uses; Seeing the measure of Timber, stone and the like (wherein Gentlemen many times are egregiously abused and cheated by such as they trust) to continue much with small charge and in lesse roomes. Againe should you followe the warres you cannot without Geometry fortifie your selfe, take the advantage of hill or levell, order your Battallion in square, triangle, crosse or crescent wise: plant your Ordnance, undermine, raise your halfe Mooners, Bulwerkes, Casamates, Ramplees and Ravelins..." (1)

While these scientific chapters are unified by this common aim of 'gentlemanly' utility, they betray considerable inequality in the information and independence of judgement displayed in them. In some Peacham is abreast of his age; in some he lags behind. His chapter on Astronomy is of particular interest since he was living through the struggle between the Copernican and the Ptolemaic or Alphonsine (2) theory of Cosmology. The early theory, that the Earth is the fixed centre of a series of concentric spheres, had been challenged by Copernicus in the mid-sixteenth century (3), but in spite of the later discoveries of Galileo and other enlightened astronomers, it was not until after the eighteenth century had begun that it was finally rejected. The co-existence of these

(1) Compleat Gentleman p.77.
(2) This theory was first expounded in a definite form in the second century A.D. by the Greek Astronomer Ptolemy; according to his system the Cosmos consisted of eight spheres revolving round the Earth, seven of which contained a planet (amongst which was included the Sun), while the eighth contained the fixed stars and enclosed the rest. Later two more spheres were added to explain certain phenomena, and were known as the Chrystalline and the PrimJum Mobille, and the whole matter was newly expounded in the thirteenth century by Al phonseusX of Castille, who assumed that the Cosmos was surrounded by an infinite Empyreal, or Heaven of Heavens.

(3) see over
mutually contradictory theories led to a conflict of ideas in many minds, but Peacham, although he mentions Copernicus in a list of astronomical writers, does not appear to have noticed the gauntlet which the modern astronomer's new ideas flung down at the feet of the older order. He accepted the Ptolemaic universe without question (1), without a hint that its existence had been, or could be, challenged.

Like another Scipio Africanus (2) he expounded the formation of the Cosmos by imagining himself at a remote point in Space, and indicating with one hand the spheres in their motions, and with the other the tiny immovable globe of the Earth. Then, having cautioned the reader by reminding him "how prejudicial the ignorance of Geometry hath been to Princes in forraigne expeditions against their enemies," and having exhorted him to follow the example of Prince Henry of eternal memory, who "was herein very studious," Peacham described the eleven spheres, and defined such common astronomical and geographical terms as Equinoctial, Zodiac, Meridian, Gulf, Continent, and Peninsula.

(3) Copernicus published De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium in 1543.

(1) "The earthe it selfe being the centre of the Universe as Aristotle and Ptolemy affirme." Compleat Gentleman p.70.
(2) In Cicero's Somnium Scipionis (B.C.54-51) Publius Corne! Scipio Africanus shows the Universe to his nephew in a dream from the vantage-point of the Milky Way: "de exce et pleno stellarum, illustri et claro quodam loco." 43;
Doubtless Peacham ignored the questions raised by the new astronomy because he had not studied the subject very closely and was therefore unaware of their significance. Yet greater men than he, although they did not actually ignore the existence of the new theories, showed themselves almost equally insensitive to their importance. Bacon, in The Advancement of Learning (1605), does not appear to think it necessary to establish one system at the expense of the other, although he evidently prefers the old order and tries to show that Copernicus may be proved in the wrong by Natural Philosophy if not by Astronomical Observation (1).

Burton, too, although he is more alive to the importance of the matter, and quotes frequently from the writings of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, seems disinclined to credit the new theory, and in accordance with his character of Democritus Junior treats the whole subject flippantly:

"Copernicus as of opinion the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others as the Moone doth to us. Digges, Gilbert, Keplerus, and others defend this hypothesis of his in sober sadnessse, and that the Moone is inhabited; if it be so that the Earthe is a Moone, then we are all lunaticke within it." (2)

In failing to call attention to the problem Peacham showed himself unusually (for him) insular and behind the times; he was professing to write a practical text book and cannot therefore be

---

(1) "We may see that the opinion of Copernicus touching the rotation of the earth, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the phenomena, yet natural philosophy may correct." Advancement of Learning (1605) Everyman Edition, p.106.

(2) Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) Democritus Junior to the Reader.
excused on the same grounds as the Poets, who clung to the old doctrine because of its symmetry and coherence. An active and ingenious mind like Donne's naturally made eager use of the new ideas and analogies suggested by any new theory (1), but as late as 1666 Milton was writing as if Copernicus and his Cosmology had never existed:

"They pass the Planets seven, and pass the fixed
And that Chrystalline Sphear whose ballance weighs
The trepidation talk't and that first moved." (2)

Milton, however, in a later book is at some pains to show his familiarity with the alternative theory.

When Adam questions Raphael concerning the creation and constitution of the Universe, our first parent is portrayed as doubting the evidence of his own eyes:

"...Reasoning, I oft admire
How Nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler Bodies to create,
...and on their Orbs impose
Such restless revolution day by day
Repeated, while the sedentarie Earth
That better might with farr less compass move,
Served by more noble than herself, attains
Her end without least motion." (3)

The archangel, hesitating to give a direct answer, points out

(1) See his Epistle to the Countess of Bedford (1609-14)
"As new Philosophy arrests the Sun
And bids the passive Earth about it run,
So we have dulled our minde, it hath no ends;
Only the bodie's busie and pretends."

(2) Paradise Lost Book III, 1.461.
(3) Paradise Lost Book VIII, 1.25.
that such knowledge is not 'generally necessary to salvation,' and somewhat tentatively expounds the new theory as a possible solution of Adam's doubts:

"What if the Sun
Be center to the World, and other Stars
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?
Their wandering course now high, now low, then hid,
Progressive, Retrograde, or Standing still,
In six thou seeest, and what if sev'nth to these
The Planet Earth, so steadfast though she seem,
Insensibly three different motions move?" (1)

Compared with this angelic lecture Peacham's chapter on Cosmography has a superficial air; although possibly he is not to be blamed for sticking to the old system in 1622, if Milton could feel that a transfer of allegiance was not demanded of a progressive intellect in 1666. Peacham's silence shows, if not mere ignorance, that these cosmic problems struck no spark from his somewhat unimaginative Roman mind. In this respect he can be contrasted with Burton. Burton has his laugh at the new astronomy as at other things, but his fancy has also been kindled, and there is a touch of poetry and a note of enfranchisement in his dismissal of the subject in the Digression of Air:

"In the meantime the world is tossed in a blanket amongst them; they move the Earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures." (2)

Even Milton, through the mouth of Raphael, suggested that the Almighty moved in a mysterious way to provide material for the

(1) Paradise Lost Book VIII, 1.122
(2) Anatomy of Melancholy (1691) p.328
Divine amusement, as well as perpetual occupation for the philosophers:

"...He his fabric of the Heavens
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint Opinions wide
Hereafter." (1)

The suggested change in the recognised habits of the heavenly bodies made men feel in danger of losing their way; discovering that the globe which they inhabited and which they had regarded as comfortably fixed in the centre of things, was probably a wandering planet, a mere attendant upon the erstwhile subject Sun, they had an easily understandable difficulty in finding a new orientation to the Universe. Donne, with his finger on the pulse of current thought, expressed the bewilderment of the age in his *Anatomy of the World*:

"New philosophy calls all in doubt,
...The Sun is lost, and th'earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to look for it." (2)

Of all this which was astir in the world about him, Peacham gives no hint. On the other hand, although his ideas were not sufficiently advanced for him to 'doubt that the sun doth move', his eyes had been opened to some, at least, of the errors of the ancients; his practical knowledge of Geography was far more thorough and exact than his notions of Astronomy, and he was careful to warn his readers to use none but the newest textbooks:

(1) *Paradise Lost* Book VIII, 1.70.
"Proceeding now to understand the severall parts and Regions of the World, observe Ptolemie's Method...but he was erroneous in his descriptions;...Navigation since by the benefit of the leaden stone perfected; the want whereof heretofore hath been occasion of infinite errors among the ancients, as well Divines as Historiographers and Geographers: as Lactantius and Augustine could never be persuaded that there were Antipodes,...the contrary whereof experience hath taught us,...it is therefore farre more safe to follow our later writers." (1)

In the early seventeenth century every thinker was forced into defying some, if not all, of the edicts of ancient opinion, and even if Peacham falls short in Astronomy, in Geography we find him joining the ranks of those who were prepared to stand or fall by what experience had taught them. In this period the Scientist still went hand in hand with the Divine and the Moralist; here again, Peacham's treatment of his subject is typical of his time: he has been calmly discussing the relative sizes of the Earth and the higher Orbs, when he suddenly wheels upon the reader with a reminder that it is on this Earth, this poor little point, that we have 'our Honours, our Armies, ours Commands':

"Heere we heape up riches, at perpetuall warre and strife among our selves, who (like the Toad) shall fall asleep with most earth in his paws; never thinking how of a moment of time well spent upon this poore plot or dunghill common to beasts as well as ourselves, dependeth Eternity, and fruition of our true happinesse in the presence of Heaven, and Court of the King of Kings for ever and ever." (2)

(1) Complete Gentlemen P.63.
(2) Ibid. p.71.
Section (3): Literary Criticism

Peacham's remarks upon Literature and Literary Criticism are almost entirely confined to his chapters entitled 'Of Style in speaking and writing' and of reading History', and 'Of Poetrie'. There is little new or original matter here, for nearly all his information is secondhand, and his methods show scarcely any advance upon those of the Elizabethans. From time to time, however, his personality reveals itself in a flash of wit that lightens the path of his discourse:

"Experience daily affordeth us many excellent young and growing wits, as well from the Plow as Pallece, endued naturally with this Divine gift of Poetry, yet not knowing (if you should ask the question) whether a metaphor be flesh or fish." (1)

Evidently, he did not regard English literature as in itself a subject for study, since he dealt with both Latin and English writers, and devoted most of his attention to the former. He looked upon Poetry as a relaxation 'to sweeten your severer studies', and recognised Prose as a Literary 'medium' only in so far as it was the usual vehicle for History and Oratory.

The chapter on style, in which Peacham gives an account of the prose writers, opens with some sound advice, drawn chiefly from the precepts of Cicero and Horace, but owing something also to that natural taste for simplicity which is revealed in his own writings. Characteristically he advances practical, rather than

(1) Compleat Gentleman p.78.
aesthetic reasons for cultivating a clear style and a telling manner of delivery:

"Since speech is the Character of a man and the Interpreter of his mind, and writing the image of that; labour first to get the habit of a good style in speaking and writing as well English as Latin." (1)

"In speaking rather lay down your words one by one, than pour them forth together; this hath made many men naturally slow of speech to seem wisely judicious... for beside the grace it giveth to the speaker, it much helpeth the memory of the hearer, and is a good remedy against impediment of speech." (2)

The reader is warned against "that same Scenical pompe, with empty furniture of phrase, wherewith the Stage and our petty Poeticke pamphlets sound so big" (3), and is urged to let his style be "furnished with solid matter, and heed of speaking or writing such words compact of the best, choice, and most familiar words; taking as men shall rather admire than understand." (4)

Peacham's advice represents an important trend in Jacobean criticism, which may also be traced in the works of Bacon and Jonson. A reaction against that luxuriance of style and thought which had naturally resulted from the multitude of discoveries made in linguistic and intellectual realms in the late fifteenth century.

---

(1) Complait Gentleman p.42. Peacham evidently understood 'style' as it is defined by Puttenham: "A certaine contrived forme and quality, many times natural to the writer, many times his peculiar by election and arte, and such as he either keepeth by skill, or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peradventure cannot alter into any other." The Arte of English Poesie (1589) Book 3, Cap.5, ed. Arber 1869, p.160.
(2) Op cit. p.43.
(3) Op cit. p.42.
(4) Op cit. p.43.
which had naturally resulted from the multitude of
discoveries made in linguistic and intellectual realms in
the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and which
is typified first in the prose of Guerara (1) and Lyly (2),
and much later in that of Philemon Holland (3) and Jeremy
Taylor (4), had begun considerably earlier on the Continent
than in England. In France, as early as 1580 Montaigne,
prompted rather by his instinct to express himself intimately
and exactly than by any critical theory, had deprecated every
kind of affectation or over-decoration in prose composition:

"It is a natural, simple, and unaffected speech that I
love, so written as it is spoken, and such upon the paper
as it is in the mouth, a pithie, simnowe, full, strong,
compendious, and material speech, not so delicate and
affected, as vehement and piercing." (5)

In the early seventeenth century the tendency towards
simplicity was encouraged in England by the growth of the
scientific spirit and the consequent need for lucidity and
precision of expression. The terse manner of Bacon’s essays (6)
is principally due to their origin as a collection of

(3) English schoolmaster. Famous as a translator of classics
(1552-1637).
(4) English divine (1613-1667). Wrote Sermons and Religious
Works.
(5) Montaigne’s Essais Book I. No. 25 (1580) (Trans. Florio 1603)
(6) First published, 1597; augmented editions in 1598, 1606,
1625, etc.
aphorisms drawn from experience; the concise quality of his phrasing can be more fairly estimated from the *Advancement of Learning*, in which the use of language is not dictated by the specialised purpose informing the Essays.

Ben Jonson, one of the stoutest opponents of the 'ampullous manner, commends the middle style in his *Timber*, where he says: "That language is plaine and pleasing: even without stopping, round without swelling; all well turned, composed, elegant, and accurate". (1) The foundation of Dryden's criticism was already laid, but - as frequently happens - while the critics were proclaiming the virtues of restraint, a large proportion of their contemporaries were still pursuing individual and sometimes erratic courses. Burton might jeer at the "affectation of big words, fustian phrases, jingling terms, tropes, strong lines that like Acestes' arrows caught fire as they flew, strains of wit, brave heats, elegies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, etc., which so many affect", (2) but neither his contempt nor Peacham's plea for a 'plaine and familiar' style, could stay the fantastic vagaries of Sir Thomas Browne's Pegasus.

Peacham's remarks do not always illustrate the strictly

(1) *Timber, or Discoveries* (first pub. 1640): 4 CXXII
Jacobean point of view, for, although he was writing in 1622, his education had been completed before 1600, and the Elizabethan critical tradition died hard with him. This is apparent in his statement of the doctrine of 'Imitation', in his treatment of individual authors, and in his opening the chapter 'Of Poetrie' with a formal Defence, delivered according to the 'best presidents'. The Elizabethan Poets had been forced into a defence of their art by the attacks of the Puritans. Although these censures were based on moral grounds, the apologists were obliged, in order to meet them, to examine the origin, function, and history of Poetry, and they found much an urgent need of reform in the composition of English poetry, that their attention was divided between the moral objections of the Puritans, and the aesthetic shortcomings of that 'rakehelly rout of ragged rhymers' who were bringing the Divine Art into disrepute. This controversy took place during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Peacham's contribution seems therefore a little belated, but although the tradition he follows dates back to the time of Sidney, those 'buzzardly poor ones', the Puritans, so far from being silenced had grown more vocal with the years, and in 1622 a confutation of 'the pestilent air of the common breath' was still a reasonable opening gambit for a chapter on Poetry (1).

(1) The influence of Sidney was still alive in the younger Ben Jonson, and J. Stephens' Essay on Poetry (1615) is a good
Peacham's arguments differ little from those employed in the Apologie for Poetrie: poets are rather born than made; poetry is the foundation of all learning, and has been patronised by mighty kings; the 'sweetnesse of numbers' soothes the savage breast, and gilds the pill of Natural and Moral Philosophy; and last but not least, the highest mysteries of divinity have been unlocked in the Psalms of David and the Song of Solomon. The whole passage is a skilfully contrived mosaic of other men's ideas, but in expounding the old theory, that poetry inspires courage in the military breast, Peacham hits upon an illustration which in a period hag-ridden with classical anecdote is at once original and stimulating:

"What other thing gave an edge to the valour of our ancient Britons, but their Bardes, recording in verse the brave exploits of their nation, and singing the same unto their Harps at their publike feasts and meetings? amongst whom Taliessin a learned Bard and master of Merlin, sung the life and acts of King Arthur". (1)

It is unusual to find so plain a statement of a literary or critical theory in the seventeenth century as Peacham's pronouncement on the subject of 'Imitation':

"To be sure your style may pass for currant, as of the richest alloy, imitate the best authors as well in Oratory as History". (2)

This is as simple and direct as any of Ascham's remarks, and
the only reservation made by Peacham is a caution against following any one author too exclusively:

"Longolius was laughed at for his so apish and superstitious imitation of Tully, in so much as he would have thought a whole volume quite marred if the word 'possibile' had passed his pen: or every sentence had not sunk with 'esse posse videatur', like a peake ending with a chime, or an Amen upon the Organes in Pauls". (1)

When Peacham comes to the 'large censure' of the Poets and Historians, he reviews them in order, according to the time-honoured Elizabethan 'roll-call' method (2), not always so much for the sake of assessing their literary merits, as of indicating their respective utility as stylistic models. The arrangement of the chapters divides them into Poets and Prose-writers, but a more significant division might be made by ignoring the gulf fixed between Prose and Poetry, and grouping the various authors as Classical and Mediaeval Latinists, Englishmen writing in Latin, and Englishmen writing in their Mother-tongue. Latin was almost as much the common speech of learned Europe in the early seventeenth century as it had been in the Middle Ages or in the days of the Cassars. Nearly all Bacon's philosophical works were composed in Latin (3), and Burton was only prevented from publishing the Anatomy of Melancholy in the learned tongue by the happy recalcitrance of

(2) As employed by Sidney, Webbe, Puttenham, Jenson, Reynolds, Bolton, etc.
(3) E.g., De Sapientia Veterum (1609), Novum Organum (1620), De Augmentis Scientiarum, an expanded version of the
of his publisher (1). Yet, although the average educated man was able, thanks to an almost exclusively classical education, to read Latin fairly fluently at this time, and the majority of textbooks in such subjects as History, Geography, and Navigation were written in Latin, Peacham gives the names of those translations which might provide a useful short cut to learning. He makes a distinction between textbooks and works of literary value, however, and reminds the reader "That no translation whatsoever will affect you, like the Authors own and proper language...Besides it is an injury to the Author, who hereby loseth somewhat of his value: like a peace of rich stuffe in a Brokers shop, onely for that it is there at second-hand, though never borne, or newly translated but yesterday." (2)

Peacham writes of the Latin orators and historians with more authority and at greater length than of the poets, and his criticism is wise and discriminating. He conforms to tradition in giving a long and laudatory account of Cicero's virtues, but seems to have felt no deep personal devotion to the 'Pater Romani eloqui'; he preserves a certain detachment which seems to indicate that, although he followed his usual practical custom of rendering tribute where tribute is generally recognised to be due, he had felt the force of the anti-Ciceronian

---

(1) Advancement of Learning, translated into Latin to give it a wider circulation.
(2) The Compleat Gentleman, p.47.
movement:

"Tully (in whose bosom the Treasure of Eloquence seemeth to have been locked up, and with him to have perished) whose words and stile (that you may not be held Heretique of all the world) you must preferre above all other". (1)

In recommending a Selection of Cicero's speeches for close study Peacham demands his pupils' attention rather because "these are fullest of life", than for any particular verbal felicity these speeches may possess. He is at pains in a later paragraph to analyse Sallust's 'brevity' and decides, justly enough, that "it consisteth in shutting up whole and weightie Sentences in three words, fetching nothing afarre." (2)

The inclusion in the chapter on prose style of a distinct section on the reading of history may possibly be due to Peacham's personal interest in the subject (3), but doubtless also owes something to the general interest in the theory of historical method which was coming into prominence all over Europe. Formal treatises on the writing of history had come forth in great numbers from the Italian Presses during the second half of the sixteenth century, and in 1574 the most significant of these, that of Patrizzi, was translated into English by Thomas Blundevil as The True Order and Method of Writing and Reading Histories (4).

(1) The Compleat Gentleman p.45.
(2) Op cit. p.49.
(3) "No subject affecteth us with more delight than History, imprinting a thousand forms upon our Imaginations, from the circumstances of Place, Person, Time, Matter, manner and the like." Op cit. p.51.
(4) J.E. Spingam, Critical Essays of the seventeenth century
Having 'over runne the Champaigne and large field of
History', Peacham retires to the garden of the Muses. His
discussion of the Latin Poets is less original, since he was
principally beholden for his ideas and criticisms to the
'copious delivery' of that devout maronolator "the Prince of
all Learning, the judge of all Judgements, the Divine Jul.
Caes. Scaliger" (1), under whose guidance, rather than upon
his initiative, he awards the title 'King of Latin Poets' to
Virgil 'who above all other onely deserveth the name', and,
dilating upon "that Prudence, Efficacie, Variety, and
Sweetnesse which Scaliger requireth in a Poet"(2), reproves
our ordinary grammarians "who only in shallow and small boats
glide over the face of the Vergilian sea". (3)

The four virtues required by Scaliger are worth a moment's
consideration; this early analysis of what a good poem should
contain began to teach readers what to look for in literature,
and helped to lay the foundations of modern critical practice.
"Prudence is that discreet...suiting and disposing as well of
Actions as Words, in their due place, time, and manner". This
seems to correspond to the 'decorum' so revered by English
poets of this period. (4) "Efficacie is a power of speech

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.91.
(2) Op cit., p.52.
(3) Op cit., p.63.
(4) Drummond of Hawthornden reports that Janson censured Sidney
for making all his characters in the Arcadia speak as well
as the author himself. 1619: Conversations, (p.2 in ed. of 1923)
which representeth a thing not by bare words only, but by presenting to our minds...the forms of things so truely, as if we saw them with our own eyes". "A sweet verse is that which like a dish with a delicate sauce, invites the Reader to taste even against his will". "Variety, our Divine Poet (i.e. Vergil) with such excellent art affecteth, that he seldom uttereth words or describeth actions after the same manner, though they be in effect the same".

Peacham illustrates these points with abundant quotations, If he could only have applied the same critical standards to the work of other poets, the result would have been more than interesting. Spenser, standing up bravely to the four-fold test, would have proved conclusively that "our later and modern times produce as fertile wits as perhaps the other, yea and in our Britaine". (1) But, unfortunately, such a departure was beyond the scope of the early seventeenth century, and quite outside Peacham's ken. The critics were following too hard upon the heels of the Elizabethan poets to be able to see them in proper perspective, and none of them was bold enough to attempt more than a few casual remarks of praise or blame.

To return from what Peacham might have written to his actual performance, the rest of the Latin poets are briefly catalogued, and there is no attempt to supply any detailed criticism. Horace

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p. 91.
is commended as 'the most acute and artificialll of them all', and the others, with the exception of Persius, whose style is dismissed as 'broken, froward, unpleasing, and harsh', all receive graceful and appropriate tributes to their genius. Only when writing of Seneca and Statius does Peacham fall blindly into the trap which awaits those who criticise at second hand. Placing his trust too confidently in Scaliger, he ranks these Silver Latinists above Homer and Euripides, and in so doing betrays his own almost complete ignorance of Greek literature.

"Seneca for Majesty and State yealdeth not to any of the Grecians whatsoever; Mitore, to use Scaliger's words, farre excelling Euripides; albeit he borrowed the argument of his Tragedies from the Grecians; yet the Spirit, loftinesse of sound, and Majesty of stile is meerely his owne".

"Statius is a smooth and sweet poet, and Virgil onely excepted, is the Prince of Poets as well Greekes as Latine: for he is more flowery in figures, and writeth better lines than Homer". (1)

Because of the decay of Greek studies in England since the days of Aschem and his colleagues, it was not unusual at this time to hear Latin authors praised at the expense of their Greek models; Chapman defended Homer gallantly in the Preface to his translation of the Iliad, but his protest could do little against the growing preference for Virgil:

"Homer's Poems were writ from a free furie, an absolute and full soule, Virgil's out of a courtly, laborious, and

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.90.
altogether imitative spirit: not a simile he hath but is Homer's: not an invention, person, or disposition, but is wholly or originally built upon Homericall foundations... The silken body of Virgil's muse is curiously dress'd in guilt and embroidered silver, but Homer's in plaine, massie and unvalued gold". (1)

Peacham's account of Roman poetry is followed by a survey of 'The Latine Poets of our Times', which is supposed to illustrate his belief that we err in "imagining that Nature hath heretofore extracted her quintessence, and left us the dregs". In the list are included George Buchanan, Joseph of Exeter - who appeared 'out of the foggess of Barbarism and ignorance' in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I - Sir Thomas More, William Lilly, and Sir Thomas Challoner. Peacham seems more interested in the lives and personalities of these authors - in such details as Buchanan's wearing a 'sugge-gown girt close about him' - than in the form and style of their poetry, and the only vivid sentence in the whole passage is his description of a narrow escape from drowning experienced by the author of De Repub. Anglicanae Instauranda, while on an expedition against the Turks.

"The galley wherein Sir Thomas Challoner was, being cast away by foulenesse of weather, after he had laboured by swimming for his life as long as he was able, and the strength of his arms failing him, he caught hold upon a cable thrown out from another Galley to the loss and breaking of many of his teeth, and by that means saved his life". (2)

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.90. George Chapman: A Defence of Homer (1595)
Amongst the Anglo-Latin Historians, Camden 'the glory of our Nation', and Selden 'the rising Starre of good letters and Antiquity' receive Peacham's hearty approval, but the earlier writers, Giraldus, Higden, Walsingham, and Ranulph of Chester, are quickly dismissed because they 'took upon credite many a time more than they could well answer'. Finally Peacham has a fling at the unpopular Polydore Virgil (1), and accuses him not only of writing bad history, but also of 'burning and embezling the best and most ancient Records and Monuments of our Abbeyes, Priories, and Cathedrall Churches'.

Peacham took it for granted that his pupil's chief study would be in the domain of Latin prose and poetry, and yielded the place of honour to the Latin authors. Yet, at the same time, he was well aware that little William Howard meant 'to make no profession of Schollership', but was 'like to live an eminent person' in his country, and would therefore need to know something of English language and literature.

"While you are intent to forraigne Authors and Languages, forget not to speake and write your owne properly and eloquently: whereof (to say truth) you shall have the greatest use". (2)

(1) Polydore Virgil was an Italian who wrote a History of England (pub. 1534) under the patronage of Henry VIII. He very rightly repudiated Geoffrey of Monmouth's cleverly engineered derivation of the British race from an eponymous Trojan founder Brut, and thereby incurred the enmity of those who liked to believe the race to be so nobly descended. He was accused of destroying any documents found which might have proved him in the wrong. The 'Brut' theory was not quite relinquished until the late seventeenth century.

(2) The Compleat Gentleman, p. 52
"And to help yourself herein, make choice of those Authors in Prose, who speak the best and purest English"(1)

The English authors recommended by Peacham correspond closely with those mentioned by Edmund Boston in his section on English prose style in Hypercritica (2), but there is no indication that either list owes anything to the other. No doubt the same names would have been cited by anyone who embarked upon the task of selecting the writers of 'the best and purest English'. Coupled with each author's name is the title of one or more of his works; it is at once noticeable that Lyly and his fellow-euphuists, together with the later Elizabethan novelists, have been left severely alone:

"I would recommend unto you the Life of Richard III by Sir Thomas More, the Arcadia of the Noble Sir Philip Sidney... the Essays... of my Lord of S.Albanes. You have then H. Hooker his Policy: Henry IV well written by S. John Hayward; that first part of our English Kines by M. Samuel Daniel". (3)

Then Peacham adds a piece of practical advice, which rings as true today as it did in 1622:

"Procure then if you may, the speeches made in Parliament; frequent learned Sermons; in Termes time resort to the Starre-Chamber, and be present at the pleadings in other publike Courts, whereby you shall better your speech, enrich your understanding, and get more experience in one moneth, than in other foure, by keeping your Melancholly Study, and by solitary Meditation". (4)

(1) The Complaisant Gentleman, p.94.
(2) A Treatise urging the necessity for a new comprehensive History of England, and laying down certain rules for its composition. Completed in 1618, it was not published until the eighteenth century.
(3) The Complaisant Gentleman, p.53.
(4) Ibid.
The bare two pages devoted by Peacham to English Poetry are written in a slightly different key. Knowing that verse writing was not now an essential accomplishment in a gentleman, he did not describe the poets as models for imitation, but confined himself to a brief summary of their names and the esteem in which they should be held by the discerning critic. Most of his information is drawn from Puttenham (1), who in his turn seems to have owed something to Webbe (2); he treats the poets in precisely the same order, has the same opinion of their respective merits, and sometimes even uses the same words in his descriptions.

There is, for example, a close similarity between the accounts given by Puttenham and Peacham of Gower and Skelton:

**Puttenham:** "Gower saving for his good and grave moralities, had nothing in him highly to be commended;...his worde straine much daile out of the French writers...the substance of his works sufficiently answer the substitle of his titles". (3)

**Peacham:** "Gower's verses were poor and plain, yet full of good and grave moraltie...he affected altogether his French phrase and words...his invention commeth farre short of the promise of his Titles". (4)

**Puttenham:** "Skelton, (I wot not for what great worthines) was surnamed the Poet Laureat". (5)

**Peacham:** "Skelton, a poet Laureante, for what desert I never could heare". (6)

(1) Puttenham published *The Art of English Poesie* in 1589
(2) William Webbe published *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586
(4) *Complete Gentleman*, p.94. (5) *Art of English Poesie*, p.74
(6) *Complete Gentleman*, p.95. Cf also mere's *Palladia Nova*,1598
"Skelton (I know not for what great worthiness surnamed the
In a few cases a lapse of memory causes Peacham to blunder badly in his facts, which leads to the inference that he had not his source book before him as he wrote. A comparison of Webbe, Puttenham, and Peacham reveals that while Puttenham usually repeats Webbe's statements in fewer words or modifies them slightly if he has some more accurate detail to add, Peacham in two instances at least has either misread or misunderstood Puttenham's words. The first test case is that of Lydgate.

Webbe: "Neere in time was Lydgate a poet surely for good proportion of his verse...etc. The next of our ancient poets I suppose to be Pierce Flowman..." (1)

Puttenham: "There followed John Lydgate, the monke of Bury, and that nameless, who wrote the Satyre called Piers Flowman". (2)

Peacham: misinterprets the above as follows:
"There succeeded Lydgate, a monke of Bury, who wrote that bitter Satyre of Piers Flow-men". (3)

His other mistake concerns the sixteenth century translators of Latin verse.

Webbe: "Mr Dr Phaire's work was the englisingh of the Aeneiad of Virgill, so far forth as it pleased God to spare him his life, the rest being since finished by that famous physition Mr Thomas Wayne. With his say I well adjoyne Mr Arthur Golding, for his labour in englisingh Ovid's Metamorphosis". (4)

(1) A Discourse of English Poetrie (1536) Arber's Reprint of 1895, p.32
(2) The Arte of English Poesie (1589), p.74
(3) The Compleat Gentleman, p.95.
(4) A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586), p.34

← Poet Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities.
Puttenham: "In Queen Marie's time flourished...Dr Phaer one that...well translated...certain books of Virgil's Aeneides. Since him followed Mr Arthur Golding who...turned into English Metre the Metamorphosis of Ovide, and that other Doctor who made the supplement to those books of Virgil's Aeneides, which Mr Phaer left undone". (1)

Peacham: "About Queen Marie's time, flourished Doctor Phaer, who in part translated Virgil's Aeneids, after finished by Arthur Golding". (2)

In dealing with Chaucer, however, Peacham has more to say than his source books, and his words are so apt and discerning that one wishes that he had left behind more original criticism. Part of his account is a paraphrase of one of Puttenham's sentences, but his appreciation of the Canterbury Tales, and his mention of the Astrolabe are indicative of his own reading, taste, and temperament.

"His Canterbury Tales without question were his own invention, all circumstances being wholly English. He was a good Divine and saw in those times, without his spectacles, as may appear by the Eloughman and the Parson's Tale: with all an excellent Mathematician, as plainly appeareth by his discourse of Astrolabe to his little sonne Lewis. In briefe, account of him among the best of your English books in your library". (3)

The chapter 'Of Poetrie' is concluded by a list of the poets of Queen Elizabeth's reign; Peaches omits several well known names such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Fulke Greville, Gascoigne, Breton and Turberville, and makes no attempt at any account of contemporary poetry. He evidently thought that enough had been

---

(1) Arts of English Poesie (1569) p.75
(2) The Compleat Gentlemen, p.95.
(3) Op cit. p.94.
said on the subject already for he breaks off his chapter with Baconian abruptness:

"Sundry others...(together with those admirable wits, yet living and so well known) not out of Envy, but to avoid Tediumness I overpasse. Thus much of Poetry".(1)

Section (4): Place of the book in the history of Courtesy Literature and in the history of Education.

The Compleat Gentleman takes its place in Literary History as one of that long series of treatises on Manners and Education which forms an important manifestation of Humanist thought. The new interest in education which was first seen on the Continent in the works of Vives, Erasmus, and Sadolet to had a double origin. In the first place, the more farsighted of the great scholars of the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century were anxious that the new learning, which they themselves had so eagerly acquired, should not be lost to future generations, and remembering how inadequate, even stupefying, their own early education had been, they tried to introduce simpler and more humane teaching methods, in the hope of encouraging the love of learning in the young mind. The impulse which caused Erasmus to write treatises on education was also responsible for Colet's foundation of St Paul's School in 1510.

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.96.
Secondly, a new and growing interest in the science of government had arisen in Europe. Kings still ruled more or less absolutely, and any attempt at rebellion was likely to be promptly quashed. While in theory it was possible to speculate freely about Utopia or the Roman Republic, in practice it was safer to acknowledge that a hereditary monarchy was the only right form of government. But an ill-educated, half-civilised prince was no fit ruler for a cultured state, and hence much earnest thought was directed towards the right upbringing of future rulers, and, indeed, of all members of the governing classes. The treatises resulting from this movement concerned themselves with more than mere book-learning, and contained exhaustive directions for every phase of a young nobleman’s career from the cradle to the civil service.

The earliest educational books were written with only one of these objects in mind. Men like Erasmus and Sturm were chiefly interested in bookish education, in the teaching of grammar and the maintenance of discipline. Castiglione, Elyot, and Guavar on the other hand, wrote not in Latin but in their mother-tongues, and taking the ordinary rudiments of learning for granted, concentrated on manners and morals. Montaigne gave expression to the difference which was felt to exist in the sixteenth century between these two kinds of Education:

"We that seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a complest gentleman, let us give them leave to mis-spend their time; we have else-where, and somewhat else of more
import to doe". (1)

Towards the end of the century the two objects merged, and practical instruction in class-room 'subjects' is found side by side with hints on courtly deportment. Later still educationalists went on from the problem of fitting the young noble for his exalted position in the state, to that of providing a sound education for middleclass boys, and various experiments were suggested by still more progressive writers who brought forward new methods of instruction, or propounded schemes for the foundation of model academies.

The first Renascence 'courtesy book' published in England was Sir Thomas Elyot's Boke named the Governour (1531), in which the whole interwoven theory of government and education was reviewed:

"That men whiche wil be studious about the weale publike may finde the thinge therto expedient compendiously written". (2)

An anonymous treatise, owing much to the Governour, entitled The Institution of a Gentleman, appeared in 1555, its principal theme being the lamentable decay of true gentility. Cleland's Institution of a Young Nobleman (1607) is in the same tradition, and may profitably be compared with Feacham's book, for its author was also a tutor and spoke from experience of the glories

(2) The Governour, Everyman Ed. The Prolegomen, p.xxi.
and hardships of his calling.

During the sixteenth century many similar works had been translated from Spanish, Italian, and Latin, all of which had contributed their quota to the English idea of education. Three of the most influential were Guerara's Dial of Princes (1), Giovanni della Casa's Galatea of Manners, and Behaviour (2), and Guazzo's Civile Conversationé (3). A famous Italian educationalist, referred to by Peacham in company with Erasmus, Vives, Elyot, and Ascham, was Sadolet (4), the friend and secretary of Leo X. He was an earnest supporter of the Counter-Reformation, and one who believed that a remedy for present evils was to be found in the marriage of Christian Faith and Hellenic culture. His book De Pueris Recte Instituendis (1533) which is chiefly directed towards the advancement of Classical Studies, is remarkable for its wisdom and sincerity. Another writer of great repute was the German Sturm (5) whose Nobilitas Literata, translated into English in 1570 as A Rich Storehouse or Treasury for Nobility and Gentlemen, purported to have been

(1) Translated by North 1566.
(2) Translated by Petersen 1576.
(3) Books 1-3 translated by Fettie 1561, and Book 4 by B. Young in 1586.
(4) Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547). Member of Papal circle. Became Bishop of Carpentras in 1517, and looked upon Education of the young as a Bishop's first duty.
(5) Johan Sturm (1507-89). Friend of Aschem. Kept a school which was famous all over Europe. Published De Literarum Ludis recte aperiendis in 1537.
written at the request of two noble brothers to guide them in arranging an intensive course of study. Sturm's system is one which few students could have followed with profit; the keenest wits must have been dulled by studying history, law, and 'civil policy' solely through the medium of the classical authors, and still more by rigid adherence to the long working hours which are suggested. The following classification of common vices is typical of Sturm's attitude:

"The first is intemperance; the second is such conversation with idle persons; the last is walking abroad: whereof rises such inconvenience that even those who be painful and industrious by this evil custom in gadding are drawn to sloth". (1)

The first English contribution to the theory of academic education was Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570). This book falls into two parts; the first deals with discipline and upbringing, and pleads for more gentle methods in the schoolroom, and the second contains a 'ready way to the Latin tongue'. Ten years later, another, more detailed, discussion of the same subjects was published by Mulcaster (2), headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School and later of St. Paul's. He insisted that the study of English should come before that of Latin, and that drawing, music, and singing are as important in a child's education as reading and writing. Mulcaster was one of the most

(1) *Mobilitas Literata* (1570) pp.16 and 17.
(2) *Elementarie and Positions* (1580-2).
successful and influential masters of his day; his recognition of the importance of the vernacular reflects the progress of a movement begun in the mid-sixteenth century by Sir John Cheke and his circle. By the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century it was an established principle of education that a boy should learn to read and write English before entering the Grammar School. In 1612, John Brinsley, an experienced master, published his *Ludus Literarius*, a treatise on the duties of masters, and the best method of running a grammar school. The master of a country school, usually working single-handed, found it almost impossible to teach and keep order in three or four classes at once, but Brinsley shows that method and common sense do much to lighten the heaviest burden; he also gives very good advice on the arrangement of holidays and the management of parents. In the course of his discussion Brinsley acknowledges his obligation to an elementary textbook entitled *The English Schoolmaster* (1), written by Edward Coote, master of the Free School at St. Edmundsbury. The greater part of Coote’s book is devoted to the teaching of reading without tears by means of an analysis of syllable formation, followed by reading exercises in dialogue form which shed light on contemporary schoolboy life and manners; the rest is made up of select fragments of general knowledge.

(1) *The English Schoolmaster* (1596).
vocabulary of English words derived from Latin with their
Germanic equivalents, and some copies for writing practice. The
whole book thus contains a summary of what a boy was supposed to
learn in the 'Petty-School' before proceeding to the Grammar
school at the age of eight or nine.

About this time a controversy was raging in England over the
teaching of Latin, sometimes called the 'Grammar War'. (1) William
Lilly's Grammar (2) had been proclaimed as the official Latin
grammar by Henry VIII; it was first printed with the King's
Proclamation in 1542, and schoolmasters were forbidden to use any
other under pain of the royal displeasure. Being, however, no
more perfect than any other human document it had to be supplement-
ed with explanations and examples, and many masters were for
translating the whole book into English, while others preferred
to compile their own grammars, or to use none at all. Peacham
himself favoured the following of some system but was too liberal
in his views to desire the enforcement of any one book:

"I would not all Masters to be tyed to one Methode, no more
than all the Shires of England to come up to London by one
high way: there be many equally alike good. And since Methode
as one saith is but a mean, I let every Master, if he
can, by pulling up stiles and hedges, make a more neere and
private way to himselfe". (3)

He refers the reader for further details to 'M. Doctor Webbe his

(1) For a full account see Foster Watson's chapter in The English
Grammar Schools to 1660 (1908).
(2) First authoritative edition 1542; definitive form issued about
1574 as A Shorte Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used.
Amesla ta Truth! (1); this author, an advocate of the direct method, points out that when grammarians disagree the plain man must rely on his native wit to guide him in the path of true knowledge.

Although he makes no detailed acknowledgement of any specific debt, Peacham was almost certainly familiar with the contents of all those books on education described above. The tradition which they represent was carried on after him by authors drawing on a common stock of ideas. A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole (2) closely resembles Brinsley's book, and as late as 1676 J. Gailhard, gent, 'who hath been tutor abroad to several of the nobility and gentrey', published a second Compleat Gentleman, which adds very little to the pronouncements of Peacham and Cleland.

The only important educational experiment proposed in England in the sixteenth century had been that set forth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Queen Elizabeth's Academy (1574). This treatise remained in manuscript until 1869 (3), and Peacham was probably unaware of its existence. Sir Humphrey's initial idea of founding a modern 'finishing school' in London, on the lines of the Italian academies (4), to provide some

---

(1) Published in the same year as the Compleat Gentleman (1622)
(2) By Charles Hoole M.A., a private schoolmaster. Published in 1660, but written twenty-three years before.
(3) When it was published for S.B.T.S. by F.J.Furnival.
(4) For example, that established at Mantua by Vittorino da Feltre, one of the earliest Humanists, in years 1423-46.
alternative to the dissatisfying curriculum of the Universities, was worthy of more consideration than it seems to have received. Young men were to be instructed in their civil and military duties, in ancient and modern languages, science, philosophy, and law, and were to learn to ride, shoot, fence, dance, and navigate a ship. This book also contains the suggestion that a copy of every book published or printed should be presented to the College library. The only drawback, but one which doubtless condemned the scheme at once in the eyes of Burghley and the queen, lay in the enormous expenses which Gilbert proposed to incur. The total yearly salaries of the thirty-eight masters and servants amounted to more than £2,500, and the cost of the necessary equipment was estimated at £2,000 without housing accommodation.

After 1622 several new schemes were put forward; the ideas which they embody were in general circulation during Peacham's later years, but did not reach his ears in time to influence the Complete Gentleman. About the middle of the century progressive opinion in educational matters seems to have centred in Samuel Hartlib (1), the recipient of Milton's Tractate of Education (1644). Milton proposed the erection of

(1) A philanthropist of Polish and English parentage, brought up in Prussia, but lived in England after 1628. Originally a merchant, his chief business in life was the amelioration of Mankind and the furtherance of humane studies. He spent his money assisting poor students and his energy discussing plans for the Unification of the Protestants and the foundation of model schools. He was a friend of the Polish Educationalist J.A.Comenius, whom he introduced to England,
a model academy, and being more spiritually minded than the Elizabethan Gilbert he aimed not only at preparing his pupils for their public duties, but at affecting their mental and moral regeneration (1). In 1648 Mr Hartlib received more advice, this time from Sir William Petty (2), who was endeavouring to fulfil some of the obligations laid upon posterity by Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605). He suggested, very wisely, that children should be taught to use their hands before their brains, and to understand things before trying to grasp ideas; he proposed to establish schools poor where/boys could learn a trade, and boys of the leisure classes could practise one of the more delicate handicrafts, such as the construction of mathematical instruments. Petty advocated the foundation of a technical college to set a standard in mechanical arts and manufactures, and an Experimental Hospital for the study of plant life and human disease, and for the observation of the weather. Not until comparatively whose works he published, and to whom he was much indebted for his ideas on Education.

(1) A similar emphasis is laid upon the importance of religious training in *The Reformed School* (1651) by John Dury, which is prefaced by a letter from Hartlib. According to Dury’s plan a second department is to be provided for the education of girls, who had hitherto received very little attention.

(2) *The Advice of W.P.* to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the advancement of some particular parts of learning (1648).
recent years have schools of medicine and engineering provided an alternative to a university training.

The main lines of Peacham's arguments are those which had been laid down nearly a century before, and there are many points of contact between the *Compleat Gentleman* and the earlier educational works, both courtly and academic. The fruits of his own invention and experience are nearly all confined to details of arrangement and illustration.

There is one particular respect in which Peacham's work is closely related to that of all other educational writers whether conservative or progressive, in his own and every other age, and this is his pessimistic view of actual conditions in the academic world of his day. Educational theorists have never been remarkable for their easy views of present realities, although their very theorising implies an optimistic belief in the possibility of improving, if not of perfecting, human nature. Admittedly, they have usually had very good cause for this dissatisfaction, for apart from the trials and discomforts of the schoolmaster's life, made harder by Youth's unwillingness to go to school, a sense of the futility of the struggle and of misfit with the ordinary material course of things must always be lurking in the background. Neither master nor pupils can ever rest content for their work is always incomplete. The whole situation was summed up by Montaigne:
"And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no wit pleased myself: for the further I sail, the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges and overcast with clouds, that my sight is weakened, I cannot distinguish the same". (1)

During the Middle Ages human knowledge was comparatively so limited that one man’s brain could, and sometimes did, embrace it all, but with the Revival of Learning and the continued widening of Man’s mental horizon this encyclopaedic knowledge became impossible. It was small wonder then that in the sixteenth century the enthusiastic humanist, conscious of the vast new fields of study lying open to mankind, and of the brief time at the student’s disposal, grew impatient with the old slow methods and clamoured for a revision of the circumscribed inadequate curriculum provided by school and university. The ignorant teachers complained of by Erasmus and Elyot were probably not so much illiterate as old-fashioned but there can be little doubt that in the sixteenth century education was considerably ‘decayed’, and that strenuous efforts were necessary before those responsible for the upbringing of children could be roused from their apathy. Even as late as 1574 Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote:

"The most part of noblemen and gentlemen that happen to be your Majeste’s Wardes...are through defaultes of the guardians, for the most parte brought up...in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable

virtues to their Prince and Country, obscurely drowned in education for sparing Charges..." (1)

In some circles any pretence to education beyond the rudiments of reading and writing was looked upon with distaste as beneath the dignity of a gentleman; this contempt for learning, coupled with the frequent incompetence of those who professed to be able to teach, led to that degradation of the tutor's office complained of by Thomas Morrice M.A. in his Apology for Schoolmasters (1619). His aim in writing, as explained in the Preface, was "to excite and stir up some to a due consideration, to a more religious respect, to a more requisite usage, and a more grateful remembrance of schoolmasters".

Elyot blamed masters and parents alike for the ignorance of the children for whom they were responsible:

"Nowe wyl I somewhat declare of the chiefe causes why, in our tyme, noble men be not as excellent in learning as they were in olde tyme amonge the Romynes and Greeks. The pride avarice and negligence of parentes, and the lackes of fewenesse of sufficent maysters or teachers" (2)

This statement is quoted by Morrice, and evidently Peacham had also digested it, for the chapters on the duty of masters and parents are based upon it. The miserable wages received by the average tutor had become a stock complaint of

(1) Queen Elizabeth's Academy. Published in 1563 by F.J. Furnivall for E.E.I.S.
(2) The Boke named the Governour (1531) Everyman Ed. p.49.
educational writers; Elyot puts it down to the avarice of parents:

"For if they hire a scholastic maister to teche in their houses, they chiefly enquire with howsmall a salary he will be contented, and never do intrench how much good learning he hath... using therein loose diligence than in takynge servantes". (1)

Peacham, nearly a century later, has very much the same tale to tell, and complains besides of the worthless promises of preferment with which a young man must perform be satisfied:

"If it not commonly seen, that the most Gentlemen will give better wages to a fellow who can but teach a Dogge... than to an honest learned and well qualified man to bring up their children.

"Beside, such is the most base and ridiculous parsimony of many of our Gentlemen that if they can procure some poore Batchelor of Art from the Universitie to teach their Children to say Grace, and serve the Cur of an Impropriation, who wanting means and friends will be content upon the promise of ten pounds a yeere at his first comming, to be pleased with five; the rest to be set off in hope of the next advouson (which perhaps was sold before the young man was borne); or if by chance to fall in his time his Lady or Master tells him, Indeed sir we are beholden unto you for your paines, such a living is lately faine, but I had before made a promise of it to my Butler or Bailiffe for his true and extraordinary service". (2)

Scholamasters themselves come in for much criticism from Elyot, who asserted that the feeness of good grammerians was a great "impediment of doctrine". "Lords god!" he exclaims "howe many good and cleane wittes of children be nowe a dayes perisshed by ignorant scholastic maisters". (3)

(1) The Boke named the Governour (1531) Everyman Ed., p.53
(2) Compleat Gentleman, p.31. Cf. also similar statements in the collection of essays entitled The Truth of our Times (1636)
Here too Peacham is in agreement with Elyot; his chapter 'Of the Duty of Masters' consists largely of a catalogue of the errors of ignorant, brutal, undiscriminating masters:

"For one discreet and able teacher, you shall find twenty ignorant and careless; who (among so many fertile and delicate wits as England affordeth) whereas they make one Scholler, they marre ten". (1)

He is also concerned at the diseases of Humour and Folly "whereunto some of them are very subject", which bring the whole teaching profession into ridicule and disrepute:

"Hence it comes to passe that in many places, especially in Italy, of all professions that of Pedanteria is held in basest repute; the School-master almost in every Comedy being brought upon the Stage to parallel the Zani or Pantaloun". (2)

He tells a few stories of humourous masters, and reminds the reader that such as these "oftentimes have our hopefull Gentry under their charge and tuition, to bring them up in science and civility". (3)

"I knew one...who beat his boys for swearing, and all the while swears himself with horrible oaths he would forgive any fault saving that". (4)

Peacham does not trouble so much about those who "for a small salarie sette a false colour of learning on propre wittes, which wyll be wasshed away with one shoure of rain" (5), as

---

(1) The Compleat Gentleman, p.22
(2) Op cit., p.27
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
about learned masters who go the wrong way to work with their pupils. Every teacher comes through experience if not by training to be something of a psychologist, and Peacham knew that every child cannot learn at the same rate, and does not respond in the same way to discipline. Anything approaching individual attention for each boy must have been next door to impossible for the overworked grammar school master of the seventeenth century, and is indeed only rarely attainable in the well staffed and equipped schools of today, but nothing less than this will satisfy Peacham. He complains that masters never 'try the strength of every capacity by itself', and that boys are set "like Horses in a team, to draw all alike, when some one or two prime and able wits in the Schoole like fleete hounds goe away with the game, when the rest needs helping over a stile a mile behind". (1)

Like Erasmus, Elyot, Ancham, and other humane and enlightenened educationalists, Peacham was horrified by the barbarities committed by some masters in the name of discipline. He explains that although some boys will take notice of nothing but downright brutality, the majority will respond readily to a gentle word of censur or encouragement, and that indiscriminate punishment will do more harm than good. He speaks with regret, and as if from personal experience of "good and towadly Natures...roughly handled...and rayled upon by the unmannery names of block-heads (oft by farre worse than block-
Heads) asses, doels, etc., which deeply pierceth the free and generous spirit... and which is more ungentlemanly, nay barbarous and unhumane, pulled by the ears, lashed over the face, beaten about the head with the great end of the rode, smitten upon the lips for every slight offence with the Ferula (not offered to their Father's scullions) by these Ajaxes Flagelliferi". (1)

Peacham considered that no boys should look upon their master as a deadly enemy (2), but that there should be "a reciprocal and mutual affection betwixt the Master and Scholler". (3) He even goes so far as to suggest that a tutor may win his pupil's confidence by teaching him "to play at Tennis, or to shoot at Plovers in the field, and profit him more in one month beside his encouragement, than in halfe a yeares with his strict and severe usage" (4). He then refers the reader to the example of Germany and the Low Countries, where the school is Ludus Literarius, 'a very pastime of learning', and suggests that a boy will work harder and learn faster if he is allowed plenty of time for recreation than if he is kept poring over his books all day.

The chief fault complained of in parents by most writers was their indifference, but Peacham had evidently met some who

(2) Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, p.216 (1691). "Children think no slavery in the world (as once I did myself) equal to that of a Grammar Scholar."
(3) Complete Gentlemen, p.24. Peacham quotes Fliny and Brasses in support of this theory.
(4) Op cit. p.25.
erved in the opposite direction and took an inconveniently keen interest in their children's education. He complains principally of those who "whether out of an overweening conceit of their children's towardeness, a pride to have their sones out-goe their neighbours, or to make them men before their times, take them from Schoole, as Birds out of the nest, are they be flidge (sic), and send them so young to the University that scarce one among twentie prooveth ought" (1). He draws a touching picture of the care-free but useless existence of these tenderplants, who begin to decay and die at the root:

"These young things, of twelve, thirteene, and fourteene, that have no more care than to expect the next Carrier, and where to sup on Fridays and Fasting nights: no further thought of study than to trimme up their studies with Pictures, and place the fairest Bookes in openest view, which, poore Lads, they scarce ever opened, or understand not;...there is such a disproportion between Aristotle's categories and their childish capacities, that what together with the sweetnesse of libertie, varietie of company, and so many kinds of recreation in Towne and fields abroad...they had as good goe gather Cockies with Caligula's people on the Sand, as yet to attempt the difficulties of so rough and terrible a passage". (2)

Finally Peacham admits that some wits are not 'capable of knowledge' and that these will defy every effort of master or parent, but at the same time he lays the greater part of life's failures at the door of those obstinate parents who "determine even from the A.B.C. what calling their children shall take upon them, and force them to undertake professions

(1) Compleat Gentleman. p.33.
(2) Op cit. p.33.
altogether contrary to their dispositions". (1)

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, long before the composition of the Compleat Gentleman, the new learning had been disseminated all over Europe, and many new schools had been established under competent masters like Malcaster. It is hard to believe that, after all the effort which had been directed towards the improvement of education, inefficient schools were so numerous or so easily tolerated in Peacham's day as they had been in Elyot's or Aschem's. Yet, as we have seen, the old cry still went up; Peacham was no better pleased with the state of affairs than Elyot had been, and there was scarcely one educationalist who did not repeatedly deplore the ignorance and insufficiency of masters and their outworn methods.

The fact that, although matters were considerably improved, grumbling did not cease, leads to the suspicion that it had become a literary fashion or habit, and was no longer altogether justified. Possibly, Peacham and his contemporaries, reading the Governoy, the Scholemaster, and Erasmus' Epistles, and being in the habit of accepting these writers' opinions, took over their descriptions of early sixteenth century schools and schoolmasters without honestly deciding for themselves whether these could be appropriately applied to seventeenth century conditions. Undoubtedly some allowance must be made for a conventional and interested element in these gloomy

(1) Compleat Gentleman, p.34.
descriptions, but at the same time unkind, unscholarly masters must still have existed just as they do today, for Peacham was able to bring forward many concrete examples from his fund of personal experience. No doubt the real trouble lay partly in the fact that the theorists' standards grew higher as time went on, and that actual conditions, although they were slowly improving, could not keep pace with them.

A more cheering picture of early seventeenth century education at an ordinary grammar school may be obtained from Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612) and Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (1660) (1). Brinsley typifies the humane master whose chief interest is his boys' welfare. The book is cast in dialogue form, and the subject introduced in conversation between two masters, old college friends, one of whom had made a success of teaching while the other has failed badly:

"For my time, I have spent it in a fruitlesse weariness, and an unthankfull office, in teaching a poore country school".

"I have so long laboured in this moiling and drudging life, without any fruit to speak of, and with so many discouragements and vexations instead of any true comfort, that I waxe utterly wearye of my place, and my life is a continuall burden unto me". (2)

These complaints are answered with comforting words by the master who finds work a pleasure:

(1) Hoole says in his Preface that the book had been written twenty-three years before - i.e. in 1637.
(2) Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612) p.1 ff.
"Now of late, since I set myselfe more consciously and earnestly to seeke out the best waies of teaching... that I have found great contentation and joy of this same labour in my schooles. For I doe plainly see such a change, that now I doe not only labour in my place usually without grief, or any wearinesse at all, but that I can take ordinarily more than delight and pleasure in following my children, and in the sensible increase of their learning and towardnesse than anie one can take in following lawkes and hounds". (1)

To a certain extent the remarks of Peacock and his fellow pessimists may be checked from contemporary biography, but here we are faced by two difficulties. In the first place the ill-educated 'corrupted wit' was unlikely to attempt any kind of autobiography, and such information as can be obtained at first hand is therefore usually from the pen of a man who had been well taught, besides having a natural taste for literature. Secondly, the ordinary biographer, ignorant of modern theories of the interaction of temperament and environment, was so little interested in the childhood and adolescence of his subject that he made no attempt at a detailed description of those periods.

An account of the administration of a grammar school is to be found in the first volume of John Kettlewell's Compleat Works (2):

"As soon as he was fit to learn the rudiments of the Latin tongue, he was put to the Free School at North Averton, which had been long in great reputation upon"
the account of the master, Mr Thomas Saltonstall, who was an excellent Grammarian, very diligent in his office and vigilant in his care of the Boys. He had seldom less than fourscore boys, whom he taught himself without any Assistant under him". (1)

It may be gleaned from the biographies of Jeremy Taylor, and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, that it was less rare than Peasam would have us believe (2) for a father to teach his own children:

"Taylor himself wrote to the head of Caius that he had been solely grounded in grammar and mathematics by his father". (3)

"Clarendon received his early classical education from the vicar of the parish, an experienced schoolmaster. Less to this instructor, than to the 'superintending care and conversation of his father, who was an excellent scholar and took pleasure in conferring with him' does he attribute his early proficiency, which was such that he was thought fit to be sent to Oxford in his fourteenth year". (4)

The Autobiography of Sir Symonds d'Ewes Bart contains a full description of the schools which he attended. His youth was spent in various parts of the country, but his parents seem to have experienced no difficulty in finding a suitable school in each district. D'Ewes criticises his masters frankly enough; he seems to have been something of a prig, but his serious manner gives his testimony an air of reliability:

"At school with Mr White, though I had been a pretty while entered into grammar, yet the chief thing I learned was the exact spelling and reading of English. His

(2) Cf. Compleat Gentleman, p.39. "Much less have parents now a daies that care to take the paines to instruct and reade to their children themselves, which the greatest Princes have not been ashamed to do".
(4) See over
indulgence and tenderness over me, however, was so great as I found little amendment of any of my errors by residing with him; yet, I well remember, he sometimes took care to purge atheism out of me, and to advise me to a reverent and high esteem of the Scriptures". (1)

"Mr Malaker was an excellent schoolmaster, but a great plagiarist, putting more learning in at the wrong end than he needed. My progress here was fully equivalent to the time I stayed; for whereas at my coming to him I had little or no knowledge of the Latin tongue, before my departure I had learned divers select Latin authors, was able to write themes, epistles, and dialogues, and to discourse a little" (2).

"Mr Henry Reynolds... had a pleasing way with him, contrary to all others of that kind; for the rod and ferula stood in his school rather as ensigns of his power than as instruments of his anger, and were rarely made use of for the punishment of dilinquents; for he usually rewarded those who deserved well with raisins and other fruit; and he accounted the privative punishment of not rewarding the remiss and negligent equivalent to the severest correction... I lost not my time altogether at this school, but expended much my Latin tongue in respect of prose... and grew so ready at the hexameter... as I could ordinarily make a distich extempore from a theme given. I made also good entrance into the Greek and French tongues; and learned to write a good Roman, secretary, and Greek hand".(3)

Another autobiography, Mr Wallis' account of some passages of his own life appended to his preface by the publisher of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle in 1725, contains some interesting sidelights upon the limitations of the grammar school

(1) Autobiography (pub. 1645) p.29: ed. by J.O. Halliwell from MS. Harl.646. (N.B. Author not yet eight years old).
(2) Op cit., p.61.
(3) Op cit., p.95.
"At Christmas 1631 (1) ... I was for about a fortnight at home with my mother. I there found that a younger brother of mine (in order to a trade) had been learning to write and Cipher or Cast Account. I was inquisitive to know what it was they so called, and to satisfy my curiosity my brother did shew me what he had been learning in those three months. Which was (besides the writing a fair hand) the Practical Part of Common Arithmetic... I found no difficulty to understand it and was very well pleased with it... This was my first insight into Mathematics and all the teaching I had... for they (at that time with us) were scarce locked upon as Academically studies, but rather Mechanically; as the business of Traders, Merchants, Seamen, Carpenters, Surveyors; or the like. And amongst more than two hundred students in our College I do not know of any two who had more of the Mathematics than I". (2)

It would appear that parents who took the trouble could usually find kind and efficient masters. Sir Symonds, having safely reached man's estate, even seems to think that a little more strictness might be salutary. A greater danger lay in the narrow bandroom syllabus through which boys were compelled to ploot, but, after all, the majority of schools professed to be no more than 'grammar' schools, and Peacham has shown by including Geography, History, Mathematics, Music, Drawing and Heraldry that the pupil's field of studies could be enlarged almost ad infinitum by the private tutor.

We have seen that Peacham discussed the respective duties of parents and masters in terms very similar to those used by

(1) Young Wallis was then aged 15.
(2) Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (1725) p. It is interesting to note that Mr. Wallis finally became Professor of Geometry at Oxford.
Elyot, Guevara, and Cleland. He treats the rest of his subject on traditional lines, proposing no innovations or experiments, and recognising only the ordinary channels whereby instruction was conveyed to the young, the private tutor, the grammar school, the University, and the Grand Tour.

In Peacham's day the position of the private tutor was higher up the social scale than that of the ordinary schoolmaster, and was usually only obtainable in the household of some wealthy nobleman; hence it was that he was anxious that he should present himself as a person fit and proper to hold such a post. Yet in addressing his book to a member of a noble family, who is to be privately educated, and in laying so much emphasis upon the position and functions of the nobility, he shewed not only a prudential eye to the main chance, but a natural and genuine conservatism. In the first chapter, entitled 'Of nobility in Generall', he drew attention to the wise disposition of every species in grades of varying quality, and declared that these different values should be noticed in Man as in other creatures:

"Can we be curious in discerning a counterfeit from the true peerle; to choose our signs of the best fruit, buy our Flowers at twenty pounds the root or slip; and not regard or make difference of lineage, nor be careful into what Stocke we match ourselves, or of what parents we choose a servant?" (1)

(1) Complete Gentlemee, p.2.
This question of 'Nobility' had exercised men's minds for many years, and some contribution to the subject appears in every book which deals with the education of the governing classes (1). The code of behaviour drawn up from personal experience and observation by Machiavelli in his much discussed and much misunderstood book *Il Principe* (1513) set a standard of princely deportment towards which courtly educationalists strove to guide their pupils. Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* is also based on reality, and represents a similar tradition, for the debates recorded in it took place at the court of Giubaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, whose position closely resembled that of Machiavelli's model Cesare Borgia.

The word 'courtier' has changed its meaning since Hoby used it in 1561 to translate Castiglione's name for his ideal of manhood. The whole cultural life of Renaissance Italy was centred in the ducal courts; within these narrow but brilliant circles, where the aristocrat, the scholar, the soldier, and the poet were all one, a balance was struck between literature and life which has rarely been attained before or since. Something of the same atmosphere existed at the court of Elizabeth, but the later association of the word 'courtier' with the courts

(1) For a detailed discussion of the meaning of 'nobility' and of the position of the 'nobleman', see R. Kelso's thesis on *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the sixteenth century* (University of Illinois, 1929).
of Bourbon and Stuart kings where time was frittered away
in the empty elegancies of chivalric 'make-believe', left
it with a taint of time-serving and effeminacy which it did
not necessarily possess in the sixteenth century. Castiglone's
courtier was to be the embodiment of every manly virtue and
accomplishment; learned, athletic, richly attired, a wise
counsellor, a brave soldier, and a pleasant companion; at
the same time he was to cultivate the Greek ideal 'nothing
too much' and to avoid every kind of exaggeration, and, above
all, he was to please his Prince without flattery, and to do
everything with an easy grace, with no apparent effort:

"I will have him dissemble the studie and paines that a
man must needes take in all things that are well done"(1)

Today the possessor of these qualities is called 'gente-
man', and it was such a character that Peacham's title was
intended to denote; in his book as in all the other 'courtesy
books' of the Renascence, the idea of the amateur status is
heavily underlined:

"Mechanical Artists who labour for their livelihood and
gaine, have no share at all in Nobility or Gentry: as
Painters, Stageplayers, Tumblers, ordinary Fidlers, Innkee-
keepers, Fencers, Inglers, Dancers, Montemanches, Bear-
wards, and the like". (2)

The necessity of avoiding any suspicion of professionalism
was gradually exaggerated until the accomplished but modest

(1) The Courtier: translated by Hoby (1561) Everyman Ed., p.100
(2) The Compleat Gentleman, p.13
gentleman became the elegant but genuinely inefficient 'beau'. Castiglione's warnings (1) against any public display of athletic or musical talent were solemnly repeated by Elyot, who was convinced that "a gentleman, plainge or singing in a common audience, appaireth his estimation" (2). Peacham, apparently, was of the same opinion:

"I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (save at his private recreation or leasurably hours) proove a Master in the same, or neglect his more weighty employments.

"I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight withall to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to yourselfe". (3)

Although he was content to follow other authors in this matter of music, Peacham's concrete habits of thought seem to have demanded a more definite touchstone for nobility than the vague and sometimes impractical distinction between amateur and professional, and he comes at last to the conclusion that usefulness to the commonwealth, the virtue for which nobility was originally conferred, must be made the real test of an honourable life. The question of bastardy, and the rival claims of noble birth and noble actions, could be discussed according to established conventions, nor was

(1) "The Courtier ought to have a great consideration in presence of whom he sheweth himselfe, and who be his matches...if he overcome his gaine is small, and his losse in being overcome very great". The Courtier, Everyman Edition, p.98.


(3) Compleat Gentleman, pp.98 and 100.
there any difficulty in classing the aristocrat as an amateur and the Innkeeper as a tradesman, but those undoubted 'gentlemen' who yet followed some profession were not so easy to place. Having consulted classical authority, Peacham admits the Lawyer and Physician to the celestial hierarchy, and although 'the exercise of Merchandize hath beene accounted base' he cannot but include 'the honest Merchant among the number of Benefactors to his Countrey, while he exposeth as well his life as goods, to the hazzard of infinite dangers sometimes for medicinall Drugges and preservatives of our Lives in extremitie of sickenesse; another for our food or clothing in times of scarcitie and wants, haply for usefull necessaries for our vocations and callings: or lastly, for those Sensus et Animi oblectamenta, which the Almightye providence hath purposely for our solace and recreation, and for no other end else created, as Apes, Parrots, Peacockes, Canary, and all singing birds; rarest Flowers for colour and smell, precious stones of all sorts, Pearle, Amber, Corall, Christall, et cetera'.

Having defined 'nobility', Peacham goes on to explain in his chapter 'Of the dignitie and necessitie of Learning' that education 'as unto which we are beholden for whatsoever dependeth on the culture of the mind', contributes an integral

(1) Compleat Gentleman, p.12
and indispensable part to the gentleman's character. The learned Prince partakes of the nature of a mediator, and interprets the will of God to his people; he is "the Conduit Pipe and instrument whereby (as in a goodly Garden) the sweet streams of Heaven's blessings are conveyed in piety, peace and plenty, to the nourishing of thousands".

None of the same and constructive critics who contributed to the theory of the education of boys seems to have paid any serious attention to the equally pressing question of University reform. Some drastic reconstruction of the syllabus was certainly necessary if the Universities were to supply the needs of England's foremost intellects, for the curriculum remained much as it had been in the early sixteenth century. Certain changes and advances had been made by the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the basis of all studies was still the Scholastic Philosophy. In the seventeenth century the Universities were hardly tractable subjects for reform, since the Colleges were wealthy land-owning bodies and as free to please themselves as the most independent private citizen. Nevertheless negative criticism of the educational facilities which they offered was the mark of a progressive or challenging spirit. Milton added to Bacon's strictures his more passionate denunciation of 'the asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles', while to Hobbes the Universities were the twin pillars of the

(1) Compleat Gentleman p.19.
Kingdom of Darkness.

Yet, in spite of these shortcomings, it was still possible for men of sense and culture to fit into and profit from the University scheme. Peacham's habit of acquiescence in the rightness of the established order has already been seen in his readiness to accept unquestioningly the older astronomical theories. Missattitude was typical of that of the majority of his contemporaries. His own experience of University life had been happy and fruitful, and he had nothing but praise for Oxford and Cambridge, his 'kind aunt' and 'indulgent mother' (1). He went so far as to describe the University into which the young William Howard was 'embodied' as "the Light and Eye of the Land, in regard from hence, as from the Center of the Sunne, the glorious beams of knowledge disperse themselves over all, without which a Chaos of blindnessse would repossesse us". (2)

During the sixteenth century the Universities had gradually become centres of social as well as academic activity. It had become fashionable for the sons of the nobility and gentry to complete their education at College, and they brought with them from their fathers' houses something of worldly culture, a taste for good clothes and good

(1) They are thus apostrophised in Peacham's epigram 'To either University', No. 56 in Thalia's Banquet (1620). (2) Compleat Gentleman, p. 38
living, and an absence of interest in scholarship which had been all but unknown in the Universities of the Middle Ages. The day of the poor clerk and wandering scholar was drawing to a close; their place were taken by young esquires who cared more for blood-stock than for books.

"Some in the Universities maintaine their sonnes at such a height, that there instead of studying the seven liberal Sciences, they study seven couple of hounds".(1)

From the writings of Burton and Fuller it may be deduced that the wealth of this new race of undergraduates was proving a great temptation to the academic authorities:

"Our annual officers wish only this, that those who commence...shall be sleek fat pigeons, worth the plucking.

"If they can only commit to memory a few definitions and divisions, whatever sort, they prove to be, idiots, triflers, gamblers, sots, sensualists,...only let them have passed the stipulated period in the University...they obtain a presentation...and when they are about to take leave they are honoured with the most flattering literary testimonials in their favour". (2)

If Peacham was aware of these social evils he did not pay much attention to them; he benevolently attributed the idleness of undergraduates to the fact that most of them had been sent to the University while still too young to understand the lectures which they were expected to attend, and in this he was at one with Milton, who protested vehemently against the too sudden transition of 'unballasted wits' from 'grammatic

(1) The Truth of our Times (1630) p.86
(2) Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) Part I, Section 2, Member 3, Subsection 15. Cf. also Fuller's Holy and Profane State (1642). The Good Master of a College.
flats and shallows' to the 'fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy'. (1) Since William Howard had no need to seek preferment, books were less likely to play an important part in his education than a right choice of companions, and for this reason Peacham's chapter on the Higher Education is entitled 'Of a Gentleman's carriage in the University and his principal piece of advice if this:

"Entertain the acquaintance of men of the soundest reputation for Religion, Life, and Learning, whose conference and company may be unto you a living and a moving library." (2)

In the chapter 'Of Reputation and Carriage' Peacham urged his pupil to safeguard himself from scandal by holding friendship and acquaintance with few, and endearing himself to none. This advice seems unnecessarily harsh and cynical, and is certainly out of tune with the Renascence doctrine of the value of friendship (3), but it was not his last word on the subject, for on the next page he quotes the opinion of Lodovicus Vives:

"There is nothing more miserable than to want the Counsell of a friend, and an admonisher in time of need: whiche hath beene and is daily the bane of many of our young Gentlemen, even to the utter ruine of themselves and their pesteritie" (4).

The young nobleman's studies at the University were not

(1) Tractate of Education (1644)
(2) Compleat Gentleman, p. 39
(3) "These friends thou hast and their adoption tried, Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel". Hamlet I. 3.
such an important factor in fitting him for his civil duties as the period of foreign travel which Peacham advised should follow them. Before the Revival of Learning a young Englishman's experience of foreign parts had commonly been confined to military expeditions, but when Italy and France began to set a new fashion in dress, literature, and art, and England entered upon the struggle to outgo her neighbours which characterised her intellectual and political activities in the sixteenth century, a liberal education was bound to include first hand acquaintance with foreign culture, languages, and customs. The blessings accruing from a sojourn abroad were sometimes mixed; certain writers complained of habits of drunkenness and extravagance learnt in Holland and France, and Ascham maintained that any Englishman who crossed the Alps was as good as damned. The majority of educationalists, however, seem to have agreed with Robert Dallington that "those spirits are more noble and divine which imitate the Heavens and joy in motion". Peacham, who had himself spent some time abroad, chiefly in Flanders and the Netherlands, spoke strongly in favour of the pleasure and profit to be derived from travel:

"In my opinion nothing rectifieth and confirmeth more the judgement of a Gentleman in forraine affaires, teacheth him knowledge of himselfe, and setteth his affection more sure to his owne Country, than travaile doth". (1)

(1) Compleat Gentleman, p.235.
His practical advice is similar to that of Cleland and Gailhard; he does not go deeply into the matter, but, after a brief description of the chief places of interest and native characteristics of France and Spain, refers the reader to the full-length guide books of Dallington and Sandys (1).

The outdoor pursuits described by Peacham in the chapter 'Of Exercise of the Body' had already been discussed in detail by Castiglione, Elyot, Ascham and other later writers. Classical accounts of the upbringing and education of children, of which Xenophon's Cyropaedia is an outstanding example, had treated of various sports and pastimes which were at once beneficial to health, and 'apt to the furniture of a gentleman's personage'. The athletic and martial feats of the noble youths of Greece and Rome, as recounted by such writers as Homer, Aristotle, Livy and Herodian, set a standard which later generations would be proud to attain.

The Renascence gentleman with classical and chivalric tradition behind him, was able without loss of dignity to practise Tilting, Running, Leaping, and Shooting with the long-bow (2), but the most noble, and - be it noticed - the most useful accomplishment was generally acknowledged to be riding 'surely and clean on a great horse and a rough'. Peacham also urges:

---

(1) Robert Dallington: A Method for Travel (1595)
George Sandys: Relation of a journey begun 1610 (1615)
(2) The authoritative text-book for this sport was still Ascham's Toxophilus in 1622, and the reader is duly referred to it by Peacham.
the importance of swimming, since in time of war one may 'hereby many ways annoy the enemy', and he tells the story of "Gerrard and Harvey, who in '88 in the fight at Sea, swam in the night time, and pierced with Augers, or such like instruments, the sides of the Spanish Gallions, and returned back safe to the Fleete". (1)

In Sport as in other matters, Peacham insists that his pupil shall follow the via media; he allows neither "the severe education of the old Spartanes", nor "the effeminacy of those who burne out day and night in their beds and by the fireside". (2)

This moderation, which has been the hall-mark of gentlemanly attainement in every department, is nowhere more emphasised than in the chapter 'Of Reputation and Carriage':

"There is no one thing that setteth a fairer stampe upon Nobility then evennesse of Carriage...without which our most gracefull gifts are dead and dull, as the Diamond without his foile". (3)

The frugality and simplicity of diet and apparell demanded by Peacham owes much to Castiglione's conception of the perfect courtier:

"A blacke colour hath a better grace in garments than any other, and though not thorougly blacke, yet somewhat darke...which of us is there, that seeing a gentleman goe with a garment upon his backs quartered with subdued colours, or with so many points tied

(1) Compleat Gentleman, p. 217.
(2) Op cit., p. 220.
(3) Op cit., p. 221
together, and all about with laces and fringes set overthwart, will not count him a verie dizerde or a common jeaster". (1)

In his elegy An April Shower (1624) Peacham described the Earl of Dorset's decorous dress as an example to the rest of the nobility:

"...with the plainest plains yee saw him goe 
In Civill blacke of Rash, of Serge or so,
The Liverie of wise Stayednesse; Except when
His Prince did call upon his Service, then
Stout Disbaze in Armes, not brighter shone,
Or man more glorious was to look upon".

Just as the gentleman's dress is to be rather rich than gaudy, his table is to be known not for its luxuriance but for the intelligence and good fellowship of those sitting about it.

"At your meate be liberall and freely merry...and many times the stranger or guest will take more content in the cheerrlieness of your countenance than in your meate". (2)

Most of the 'courtesy books' followed Castiglione in inserting a passage on "affability in discourse", and telling a few stories as illustrations. Then, as now, the clever 'raconteur' was much sought after at dinner parties. As Montaigne says: "a wittie saying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of season". (3) Even Richard Brathwait, the puritanical author of The English Gentleman (1641) allowed that "to intervene conceits or some pleasant

(2) Compleat Gentleman, p.230
Jests in our recreations whether discursive or active is no
less delightful or useful", but he is careful to distinguish
between the Quip Modest and the Joke Practical:

"Jests festive are oftentimes offensive, they incline
too much to levity; jests civill (for into these two
all are divided) are better relishing because mixed
with more sobriety and discretion". (1)

Peacham follows the fashion and includes a digression
of Jesting, using some of his own Anagress and Epistles as
examples of 'ingeniously conceited devices'. The didactic
aim of the chapter, however, is not forgotten, and Peacham
concludes on a serious note:

"Have a care ever to speak the truth, remembering there
is nothing that can more prejudice your esteem than to
be lavish-tongued in speaking that which is false. Jests
and scoffs do lessen Majestie and greatnesse, and should
be farre from great personages and men of wisdom". (2)

Such an elementary injunction as this calls to mind that
in estimating the value of The Compleat Gentleman, the tender
years of the child for whose use the book was prepared should
not be lost sight of. Peacham was convinced that the 'knowledge
of good learning' is (next to the fear of God) 'the Fountaine
of all Counsell and instruction', but in his book he attempted
no more than to point out the way to the attainment of the
perfect state of the 'compleat gentleman', to give 'some few
instructions in generall' 'but as so many keys to leade you
into farre fairer rooms'.

(2) Compleat Gentleman, p.234 (1) The English Gentleman
(1641), p.
Chapter III
PEACHAM'S VERSE

In the chapter on Poetry in The Compleat Gentleman Peacham gave no instructions for the writing of verse. He did not wish his pupil to do more than read the best authors and understand the value of their respective works. He expected the cultured nobleman to be a connoisseur of Art and Antiquities rather than of verse, and there was a certain contemporary cooling of enthusiasm for aristocratic amateur versifying of which an extreme form is expressed by Selden:

"'Tis a fine thing for Children to learn to make Verse, but when they come to be men, they must speak like other folkes, or else they will be laughed at...'Tis ridiculous for a Lord to print Verses; 'tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public, is foolish" (1)

Peacham's experience in his own walk of life had taught him that the Muse was a miserly paymistress, and in The Truth of Our Times he advised his friends against embarking on any long poem in English:

"I would wish no friend of mine in these daies to make further use of English Poesie than in Epitaphs, Emblems, or Encomiasticks for Friends; Yet if his veine be for Latine, not to restraine himselfe herein; for hereby he shall doe honour to our Nation...getting himselfe...the name and reputation of a Scholler". (2)

(1) Table Talk (printed 1639) ed. S.W. Singer, 1860, p.215.
(2) Truth of our Times (1638), p.40. In the same essay Peacham gives a list of poets who have died in poverty. Cf. also
In this respect Peacham followed his own advice; all his 
verses are brief or occasional pieces, and if certain lines 
in *An April Shower* (1624) may be taken seriously, he 
cherished no illusions about his own poetical powers:

"By the Genius (which I hold Divine)  
Of each true Poet (therefore none of mine)  
I heare professe, it is no by regard,  
Or expectation of a slight reward  
Enforces me to weep..."

He seems to have appreciated form and metre in poetry more 
than beauty of expression, for he describes himself as one 
"naturally addicted to those Arts and Sciences which consist 
of proportion and number, as Painting, Musicke, and Poetry, 
and the Mathematicall Sciences". (1)

The date of Peacham's first known attempt at poetical 
composition is uncertain. The earlier version of the 
illustrated emblems (2) (M.S. Harleian 6355 art 13, addressed 
to James I, and completed some time before 1609) contains 
his only lyric, a madrigal with the music in four parts, 
extitled *King James his Quier*, written on the last two leaves 
of the codex. The madrigal was obviously composed in 
imitation of those published by Thomas Morley as *The Triumphs 
of Oriana* (1601), but the underlying idea of the poem is

(1) The *Truth of our Times* (1633), p.41.  
(2) For a full description of Peacham's M.S. emblems see 
supra p.28, and Bibliographical Notes.
rather elegiac than triumphant, since Oriana's place had been taken by King James. In spite of this change of key, Peacham has succeeded in capturing something of the rhythmical quality of the Elizabethans; he may in fact be said to begin where the Elizabethans left off, for the spirit of the old song-writers survives in his graceful cadences, just as their musical tradition is carried on in the harmonies of the setting:

"Awake softly with singing Oriana sleeping
And leave awhile this weeping,
That in Elysium resting
She might behold again
Her nymphs their heads reverting
With Lillies white and Roses, to entertaine
Phoebus, sweet crownets bringing,
While all her shephersds from the mountains
clearly loud singing:
Long live, long live his majesty
In health and peace and all felicity".

For the next year or so Peacham's verses only appeared as prefaces to other men's books. A musical Banquet, published in 1610 by Robert Dowland, son of the famous John Dowland, was introduced by a Latin poem from Henricus Peachamus. In 1611, Arthur Standish published a tract on forestry and agriculture entitled The Common's Complaint, which was prefaced by two stanzas in English from Henry Peacham upon 'The Author and his most commendable and necessary work'. The complimentary verses addressed to Thomas Coryate upon the publication of his Crudities in 1611 were so numerous that they were bound separately as The Odesbiam Banquet. Peacham was one of fifty-eight contributors, and his verses, of
which there were three sets, have at least the merit of originality. The first is an "emblem", a drawing of the famous Shoes with a Latin motto, the second a list of the Sights of England, and the third a short poem in the 'Utopian' tongue. This last is significant not only because it is an early ancestor of Lewis Carroll's Jabberwocky, but because it illustrates the humorous turn of Peacham's mind:

"Ny thalonin ythai Coryate lachmah babowans
O Asian Europen Americ-werowans
Poph-biagi Savaya Hassen Rhetia Ragouzie
France Germanien done And-a-louzie
Not A-rag-on O Coryate o hene vilascar
Einen tronk Od-combe ny Venice Bergamascar".

Peacham's first independent poetical compilation was published in 1612. This was a collection of 'Emblems' entitled *Minerva Britanna, or a Garden of Heroical Devices* (1), and ambitiously dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales. The book, which does less credit to Peacham's talent for versifying than to his artistic ability, is based upon his Latin verse renderings of the *Basilicon Doron* (2). Nearly all of the emblems which appear in the manuscripts were used again in the *Minerva Britanna*, but in such cases the pictures were re-drawn for the press, and the verses translated into English.

There are a great number (3) of new emblems, many of which are

(1) See Bibliographical Notes for full title, etc. Possibly the term 'Garden' harks back to Peacham's father's book The Garden of Eloquence. A garden is, of course, a place where flowers are gathered together.

(2) "These emblems are no other than the substance of those divine instructions his Majesty prescribed unto you". *Minerva Britanna* (1612) Dedication.

(3) There were eighty-five different emblems in the various
addressed to famous men, or to Peacham's own friends and acquaintances, while a dozen or so have been taken from the works of earlier authors. In setting out the M.S. versions and the *Minerva Britannica*, Peacham seems to have taken Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (1586) as his guide (1). Each page contains a Latin motto, a symbolical picture in a decorated border, and a set of verses describing the picture and pointing the moral. Both Peacham and Whitney frequently add Classical or Biblical quotations and marginal notes to amplify the theme or establish its antiquity.

The popularity of 'emblems' and 'impressas' at this period seems to demand some explanation. The fashion has no modern equivalent (2), and it seems incredible that cultured men should once have taken these learned picture-puzzles seriously. Yet the first books of emblems, written in Latin and published on the continent towards the end of the fifteenth century, delighted the 'literati' of the age; they were patronised by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, and famous poets and scholars like Alciatus, Sambucus, Beza, and Paradin spent time and energy composing them (3). The use of Emblems

---

(1) His familiarity with this book is clearly shown by two references: (a) In the Preface to the Reader: "Except the collections of Mr Whitney and the translations of some one or two else beside, I know not an Englishman in our Age that hath published any work in this kind", (b) On p. 72: He acknowledges his debt for permission to use one of Whitney's emblems.

(2) Unless it be in the Trademarks and Slogans of Big Business.

(3) A full account of the subject is to be found in *Shakespeare*.
seems to have originated in the Age of Chivalry, when it was customary — in the Romances, if not in real life — for the knight-errant to wear his shield a symbol of the adventure upon which he had embarked (1). Emblems are therefore closely connected with the Art or Science of Heraldry, and their popularity in Tudor and Jacobean England is a manifestation not only of the Renaissance taste for conceits and verbal witticisms, but also of the somewhat artificial revival of chivalric customs at the Courts of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. From Henri Estienne's preface to The Art of Making Devices (2) we infer that this was preeminently an aristocratic pastime:

"Amongst all external ways of expressing our conceptions...there is one which we call devise, by means whereof the most pregnant wits discover to their like the motions of their soule; their hopes, fears, doubts, disdaines, affrights, anger, pleasures and joys, hatred and love, desires and other heart-possessing passions...And by how much this way of expression is less usual with the common people, by so much is it the more excellent".

Peacham was fully alive to the exclusive, aristocratic aspect of the art of making devices; in a poem entitled The Author's Conclusion, which rounds off the Minerva Britannia,

and the Emblem Writers and the Introduction to Holbein Soc. Facsimiles Vol.4 (1870) by H.Green.

(1) Impresa < Imprendere = to undertake (cf. enterprise)
The distinction between Emblems and Impresa is made clear by Camden in the Remaines: "An Imprese is a device in picture with his motto borne by a noble or learned personage, to notify one particular conceit of his own: as Emblems doe propound some general instruction to all".

(2) Published 1645 in French. Trans. by Thomas Klaunt 1646.
he gives a list of great courtiers of Elizabethan reign, and promises to describe their Emblemata in another volume:

"Now what they were on every tree
Devices new as well as old,
of these brave worthies, faithfully,
Shall in another Booke be tolde".

Although this promised book was never published, we may assume that Peacham began to compile it, for in Thalia's Banquet (1620) where he outlines the amusements of one of his pupils he says:

"Then haply wearye of all these would goe
Unto that Poeme I have laboured see". (1)

The 'Poeme' is described in a footnote as "A second volume of Emblemata done into Latin verse with their pictures". It seems that the project had been abandoned by 1622, for in The Compleat Gentleman Peacham writes:

"The best Emblemata that I have seen, have beene the devises of tiltings, whereof many are reserved in the Private Gallery at White Hall, of Sir Philip Sidney, the Earle of Cumberland, Sir Henry Leigh, the Earle of Essex, with many others, most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge dissuaded me" (2).

The popularity of this fashion at the English Renascence Court makes it easier for us to understand the pictures and mottoes with which Spenser embellished the Shephardes Calendar (1579), and the keen interest which he displays in the equipment and armorial bearings of his Faerie Knights.

(1) Epigram 71. To Master Edward Chamberlain of Barnham Broome.
(2) Compleat Gentleman, p. 234.
Milton, too, recognises the position of the device in the panoply of Chivalry:

"...tilting furniture, emblazoned Shields,
Impresses quaint, Caparisons and Steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous Knights
At Joust and Tournament." (1)

The courtier found the 'emblem' a handy means of conveying his 'conceits' to his friends while concealing them from the uninitiate, but it was not long before the moralist perceived that this compendious method of expressing abstract ideas in concrete form could be used with the opposite intention of illustrating and explaining difficult arguments. (2). Peacham's Minerva Britanna combines these two possibilities; the emblems taken from the Basilicon Doron have all the glamour of a royal origin as well as a moral application, and he undoubtedly thought that in publishing them he had done a good day's work in the service of mankind. For, in Bergaglia's words (3), "a devise enlightens our whole understanding, and, by dispelling the darkness of Error, fills it with a true Piety and solid Vertue".

Whether intended for the courtly few or the 'base vulgar', the making of devices has an element of the ridiculous which the more detached spirits had never been slow to recognise, and which Nash parodied in his description of the Florantine

(1) Paradise Lost IX 33-36.
(2) e.g., Quarles' Emblems (1635).
(3) Quoted by Henri Batienne in 1645.
Tournament in The Unfortunate Traveller (1594):

"Lord Henrie Howard earle of Surrie...entered the lists after this order. His armour was all intermixed with lillyes and roses, and the bases thereof bordered with nettles and weeds,...his helmet round proportioned like a gardner's waterpot from which seemed to issue forth small thynks of water...Whereby he did import thus much, that the teares that issued from his braines, as those arteficial distillations issued from the wall counterfeit water-pot on his head, watered and gave life as well to his mistres disdain as increase of glorie to her care-causing beauty. The simbole thereto annexed was this, Ex lachrimis lachrimae....After him followed the knight of the Owle whose armor was a stubb tree over-grown with ivie, his helmet fashioned like an owle sitting on the top". (1).

Although Peacham seems to have been connected with the court at this time, and acknowledged in the Preface to Minerva Britanna that he had, by more than ordinary signs, tasted of the Prince's gracious favour, he did not join the throng of poets who rushed into print with their elegies and epicleses when Prince Henry died in 1612 (2). He bided his time until the national sackcloth was put off for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, and then brought down two birds with one stone by publishing The Feronie of Mourning (1613) (3). This book was prefaced by ten lines of Latin verse "Ad Authorem" from 'A.S.', and further graced by the presence of one poem in Greek and two in Latin from 'I.S.

(2) How eager some of them were may be deduced from the fact that John Taylor's poem 'Great Britayne's greatest wo'es was registered at Stationer's Hall on the day immediately following the Prince's death.
(3) For full title see Bibliographical Notes.
e Soc. Int. Templi", which stands presumably for John Selden. The first or elegiac section contains six 'Visions', an 'Epitaph', an 'Epicedium', and several short Latin poems with drawings of a crown, the three feathers, a rose, and a thistle, all of which "offer to view the image of our dead deer and never to be forgotten Prince, Henry". The second part consists of four Nuptial Eulogies; a description of the marriage procession was added as soon as the ceremony had taken place (1).

The six elegiac 'visions' cannot be classed with the finest of English poetry, but they have a certain felicity and dignity, and compare favourably with the ordinary run of contemporary occasional verse. Their tone and style are reminiscent of Spenser; sometimes Peacham copies the elder poet closely, but in several passages he reproduces the Spenserian atmosphere without actually borrowing his phraseology or ideas. The description of the Cave of Death in the third vision seems to indicate an intimate acquaintance with Spenser's methods of which there is no hint in the chapter 'Of Poetry' in The Compleat Gentleman:

"A wood there was along the Stygian Lake,
Where night and everlasting Horror dwell,
Herain a Cave two hollow Rocks did make
From whence a brooke as blakell as Lethe fell:
A Common roade led thither, with descent
So steepse that none returned that ever went". (2)

(1) This may be deduced from the title page of the copy in the Bodleian. See Bibliographical Notes.
Three of Peacham's 'visions' are simple dream allegories in which the poet sees the dire effects of a ship-wreck, the fall of a tree, and a thunderbolt, and dilates upon the transitory nature of earthly splendour. These have been taken directly from the Visions of Petrarch and Visions of Bellov, but Peacham has chosen his own way of expressing himself and can hardly be accused of slavish imitation.

Although he must have been a fair Latin scholar, the ideas used in his poetry have not been drawn immediately from classical sources. He was, like the majority of his contemporaries, content to use the common stock of literary devices which had been collected and adapted by earlier Renascence writers. The 'pastoral convention', whereby Peacham approaches his subject in the fifth 'vision', bears traces of having passed through Spenser's hands. The sleeping poet wakes to hear one singing like Thracian Orpheus:

"Come woods (quoth he) and Waters lend your sound,
And help us to bemoan our Dion's death,
Come every Plant that grows upon the ground,
Your fruit or favours to his Horse bequeath,
Come purple Roses, purest Lillies turn
Your Beauties blacke, and help awhile to mourn."  

The 'pathetic fallacy', so beloved of elegy-writers, was extended by Peacham to include a host of heraldic beasts representing various noble houses, who joined the trees and flowers in their lamentations (1):

(1) Spenser introduced animals into one of his elegies on Astorphel, but does not seem to have intended them to be taken heraldically.
"The Greyhound, Griffon, Tiger and the Coate,  
Two gallant Dragons green, and one of red,  
The Unicorne in his fair Braine-coate,  
The Roe buck, Bore, and Bull for combat bred:  
The Lynx, the Wyvern, and the Talbot true.  
Did (as they could) their utmost sorrow shew".

The Elizabethan side of Peacham's mind is clearly revealed in these 'Visions', but the Epitaph which follows them is akin to the work of the seventeenth century religious poets. The thought in this poem is simpler, and has none of that literary artificiality which characterises the Visions. The abrupt octosyllabics beat out a fresher, less hackneyed measure:

"But certaine soule thou art but gone;  
To thy new coronation,  
Thy presence Heaven, thy state a throne,  
Thy carpet Starres to tread upon,  
For amphull Sceptre, or thy Rod  
A Palme; thy friends, the Saints of God."

Whether by accident or design, Peacham managed to achieve considerable success in suiting his metre to his mood. When he turned from elegy to epithalamium, the tempo of his verses changed accordingly, and the four Marriage hymns, two in stanzas form, and two in couplets, trip along to a merry rhythm that celebrates 'Hymenaeus' chaste delight' with appropriate light-heartedness. The second hymn takes the form of an invocation to the Nymphs, bidding them deck the bride with

---

There you might see the burly Beare  
The Lion king, the Elephant,  
The maiden Unicorne was there,  
So was Acteon's horned plant,  
And what of wild or tame are found,  
Were coucht in order on the ground".  
their treasures:

"Bring yee Rubies for her Hare,
Diamonds to fill her Hayre,
Emerald green and Chrsolite
Binde her Necke more white than white;
On her Breast depending be
Onyx, friend to Chastitie". (1)

In the fourth and last hymn Peacham marshalls the full forces of classical mythology, and in so doing displays considerable erudition. The poem is written in decasyllabic couplets, and adopts the more pedestrian manner of narrative poetry:

"The Queene, her Sonne removing from her lap,
Her hairc of wiery gold she tresseth up,
Throws on her Veile, and takes the girdle chaste
Wherewith she quiets Storms and every Blast."

Peacham concluded his verses with the wish that he might live to see a son born to Elizabeth. His wish was fulfilled in 1614, but the poem with which he greeted this happy event was not published until early in the following year. Having been travelling on the continent, he had had little leisure for writing, and, in dedicating Prince Henry Revived (1615) (2) to

(1) It is only necessary to compare these lines with the following from a contemporary poem on the same subject:
"Her Tresses curled by Lydian Art she weares,
With Emeralds, Rubies, Amathists beeckt,
With diamonds dangling at her Princely ears,
Her neck adorned with pearls of best respect:
Topar and Berill; who is't can number them?
No Jewels wanted to adorn this Gem".

A Marriage Hymn, translated from the Latin by Samuel Hutton
(2) For full title see Bibliographical Notes.
the Princess he assured her amid many protestations and apologies that he had written it without other help than a bad memory and his 'table-book'.

The complimentary verses to 'the same most Excellent Princess', which follow the Dedication, are in Spenserian stanzas (1), but the address to the infant Prince is in decasyllabic couplets. Peacham handled this second metre with greater facility, and occasionally hits out an elegant couplet which would have done justice to the works of 'those first refiners of our numbers', Waller and Denham.

"While silver bells with iron tongues proclaim
A new-born Henry to the nymphs of Thame".

Usually, however, Peacham's lines fall short of that peculiar strength and grace which were to characterise the soon-to-be-prefected 'heroic couplet'.

Prince Henry Revived was described by J.P. Collier (2) as "a rambling, laudatory, and emblematical composition, far from discreditable to Peacham's taste, scholarship, and general knowledge". There is actually more attempt at design in the poem than this criticism implies. Peacham speaks of the homage that the little Prince will receive from Nature and from Man; he traces his glorious descent from English and Foreign kings, describes the virtues pertaining to a true Prince, urges

---

(1) I.e. eight decasyllables followed by an Alexandrine; Peacham's stanzas rhyme ababcded, however, instead of ababbbccc.

(2) Bibliographical Catalogue ii 138.
carefulness upon those responsible for his education, and
looks forward to the time when:

"Caesar, Henry, thou maist one day regaine,
As good, as great, as ever Charles-maigne."

Peacham probably had a faint hope that he himself might be
asked to assist in Henry Frederick's education, but his wishes
went unfulfilled.

Although Peacham's Muse can hardly be said to have attempted
even so much as a middle flight, poetical embellishments are
not entirely absent. The little Prince is compared to the
morning sun come to replace the late lamented Henry, Prince of
Wales; and Phoebus 'gins arise in a regular classico-renascence
figure:

"...now weare of his watery bed,
Off shakes the dew from his bright burnished head
And with Ambrosian smile, and gentle cheare,
Revives the world that wanted him whileare".

The 'pathetic fallacy' is once more pressed into service as
Mother Earth empties her plenteous horn at the feet of the
little Prince in lines which achieve a tenderness unequalled
in the rest of Peacham's verse:

"The ripened graine shall yellow veile the ground
No serpent hurt, or harmefull hearbe be found;
Woodnymphs the shadie violets shall pull,
And bring thee Lillies by whole basketsfull.
...The Aramant arraied in velvet still,
Sweet Rhododaphne and the Daffodill,
Soft Marjoram the young Ascanius' bed,
While Cupid kist and courted in his sted,
The frail Anemon, Hyacinthus soft,
The Ladies glove, Coronis weeping oft,
And whatsoever else the pleasant spring
Throwes from her bosom foremost flourishing".
Perhaps the most successful passage is that in which Peacham describes the gifts of the kings of the earth. Strange foreign merchandise, the ivory and apes of the East, always seem to have touched his imagination (1), and moved him to eloquence:

"...Ferraine Princes from remotest shore
Thy cradle shall by embassies adore;
The sunburned Niger shall present thee plumes,
Sweet Arabian delicious perfumes;
Saracenic Ister many a costly skin,
And Armenia her dainty Eremine,
Aegypt the Balse, or blood of Myrrha's wound,
And Persis pearsles within her channels found".

After the publication of this poem, Peacham seems to have washed his hands of national affairs. His next composition did not appear until 1620, when Thalia's Banquet (2) was published with a dedication to a private citizen, Mr. Dray Drury of Riddlesworth in the county of Norfolk. The 'banquet' was 'furnished with an hundred odd dishes of newly devised Epigrammes, whereunto are invited all who love inoffensive mirth and the Muses'. In an introductory poem headed Thalia Loquitur, Peacham issues a formal invitation to the intelligentsia of England:

"Welcome, welcome to our feast,
Every understanding guest,
From the Colledge and the Hall,
Welcome Academicks all,
Brittaines Magazine of wit
Imes of Court repair to it,

(1) Cf. Compleat Gentleman p.12, where Peacham describes the Merchant's Calling.
(2) For full title etc see Bibliographical Notes.
And come Courtiers ye that be
Mirrors of faire Courtesie,
Citizens ye that were made
As well for learning as for trade,
...And fair Ladys ye that will,
Here is nought obscure or ill,
And your maids attendant, some
Witty wenches let them come."

The majority of these epigrams are addressed to Peacham's patrons, friends, and acquaintances, and their chief value is autobiographical. The passages in which Peacham tells of his birthplace, his education at Cambridge, his work as tutor and schoolmaster, and his travels in the Low countries, have been cited in their appropriate places in the story of his life.

The more impersonal epigrams are usually clever and concise, and sometimes really witty. Peacham expressly disowns tediousness and unpleasant personalities:

"No dull conceit, no joste that's poore and leane,
No halting feate or terme that be obsene,
Come neere my verse: those graces I resign
To Chaucius and foul-mouthed Arethe
For as my mind is merry, honest free
I'tis image, so my veine and verses bee." (1)

The epigram-fashion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries owed its popularity to Classical precedent and the majority of English epigrams are little more than translations. Peacham, however, seems to have made an effort to escape from his Latin models, and some of his best pieces were inspired by contemporary opinions and affectations which had no counter-

(1) Thatia's Banquet (1620) Epigram No.127.
part in the classical world:

"The Turkes hold this opinion very odd,
That madness souls are talking still with God,
And that to be an Idiot or a Vice
Is th'only way to purchase Paradise:
If this be true their Alkorans relate,
Our Puritans were sure in happy state."

"Sorenzio's broad-brimmed hat I oft compare
To the vast compass of the heavenly sphere,
His head the earths globe fixed under it
Whose center is his wondrous little wit" (1)

It was customary in this and every other age for
epigrammatists to confine themselves to the censure of
'common crimes', but Peacham seems rather to have regarded
his collection as an opportunity of paying public homage to
the wit, learning, and generosity of his friends. He was
careful to counter any possible accusation of 'following
the hot sent of rising greatness', or rehearsing idle names
'empty of desert'. Even his compliments, he claims,'do not
to part company with sobriety and truth'.

"I do not love to guild or reave my friends
Beyond desert, which rather discouns
Their worth and me, and like great Hatton's tombe
Keeps some good aftercomers from a room". (2)

One of Peacham's most generous patrons, Richard Sackville,
fourth Earl of Dorset, died in 1624, and the sad occasion
called forth An April Shower, shed in abundance of Tears (3),
a slim volume of poetry containing a Latin Epitaph, a

(1) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No.14 and No. II. Peacham was
evitably pleased with the second for he included it in
the chapter on Fashions in The Truth of our Times (1638)
(2) No.40.
(3) For full title, etc., see Bibliographical Notes.
'Monument' to the Reader, an Elegy of 156 lines, two emblematical 'visions', and an Envoy. This book was dedicated to Anne, the countess dowager, from whom Peacham no doubt expected some recognition of his efforts, although he assured her that it was no 'expectation of a slight reward' that enforced him to weep. Bibliographical evidence supports the conjecture that he had made Dorset's acquaintance early in 1622, when the Compl est Gentleman had already gone to press. He had evidently made a great point of inserting the Sackville pedigree in his chapter on Armory, and in the interests of self-advertisement he was not above drawing the Lady Anne's attention to the fact that he had paid her family this compliment in the elegy of 1624: 

"We trick not his Discant
And Images, which in our Complement
Who list may view at large."

The 'complement' is explained in a marginal note as "The Complete Gentleman a worke of the author wherein he setteth down his Pedigree at large".

because

Whether/Peacham rushed the April Shower into print without giving himself time to polish his phrases, or because the subject was not really so inspiring as he would have us believe, the poetical quality of the book is far inferior to that of his earlier compositions. He had no gift for committing his emotions to writing in a personal or intimate form, for a backward glance at The Period of Mourning and Prince Henry
Revived will discover that the comparative success of those poems was achieved by approaching the subject through some traditional literary device. Peacham's attempt to express his grief in the first person may be sincere, but it is not poetry:

"Oh give me leave distractedly to rue;  
The first of many, our deare misse of you;  
Oh you my Dearest lord -  
But Sorrow dulls my stile and teares mine Inke  
Discolour weeping. Dorset dead? Methinke  
Though Fame in mourning tells it, 'tis not so."

It is difficult for the reader not to believe that he regretteth the Patron more than the Man:

"And since I now the Common losse have shewne,  
Oh let me drop one teare and shew mine owne,  
Who never found a minde more nobly-free,  
Respective, Loving, Bountifull to me,  
...Such was his honoured minde, but he is dead;  
And with him hopes of thousands buried.  
Sleep thou in peace (dear Lord) and lowly dust  
Till thou receivest thy portion with the just;  
For while I live mine eyes shall never see  
A Man, a Feere, a Patron like to thee".

The two symbolic visions closely resemble those which appeared in The Period of Mourning (1613); one describes the cutting down of a laurel tree and the distress of the birds who had lodged in the branches thereof, and the other tells of Religion weeping at Canterbury by the banks of the Stour for the loss of her staunch supporter:

"Methought I saw by Durovernum; where  
Along the silver streaming Stoure doth slide,  
A lovely Nymphe, her werry golden haire  
Sit rending, rayling, that faire place beside,"
More beauteous creature the world's compass wide
He had: her rayment white, her cheeks besprent
With blubbered teares, and on a cross she leant".

The account of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, in
which the rays of light falling from the windows upon the
royal tomb are compared to the loves of many friends centring
in the deceased, is reprinted from the Period of Mourning.

Peacham seems to have felt that with Dorset's death his
own hopes of recognition as a poet were lost, or perhaps he
was dissatisfied with his latest attempt at verse-composition;
however this may have been, the last page contains the
following quatrains:

"Noblest Dorset, dead and gone,
My Muse with Poets have done;
And, in his Grave now throwne thy Pen,
Sit downe and never rise again".

Under this strict injunction Peacham's Muse kept silence
for ten years, until the death of Frances, dowager countess
of Warwick, in June 1634, when she burst into song once more,
to the accompaniment of many apologies from her poet:

"I have adventured once again with Orpheus to raise up
Euridice, my dead and forgotten Muse, to review the light,
it being now eleven (1) yeares since I published anything
in this Elegiack kinde". (2)

This new venture into verse was entitled Thestylis Atrata
(3), and was dedicated to the ladie's three nephews, Sir John
Wray, Bart., Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., and Sir Edward Wray
Esquire, all of them mighty men of valour in the County of

(1) Counting from 1624-34 inclusive. We should call it ten
years.
(2) Thestylis Atrata (1634) Epistle to the Reader.
(3) See Bibliographical Notes for full title, etc.
Lincolnshire. The poem consists of 225 decasyllabic
couplets, and is plentifully supplied with historical and
biographical notes in prose which are inserted between the
lines of verse in their appropriate places, and give the
text a somewhat muddled appearance. Peacham's account of the
Lady Frances' good deeds is long and comprehensive, but,
with his usual circumspection, he excuses any possible
omissions on the grounds that he had been without means of
obtaining further details, saying that 'those who were nearest
about her' were dispersed after her death, and he had there-
fore had to rely upon his own memory and acquaintance with
local matters:

"I have in a manner altogether out of my knowledge,
collected the substance of what I have written." (1)

The poem itself is more substantial and finely wrought
than any of Peacham's previous compositions. The opening
lines strike a note rather of rejoicing than of lamentation,
and recall a passage already quoted from The Period of
Mourning (2):

"In what place of the Heavens, upborne from hence,
Pure Soule, keepst thou thy happy residence,
That thither our swift-winged Seale may flie
To gratulate thy full felicitie:
...who do' st possess
A Crowne and Kingdome with that happinesse,
Tongue never yet hath uttered".

Peacham next considers the misery of Lincoln, mourning like

(1) Theatvllis Atrata (1634) is the header.
(2) Supra p. 173 "But certain, soule, thou art but gone
To thy new coronation..." etc.
a Mother for her dearest daughter, and invokes the presence of famous Lincolnshiremen of bygone days:

"Heroique spirits...while I leave her Honours hearse Embellish with your glorious names my verse, Her name to Fame I say the more endeare, Withall advance the honour of the Shire".

Soldiers, statesmen and divinities (1) obey the summons, and Peachamcatalogues their respective merits with the help of sundry historical notes, until he comes at length to Lady Frances' father, Sir Christopher Wray, and slips neatly into his main subject once more. He names her two illustrious husbands, Sir George St Paul, and the Earl of Warwick, but dismisses this opportunity of tracing her Pedigree:

"Now should I first (as is the common use) This Ladies linage, and allies produce ...But what availes all this, it is not Blood, Alliance, Honours, Fortunes make us good."

With a brief word of commendation for her careful education by pious parents, Peacham hastens on to a recital of the Countess' many and shining virtues. Chief amongst these, apparently, were her devotion to the home-circle, and her lavish alms-giving:

"The Court and Citie solde frequented she, ...Her own faire Sarforde, second unto none For site, delight, sweet contemplation, At home detained her, keeping open door To neighbours, strangers, and the needie poore. ...Nor did her private house her bountie bound, That but the center was, from whence, around It did disperse itselfe, in golden streames".

(1) The list includes famous names like those of Bolingbroke, Sir William Cecil, Whitgift, Foxe, and William de Wainfleet.
If the Snaresford tenants were as well treated as Peacham would have us believe, she was a model land-owner:

"...She took their pay,
As they could best provide it for her, then
Perhaps, if need, gave something back again.
...Yet did she nought profusely bestow
For ostentation, or a trumpet blow
When she gave alms, but ever did impart
Then secretly to need, or due desert.
Nor thought it she disparagement by stealth
Sometimes in sickness and their perfect health,
To lay by state, and conversant to be
With Tenants, parling of good husbandrie."

One of her Charitable activities touched Peacham more nearly than the rest:

"Where Preachers wanted (as alas they want)
Were living small, and their allowance scant;
Her Honour bounteous stipends did afford
To painfull Teachers of the Sacred Word". (1)

The thought that all these virtues availed nothing against the chill hand of Death leads Peacham to the theme of the vanity of human life and the insubstantiableness of earthly Beauty. In close-knit couplets he draws a vivid picture of the court of King Death:

"And, Ladies, see, that commonly contend
For highest place at Church, or Tables end;
How quickly can this enemie of life
Decide the quarrel, and compound your strife.
Death's Harbinger, the King of Heaven, doth send
To see you lodged at your progress end".

(1) It should be noticed that Peacham praised Dorset for the same virtue:

"Yee divines,
...Now was his love extended unto you,
By adding Stipends to your living small
Maintaining many who had none at all?
Your debt oft times (when least you thought)
Discharging,
Your bounds and grounds from his own means
Enlarging." 

April Shower (1624)
Finally he describes the fortitude with which Death was welcomed by Lady Frances, imagines her tender farewell to home and family, and looks forward to the time:

"When thou and wee, with all the Faithfull Just
(Word’s weare six dayes labour done) shall rest,
And keepe that heavenly Sabbath, ever blest."

Clearly Peacham had greatly matured both in mind and in power of expression during the ten years interval between *Thestylis Abrata* and *An April Shower*. He was already forty-six years old when the elegy on Dorset was written and the decade between fifty and sixty seems overlate for continued development, yet a distinct improvement in Peacham’s use of the decasyllabic couplet (1) is to be found, together with a deepening of insight and sincerity. The simile (carefully marked as such in the margin) of the freed soul in particularly gracious:

"Now as a Bird that from the cage is fled,
Onto the neighbour wood where she was bred
And meeting with a many of her kind
At Libertie, her selfe hath glanly joyn’d
To their Harmonious Consort, even so shee,
From her Earths prison now exempt and free,
Sings Hallelujahs with the Saints above”.

The finest passage in the poem is undoubtedly that in which Peacham falls into the elegiac mood and cries

"How waine a thing, alas, is wretched Man”.

In a series of lines full of the magic of symbol and metaphor

(1) One couplet in particular has a true eighteenth century ring: "Or learn what fashion most is in request,
How is this Countessa, that Court lady, dressed".
he pours forth the treasury of Hebraic imagery:

"A Leaf, a Bubble, Froth, the Down that flies,
A wasting Vapour, Smoke, a Cloud in skies,
A Post that hasting makes not any stay,
A Shadow swiftly vanishing away,
A Ship that no impression leaves behind
Where it hath past, a morning dream, a wind
...A Bird, an Arrow, and a Shepherd's tent,
A Weaver's web cut off, a Vestiment,
Snow water that dissolveth with a drought,
A short told Tale, a Candle quickly out". (1)

This preoccupation with the thought of Death is new in Peacham's work; it may be due to his advancing years, but there is also a possibility that it indicates a response to the influence of one of the characteristic tendencies of the seventeenth century thought. His earlier elegies, written in the Elizabethan manner, had touched upon mortality and dissolution with the aloof, rather artificial, attitude of the poet who exercises his talent without much inward personal sympathy. There is a certain intimacy, together with evidence of some ingenious metaphysical thinking, in such lines as these:

"But she, and we, and all of flesh must passe:
We follow fast as Pilgrims, thou dost die
Even reading this, and writing so doe I".

(1) Cf. also Eables on p.60 of Minerva Britanna (1612) in which Peacham uses the same method:

"Wherefore our Life's resembled to a Shippe,
Which passeth on, though we doe what we please,
A shade, a flower that every frost doth nippe,
A dream, a froth, a wave upon the seas".

With the above should be compared Man's Mortality a poem by Simon Wastell (1560-1635c). Seventeenth Century English Verse (1926) ed. by H.J.Massingham, p.248.
Appendix to CHAPTER III

An attempt to settle problems of authorship connected with various collections of Epigrams published by Henry Peacham and Henry Parrot.

Between 1606 and 1626 seven collections of verse Epigrams were published under the initials H.P. The majority may be safely attributed to Henry Parrot, a somewhat nebulous personage known to posterity only through these publications, but bibliographers have frequently, with varying degrees of assurance and accuracy, ascribed one or more of them to Peacham. Hitherto although a great many writers have dabbled with the problem no direct or concentrated attack has been made upon it, and queries and ambiguities continue to meet the eye in catalogues and bibliographies. Copies of the books in question are very rare, two of them being now accessible only in the United States, and for this reason statements regarding them have been little more than vague conjectures based upon insufficient or ill-sifted evidence. An examination of the seven books together with the suggestions and conclusions of the nineteenth century bibliographers and catalogue-makers has now made it possible to show that Peacham was responsible for one, and only one, of these collections.

The first step in this inquiry is the assembling of all the available bibliographical material.
(1) The Mous-Trap (1606)

Entry in the Stationers' Register: (Arber transcript) iii 144)
17mo octobris 1606
francis Burton Entered for his copie under the handes of
Master Gwyn and the wardens A Booke of
Epigrams called The House trap.

Title: THE / MOUS-TRAP / (woodcut of a Trap with a Mouse
nibbling at the cheese; and the words MORDENTEM
MORDEO) / Uni si possim, posse placere sat est. /
Printed at London for F.B. dwelling at the / Flower
de-Luce and Crowne / in Pauls-churchyard / 1606. /

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A3, B-E4, F3. 22 leaves.
(A1) Title; (A1) blank; (A2) headpiece, To the
Reader; (A2) headpiece, Latin verse and errata;
A3 Dedication to 'little John Buck' signed H.P.;
A3 v bl; B-E4, F2 all with head and tail pieces,
Text; F3 head and tail piece, Epilogus "Thus have
I waded through a worthlesse task..." F3 v.bl.
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum C.21.c.49.

This book was assigned to Parrot by the following:
P.Bliss in his Introduction to Earle's Microcosmographie (1611)
Beber Catalogue (1834)
Lowdies Bibliographer's Manual (1834)
Joseph Hunter follows Lowdies
W.C.Hazlitt Bibliographical Collections 1870c.
D.N.B. 1895
Brit. Mus. Catalogue

Note. The title Mous-Trap has been taken as an allusion to
Hamlet, and used as external evidence for dating the
play. The allusion was probably intended by H.P. to
attract attention to his book. Another allusion is
evidently intended in the subtitle to Laquei ridicolosi
(1613) (see infra p.192) which runs 'Springes to catch
Woodcocks'. See Hamlet (III.2.
( V.2.
This is in all probability to be identified with the book entered in the Stationers' Register as Epigrams, or Humor's Lettuye (Arber Transcript III 165b) 11 Aprilis (1608)

John Busby Entred for their Copy under the handes of Master John Helme Wilson and the wardens A Booke called Epigrams or Humours Lettuye by H.P. vjd.

Title: (Head-piece) / EPIGRAMS. / by H.P. / Mortui non mordent / (device) / Imprinted at London by H.B. and are to be / sould by John Helme at his shoppe / in S. Dunstans Church- / yarde, 1608. /

No Colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-H4. 32 leaves. (A1) title; (Al) v bl; A2 headpiece, Latin verse 'Dives arabs...'; English verse 'If my ill-turn'd rimes etc.' tailpiece; A2 v bl; A3-H4 all with head and tail pieces, and centre pieces where there is space, Text; (H4)v headpiece, English verse "Thus have I waded through a worthless task"; centre piece, Latin quotation, tail piece. 3rd and 4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum C.42.b.l3.

This book was assigned to Parrot by the following:
P. Bliss 1611.
S.E.Brydges 1615.
Lowndes 1634. followed by Joseph Hunter
Huth Catalogue
W.C.Bazlitt
D.N.B. (where Peacham is also suggested)
Brit. Mus. Catalogue (with a query)

Note. Brydges asserts that certain epigrams in this collection also appear in Laqued Ridicolosi, The Mous-Trap, and The More the Merrier. (Censura Literaria II.234).
Actually there are no parallels between The More the Merrier and Epigrams (1608).
Brydges has misunderstood Warton's statement that there is a parallel between The More the Merrier and Peacham's Minerva Britanna (Hist. of Eng. Poet. IV.221), and has assumed that Warton was referring to Epigrams (1608)
(3) The More the Merrier (1608)

Entry in Stationers' Register: (Arber transcript iii 165)
2do die Aprilis 1608
Jeffrey Charlton
Entred for their Copie under the handes
Thomas Man Junior of Master Wilson and master warden Seton
A booke called The more the merrier vjd

Title: THE MORE / THE MERRIER / Containing: / Threescore and
odd head-lesse / Epigrams, shot. (like the Fooles,
bolt) amongst you, light / where they will. / BY H.P.
Gent. / Horat. / Non eadem est mens, non actas. /
(Device) / LONDON / Printed by I.W. for Jeffrey
Charleton, and Thomas / Man, and are to be sold at
the great / North doore of Paules. 1608./

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-B4 20 leaves. (A1) title; (A2) v bl; A2-A2v
Dedication 'to the Worshipfull...M.H.C. Esquire'
with headpiece; A3-A3v Epistle to the Reader
signed H.P. with headpiece; (A4) Ad Musas, with
head and tail pieces; (A4) v bl; B-B4 text, with
head and tail pieces throughout; B4v bl.
Note. B3 is misprinted as A3.

4th leaves unsigned throughout

Copy used: A photostat reproduction of a copy now in the
Henry E. Huntington Library. San Marino. Cal.

This book assigned to Parrot by the following:
P.Bliss 1611.
Lowndes 1634. followed by Hunter.
Huth Catalogue (where it is compared with Laquei
Ridicolosi)

Peacham suggested as the author by the following:
Thorpe Catalogue 1642. "This excessively rare volume
has been assigned to Henry Parrot, but Query if it be not by
Henry Peacham. Certain it is that Epigr. 51 is very similar
to lines in Peacham's 'Emblems'."
W.C.Hazlitt. "usually, but I believe incorrectly
given to Parrot".
The book is not mentioned in the D.N.B.
(4) Laquei Ridicolosi (1613)

Entry in the Stationers' Register: (Arber Transcript III 219v)
9 May (1612)

John Busby Enrolled for his copy under the handes of master
E. Manwaringe and master Warden Lowes A booke
called Stultorum Laquei or Strumpesse for Wood-
cockes. Caveat empor. His insaniminus omnes vjd

There are two issues: (1) 'Caveat Emptor' on title page.

Title: Laquei Ridicolosi; OR/ Springs for Woodcockes. /
(ruling)/ Caveat Emptor/ (ruling)/ (Woodcut showing
snare and birds, with the words 'Possis abire tutus')/
LONDON: Printed for John Busby and are to be sold at
his shop / in S. Dunstan in Fleet street/ 1613. /

No colophon. 16mo. Not paged.

Collation: (x)7, B-Q5. 127 leaves. (x)1 title; (x)1v bl; (x)2
headpiece, address in Latin signed Hen: Parrot,
motto 'Uni si possis posse placere sat est'; (x)3v
bl; (x)4 headpiece, Latin verse 'Dives arabs...';
(x)5 headpiece, address in English signed H.P.;
(x)6v bl; (x)7 headpiece, English verse 'If my
ill-tuned rhymes...'; (x)7v headpiece, Address
'To my honest friends that reads'; B-Q6, Q6 all
with headpieces Text; (x) headpiece, 'Thus have I
waded through a worthlesse task...'; (x)v and (x)6
blank.

5th - 6th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum 11626.a.36
(2) 'H.P.' on title page.

Title: Laquei Ridicolosi; OR/ Springs for Woodcockes. /
(ruling)/ By H.P./ (ruling)/ (Woodcut as above)/
LONDON: Printed for John Busby, and are to be sold
in S. Dun- / stans Church-yarde in Fleetstreet. 1613/

No colophon. 16mo. Not paged.

Collation: A4, B-Q6. 124 leaves.
(A4) title; (A4)v bl; A2 Latin address signed Hen:
Parrot; A3 English address signed H.P.; (A4)'If my
ill-tuned rhymes...'; (A4)v 'To my honest friends that
reads'; B-Q6, Q6 Text; (x)'Thus have I waded
through a worthlesse task'; (x)v and (x)6
blank.
Copy used: Bodleian. Malone 438.

Note. Another Bodleian copy (Wood 79) is without A1 and A4, but otherwise as above.

This book being undoubtedly by Parrot was assigned to him by all the authorities.

Bliss, Lowndes, hath, Hazlitt, Heber, D.N.B., B.M. and Bodleian catalogues.
(5) The Mastive (1615)

Entry in the Stationers' Register: (Arber Transcript iii 262)
4 Julii 1615
Richard Neighen Entered for his Copie under the handes of master Doctor Niddie and Master Adams warden
A booke called The Mastive Bogge  vjd

Title: THE / MASTIVVS, / OR / Young-Whelpe of the Olde-Dogge /
Epigrams and Satyrs. / Horat: / (quot) / (drawing of dog with these words on a label 'Horatius Nordonian') /
LONDON, / Printed by Tho. Creeke For Richard Neighen, and Thomas Jones, / and are to be sold at S. Clements Church without / Temple-Ber.1615./

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-I4, 35 leaves
(A1) missing; (A2) title; (A2)v bl; A3 headpiece, address signed H.F.; (A4) headpiece, verse headed 'Author: pro saecipe'; (A4)v headpiece, verse 'Ad Bibliopolam'; B-H2 Text of Epigrams; H3-I4 Text of Satyrs. (I4)v bl.
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum 239.1.24.

This book was attributed to Parrot by the following:
P.Bliss
Lowndes 1834
Havlitt
B.M.
catalogue (with a query)

This book was attributed to Peacham by the following:
Edw. Rimbault M. and Q.413 (on the grounds that one of the epigrams also appears in Minerva Britannia; since this is not so, Rimbault must have confused The Mastive with The More the Merrier.)
Joseph Hunter follows Rimbault.
Bohn. 1864 ed. of Lowndes Bibliographer's Manual. "Commonly attributed to Parrot, but as the same epigrams appear in the Minerva Britannia of Henry Peacham it is undoubtedly one of his productions. The initials H.F. have misled bibliographers."
Bodleian Catalogue
Brit. Mus. Cat. (with a query).
Much of this muddle was caused by the facts that undated copies of *The Mistive* were in circulation, and that writers were not always careful to distinguish between *Epigrams* (1606) and *The More the Merrier* published in the same year. The confusion which arose proves that the use of unreliable second-hand information is even more misleading than the common initials M.P.
(6) Gossips Greeting (1620)

Entry in Stationers' Register: (Arber Transcript iii 315b)
1620
Henry Bell Entred for his Copie under the handes of master
Tavernour and master Swinhowe warden A booke called
The Gossips gretting by Henry Parratt.

Title: THE / GOSSIPS / GREETING: / OR, / A new Discovery of
such Females / Meeting, / Wherein is plainly set
forth the sundry sorts of those / kinds of Women,
with their severall humors / and Conditions. / Very
pleasant and delectable. / (Device illustrating
publisher's name) / LONDON, / Printed by B.A. for
Henry Bell, and are to be sold at / his Shop in
Bethel at the signe of the / Sunne. 1620./

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-C4, D2: 12 leaves. - leaf missing between title-
page, which has no signature but is presumably
A1, and A3.

(A1) title; (A1v)bl; (A2) missing; A3-(A4) recto
Address to the Courteous and Friendly Reader,
headed and signed W.P., with headpiece and tail-
piece; (A4) verso - BLv 'To all favorers of honest
women' signed W.P., with headpiece; B2 'To the
proud, peevish, pultry, pernicious, shee-pot
companions, those curious, carelessse, crafty,
carping curtizanell Gossips' signed W.P., with
headpiece; (B3) - Cl The Humour of some Gossips as
they meete going to an upsetting or Banquet, with
headpiece; Cl-(C3)v Another sort of Frating Gossips,
with decoration above the title; (C4) - D2v Another
sort of entising Gossips, with headpiece.
3rd and 4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: Photostat reproduction of a copy now in the Henry
E.Amington Library.

The book attributed to Parrot by Stationers' Register.
The entry in S.R. is mentioned in connection with Parrot
by (Haslitt
(D.H.B.)
(7) Cures for the Itch (1626)

This publication may probably be equated with a book entered to the same publisher in the same year as Witte Storehouse of Invencons. Stationers' Register (Arber Transcript iv 121)

21 April 1626

Thomas Jones entered for his copy under the handes of Master Doctor Goade and Master Iesip warden A booke called Witte Storehouse of Invencons in 3 booke by Henry Farrett.

Title: CURES / FOR / THE ITCH. / (ruling) / Characters /
Epigrams / Epitaphs / (ruling) / By H.F. / (ruling) /
scalpat qui tencitur / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed
for Thomas Jones, at the signe of the / Blacke Raven
in the Strand. 1626. /

No colophon. Octavo. Not paged.

Collation: A3, A-B8, B-E8, 71 leaves.
The section A-B8 has a separate titlepage and seems to have been wrongly bound with the rest; yet this section is entitled 'Characters' and fits in therefore with the 'Epigrams' and 'Epitaphs' which follow in the section B-G8 according to the title on A1.

(A1) title; (A1) v bl; A2 headpiece, address to the reader signed H.F.; A3 headpiece, address to the 'Critick seeining Censorer'; (A4) is missing and seems to have been cut out, since the catch-word 'To' on FA3v has no complement; (A1) title headpiece / Characters. / By / H.F. / (ruling) / (ornament) / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed for Tho: Jones. / (A1) v bl; A2 - B8 Text, consisting of 13 characters; B-Bar, Fl0 Text of Epigrams; Fl0 v bl; Fl1-12, G8 Text of Epitaphs.

Copy used: Bodleian Library: Art.8.D.15

A book by Henry Farrett with different title, which may apparently be identified with Cures for the Itch, entered in S.R. to same publisher in the same year. This identification is accepted by The Short-Title Catalogue of English Books to 1640 (1926) ed. Pollard and Redgrave.
This book attributed to Parrot by the following:
Bliss
Lowndes
Hazlitt
D.N.B.
Bodleian Catalogue.
The foregoing list will have made it clear that in the first place *Laquei Ridicolosi* (1613) may be definitely assigned to Henry Parrot. This fact being established, a comparison of the contents of this book with those of *The Mous-Trap* (1606) and *Epigrams* (1608) reveals not only that the epilogue beginning 'Thus have I waited through a worthless task...' is common to all three, that the motto 'uni si possis posse placere sat est' appears in *The Mous-Trap* and in *Laquei Ridicolosi*, and that the Latin and English verse-addresses beginning respectively 'Dives arabs aurum, gemmas dat laetior orbis...' and 'If my ill-tuned rimes content the Wise' are to be found both in *Epigrams* and in *Laquei Ridicolosi*, but also that the collection of 1613 contains no less than seventy-five epigrams which appear in the collections of 1606 and 1608, together with eight others from 1606, and sixty-nine others from 1608. These numerous resemblances and repetitions leave no room for doubt that all three books are from the same hand.

*The Maasive* (1615) is less easy to place, but the motto 'mordeo mordentes' which also appears on the titlepage of *The Mous-Trap*, and which is not unlike the motto 'mortui non mordent' of the Collection of 1608, gives good reason for supposing that this book is also by Henry Parrot. *The Gossip's Greeting* (1620) presents a further difficulty, since the three prefatory addresses are signed not H.P. but W.P. Whether the testimony of the Stationers' Register, where the book is
definitely assigned to 'Henry Farratt', is to be preferred before that of the printer is a nice question which cannot be finally decided without further evidence, but at least it may be safely assumed that Peacham had no finger in this particular pie. Cures for the Itch (1626) has been identified by the compilers of the Short Title Catalogue of English Printed Books to 1640 (1) with a book entitled Wittes Storehouse of Invencons entered to the same publisher in the same year as 'by Henry Farratt'. Although there are no parallel passages to establish (beyond dispute) Parrot's connection with Cures for the Itch, the tone and style of the book bear a close resemblance to those works which are known to be his, and there is no reason to oppose this conjecture. The 'Characters' which form one section of the book are written in an unusual sing-song prose which falls naturally into decasyllabics and is totally unlike anything of Peacham's.

Six or the seven collections have now been assigned more or less convincingly to Henry Parrot; only The More the Merrier (1608) remains for consideration. Apart from the fact that this is a book of epigrams published under the initials H.P. there is nothing to connect it with Parrot; on the other hand, several passages both in text and prefaces provide striking

(1) Edited by A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave (1926).
parallels to books which are unmistakably by Henry Peacham.

The most convincing parallel, which involves a reference to the author's birthplace, is that between Epigram No 34 in The More the Merrier, Epigram No 80 in Thalia's Banquet (1620), and a passage in The Compleat Gentlemen (1622)

"Who would not swears the Towne that gave me birth
Her Genius had infus'de of harales mirth,
Where first devised were at idle times,
Sir Thomas Moore's, old Heywoods, and my rimes". (1)

"I thinkes the place that gave me first my birth,
The genius had of epigram and mirth,
There famous Monre did his Utopia wright,
And thence came Heywood's Epigrams to light,
And then this breath I drew, wherewith (our owne)
These shaken leaves about the world are blowne". (2)

* "North Minnes in Hertfordshire neere to Saint Albanes".

"...merry John Heywood, who wrote his Epigrammes, as also Sir Thomas More his Utopia, in the parish where I was born; where either of them dwelt, and had faire possessions.
Marginal Note: North Minnes in Hertfordshire neere to St. Albanes" (3)

There are three more close resemblances between The More the Merrier and Thalia's Banquet. The first concerns the use of wit:

"Severus having over-lock't my rimes,
With rugged brow, and caught a dozen times,
This fellow saith, hath sure a prettie wit,
Great pitie thus he hath imploied it" (4)

(1) No. 34, The More the Merrier (1608).
(2) No. 80, Thalia's Banquet (1620)
(3) Compleat Gentlemen (1622) of Poetry, p.95.
(4) The More the Merrier (1608) Epigram 37.
"Old Corax putting on glassen eiee
Bids Trudge his man to reach this booke of mine;
And by the fire in his wicker chaire,
(One foote upon the tongues) me think I heare
Him cough, and say, this Author hath some wit,
Pity he made no better use of it". (1)

The second concerns Tarleton, the only actor whom Peacham ever mentioned by name, and to whom he referred several times:

"Like Tarleton, I see once againe I must thrust my head out of doores to be laughed at, and venture a hissing among you". (2)

"As Tarleton when his head was only seene,
The Fire-house doore and Papistry betwixne,
Set all the multitudes in such a laughter
They could not hold for scarce an houre after..." (3)

The third is a quibble on the use of words:

"as well as most men Tuspaedem they say
Thou singst, canst set, and on a Viell play
...Most men can none at all, no more canst thou". (4)

"Thou swearest I bowle as well as most men doe,
The most are bunglers, therein sayst thou true" (5)

In addition, two parallels may be noted between the More the Merrier, and Minerva Britanna (1612). The first of these is a reference to Tusser: the Husbandman:

"Tusser they tell me when thou wert alive,
Thou teaching thrift thy selfe couldst never thrive
So like the whetstone many men are woont
To sharpen others when them selves are blunt" (6)

(1) Thalia's Banquet (1620) Epigram No. 71.
(2) More the Merrier (1608) Epistle to the Reader
(3) Thalia's Banquet (1620) No.94.
(4) More the Merrier No 3.
(5) Thalia's Banquet No 12.
(6) More the Merrier No 51. This parallel was noted by Warton (History of English Poetry, vol IV, p.221.) See supra p.190
"They tell me Tuccur, when thou wert alive
... Where thou camest, thou couldst never thrive
... So like thyself a number more are wont
To sharpen others with advice of wit,
When they themselves are like the whetstone blunt..." (1)

The second is a long poem on the pleasures of country life;
there is a set of verses on the same subject in Thalia's
Banquet, but this, although similar in spirit, contains no
verbal resemblances:

"What pleasure more Marcellus can there be?
When in thy Garden to behold in May,
How manifold, what variety
Are while thou sleptst shot forth since yesterday.
... Look how we oft in parchment books do find,
Each letter limed with rarest excellence,
So heere thou hast instruction of the mind,
And painted lectures of Gods providence.
The Camomill shall teach thee patience
Which thrivest best, when trodden most upon..." (2)

"Not Princes Richest Arras may compare
With some small plot, where Natures skill is shewn,
Perfuming sweetly all the neighbour aire,
While thousand cullors in a night are blowne.
Within (as in some rare limed books) we find,
Here painted lectures of Gods sacred will,
The daisy teacheth lowliness of mind,
The Camomill we should be patient still". (3)

In spite of the broad hint contained in Epigram No 34 (4)
readers who were not personally acquainted with Peacham
probably mistook his initials for those of Henry Parrot from
the very beginning. That the true author took no steps to
acknowledge these early hairs of his invention may be
explained by the fact that he had nothing to gain by doing so,

(1) Minerva Britanna (1612) p.61.
(2) More the Merrier (1608) No.33.
(3) Minerva Britanna (1612) p.135.
(4) Supra p. 201
since Epigrams were regarded unfavourably by high-minded persons on account of their "unsavourie lewdnesse". The identity of this person with whom Peacham has so often been confused presents a further problem. Parrot (also spelt Parret, Parratt, Perrot, etc.) seems to have been a fairly well-known surname in the period 1606-1626, but Henry was not a popular Christian name with the family, and information about 'Henry Parrot' is so hard to come by that one is almost led to believe that no such person existed. The general tone of the Epigrams implies that their author was a University man, a wit, a playgoer, a well-known figure in literary circles, and a frequenter if not a member of the Inns of Court. Yet reference to the University registers, and to London Parish Records have afforded no information, and the Inns of Court Records contain no definite evidence (1). In 1654 the will of one Henry Parrott of St Decumans in Somerset

(1) The surname appears in two connections in Inns of Court Records but unaccompanied by any Christian name.
(a) Pension Book of Grafton Inn 1569-1669 (1931) ed. R. J. Fletcher p.337; Mr Shipwith, Mr Pickering, and Mr Parrott committed to the Fleet for riotous behaviour (Nov. 22, 1639). The Henry Parrot who published The Mous-Trap in 1606 must have been well over fifty at this date, and it seems unlikely that a man of such mature years should be indulging in these pranks.
was proved in the Canterbury Court of Probate (1), but it is impossible to say whether this is the same person as the epigrammatist. Another equally vague and shadowy clue is offered by a collection of verse epigrams, elegies, epistles, and religious ejaculations, entitled 'Perotti poemata varia, sed a multis paucis selecta!', which forms one of the M.S. in the Malone collection now in the Bodleian. Madan has tentatively identified 'Perotti' with 'Henrici Parrot vel Perrot' (2), and his conjecture is supported by the fact that the poems are nearly all dated between the years 1615-1637. There are however no points of contact between Perotti's verses and the published works of Henry Parrot which would justify the transference of such biographical details (3) as may be drawn from the former to the author of the latter.

The name 'Parrot' enjoyed a certain notoriety in the early seventeenth century; the title An Almond for a Parrat prefixed to a pamphlet generally thought to have been written by Nashe in 1590, and Ben Jonson's Epigram On Court-Parrat (4) indicate that it was used by satirists to denote a vain and


(2) See Madan's Summary Catalogue of Western M.S.S. in Bodl. vol II, No.20562, Malone 14.

(3) It may be inferred from his somewhat uninspired and pedestrian verses that 'Perotti' had been at Cambridge, was in Orders and in search of preferment, was acquainted with various titled and influential persons, and had some connection with the Nottingham area.

(4) Epigrams (1616) No.11031.
foolish person. Lowndes mentions (in *Bibliographers Manual* (1834)) a frontispiece to John Davies of Hereford's *Scurge of Vileiny* (1611) 'intended to represent Parrot undergoing a flagellation', and implies that this was meant for Henry Parrot the Epigrammatist. Joseph Hunter (1) queried this allusion, saying that the drawing was intended as general rather than personal satire, and that 'parrot' was to be equated with 'fool'. In the light of the frontispiece to John Taylor's *Ship of Pride* (1621) which shows a peacock being chastised by Simplicity, Hunter's view is almost certainly correct. It was this same John Taylor the Water-poet, however, who made an evident allusion to *Laoceli Ridicolosii* (1613) in one of his epigrams:

"My muse hath vowed revenge shall have her swinge,
To catch a Parrot in the woodcooke's springe" (2)

It might be suggested that Parrot was a pseudonymous surname adopted by Peacham as a cloak for his less creditable publications. This would be an ingenious explanation but unfortunately it is not borne out by the internal evidence of the poems themselves. There is a marked difference in tone and style between *The More the Merrier*, which has been proved to be Peacham's work, and the other collections discussed above. This difference is especially noticeable in the

(1) British Museum Addit. M.S. 24489
Chorus Vatuum (1645) vol. III, p.460.
(2) Epigrammes (1651) p.263, No.vii.
respective prefaces; where the author's personality has freer play and is more fully revealed. The writer of the address in *The More the Merrier* is gentler and kindlier of manner; he has no desire to 'inveigh at any man's person' or to bite the biter; he trusts that his epigrams are 'neither over luscious for obscenity, or too rank for their bitterness'; and asserts that he never fights before he is attacked:

"I am of Will Soomer's mind; I will never draw my dagger till I be stricken; and if I chance to unsheathe it, they need not fear me, since it is like to prove a wooden one". (1)

The result of this inquiry, then, has been the establishment of *The More the Merrier* as a not unimportant member of the Canon of Peacham's works.

---

(1) *The More the Merrier* (1696).
CHAPTER IV

THE MINOR PROSE WORKS.

INTRODUCTION

The large body of essays, pamphlets, and discourses which make up the sum of Peacham's minor publications, falls into three groups. The first of these may be classified as 'works of information', having small literary value, but shedding light on Peacham's capabilities and ideas; the second consists of political tracts, which are interesting historically and display his Cavalier sympathies; the third contains those pamphlets and essays which by reason of their personal and topical allusions, and literary quality, have most interest for the modern reader and do most to enforce Peacham's claim to the title 'man of letters'.

SECTION I. WORKS OF INFORMATION.
(a) Text-books of Drawing

Peacham's first publication was an elementary text-book, dedicated to his earliest patron Sir Robert Cotton, entitled The Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limning in Water Colours (1); this was intended for 'the use of all young Gentlemen', and contained such directions as he thought 'fit for the capacity of the young learner'. The fact that his first book deals with the theory and practice of drawing and painting does not mean that Peacham was either an artist or an art-master by profession. He believed with Aristotle that 'Graphics' was one of the four principal branches of education, but his main business as a schoolmaster was the teaching of Latin and

(1) Published 1606, Reissued 1607; For full title, etc. see Bibliographical Notes.
Greek, and he allotted to drawing " a place inter splendidas musas and those things of an accomplishement required in a Scholler or Gentleman ".(1)

The first chapters are devoted to a defence of Painting as a gentlemanly pursuit.

"Some will tell me the Mechanicall arts are for the most part base, and unworthy ...... I see no more disgrace to a Lord to draw a fair picture, than to cut his Hawk's meat, or play at football with his men" (2)

This apology is conducted on similar lines to the contemporary defences of Poetry, the dignity and antiquity of the art being established with the help of quotations from all the best reputed authors of classical and modern times. Anxious lest the reader should doubt the value of artistic talent, Peacham - his commercial instinct well to the fore - gives an account of the famous painters of the world, with a list of the vast sums paid for pictures by various noble patrons.

Bearing in mind that the book was primarily intended for the use of young Gentlemen, Peacham adds that the arts should only be practised as a recreation after study, or as an occupation for a rainy day. This attitude was probably dictated less by his personal inclination, than by the conventions of gentlemanly etiquette. In the 'Epistle to the Reader' Peacham explains that he feels it "necessary to give my scholler a watch word, that......he should......esteem himselfe a great deale better graced....by maintaining an argument at Table in Philosophy or divinity, thè by intimating his skil with the pencil,

(1) Art of Drawing (1608) Address to the Reader
(2) Art of Drawing (1608) page two
or insight in the chords of music, which perhaps he that holds a
trencher at his back can excel him in." (1)

Coming, after this theoretical preamble, to his main design,
Peacham describes those materials with which the would-be artist must
provide himself, laying down certain rules for drawing and shading
simple figures, and illustrating his remarks by a series of diagrams.
He deals with various problems to be encountered in the treatment of
drapery, animals, and the human figure, and finally offers advice on
the composition of large pictures and the observation of decorum in
landscape by suiting season to subject. (2) The laborious art of
preparing and mixing colours, very necessary to be understood in the
days before paint-boxes and tubes of colour could be bought at a shop,
is explained at some length. An interesting trace of the charlatanism
of the old alchemists lingers in Peacham's assurance that the finest
Red is made from sanguis draconis.

The discussion of glass-staining which completes the book is less
convincing. This art is generally agreed to be most difficult to
master, and to require a long apprenticeship besides considerable
natural aptitude, yet Peacham treats the matter as something quite
simple and straightforward, a mere hobby for wet afternoons. Although

(1) Art of Drawing (1608) Epistle to the Reader.
(2) "Not as a Foolish Painter drew January sitting in a wicker chair
like an old man, with three or foure night caps on his head by the
fire, his slip shoes by and one foote upon the Tongues within the
chimney, and without doores haycockes, greene trees, and as if it
should be in the month of July....wherefore I say such a winter
piece should be graced with all manner of works of winter as foot-
ball, sliding upon the yce, batfowling by night, and hunting foxes
in the snow."

Graphics (1812) page 44
some fine windows were being made in the Netherlands in the early Seventeenth Century, the art was declining in England, as investigations at Lichfield or at Saint Margaret's, Westminster, will prove, and in spite of Peacham's remark: "what I have omitted it is not through Ignorance but because I would not trouble thee with over busie or tedious conclusions"; his first-hand experience of glass-staining was very likely limited to the making of such simple heraldic designs as may be found in the windows of country houses of this date. (1)

We are not in a position to gauge Peacham's practical ability as a glass-stainer, but whether it equalled his draughtsmanship (2) or not, he was keenly interested in the subject from the artist's point of view as well as from that of the herald and the antiquary, for after giving some account of the finest glass to be seen in England in his day, he tells us something of his own researches:

"There are many good pieces else in divers other places... unto which being drawn by their own antiquitye, and love of arte, I have in a manner gone on pilgrimage, neither as I though losse in my labour, since I can shew almost eight hundred severall ancient coats, which out of old and decayed windowes, I have entertained from the injury of rude hands and foule weather." (3)

Peacham's theory of text-book writing as expounded in his 'EpistMe Dedicatoriy' is characteristic of the man; although he referred his readers to Heydock's version of Lomazzo's treatise on drawing, and bade them carefully observe the original works of great artists, he did not believe in copying down the rules and precepts of others, and preferred

(1) There are examples of this kind of work in the windows of Knole Hall, Sevenoaks, seat of that Earl of Dorset with whose Peacham was acquainted.
(2) as illustrated in the M.S. versions of the Basilicon Dor. (3) The Art of Drawing (1605) page 64. This passage is omitted from the edition of 1612.
to rely on his own ideas in so far as they had been proved by experience.

"You have heer a few principles of mine art, which as frankly I impart unto you, as the heavens freely bestowed them upon myselfe: I call it mine, because it was borne with me, nor ever used I the benefit of any instructor save mine own experience... These directions are mine own, not borrowed out of the shops, but the very same, Nature acquainted me withall; and such as ever in practice I found most easie and true." (1)

Inspite of three hundred years' development in technique, many of Peacham's 'directions' are as sound now as they were in the Seventeenth Century, and his appreciation of art, although somewhat over-subjective, is refreshingly free from the meaningless jargon and ready-made judgements by which pictures are often 'interpreted' at the present day. He knew what he liked and was not ashamed to say so:

"Iever took delight in those pieces that shewed to the life a country village, faire, or market, Bergamasca's cockerie, Hercisse dancing, peasants together by the ears and the like." (2)

The type of subject which Peacham so vividly describes had originated in Flanders through the introduction of figures and details from low life into composite pictures intended for Church decoration; towards the end of the Sixteenth Century such painters as Pieter Aertsen had begun to treat separately subjects drawn from the life of the people, and to invest them by sheer force of composition and execution with the dignity belonging to a work of art. This style, known to critics and historians as 'genre' or 'peinture de moeurs',

(1) The Art of Drawing (1608) To the Reader
(2) The Art of Drawing (1608) page 45
had become a national Dutch Type by 1600, but had no counterpart in
England, where artists were continuing to devote their energies to
portrait painting. Since Peacham does not appear to have gone abroad
before 1614, it would be interesting to discover exactly how he came
to know and admire this type of picture. His words may, of course,
refer simply to the more realistic and elaborate miniatures to be seen
in English illuminated manuscripts, or to sketches and woodcuts too
unimportant to find their way into histories of Art, but an apter
description of Dutch 'genre' painting would be far to seek. There
were, however, a great many Dutch artists working in England at this
time, and Peacham probably owes his knowledge of the style to them,
for, although their principal commissions would be portraits and large-
scale designs for interior decoration, many of them must have been
interested in the new fashion, and skilled in the execution of the
merry little pieces in which he delighted.

Perhaps the principal virtue of this text-book is its sincerity;
Peacham made us pretence at omniscience, and when he came to deal with
a subject that he had himself found troublesome he admitted the
difficulty and made what use he could of his own experience to encourage
the young beginner. This quality cannot be better illustrated than by
his paragraph on the art of catching a likeness:

"If your picture be little, you cannot thinke so smal
a thing as giveth or quite taketh away the tutch and
resemblance of the mouth; and to saie truly it will bee the
hardest piece of cunning that ever you shall meet withall;
therefore you had need cause the party whom you will drawe
to sit as we saie vultu composite without stirring or altering
the mouth wem it never so little: wherefore you shall I beleve
find a man's face above all other creatures the most troublesome unto you for either they will smile, be overlooking your hand, or setting their countenances to seem gracious and comely, giving you choice of twenty several faces."

It is interesting to note that this passage has been considerably altered in the new and enlarged edition which appeared in 1612. In the interval separating the two versions Pescham had found that a portrait is best drawn while the 'sitter' is off his guard, and in explaining this valuable discovery he took the opportunity of informing the world at large of his familiarity with the Court.

"You shall best take it (i.e. the portrait) when the party minds you not....I have never drawn any more truly, then when they have been busie in talking at dinner, viewing something or other, and in this manner, I have often taken his Majesties, sitting at dinner, or talking with some of his followers"(2)

Two issues of the enlarged 'Art of Drawing' were published in 1612 (3); they were both printed for John Browne and except for the titlepages are absolutely identical. It seems reasonable to suppose that the issue bearing the short-title Graphice appeared before that known as The Gentleman's Exercise, since the latter titlepage is fuller and more descriptive, and was selected for reproduction by the publishers of the edition of 1634.

Pescham dedicated his new version to Sir Edmund Ashfield, whom he addressed in terms similar to those formerly employed in the

(1) Art of Drawing (1606) page 20.
(2) The Gentleman's Exercise (1612) page 25.
(3) The short titles of these two issues are Graphice and The Gentleman's Exercise; for full titles etc. see Bibliographical Notes.
epistle to Sir Robert Cotton, pointing out that the Arts were like to
die in England for want of encouragement from the 'better sort',
expressing his sorrow "that our courtiers and great personnages must
seeke farre and meer for some Dutchman or Italian to draw their
portraits and invent their devises", and affirming his belief that
"our countrymen are as happy in their invention as the best stranger
of them all".

The first of the three parts into which the book is divided
consists of a careful rewriting of the edition of 1606; most of the
material has been rearranged, and the numerous additions testify to
Peacham's wideawake interest in his subject. Among these additions
should be noted a long passage on chiaroscuro and the theory of
perspective, a section on the technique of miniatures, a list of the
finest views and landscapes in the world including several English
'prospects' with which Peacham had become newly acquainted, mention
of two of the younger English artists 'My good friend Mr. Peake, and
Mr. Manques of ycle colours', a reference to the presentation of a
version of the Basilicon Donum limmed in lively colours to Prince Henry,
and an all too brief account of a very fair illustrated manuscript
given by Peacham to his worthy friend Sir Robert Cotton.

The second and third books are entirely new, and represent the
fulfilment of a promise made in 1606:

"I had purposed to have annexed hereunto a discours of
Armony; the manner of painting with virgin wax, and with
feathers...but I have reserved it...till some other time."(1)

In the second book Peacnch teaches how "to purtrast and expresse, Eternitie, Hope, Victorie, Pietie, Providence, Vertue, Time, Peace, Concord, Fame, Common Safetie, Clemensie, Fate etc. as they have beene by Antiquitie described either in Came, Statues, or other the like Publike Monuments', together with the nine Muses, nymphs, fawns, satyrs, plants, winds, floods, rivers, the twelve Months, and the four Seasons. This section is in fact a complete emblematicist's dictionary, and clearly reflects that all-absorbing interest in the art of making devises, which has been already discussed with reference to the Minerva Britanna (1612).

Some idea of Peacnch's gift of picturesque description in words as distinct from line and colour may be gleaned from the following vignettes, one portraying the lightsome Muse Erato, the other frost-bitten December:

"Erato hath her name of Eros which is Love, draw her with a sweet and lovely countenance, her temples girt with Mirtile and Roses, bearing a heart with an Ivory key, by her side a pretty Cupid or Amorino winged, with a torch lighted in her hand, at his backe his bow and quiver." (1)

"December must be expressed with a horrid and fearfull aspect, cladde in Irish rugge, or course freeze gyrt unto him, upon his head no Garland but three or four night caps, and over them a Turkish turban, his nose redde, his mouth and beard clogd with icescles, at his backe a bundle of holly, Ivy, or Mistletoe, holding in furd mittens the signe Capricornus." (2)

The thid book, written in the dialogue firma beloved by Renesance didactic authors for its association with the works of Plato, contains a "Discourse tending to the Blazon of Armes, with a more

(1) The Gentleman's Exercise (1612) page 128
(2) The Gentleman's Exercise (1612) page 130
Philosophical and particular examination of the causes of Colours, and their participation with the light, according to the opinions as well of Ancient as late writers." The two characters, Cosmopolites the merchant, and Eudemon the scholar, carry on their conversation with no small degree of dramatic propriety; meeting by chance in the street, they begin to speak of books, and of the best methods of avoiding melancholy, and the conversation is brought to a neat close as hunger summons each to his respective Dining-Table.

The merchant, who seems to have been a commercial traveller, questions the scholar about the art of Blazonry:

"That when I come into an old decaied Church or Monastery (as we have plenty in England) or Gentleman’s house, I might rather busie my selfe in viewing Armes and matches of Houses in the windows or walls, than tie bootes and spurrers upon my bedde in mine Iume...Moreover being a Gentleman my selfe, I have been many times asked my Costs, and except I should have showed them my Jerkin I knew not what to say."(1)

Eudemon’s account of the terms of heraldry is clear and competent, but of necessity too technical to concern us here. The chief interest for the modern reader lies in the fact that Eudemon stands for the author himself, and that Peache sometimes neglects his pseudonym and speaks deliberately in his own person, as for instance when the ‘crux saltire’ calls up the thought of "that noble and worthy minded gentleman Mr Dr Nevil, our master of Trinitie Colledge".

In 1684 the Gentleman’s Exercise was reprinted at the end of The Compleat Gentleman; some adaptation and revision was needed to ensure the success of this joint publication, but, although the printer’s

(1) The Gentleman’s Exercise (1612) page 141.
errors were corrected, the substance of the text was left as it had been in 1612. This must have led to some confusion, especially amongst the younger readers, for - to cite only one example - in the twelfth chapter of The Compleat Gentleman (1634) Peacham speaks of his majesty's (meaning King Charles') interest in pictures and statuary, while in the first book of The Gentleman's Exercise these words appear:

"I have many times wondered why I could among so many never finde any true picture of his Majestie, or that did anything neare resemble him: I know not, but generally in his picture I finde two principall errors, the one in the complexion and haire, the other is in the mouth, which commonly they draw with a full and great netherlip very apparent, wherein they commit the chiefest error." (1)

The 'majesty' here referred to is, of course, James I, but of that Peacham gives no indication; such remarks had been scarcely tectful in 1612, but they were doubly out of place at a time when Van Dyck was painting portraits of Charles I. Possibly, since the copyright had changed hands since 1612, the matter rested with the printer, and Peacham was given no opportunity to bring his work up to date.

SECTION I. (b) The Valley of Variety.

The Valley of Variety (1638) (3) differs considerably from Peacham's books on Painting, but may be classed with them on account of its educational basis. As the title implies, it is not a single full-length treatise, but a series of short articles 'compact of Rarities' on subjects which range from the back of the Cinnamon Tree to the strange vices of Princes, but which are unified by their common

(1) Gentleman's Exercise (1612) and (1634) page 25
(2) John Browne's widow had sold it to John Marriott. See Bibliographical Notes.
(3) For full title etc. see Bibliographical Notes.
didactic object. Some of the items are merely legends or anecdotes, others are scientific discussions of fact, and nearly all have been translated wholesale from earlier authors. Peacham makes no attempt to repudiate his debts; he is no longer the experienced practitioner declaring the secrets of his craft, but the humble instrument whereby the wisdom of others may be conveyed to the reading public.

In the epistle 'To the Ingenious and Learned Reader,' Peacham explains his reason for publishing this gallimaufry:

"These are Collections which I have, at measurable hours, collected out of Panchirolla and other Authors, having intended a good while since to have wholly translated that Book into English; but having little leisure, and expecting lesser gain for so great a labour,... Resolved to give the world a taste of the Fruit, before I opened the Basket; and if what I have done shall not dislike thee, I will proceed, and go on with the remainder."(1)

Panchirolla's Raccolta Breve d'alcune cose più segnalate e'hebbra gli antichi, e d'alcune altre trovate da modeni (Venice 1607) was one of the last specimens of that "literature of vulgarisation" which played such a large part in disseminating the moral, philosophical, and scientific ideas of the ancients amongst ordinary men in the Sixteenth Century. In order to arrive at a full understanding of what this literary 'genre' must have meant to Peacham, and what use he made of it, it will be necessary to examine its origin and development.(2)

At the end of the classical period, when the creative impulse which had been responsible for the literatures of Greece and Rome was spent, writers like Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius had collected the choicest passages of literature, and the most famous deeds and sayings

---

(1) Valley of Variety (1638): To the Reader.
(2) This subject is discussed at length in Pierre Villey's 'Les Sources et l'Evolution des Essais de Montaigne' (Paris, 1908) Volume 1 pages 56 - 59, and Volume 2 pages 78 - 81, upon which the following brief description is chiefly based.
of the great men of the past. Treasures of example and anecdotes, both fact and fable, circulated widely during the Middle Ages, but their scope was limited and the ideas which they expressed were largely dictated by Ecclesiastical authority. In the early years of the Renaissance when the range of information was broadening and the search for knowledge was rapidly becoming a desperate scramble, the old compendiums were felt to be out-of-date and inadequate. The demand for new material was satisfied for a time by books like the *Adagia* of Polydore Vergil and Erasmus (1488 and 1500 respectively), but more collections of apophthegms and anecdotes made dull and somewhat disconnected reading, and a new generation of authors in the mid Sixteenth Century sought to bring these and other stores of edifying matter before a larger public by presenting them in a more attractive framework. In Pedro Mexia's *Silva di varia lezione* (1), one of the first of these more popular works of information, the opinions of ancient historians and philosophers, of the Early Fathers, and of Holy Writ upon subjects of moral and intellectual importance were grouped under appropriate headings with a few words of introduction and explanation. The book achieved an immediate success and was translated, and imitated all over Europe (2). Later writers found other excuses for publishing collections of facts and phrases; in theory, for instance, Bonaystuan's *Theatre du Monde* (1560) presents a complete delineation of human distress, and La Primandaye's

---

(1) In Spanish, First published 1542.
(2) Translated into French by Guillet 1662, into English as *The Forest* by Sir John Fortesque 1671. Imitated in Italian by giglio, and in French by Breslay *Anthologie* (1574) and by du Verdier *Suite des diverses Lecons* (1577); *Nuova Seconda Selva* (1665).
Académie Françoise (1577-9) expounds a system of education. In practice, however, these books are little more than 'Silvae', compilations of ill-digested material; they are informative rather than argumentative, and rely upon authority rather than upon reason. A large proportion of the common stock of material upon which continental compilers had drawn was incorporated in the English *Treasure of our Times*(1), which was made up of the "learned collections, judicious readings and memorable observations, not only Divine, Moral, and Philosophical, but also Poetical, Martial, Political, Historical, Astrological etc." of Mazzia, Sansovino, du Verdier, Guyon, and Gruget.

Peacham's model Panciroli worked on a somewhat different plain from his predecessors and did not concern himself with moral issues; the first part of his book deals with commodities and institutions known to the ancient world and lost to the modern, and the second part - significantly much shorter - with modern inventions(2). The book had a somewhat chequered career(3); originally written in Italian, the first edition was a Latin translation entitled *Rerum Memorabilium* (1699) made by Salmuth, one of Panciroli's law students, who laboriously smothered the text with annotations. In 1607, the original Italian manuscript having been lost, an Italian version of the Latin was made and published "con l'aggiunta d'alcune considerazioni curiose ed utile di Flavio Gualtiero da Tolentino, Dottor Teologo". Flavio is almost as

---

(1) Published by Jaggard in 1615, and re-issued with additions in 1619 as *Times Storehouse*. Peacham refers to the book in the margin of the *Complet Gentlemen* (1622) page 4 as *The Treasure of Times*.

(2) Panciroli may have been helped to his initial idea by Polydore Vergil's collection of notes on 'Discoverers' *De Inventoribus* (1499), which contained at least four chapters on similar subjects (inSalt, Descart Stone, Cremation, and Triumphs).

(3) See article on Guido Panciroli Reggiano (1613-1699) in *Biblioteca Modenese* ed. Girolamo Tiraboschi (Modena 1788) volume IV page 4.
literal of annotation as Salom; he concentrates, however, on philosophical and moral implications and is less interested in mere information.

A comparison of Peacham's version of the eight chapters taken from Pancreoli with the Latin and Italian texts shows that he was undoubtedly using Salom's version. He seems to have understood Dutch and French, but it is unlikely that he had more than a nodding acquaintance with Italian. The marginal note "Pancreol. in libr. rerum deperditarum"(1) provides conclusive proof that he was translating from the Latin version. His system of selection is not always consistent, but he usually translated Pancreoli's original nucleus more or less word for word, and paraphrased a part of the numerous notes and illustrations.

(1) Valley of Variety (1638) page 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That in his time Cilimannum was very rare, and hard to be found, except in the workshops of great</td>
<td>Cilimannum &amp; Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Silla Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Salamanca et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum &amp; Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empires and Churches. And</td>
<td>prepartum in spectrom Impomentum.</td>
<td>ubi</td>
<td>prudens, quod Cilimannum</td>
<td>prudens, quod Cilimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raben continued, That a bound</td>
<td>ille Cilimannum anno Avitale</td>
<td>Cilimannum in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>in Turin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Cilimannum was worth a</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>saepe</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hundred and eighty times</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td></td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the beaks of the Roman and</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian and Jews, and that</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the price was a guinea each</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That during the barbarous</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>times such as called</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassia, which in Italy</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was called Cilimannum. For</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeed, the Cilimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was so far an article of</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesarian, which is only</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the word of the Caesarians,</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but the Cilimannum, which is the</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word of Turin.</td>
<td>Cilimannum saepe = in Turin</td>
<td>= in Turin</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
<td>Cilimannum et Emmaeimannum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Valley of Variety (1538)**

*Bede are unkind to have been invented in the year of our Redemption, one hundred, by Paulinum, Bishop of Milan. Note is made in *Campanae*, where Augustine and : they were called *Campanae*, because they were invented in *Campanae*. And the letters were written from the place where they were made.*

*The use of Bede is very quick; yet by the benefit of them the senses of the time of the day are heard apart, if those who are alive in this bed, or be absent in the fields, or passing on the road, or being told on the house of the day. Though we cannot see the ancient ones. Bede, those interpreters called *Campanae* were in use and respected. However Bede also in *Campanae*, they can go where these men, look in *Campanae*, and place are afar, or where there is many nature or separation. They can the *Campanae* of Cities to their hearts, or common counsel make; Soldiers to *Campanae*; *Campanae* to *Campanae*, *Campanae* to *Campanae*. Subject to the Hall and Death, and in a word, they serve and help us in all public acts, and without them we know not well what to do.*

**Augustine's Latin Version (1539)**

*Campanae, reporte, reporte euor amanon.*

*Campanae, reporte, reporte euor amanon.*

**Felice Italian Version (1667)**

*La Campana fuori Corone, senza gli anni del Signor C.C.C.C. si noto Citta di*.

*Campana del che si dehino il nome: la Nara, che genera nell'istrome, e perche non molti luoghi: Fuori la Campana usciamo.*

*Di Paulo Innocenzo Santorico: Verso del quale Città.*

*Quale poi, e quanto da parte di benegiorato, che non avverranno, e non g'è alcuno, che non compiersi, perche la campana si danno d'une per ogni luogo: in ogni tempo è se si avanza il tempo, e il canto, e il suo chiamar in si tante, ove sieno, e alberi, e pianta, e ogni cosa che appartiene il tempo, in servizio, non necessario.*
An examination of the foregoing parallels also reveals certain points of interest regarding Peacham's method of translation and literary style. The passage on Bells contains several examples of free translation; Peacham has simplified the Latin 'if from time to time we should be far away from a clock' into 'whether we be abroad in the fields, or journeying upon the way' and the Latin 'they cry for help when a fire breaks out' to 'they call for help when houses in Cities and Townes are on fire'. In each case Peacham's phraseology is more vivid. A few lines later he seems to have missed the force of the Latin 'intimant' = 'they give notice of', for he fumbles at the meaning and translates 'they serve and help us in'. Five versions of the passage on Cinnamon have been given with a view to illustrating Peacham's merits and shortcomings more exactly. Salmuth's version of 1609, was translated into French in 1617 by Pierre de la Noue as Livre Premier des Antiquites Perdues, and into English as A History of Many Memorable Things Lost in 1716. Peacham does not follow his original so closely as his fellow-translators, for his ready pen always enlarges upon the concise phrases of the Latin version. The ungrammatical construction of his last sentence is due to a careless translation; the Latin runs 'Veri enim Cinnamoni nulla nobis est notitia: sicuti nec Xylocinnamoni, quod ipsum etc.'; Peacham has altered the first part of the sentence 'nothing is known of Cinnamon' to 'Cinnamon is unknown', and has then neglected to alter 'likewise nothing of the Xylocinnamon' to 'as is also the Xylocinnamon'. A comparison of Peacham's version with that of 1716 reveals besides something of the change which took place in English prose style between 1688 and the early Eighteenth Century.
The statement that none of the items in *The Valley of Variety* had 'spoken English before' is not strictly true; the subjects of two of the chapters from Fanoiroli (Bells, and Triumphs) together with three other chapters (Age of Men, Properties of the Viper, and Carinthian Ceremonial) had already appeared in *The Treasurie of our Times* (1615), and the Education of Princes and the Vices and Excesses of the Roman Emperors which form the substance of four more chapters had been discussed ad nauseam in every language. Like other compilers and translators of his time Peacham was reluctant to acknowledge in detail the second-hand nature of his quotations; his practice of quoting an ancient authority in preference to a modern one can be ascertained from those chapters of which the immediate sources are known. When Fanoiroli, or an annotator quotes chapter and verse from such recondite authorities as Fedorcarrus' *History of Cyns*, or the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, Peacham glibly repeats their reference, thereby creating the impression of a vast erudition which he was far from possessing. He must not be too severely blamed for this, since, whatever the prejudices of the modern mind in favour of a strict and literal accuracy, Seventeenth Century readers were far more interested to hear that an opinion had originated with Pliny than that Fanoiroli had passed it on to Peacham.(1)

Compared with the rest of Peacham's work *The Valley of Variety* is disappointing, and falls far short of his usual standard of freshness and originality. Only once does he add something of his own experience to the examples and illustrations of other writers; this when he contradicts Fanoiroli's statement that the making of esbatoos is a lost art:

(1) In one instance, however, (see supra page 222) Peacham does actually refer to Fanoiroli.
"I remember I had given me by an Arabian... a pretty quantity of a stuffe like flaxe, which he bade me put into the fire, but it consumed not." (1)

The chapter on the Education of Princes, a subject which Peacham had at his finger-tips and which he should have been able to treat with vigour and discernment, contains nothing but a string of platitudes. He was evidently determined to stick closely to his title and include nothing that could not be described as a 'passage out of Antiquity, Philosophy, and History'. One one occasion he explicitly suppresses his natural bent (abundantly illustrated in his pamphlets) towards the topical and actual:

"I could here allenge examples of nearer and our owne times, but it would not be so pleasing." (2)

It is obvious that, having set out to provide 'true lovers of learning' with subjects for 'ingenious discourse', Peacham felt himself obliged to neglect modern instances in favour of ancient 'rarities'. He had, however, gleaned the substance of one chapter in the course of his own travels, yet even this, unlike the topical anecdotes with which Peacham lightens the path of his discourse in other books is nothing more than a traveller's tale of the tallest variety. This is the story of the Lady Margaret, wife to Herman, earl of Henneberg, who brought forth 365 children at one birth; Peacham tells us in sober sadness that he had actually seen the "Whole Historie of this stupendious accident" engraved on a fair Table of Marble at a village near Leyden.

(1) Valley of Variety (1633) page 30.
(2) Op. cit page 29. With this passage should be contrasted the following from The Duty of all True Subjects (1638) page 46:
"I might alledge many noe rare examples out of Antiquie Histories... but I willingly passe them over, and come to examples nearer our owne times, which perhaps (as more neighbours or not farre dwellers) will come more familiar and pleasing."
SECTION X. THE POLITICAL TRACTS.

The first of Peacham's political tracts, A True Relation of the Affairs of Cleve and Gulick (1615)(1), belongs to the period of his association with the Court and Society, and was published on the same day as Prince Henry Revived. The three others, which were written during the last years of his life, are of a controversial nature, and deal with the theory of government, and the divine right of kings and bishops.

(a) Historical.

In the Autumn of 1614 Peacham was in a position to watch the manoeuvres of Prince Maurice and Spinola in the Low Countries, day by day. English troops had been sent to the Prince's assistance as a gesture of good will; they were not engaged in a life and death struggle, and there was no actual fighting. The whole episode has no historical importance except in so far as it set the scene for the outbreak of The Thirty Years War in 1618. Peacham's description, although published to refute a lying article which he had seen in circulation in the Netherlands, was written in no heat of martial fervour. We read in the dedication to Sir John Ogle that "the occasion of it was the satisfaction of many honourable and worthy friends in England, who desire me stay coming over to write such news as hapned....For their sakes have I done it, as also for mine owne private recreation in the Arme, who have ever been a profest Enemie unto Edlenesse(2).

The True Relation is straightforward and circumstantial enough. The rather dull subject is enlivened here and there by some anecdote or personal allusion, as when Peacham tells us that the breadth of

(1) See Bibliographical Notes for full title etc. (2) Affaires of Cleve and Gulick (1615) Dedication.
the Rhine at Nees is sixhundred of his pages, or remarks upon the
wonderful panorama to be seen from the summit of Schenken Scone, but,
generrally speaking, it is merely historical and has little literary or
artistic merit. The one vivid moment in this disappointing account of
what must have been one of the most exciting chapters in Peacham's life
is the brief mention of a fire which broke out in the camp in October
1st, "they say, by the carelessness of a Swiss's wife, who throwing a
_candle and candlestick at her husband's head, being both drunk, let
it alone on the straw til it had fired the quarter". Peacham's relation
might have been made far more interesting if it had only contained more
of these 'things of small moment', which as he rightly remarks in
The Dedication 'have also their delight as well as the most serious
affaires'. It is clear that he had plenty of amusing stories at his
command, but here for some reason he passes them over in silence,
although he is careful to let his readers know that he could, as if
he would, tell some spicy tales of intrigue in high places:

"Knowing the danger in medling overfer in affairs of state
and business of Princes... hath caused me touch somethings more
tenderly than perhaps I would, desiring herein rather to
resemble the corke by swimming lightly above then the hook by
diving too deep to fasten myselfe where I could not easily well
get off"(1)

SECTION II. (b) Controversial.

Noticing the gap of nearly a quarter of a century which separates
the Affaires of Clove and Gulick from the rest of Peacham's political
pamphlets, one might expect to find that his outlook and opinions had
changed in the interval; a difference certainly exists, but it was
dictated not so much by any alteration in Peacham's views as by the

(1) Affaires of Clove and Gulick (1618) To the Reader.
inevitable development of the political situation in England. In 1659 it was no longer possible to write from an impartial, purely historical standpoint, and Peacham's tone changes from that of the informative historian to that of the persuasive controversialist.

The later pamphlets are all concerned, as their titles(1) declare, with the domestic problems which has caused England's withdrawal from foreign politics since Charles II's accession. During the first half of the Seventeenth Century a large part of the intellectual activity of Englishmen had been devoted to the consideration of religious, political, and economic questions. A Civil War would have been impossible, if some radical change had not taken place in the general habit, so carefully inculcated by the Tudor Dynasty, of quietly accepting traditional authority. Peacham, although by no means dull witted, was scarcely an advanced thinker, and never relinquished the political theories and ideals of his youth; he was a staunch member of the Old Brigade, one who had been born ten years before the Armada, and brought up under the aegis of good Queen Bess. It is therefore hardly surprising to find that his controversial pamphlets are strongly reactionary.

The Duty of all True Subjects to their King (1659)(2) was appropriately dedicated to Sir Paul Pinder, one who had most faithfully fulfilled the role of 'compest subject'(3), and "who for his loyalty and love to his King and Country might answer and aste with the matter in hand". Unlike the other pamphlets bearing the initials H.P. which can be definitely assigned to Peacham, this piece contains none of those

(1) The Duty of all True Subjects to their King (1659).
(2) The Cross at Cephe and Charline Crosse (1641).
(3) Square Caps Turned into Round Heads (1642).
(4) For full titles etc. see bibliographical notes.
direct personal references which characterize his work. There are
certainly a few minor stylistic resemblances, but more conclusive than
these is the use on the titlepage of the same motto as that prefixed
to The Compleat Gentleman, and The Valley of Variety, a quotation
from Palingenius "inutilis animo ne videar vixisse", which is insufficient
justification for attributing The Duty of all True Subjects to Pe cham.

This pamphlet does nothing to enhance his literary reputation; the
information it contains is all second-hand, gleaned from Plutarch,
Valerius Maximus and other historians ancient and modern, and although
his royalist sympathies are here revealed more plainly than elsewhere,
the fresh personal touch which gives his other work interest and
individuality is almost entirely lacking. In his title Pe cham claims
to be no more than a 'collector' of 'memorable examples', and a large
part of the book has obviously been strung together for the sake of
filling out so many pages, yet the pamphlet is more than a mere conglom­
eration of 'exempla', for the subject was one which Pe cham had very
much at heart, and at times the warmth of his emotion welds his
miscellaneous quotations and references with something approaching a
coherent whole. A genuine tenderness in his feeling towards his native
land wells up here and there like a refreshing spring in an arid desert

(2) See Bibliographical Notes for full title etc.
(3) Sir Paul Pindar (1555-1650) of Northamptonshire. Coming home
in 1620 from a series of successful trading ventures in the East, he
brought with him many valuable jewels, and lent most of them
with a great deal of money to the King. At his death his property
consisted entirely of Bad Debts.
of historical information:

"It is the glory of every good subject to be faithful
to his soveraigne, and loving to his Country, his native
soyle, that both bred and fed him, and like a sweet and
indulgent Nurse, will receive him (false a sleepe) againe
into her lap." (1)

Peacham's use of scriptural quotations and examples from modern
histories of France and Spain side by side with the humanist's stock-
in-trade of classical anecdotes gives his work a variety which many
contemporary pamphlets lack, and in one instance he even refers to
recent English history:

"What greater love or affection could be shewn or exacted
from Subjects then that Queene Elizabeth, of happy and blessed
memory, received from the heartie votes of her people, who could
never be weary of viewing her person, and with generall acclama-
tions praying for her long life, in fields, streets, highways,
which way soever shee went, in time of her Progress." (2)

That Peacham has advanced a few steps beyond earlier compilers,
is seen in his efforts to use his examples as illustrations of his
arguments. He shows his native shrewdness by meeting the Puritans on
their own ground and casting St. Paul's words back into the teeth of
the Calvinists, but for all his courage and sincerity a fallacy underlies
the greater part of his argument, for no more than the majority of his
contemporaries was he able to understand that an authoritative declaration,
even when proceeding from St. Paul, is no real reason for doing anything.
This exposition of the duty of all true subjects may have confirmed the
resolution of Cavaliers, but it fails to convince the modern reader,
and can have had little or no effect upon the opinions of a determined

(1) Duty of all True Subjects (1633) page 2.
(2) op. cit. page 23.
Republican. There may be a touching childlike quality in Peacham's faith in the Divine Right, but there is very little common sense:

"It is most certain God doth endow those whom he would have to reign over his people, with some singular and supernatural gifts... above and beyond the common people."(1)

Loyalty whether to king, country, or ideals is, after all, an affair rather of the heart than of brain, and does not readily submit to the cold steel of dissecting Logic. Peacham is most convincing when he lays aside argument and pleads for a united allegiance to the king, not because it is reasonable but because it is honourable:

"Last of all, let us have our um, that we walk, via una, joyne hearts and hands, and now or never imitate that good subject Ithai the Gittite, who when David his Sovereigne Lord and King fled before Absolom, said unto him: As the Lord liveth, and as the Lord my king liveth in what place my Lord the King shall be, whether in death or life, even there surely shall they servant be."

The two pamphlets which complete this group are much alike in style and subject matter, but differ considerably from The Affairs of Clewe and Gulick and the Duty of all True Subjects. Each is cast in dialogue form, has a quaint symbolical woodcut on the titlepage, and deals with a religious rather than political aspect of the controversy between Roundhead and Royalist, Churchman and Sectarian.

A Dialogue between the Crosse in Cheap and Charing Crosse was printed in 1641, without preface or printer's name, under the pseudonym 'Syben Pameach!' (an obvious anagram upon Henry Peacham). Even without

(1) Duty of all True Subjects (1639) page 8.

(11) Humoriter
this skull and John Gibbon's Testimony, it would not be difficult to identify the author as Peacham, for the little book contains references to Boston and King's Lynn, and evidence of its author's interest in stained glass(2); moreover, a detailed knowledge of the technique of Heraldry is displayed in the discussion of the use of the cross in armorial bearings, and the story of the old woman collecting skulls in her apron is retold from The Truth of our Times (1639).

(1639) That Emblem was a pretty one which was an old woman who having gathered up into her apron many dead men skulls, which shoe found scattered upon the ground, with an intent to lay them up in a charnel house, but her apron slipping upon a hill where she stood, some ran one way, some another; which the old woman seeing, say her prayers in Chappell that stood upon the top of an hill found a great many dead men's skulls scattered about, shoe gathered as many as she could into her lap, with a devout intent to lay them up in a charnel house; As she was going her apron slipped, and the skulls ran several ways; the old woman observing it, said, Go where you will; for when you were alive, everyone differed in your opinions, and now dead you take your several ways."

(1641) That Emblem was a pretty one of the old woman who going to say her prayers in Chappell that stood upon the top of an hill found a great many dead men's skulls scattered about, shoe gathered as many as she could into her lap, with a devout intent to lay them up in a charnel house; As she was going her apron slipped, and the skulls ran several ways; the old woman observing it, said, Go where you will; for when you were alive, everyone differed in your opinions, and now dead you take your several ways."

The story is more pointedly told in the second version.

The amusing little woodcut on the titlepage deserves a moment's consideration; we cannot be sure that the cut was actually made by Peacham, but there can be no doubt that he designed it. Charing Cross is depicted by two bishops, who stand precariously at the top of the steps, clinging to the base of the monument and looking very insecure.

(1) Supra page 4.
(2) "In Limne is artificially painted in glasse the whole history of the martyrdom of St.Margaret under Dioeclesian." Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross (1641) page A3V.
(3) Truth of our Times (1639) page 55.
(4) Cross at Cheap & Charing Cross (1641) page A4.
Cheap Cross on the other hand, whose saints have been recently restored to their respective niches, is beset by two gentlemen in high-crowned hats. One of these, labelled Anabaptist, is ejaculating 'O Idol now, down must thou', while his fellow, a Brownist, climbs recklessly on to the spiked railings that surround the cross and replies in an equally lame couplet: 'Brother Ball, be sure it shall'.

The Puritans' hatred of all outward symbolism in religion, which sprang originally from the desire to do away with the veneration of saintly relics, had come to embrace all statues and all crosses whether made the objects of adoration or not, and in the course of anti-Catholic riots public monuments were often severely damaged. Peacham does not enter upon any arguments regarding the use of statues; he treats the matter entirely from the point of view of the crosses themselves, who are somewhat bewildered by the course of events and, as the Title has it, are 'comforting each other as fearing their fall in these uncertain times'. Cheap Cross who is in better plight than her half-demolished sister understands that she is in danger of attack, but having been set up in all good faith under the Roman Church is unable to see why she should now be reviled as a stumbling block:

"I wonder what offence they can take at my Cross, why doe They not as well goe tell his Majesty there is a Crosse standing above his Royall Crowne, and wish him to file it off, as They did in Boston the Crosse upon their Towne Mace (though it cost them the setting on again)."(1)

(1) Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross (1841) page AS.
She complains that her safety is endangered, not only by the Puritans threatening attack but by those who are attempting to solve London's everlasting traffic problem:

"Lord, how often have I been presented by Juries of the quest for incumbrance of the street, and hindering of Carts and Carriages."(1)

She takes courage however from her many loyal friends, who gather about her like the flower-sellers round Bros of Piccadilly:

"I am well looked unto and watched, by the Herbe women on the one side of me, and the costard mongers and Tripe-wives on the other; besides the Sergeants of Wood Street counter are not farre from me."(2)

Peacham refused to take his subject seriously, and did not even trouble to defend the sister Crosses except on traditional grounds as time-honoured symbols of the Christian faith. He completely abandoned the arguments and quotations with which he had striven to refute the Puritans in The Duty of all True Subjects, and contented himself with poking fun at the ridiculous extremes to which some of them were led by their fanaticism:

"Two Brownists... were overhead by the drawer at the Three Tuns, to affirm the very name of Crosse ought to be abolished, nor so much as to be named in or about anything... if any grief or misfortune happen unto you you must not say, I am crest in my minde, but I am bearbeit in minde; nor must a Tradesman say to his Prentice, Crosse the Bookes, but lattice the Bookes, nor must a Country Tailor be said to sit Crossleg'd, but Andrew-wise. A cross bow must be term'd a Venison or Pasty-bow; nor ought you say I will cross the street, but overthwart it."(3)

Square-Caps turned into Round-Heads, has only the initials H.P. on the title-page, but these, together with the pamphlets' general similarity to The Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross, and certain items of internal

---

(1) Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross (1641) page A2V
(3) Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross (1641) page A4 V
coincidence, are sufficient to establish Peacham's authorship. The stories of Henry Chicheley of Higham Ferrars and William Patten of Wainfleet, whose respective offspring achieved fame in spite of their humble origin, were favorites with Peacham: (1) the idea that a radical change takes place in Church and State once in every five hundred years appears in The Valley of Variety (1638); (2) the personification of Opinion or Fashion as a woman turning a wheel is to be found in The Worth of a Penny (1641), and The Truth of our Times (1688); finally, references to the Low Countries, and the use of Dutch words and phrases link this with Peacham's most characteristic work.

The woodcut portrays the two speakers in the dialogue (Time and Opinion): Father Time, a fierce-looking but skinny old fellow with a remarkably long wavy forelock is leaning on his scythe, and his hourglass lies broken on the ground beside him; Opinion is shown sitting on a cappatoil nursing a chameleon and turning the handle that controls a large wheel to which are fixed four round heads and four bishops caps. The picture is accompanied, according to the Emblem fashion, by an obscure quatrain, which gives little help in the elucidation of the allegory:

"Time doth Opinion call into account
Who turns the Bishops dome and Roundheads mount
Upon her lofty wheels their models are;
But her Camelian feedeth on His aires."

The dialogue opens with a series of questions from Time regarding Opinion's parentage and occupation. She answers at first in Dutch (whereby Peacham doubtless intended to indicate the Dutch origin of

(1) Truth of our Times page 8
(2) Valley of Variety (1638) cap. 3 page 18.
of many Puritanical notions) but is at last persuaded to use English and talk sense. Time deprecates her evil influence on men's minds and ideas, but has to acknowledge that the times themselves are so bad that any alteration might be a benefaction. He does not try to refute her new-fangled notions but expresses his contempt for those who admire her disrespectful treatment of the Bishops' caps:

"Your faction...knowing themselves guilty/neither with nor learning, sitting so high and sacred a Calling, Barke at them as Dogs do at the Moon."

Opinion replies that it is not so much to the square caps of the Bishops that she objects, as to those that wear them, 'your lordly bishops who never did good in Church or Commonwealth.' This accusation moves Father Time to give a long account of the numerous benefits conferred upon the poor and the Universities by English prelates, concluding with a reference to the munificent acts of the former Bishop of Lincoln, then Archbishop of York. (1) We are led to wonder whether Pesham was not alluding to some benefaction he had himself received when he writes "but the masterpiece of his bounty I must conceal."

In neither of these pamphlets, which are after all intended rather to divert than to convert the reader, does Pesham succeed in arriving at any conclusion; he even hesitates to venture upon any conjectures regarding the future turn of events. The two Crosses decide to refer their troubles "to the censure of this most just and honourable Parliament", telling each other that Truth is the daughter of Time, and that "what wee shall all trust to to wee shall know hereafter." Time in the other pamphlet is equally doubtful and has to console himself

---

(1) This was John Williams, who was translated from Lincoln to York in 1641
with the somewhat cold comfort that Opinion's ideas are too violent to last long.

SECTION III. PAMPHLETS OF LITERARY, TOPICAL and PERSONAL INTEREST

(a) Essays.

The Truth of our Times (1638)(1) is the most striking member of this last group of Peacham's shorter prose works and ranks next in importance to The Compleat Gentleman. The book represents his contribution to the development of the 'Essay', a new literary 'genre' which had come into prominence in England at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. The essential quality of the 'essay' as distinct from the 'leçon' - from which it had been developed partly by a natural process of evolution, partly by the peculiar genius of Montaigne(2) - was that the author's remarks should be based on personal observation and experience. Peacham's essays fulfil that requirement to the letter; he may not have had any very clear idea of what was later to be demanded of the essayist by the canons of literary criticism, but he understood the essay as a form of self-expression and it suited his temperament exactly. The wording of the title 'revealed out of one man's experience by way of Essay' shows plainly that his intentions were just what they should be.

(1) For full title etc., see Bibliographical Notes.
(2) See discussion of the development of the essay in P. Villey's Sources et Évolution des Essais de Montaigne (1938).
The tone and manner of these 'essays' offers a remarkable contrast to the other books which Peasam published about the same time. As has already been explained, The Valley of Variety (1633) and The Duty of all True Subjects (1639) were based on the works of others, and contained — as Peasam was well aware — little that was new or original in either subject matter or arrangement. In the prefatory epistles to The Truth of our Times, he says nothing about having 'collected' his material; on the contrary, he repeatedly draws attention to the fact that he is drawing on his own experience.

"I often considered the title, which was Experience; now least the Borch might not be suteable to the whole Fabrick, I begin with the Experience I formerly have had of your friendly respect of me."

In the 'Epistle to the Reader' the contents of the book are described as "what I have known by mine own experience", and "the maine and most materiall of my observations...which the nearest concerned myselfe."

The essays are fourteen in number and vary in length from six to twenty-six duodecimo pages. The subjects are those usually found in Seventeenth Century collections, and may be classed in the usual way as abstract (Friendship, Health and Quietness, Discretion, Liberty, Providence, Fashion, Opinion, Behaviour) and concrete (Schools, Books, Parents, Travel). In addition to the twelve mentioned above, there are two which cannot, strictly speaking, be described as essays; one of these is a character study entitled Of a Religious Honest Man, the other a collection of 'Vulgar errors corrected' entitled Of Common Ignorance.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) Dedication to Mr. Henry Barnwell.
A comparison of this last item with The Valley of Variety reveals the significant result of Peasahm’s new insistence on the value of personal experience. Both belong to the same tradition, but whereas the earlier book was compiled at haphazard without any unifying principle, and its material mainly translated from second hand sources with little or no independent criticism, the essay Of Common Ignorance was written in an attitude of sceptical scientific inquiry closely akin to that of Sir Thomas Browne:

"The world hath taken so much upon trust from credulous and superstitious antiquitie, that now a daies it will hardly believe common experience; whereof I will produce some neither unpleasant nor unprofitable examples."(1)

Three of the five subjects which Peasahm discusses under this heading were actually dealt with eight years later by Sir Thomas Browne in Pseudodoxia Epidemica (1646), but although the method of approach is the same there is no sign that Browne was familiar with Peasahm’s work. Comparing the two versions of the vulgar superstitions that a Bear’s cub has to be licked into shape, that a Swan sings only when dying, and that a Diamond cannot be cut except with goats’ blood, Peasahm’s exposure of these fallacies seems in each case more convincing. If Browne doubted something but was unable to disprove it he was content to remain sceptical or to take refuge in symbolism, but Peasahm if he relinquished one belief had to find another to replace it. Partly because of this need for a definite belief, and partly because he was less profoundly learned than Browne and thus less keenly aware of the multitudinous conflicting opinions of ancient and modern authors, Peasahm’s arguments are presented more pithily and inspire more confidence. Browne

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) page 175.
was only able to bring three 'authentick Philosophers' to deny that 'a Bear brings forth her young informous and unshapen'; Peacham had actually inspected a new-born cub, and was able to express his own views on the subject with decision and emphasis:

"It is most false, for I have seen a Beare whelpe newly littered, in all respects like unto the dam, in head, back, sides, feet, etc. like unto other young creatures; it is true the Beare licks it, so doth the Cow her calfe, the Mare her foale, and other creatures in like manner, but that by licking she gives it forme and shape it is most untrue."(1)

In the essay Of A Religious Honest Man Peacham tried his hand at 'character-writing', a new literary kind which became fashionable during the Seventeenth Century(2). It is extremely likely that he had read the works of Overbury, Earle, and their many imitators, but he did not adopt the short crisp sentences and antithetical style which came to be their accepted technique. After a general statement of the peaceful law-abiding habits of the 'religious honest man' he took the first opportunity of leaving his main subject to discuss the dishonest Separatists who wrest and misapply the Scriptures "to serve their purposes and suite with their fantasticall or wilfull opinions". He had a low opinion of Puritan morality, but he could respect the conscientious scruples of an honest man, and reserved his severest censure for those 'luke-warm Laodicceans whom God cannot digest' because they try to make the best of both worlds.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) No.13, page 179.
(2) Pseudodoxia Epidemica (1646) BK.3 cap.6

For an account of the origin and development of the 'Character' in England and elsewhere see A Cabinet of Characters (1926)ed. with Introduction by Gwendolen Murphy.
It would be unlike Peacham to display a complete lack of interest in a current literary fashion, especially one that called for pointed topical prose; although he never made any collection of 'characters', several finely drawn vignettes appear in his pamphlets—especially Couch and Sedan and Heem and Tuan—and the passage headed 'The Symptoms of a Mind dejected and discontent for want of Money' in The Worth of a Penny closely approaches the character manner.

Nearly all the subjects dealt with by Peacham had been used by other essayists. A true son of the Seventeenth Century, he was interested in moral and ethical questions, and in the manners and ideas of all classes of men. One of the most frequently discussed topics was Friendship—what and for what reasons a man should make friends, whether friendship is necessary to happiness, and what profit or loss is likely to result from it. Montaigne, Bacon, and Cormwillis all wrote on Friendship, and their essays may be compared with Peacham's with the object of forming some idea of the relation of his work to that of his predecessors.

Such contact as exists depends rather on the fact that Peacham had adopted the new literary form of the essay for the treatment of a common Renaissance theme, than upon any direct borrowing. Peacham shared with Montaigne, and the French essayist's earliest English disciple Cormwillis, his disinclination to follow any orderly plan, and the habit of setting down ideas and examples just as they came to him. His attitude to the subject is closely akin to that of Montaigne inasmuch as he affirms that friendship between equals is the most 'solid and durable', and that friendship measured by the benefits accruing from it is unworthy the
name. In one vital respect, however, Peacham's essay differs from
Montaigne's and draws closer to Bacon's: the underlying motive of his
work was not self-expression, or self-examination, but the desire to
teach others, and enrich mankind with the fruits of his experience.
Beneath the ordered composition and cool generalities of Bacon's essay
surged an emotional pressure kept firmly in check by his reason.
Peacham made no such attempt to discipline his feelings or to present
a sober disinterested calculation of debits and credits, but although
his method is different (rather because his reasoning powers were
inferior to Bacon's than because of any conscious desire to imitate
Montaigne's discursive manner) his didactic intention is the same.
In the essay of Friendship, as in the rest of this book, he takes his
stand as the experienced man of the world:

"I have ventured before, tried the coldness of these Frozen
and hard times, together with the slippery ways of this deceits-
full and trustles world; standing (I hope) now at last safe on
this other side, I shew Those that are to follow mee where the
danger is." (1)

Peacham makes a clear distinction between real and superficial
friends; he insists that mere acquaintances are of "no use to us,
casting into the account the expense of money, losse of time, and neglect
of business", but has enough worldly wit to see that, although a man's
friends must be treated with loving care and respect "the best
acquaintance is with such as you may better yourself by...especially
in knowledge by discourse and conference, either with generall Schollers,
Travellers, such as are skilled in the Tongues, or in mechanicall Arts,
for by conversing with such you shall husband your Time to the best,
and take the shortest cut to knowledge." (2) Even Bacon's admission that

(1) Truth of our Times (1626) To the Reader.
in his opinion one use of a friend is to blow a man's trumpet when it is unseemly for him to do so himself hardly compares in naivety with Peacham's statement that the keeping of intelligent company "getteth you the reputation of being understanding and learned as they are, though yet.... a novice in their studies and professions."(1)

From sundry autobiographical references we know that Peacham frequently dined at the Tables of the great, a proceeding not unusual for a man in his position in days when every wealthy man kept open house for his satellites and dependents. It would appear from certain bitter remarks concerning friendship with superiors in rank and riches that his experiences were not always of the happiest:

"As he is your friend, a great man inviteth you to dinner... the sweetness of that favour and kindness is made distasteful by the awe of his greatness... to be placed where and under whom he pleaseth, to be tongue-tied all the while, though you bee able to speake more to the purpose than himselfe and all his company; while you whisper in the waiters ear, for anything that you want, you must endure to be served unto many times of the first, worst, and rawest of the meat... so that for true and free content you were better seeketh your dinner with some honest companion in Pie-corner."(2)

The same idea is expressed in the essay of liberty, where Peacham proudly contrasts his own independent attitude with that of those who "are by nature so base and obsequious that being overcome with the presence of those who were greater or braver than themselves....sooth him up, and foolishly applaud and admire whatever he says. And if happily he utter anything savouring of a jest, they feigne a Sardonian smile by way of allowance for his facetious conceipt."(3)

(1) Truth of our Times (1688) page 87
(2) Truth of our Times (1688) page 77
(3) op. cit page 59.
The essays Of Discretion and Of Quietness and Health contain few personal observations, and have been put together in a more commonplace manner. Discretion is described as "the highest pitch of understanding and judgement", and Peacham quotes freely from such moral authors as Erasmus and Plutarch in support of his warning against indiscreet chatter. Some of his finest prose was inspired by the subject of "quietness". He acknowledged that it was not easy to find peace of mind amongst the manifold troubles of the world, and suggested that the only remedy was a careful attention to physical health:

"Liberty and tranquillity ....fall not to every mans share; most men living being involved in so many affairs.....which attend us in this our earthly pilgrimage, that this quiet of minde is as rare as Homer's Nopenthe.... How many men of great estastes be there in this Kingdome of whose care of getting and purchasing there is no end; they never in all their lives tasting the sweetness of what they had about them, but fedde upon the Thornes and Thistles of vexation, grief, and needlesse carefullnesse...

"So since we cannot make ourselves Master of this so sweet a benefit Tranquillity of minde, let us (which is in our own power) looke unto our health."[1]

Aware that the "close lanes and noysome allies about the Citie" were largely responsible for the ill-health of the inhabitants, he suggested various ways of sweetening the air:

"Where the aire...is not good...you may better it by burning of several sorts of sweete Wood;...if it be too hot, open your windows and place your bedde towards the North, strewing the floore with rushes, waterlilies, Nenuphar, Lettuce, Endive, Sorrell, and ever and anon sprinkle cold water with a little vinegar of roses."(2)

The essay Of Gods Providence is written with vigour and conviction, but lacks variety of ideas, and only interests in so far as it is a record of experience. Peacham's one conception of Providence is the divine help accorded to orphans and the sons of poor men; he takes as

(1) Truth of our Times (10$$) page 192.
his text "when my father and mother forsooke me, thou oh Lord, tookest me up", gives examples of the successful careers granted to men of humble origin(1), acknowledges his own debt to Providence and remains from considering any other aspect of the question.

Opinion and Fashion, which form the subjects of two more essays, were closely related in Peasam's mind as the cause and effect of human extravagence. Like the majority of his contemporaries, he did not look upon 'Opinion' as the result of prolonged reasoning, an attitude of mind which every man has a right to evolve for himself; for him there could be only one right way of doing and thinking, and diversities of opinion were due to blind instinctive choosing by men incapable of reason.

"Opinion is the compass the foole emply saileth by in the vast Ocean of Ignorance; for hereby vices are taken for vertues; ....and all the errors that men commit...is for want of the line and levell of an eaven and true judgement."

As has already been noted (2) the same conception of 'opinion' had formed the main argument of Square Caps turned into Round Heads; the near relationship of 'Opinion' and 'Fashion' is illustrated by the emblem of the wheel of fashion described in the essay Of Fashion and again in an expanded form in The Worth of a Penny.

(1) One of these is that, favourite story already referred to on page of the two sons of William Patton of Wainfleet, who became respectively a Bishop and a Dean, their success being attributed the noble monument which they were able to raise to their father's memory: "The brothers...support the pillow under their father's head upon his Monument in Wainfleet All Hallowe Church, who lyeth cut out in Alabaster in a side coaste, a great pouch and a dudgeon-dagger at his girdle." Truth of our Times (1636) page 6.

(2) Supra page 217
"Fashions...I once saw an
Antwerp handsomely described
by an hee and shee foole, turn-
ing a wheel about with hats
hose and doublets fastened round
about it, which when they were
below began to mount up againe."(1)

"That Emblem was
not improper which I once saw
in Antwerp which was an Hee and
a Shee foole turning a double-
rimmed wheel upon, one axel-tree,
one on the one side, and the other
on the other; upon the Hee foole's
wheel, were the several fashions
of Men's apparell, on the others
wheel of women's; which as with
the revolution of Time, went round
and came into the same places, use,
and request again as for the
present, aloft and followed of all,
by and by cast down and despised."(2)

Such a title as Of Clowns and Rude Behaviour might reasonably preface
a treatise on Manners, but Peacham, as always, prefers the more concrete
aspect, and this essay consists of a series of examples of the behaviour
of Dutch and English boors. The natural antipathy between gentleman and
peasant is discussed with reference to Peacham's own experiences at home
and in the Low Countries. Doubtless the prototype of his blunt, down-
right, ungenerous farmer was to be encountered any day of the week in
the Lincolnshire Fens:

"To know an absolute Clowns, observe these his conditions,
he had rather be spreading of dung than goe to the leanest sermon
in the shire; he murmurres at all payments and levies, especially
the money to bee collected for the maintenance of his Majesties
navy royall; if hee fortune to bee Church warden of his Parish,
at every briefe gathering in the Church he reserves a great or
sixe pence to himselfe...salute him on the way, hee will give
you never a word; his hands are commonly unwashed, and his doublet
unbuttoned...his ordinary discourse is of his last years hay, which
he hopes will give sixe pounds the loade in Smithfield, and of the
rate of Swine in Rumford market; all his jests consist in rude
actions with the hand or foote; his speech is Lincolnshire about
Wrange and Freestone, if hee be westward about Taunton and tenne
miles beyond, and though the most of them ware russet, and have
their high shoes well nailed, yet they are often too hard for
velvet and satten in law tricks and quiddities, and commonly hold
their owne the longest."(3).

(1) Truth of our Times page 64.
(2) Worth of a Penny page 27.
(3) Truth of our Times (1638) page 126.
It must be admitted that there was a streak of snobbishness—intellectual if not worldly—in Peacham's make-up, and this is nowhere more plainly seen than in the smug satisfaction with which he relates how he had revenged himself on the insolvency of the inhabitants of a certain Town (taken by some to be Wymondham) by causing a palindrome 'subi dura a radibus' to be written over the Free-school door. (1)

For all his pride in his scholarly attainments, Peacham was incapable of profound abstract thought, and found himself more at home with definite subjects, for which reason the essays on Schoolmastering, Parenthood, Book-publishing and Travel, which are based on his actual experience in various departments of life, are written with more conviction than the rest. Much of their material belongs to the history of his life, but apart from their autobiographical interest, and equally interesting, is their illustration of Peacham's determination to point out life's pitfalls to the inexperienced, and make public some of his grievances against the world which were usually concealed under a brave show of optimism.

Peacham had discussed the decay of learning and the miserable treatment received by tutors and schoolmasters in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). A comparison of the chapter 'On the Duty of Parents' with the essays 'Of Schools and Masters' and 'Of Parents and Children', makes it clear that his pessimistic outlook on education and the scholastic profession had not altered in the course of sixteen years. He still ascribed the general disesteem of learning and the low standard of the

(1) Peacham had told his story in 1622 in *The Compleat Gentleman*, and it, together with a selection of anagrams and one of the epigrams from Thalia's Banquet (1620) had been added without acknowledgement to the 1636 edition of Camden's Remaines by J. Philpott the editor.
majority of schools to lack of interest on the part of parents of all
classes.

"Some few prime schools do serve as a foyle for the other", but even these "have lost their former greatness... because men
have found shorter cuts in the way of preferment for their
children.

"Neither do our Nobility and Gentry so much affect the study
of good Letters as in former times." (1)

Since he was no longer writing exclusively for gentlemen's sons,
Peacham did not confine his remarks to the subject of private education,
but compared the duties and difficulties of the schoolmaster with those
of the tutor. He had once (2) complained of the exhausting and nerve-
recking uproar of the schoolroom, but he remained convinced that it
was better for the boy to be sent away to school (3), and his experience
of the discomforts and indignities of the tutor's position had shown him
that the schoolmaster's lot was happier in that it was freer.

"A Master of a Free Schoole is more absolute; to teach
in private houses, is subject to many inconveniences; the
Master becometh more servile than their servants, who observe
him to an inch... and lay all the blame of their young masters
unlucky behaviour upon his Master; if he falls in climbing a
Dewes nest, his Master is in fault; if he be asked a question
at the Table by a stranger, and is dumb, his Mother swells,
and tells his Master, hee loseth his time, and doth no good,
though he taketh all the paines with him that possibly hee can." (4)

The tutor's burden was often increased by the foolish indulgence of
the mother; Peacham seems to have suffered considerably in this way, and
besides the vivid description quoted above has left us an account of an
ill-mannered young milord with whom he had once to deal.

(1) Truth of our Times (1658) pages 16 and 17.
(2) In his Preface to the Version of Basilicon Doran addressed to
King James, Supra page 29.
(3) See the Essay of Parents and Children page 80: "Some Mothers when
their children are young, are so fond over them as by no means they
will endure them out of their sight much less send them abroad to
schools...by which they profit more than at home."
(4) Truth of our Times (1658) page 20.
"I knew a great lady that had only one sonne of fourteen or fifteene yeares of age, whom indeed shee would have brought up a schoole, but he must go when himselfe listed, and have two men to carry him thither, and to bring him home again to dinner and supper; he was once in my charge, and I remember not a bit of meat would down with him without sauce.... Being one day with his mother at dinner she seemed to bee overjoyed in that her sonne fell to eating of beefe, which she protested he never did before in his life, and now she verily beleived she would prove a soldier; indeed hee proved very valiant after, for he kicked his mother, and told her he was better descended than ever she was."

(1)

Besides the toil and tribulation which fell to the Master's daily share was the additional worry of what the future might hold in store. Boys grew up and left home and their tutors task was ended, the single-handed master of a small grammar-school could rise no higher because there was nowhere to rise to, important or lucrative headmasterships were very few in number and were only to be obtained by influence; the ordinary pedagogue looked in vain for advancement in his own profession. The obvious course was to seek preferment in the Church; many masters were in Holy Orders, and was fitted by birth and education for the duties of a parish priest, and it might be supposed that a grateful father having a living in his gift would gladly bestow it upon his son's tutor. Peacham, however, had found things otherwise; he asserted that benefices were rather Lottery-prizes than the just rewards of merit and that the most successful tutor must expect nothing more than his small salary. This was not an encouraging outlook for those who had devoted their early energies to study and the labours of maturer years to teaching, but that Peacham was not alone in his opinion is proved by Burton's discussion of Study as a cause of melancholy, in which occurs a passage bearing a close resemblance to part of Peacham's essay.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) pages 91 - 93
"He hath profited in his studies, and proceeded with all applause; after many expenses he is fit for preferment; where shall he have it? What course shall he take being now capable and ready? The most palatable and easy...is to teach a school, term lecturer, or Curate, and for that he shall have Falconer's wages, ten pounds per annum and his diet...as long as he can please his Patron or the Parish...If he be a Traveller Chaplain in a Gentleman's house, after some seven years' service, he may perchance have a living to the halves, or some small Rectory with the mother of the maids at length, a poor kinswoman or a crake chambermaid, to have and to hold during the time of his life."(1)

"But imagine there is a good correspondency held on all sides; hee pleaseth the Parents as well in paines taking, as using the children mildly and gently; they againe love their Masters; let him expect no preferment, but once (for the present) his bare stipend; But some may tell him his Master hath many Benefices in his gift; but believe me, not any that he shall be the better...Sometimes if he happens to marry a Chambermaid of the house, he may fare the better; neither much...for his wife (for charge) may stand him in as much as a small living may be worth."(2)

When the Compleat Gentleman was written Peacham had no remedy to suggest, but by 1636 he had arrived at the same solution of the problem as the large majority of his fellow-educationalists, namely, that education should be a public responsibility:

"I conclude it is most fitting that good Schoolmasters should bee as well in publick Citties and Townes, as private Gentlemans houses; but more fitting they should bee better dealt withal than commonly they are in most places; besides it were greatly to be wished that those who take that profession upon them, and found themselves able to endure it, should follow none other calling so long as they lived, and (as in other Countries) to be maintained by the publicke with large and sufficient stipends; so themselves would not be unprovided in their age, and their schollers not be turned over to seek every yeere new masters."(3)

In the Seventeenth Century, however, this was only a dream, and Peacham knew that most men disliked teaching, and had every reason to do so:

(1) The Anatomy of Melancholy (1691) page 202
(2) The Truth of our Times (1633) pages 21 - 22.
(3) The Truth of our Times (1633) page 25.
"Where knowledge is undervalued, what can a Master expect? Teaching being one of the most laborious callings in the World, and the Schoole well termed Pistrinum Pedagogicum. Hence the most Masters making Teaching a shift but for a time till a better fortune faileth; and to say truth, In Grammaticæ senescere miserrimum."(1)

A further grievance had been aroused by more recent experiences; Peacham had discovered the difficulties of the teacher's life while still a comparatively young man, but had remained unaware of the ills that the author's flesh is heir to until his own dedications failed to elicit the expected rewards. The bitter remarks contained in the essay Of Making and Publishing Books were undoubtedly inspired by niggardly treatment at the hands of noble friends and patrons.

"See now learned Authoriesz, and you Moderns Poets what end your elaborated lives tend unto, and what you gaine by your neat and eloquent epistles."(2)

It was one of Peacham's pet theories that a learned man was in duty bound to impart his knowledge to the world; he had no respect for those who out of a superlative singularity hoard up their treasures like the Griffons of Bactria, yet he was driven to admit that he had "ever found multiplicity of knowledge in many Things to have beene rather an hinderance than ever any Way tending to Advancement."(3) This unpalatable truth is expounded at length in illustration of the disappointments attendant upon authorship:

"Say, thou being a generall Scholler, a Traveller, an excellent Artist in one kind or other, and desirast (not out of vaine glory but of a goode minde of profitting and doing good to others) to make the World a partaker of thy knowledge, if thou beest a Scholler, or Thy Observation being a Traveller; or Thry Experience or Invention being an Artist; having spent many yeares much money and a great part of Thy life hoping by

(1) Truth of our Times (1658) page 19.
(3) Truth of our Times (1658) To the Reader.
thy labours and honest deserving to get a respect in the world, 
or by thy Dedication the favour and support of some great 
personage for thy preferment, or a round Summe of a Stationer 
for thy Copy, and it must be a choice and a rare One too (which 
hee for his own gaine will look to) it will hardly by a tenth 
part countervalle thy labour and charge.

"For the respect of the world is nothing, may thou shalt 
find it altogether ingrate, thy reader is reader to requite 
thee with a jeere or a scorne, than a good word to give thee thy 
due; and perhaps out of envy because thou knowest more wher art 
learner than hee; and though thou hast a generall applause, 
thee shalte be but a nine daies wonder. But then you may say 
the Dedication will bee worth a great matter, either in present 
reward of money, or preferment by your Patrones letter, or other 
means. And for this purpose you prefix as learned and as 
Panegyrical Epistle as you can, and bestow great cost on the 
binding of your books, gilding and stringing of it in the best 
and finest manner: Let me tell thee, whosoever thou art, if now 
a daies (such are these times) thou gettest but as much as will 
pay for the binding and strings thou art well enough, the rest 
thee shalt have in promises of great matters."(1)

Peacham proves his argument by examples of the scanty rewards received 
by modern poets:

"The famous Spenser did never get any preferment in his 
life, save toward his letter and he became a Clerk of Council 
in Ireland; and dying in England, hee dyed but poor...Josua 
Silvester, admired for his Translation of Bertas, dyed at 
Middlesborough, a Factor for our English Merchants, having had 
very little or no reward at all, either for his pains or 
Dedication; and honest Mr. Michael Drayton had some five pounds 
lying by him at his death."(2)

The one episode in Peacham's life which never gave him cause for 
regret was his journey to the Low Countries. Travelling was the greatest 
pleasure of his existence; he enjoyed exploring new towns, meeting new 
friends, and observing the manners and customs of those amongst whom he 
found himself, and from scattered references we learn that the mere fact 
of being on the move, were it only upon the highways of England, was his 
dearest pastime.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) pages 31 - 34. 
(2) Ibid, page 37.
"The true taste of our lives sweetness is in travail upon the way, at home or abroad in other countries; for not only it affordeth change of aire, which is very availfull to health, but variety of objects and remarkable occasions to entertain our Thoughts, beside choice of acquaintance with able and excellent men in all faculties of all nations."(1)

The essay on Travail resembles the chapter on the same subject in The Compleat Gentleman, but it written from a different point of view. Peacham is thinking not so much of the 'grand tour', the necessary complement of every noble youth's education made in style with Tutor and servants, as of the happy-go-lucky wanderings of a man who travels for his own pleasure. Experience had taught him that travelling could not confer any educational advantages, unless undertaken in the right spirit, by such as were fitted by years and by common sense to benefit from it:

"Travail (like Physicke upon several complexion) worketh diversity, with a staid and mature judgement it doth best, such return much bettered by it; those who are sent young and foolish return home as wise as they went."(2)

The Traveller's observation is no longer to be confined to the language and topography of the country, but he is to concentrate on "such Things whereby you may profite yourself...by winning the acquaintance of famous men...for the bettering your understanding and skill in whatsoever you pretend unto."(3) His most precious memories were those of friends whom he had met upon the road "such as you would ever after think your labour and expense of money well bestowed, if you had only passed the sea for their acquaintance." The story of one such chance encounter is excellently told, and reveals amongst other things the value of Latin as a universal language in the Seventeenth Century:

(1) Truth of our Times (1633) page 127.
(2) Truth of our Times (1633) page 138.
"Such an one I met withall, travelling in a very rainy evening, through a moody part of Westphalia, where I had lost my way, and it grew nearer night, and in latine demanding of him the way toward Oldenburg and how I had lost my way; using the word deviavi hic, answered humanum est errare; to the short he would not suffer mee to passe any further, but carried me home to his owne house, which was almost halfe a mile off, where I never found better entertainment, or had more friendlier respect in all my life."(1)

The Truth of our Times may be summed up in Bacon's phrase 'Much in experience, little in books'; all that is valuable in the collection from a literary as well as from an historical point of view has been contributed from Peacham's store of observation. Some of the characteristic features of the book have already been noted in the preceding survey; the didactic intention(2) which governs the whole composition is responsible for many parallels to the Compleat Gentleman, and the importance attached to concrete examples accounts for the numerous autobiographical references which occur in nearly every essay. Whenever Peacham relates an anecdote, he does so with a wealth of detail that gives an impression of actual experience; even when he does not state in so many words that he has met the person or visited the place described, his short but vivid account leaves no room for doubt that he is drawing from the life.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) pages 127, 128.
(2) For example, Deceptions practised upon the common people by quacks who allowed themselves to be bitten by poisonous snakes in order to display the marvellous properties of their nostrums and antidotes were exposed as the tricks of the Coney-catchers had been exposed by Nash and his contemporaries; Peacham adds:

"I have spoken the more at large of these kind of people that the Magistrates in Cities and Townes may have a care of seeing the People abused by such runagates and artificiell pick-pockets." Truth of our Times (1638) page 187.
Among the most interesting passages in the book are references, both incidental and deliberate, to contemporary fashions and habits of life. These include an account of the diet of a spirited, dainty boy, one of Peacham's pupils:

"Not a bit of meats would down with him without sauce, which must be extraordinary too, as the juice of limes with sugar and rose-water. Sometimes if it were a dainty fowle, as Patrick, Gray Flover, or the like, he must have wine mixed with breadcrumbs, and the juice of an Orange; Pepper he could not abide for it bit him by the tongue; his breakfast was either a candle, or a manchet spread with Almond Butter."(1)

This may be contrasted with two appetising but less delicate repasts described in the pamphlet Heum and Tum(1633): Peacham seems to have been a connoisseur in these matters:

"She vowed to bestow a good piece of Beef, a dish of Eggs, and a Gallon of nappy Ale for a breakfast. She fetched forth a quarter of a roasted Pigge, and a dish of new gathered Damsins, with a Mazer of good Ale, wherein she poured a little cup of Anise-seeds water."(2)

The essay Of Fashion contains a great deal of valuable information about Tudor, Jacobean and Caroline dress; Peacham's ideal (a well-cut suit of sober dignified black) is far removed from the common conception of the many-hued silks, satins, laces, and jewels with which the Elizabethan mountier or the dashing Cavalier was wont to adorn himself. That Peacham's views on dress were not those of the young bloods of his day is proved by the remarks in which he regrets the simplicity of early Tudor times.

"King Henry the Eighth was the first that ever wore a band about his neck, and that very plaine, without lace, and about an inch or two in depth. Wee may see the case is altered, hee is not a Gentleman, nor in the fashion, whose band of Italian out-work now standeth him not at the least in three or foure pounds, Wee a Semster in Holborne Told me that there are of Three score

---

(1) Truth of our Times (1633) Parents and Children page 92.
(2) Heum and Tum (1633) pages 11 and 13.
pound price a piece; and shoe-tyes, that goe under the name of roses, from Thirty shillings to three, four, and five pounds the paire. Yes, a Gallant of the time not long since payd Thirty pounds for a paire.

'The like variety hath been in Hats...some with crowns so high, that beholding them farre of, you would have thought you had discovered the Tarriffe...after them came up those with square crownes and brimmes almost as broad as a Brewer's mash fat,"(1)

and here he quotes from his own collection of epigrams that on 'Soranio's broad-brimmed hat'(2) written eighteen years before.

One of the aptest remarks in the essay is Peacham's comment on the refusal of the poor to be outdone in modishness by the wealthy:

"Fashions pass from the Countess to the Chambrière, who rather than she will want her curled locks, will turne them up with a hot pair of Tonges, instead of the irones."(3)

Section III (b) Topical Satire.

The repeated references to matters of topical interest which characterize The Truth of our Times are also typical of Peacham's tentative ventures into the department of humorous fiction, Coach and Sedan pleasantly disputing (1638), and A Merry Discourse of Neum and Tuum (1639)(4) These two pamphlets (the first of which is a contribution to the study of London's traffic problem, and the second an account of the discord caused in England by the possessive pronouns 'Mine' and 'Thine') have many points in common; each is written in a light fanciful mood and reveals something of the quality of Peacham's imagination.

Coach and Sedan, published under the pseudonym 'Mie-Amuxius' may be easily established as Peacham's, since it was entered at Stationer's Hall under his name. Additional evidence is provided by a quotation from 'a funereal elegie upon the Countesse of Warwick, lateleie printed', which may be identified with Peacham's Thirtyhs Atrata (1654)(5), by references to Lincolnshire and the Low Countries, and by six passages which are closely parallel to various other pamphlets.

(1) Truth of our Times (1638) pages 61 and 67.
(2) Thậtia's Panquet (1639) No .
(3) Truth of our Times (1638) page 64
(4) For full titles see Bibliographical Notes. (5) See Chapter 5.
In the dedication, addressed to Sir Elias Hicks, one of his Majesty's gentleman-pensioners in ordinary, Peacham apologises for the trivial nature of his subject, excusing himself by pointing out that "the wisest Counsellors and greatest Scolars have ever seasoned and sweetened their profoundest Studies and great employments with these and the like passages of inoffensive Mirth", and recalling that Erasmus wrote of Folly, Homer of Frogs and Mice, Fannius of the Nettle, and Sir Philip Sidney of a Country School-master.

One of the disadvantages of authorship in the early Seventeenth Century was the small credit to be got by humorous writing; reputation was only to be purchased by serious endeavour calculated to confer moral or intellectual benefit on the reader. Peacham takes elaborate pains to assure his public that this 'light stuff' has no part in his ordinary literary undertakings, for his pride as a scholar and a gentleman would have been hurt by the suggestion that pamphleteering could be anything more to him than a casual pastime:

"To say Truth, ... I am no ordinary pamphleteer, I would have thee to know; only in Mirth I tried what I could doe upon a running subject, at the request of a friend in the strand, whose legs not so sound as his Judgement, enforce him to keepe his chamber, where he can neither sleepe or studie for the clattering of Coaches." (1)

That the subject was indeed 'running', and had provoked much contemporary comment may be deduced from a ballad in the Roxburghe Collection entitled The Coaches Overthrow (2), and from the entry of a pamphlet Cart accusing Hackney Coach and Sedan in the Stationers' Register (3). Peacham's account of the matter is a rambling autobiographical narrative interspersed with passages of dialogue, into which are introduced nine

(1) Spriet. To the Reader. Coach and Sedan (1636)
(2) Entered in Stationers' Register February 19 1636. See Arber Transcript IV. 329.
characters, each of whom joins in the dispute from a different point of view. The scene is laid in Jackanapes Lane in the early morning "about the Time when the Cuckow (not daring to come nearer to the city than Islington) warned the Milk-Maides, it was high time to bee gone with their pailes into Finsburie; and nodding to the Cheshire carriers, told them if they made no more hast, they would not reach Dunstable that night", and the story opens as the narrator (who may be safely identified as Peacham himself) comes down the lane and perceives "two lustie fellows to justle for the wall." The disputants, Coach with his coachman and two lackeys, and Sedan with his carriers, are abusing each other as they try to pass in the narrow street, and Peacham joins the argument in an attempt to settle it. A crowd begins to 'cluster about like the ballet-singer's auditorie', and the debate is carried on by a carter, a farmer, a waterman, a country parson, and a surveyor; finally 'Beer-Cart' joins the throng and adjudicates the quarrel, giving each party a set of rules for future guidance, and saying that the Coachman is to drink beer and take care of his horses, and that Sedan must see that his bottom be sound "that gross and unwieldy men slip not through!". The argument is not conducted methodically but is interrupted by asides and digressions as Peacham introduces new characters, and allows each speaker to state his own grievances and illustrate his remarks with anecdotes and reminiscences.

These digressions provide the chief interest for the present-day reader; details concerning the origin of coaches and their first use in England have doubtless a certain historical value, but Peacham writes with more zest when he leaves his main subject to describe a haymaking expedition through the mouth of the farmer;
"My coach is my cart, wherein now and then for my pleasure I ride, my maides going along with me, with their Forkes, rakes, and a bottle or two of good Beer, with an Apple pastie, Potted butter, Churmilk, bread and cheese, and such like, unto the field in Summer time to cooke cornes, make hay, and the like."

The 'Country Vicar' who turns out to be one of the author's old college friends, introduces the 'Surveyor' ("a limner in oil and a skilful musician who hath long desired your acquaintance"); it is interesting to note that Peacham adopts a different style when the three educated men are speaking together and exchanging stories of the good old days. After Beer-Cart has decided the quarrel, the author offers his newfound friends a quart of Canary Wine 'for this merry meeting and old acquaintance sake', and as they set off for the Three Tuns at Charing Cross a new discussion arises concerning the relative value of ancient and modern times, new inventions like Gunpowder, Printing, Clocks, and Windmills, being matched against such ancient secrets as Perpetual Combustion and Tyrian Dye. (1) True to his self-description as 'a piece of a scholler', Peacham champions the Ancients and quotes Chaucer (in a very much revised version) as his authority:

"Whenes comes this new Corne, men have from yeares to yeares Out of old fields, old men saith, And whenem comes this new learning that men leere Out of old books in good faith." (2)

---

(1) Evidently Peacham was already familiar with Pancirolla's book which he was later to use for The Valley of Variety (1633), Supra page 221. (2) Coach and Sedan (1656) page 157v. The passage comes from The Parlement of Foules (Skeet's Chaucer 1894 Vol.1 page 336) and the Chaucerian version runs: "For out of olde feldes, as men seith, Cometh at this newe corn fro yeer to yeer; And out of olde bones, in good faith, Cometh at this newe science that meniere." This mis-quote is not mentioned in Miss Caroline Spurgeon's 500 Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1925), and does not appear to have been used by anyone but Peacham, who may therefore be assumed to be quoting independently but from memory. Peacham's two other references to Chaucer are noted by Miss Spurgeon: that from Prince Henry Revived (1616) Vol.1 page 190, and that from The Completest Gentleman (1622) Vol. 1 page 197.
The most convincing argument in favour of substituting Henry Peacham for the H.P., which appears on the title page of *A Merry Discourse of Neum and Tuum* (1639) is its general resemblance in spirit and tone to *Coaeh and Sedan*, together with the close parallel between the author’s apology for the ‘mirthful’ quality of his work and that already quoted from *Misanamius’s* dedication:

"If many and great judgements have descended from Their high imploiements, to please themselves at leasurable hours, with light exercises and mirthfull recreations as Sir Thomas Moore did when he pend his Utopia, Erasmus his praise of Follie, Fannius his Nettle. I trust thou will hold me excused who at this time having no imployment at all, have made this relation of The late Progresse of Neum, and Tuum, two Footpostes that dis-ease the whole kingdome".(1)

Apart from any literary clue, however, the little volume contains many of those references to Lincolnshire, Cambridge, and the Low Countries which appear in almost every one of Peacham’s books, and which one is forced to regard as infallible hall-marks of his workmanship. He must have journeyed up and down the Great North Road from London to Lincolnshire many times, and it is characteristic of the man that instead of concocting an imaginary itinerary for Neum and Tuum he confined their ‘Progresses’ to the route with which he was himself familiar. In this pamphlet his references bring him nearer home than ever before, for the birthplace of Neum and Tuum, was Wrangle, the next village but one to his father’s parish of Leverton, and the sheep-farming and fishing which formed the principal occupations of his father’s parishioners provided him with two patches of local colour:

"Upon what occasion Harpax left Wales to come and live in those parts, it is unknown; it may be the goodness of the soile, and the benefit of the Fanne on the one side, and the sea Marshes (so commodious for feeding of Sheepe) on the other, were the motives of his leaving Mountainous Wales.

(1) Neum and Tuum (1639) To the Reader (cf. supra page 25)
"They used to go with fishermen to the sea, whom they made to fall out daily about setting their stakes, removing of nets, and division of their fish." (1)

Although this pamphlet, like Coash and Sedan, deals with contemporary abuses, it was not immediately occasioned by any specific topic of current interest, but is a general satire upon such as 'pick no purses, but empty them after a legal way'. Peacham's experience of life in small country parishes had taught him much of the waste of time and money in petty litigation. Minor differences over rights of way, Tithes, and strayed cattle provided lucrative employment for country attorneys, the less scrupulous of whom did not hesitate to keep their clients at loggerheads in order to swell their own fees. Satire of this aspect of human folly and frailty is at least as old as the Greek fables, but Peacham gives the subject a new interest by his original and whimsical method of handling it. He personifies the causes of the trouble, the pronouns Mine and Thine, as 'two eresse brothers that make Strife and Debate wheresoever they come'; the main plan of the pamphlet is that of a 'picaresque' novellette, and satire upon litigators, dishonest lawyers, and quack doctors is introduced incidentally.

The brother adventurers Meum and Tuum were born at Wrangle, the twin sons of Harpax the usurer and his shrewish wife; they were addicted to 'fighting and quarrelling from the cradle, and caused so much trouble amongst the villagers and were so unruly that even their parents were afraid of them:

"The mother thought they might bring her in question for a Witch, and so to a shamefull end....The Parish intended, at the next press to have packed them away for Souldiers; but a Gentleman of good ranke, and one who had been abroad, living in the Parish, would not agree hereunto, for (quoth he) they are by nature so contentious and quarrelsome, they will raise a mutinie, and so overthrow the whole Army." (2)

(1) Meum and Tuum (1639) pages 3 and 5.
(2) Meum and Tuum (1639) page 6.
At length they were sent off to seek their fortunes, and both found employment in the same town, Neum with a Spiritual Court Proctor, and Tuum with an attorney. Thus each picked up a smattering of education and sufficient legal knowledge to set the whole parish by the ears over some question of Tithes. In time the place became too hot to hold them and they set out for London, by way of Cambridge where Peacham digressed long enough for them to visit the show places of that 'famous Universitie', the Castle ruins, Pythagoras' school, the Round Church, St. Radegund's nunnery, Barmwell Abbey, and Erasmus' study at Queen's College. Once in London the brothers, who had by this time ceased to quarrel except in the way of business, frequented the Inns of Court and perfected their skill in legal trickery. At the beginning of the long vacation they turned their steps homeward, supporting themselves on the way by posing as quack doctor and fortune teller. After a variety of adventures they reached home to find their father dead, and at the time of going to press were still quarrelling over their inheritance.

The plot, as outlined above, is simple enough, but is diversified by a number of amusing episodes, amongst which may be noted Tuum's misadventures at a bull-baiting, and the visit to a genial old Justice of the Peace. Fond of travelling and an experienced Traveller, Peacham usually wrote from his own recollection of pleasant but uneventful journeys, and ignored the literary picaresque convention whereby every chance acquaintance is either a rogue, or a comedian, and every inn the scene of some amorous contretems. While composing this pamphlet, however, the mantle of the Elizabethan realistic novelists seems for a brief instant to have descended upon him; Neum and Tuum fall from one
adventure into another amid a flood of picturesque details which suggest that the mature Peacock might have developed - had the fashion of the day encouraged him - into a capable novelist. The two chief characters are neither developed nor differentiated, but some of the minor personages are drawn with considerable care. The accounts of the lazy Curate and the energetic young Person, are examples of two methods of character-drawing, the one individualized and distinctive, the other impersonal:

"The Curate, I must tell you, was no great Scholler, or ever graduate in any University, but with long Teaching School in the Church, he became perfect in his ruls; preach he could not, neither lay he in the personage house (which was miserably fallen to ruine), the Barnes, Stables, and Dove coat, being onely propped up, and both unwalled, and untiled) but hee had a Flock-bed upon a pallet in the Steeple of the Church, which was both his Chamber and his Study; The Prease wherein he laid those books he had, were holes in the walls, where Jack Dawes had formerly bred; neither did the Bells trouble his study or his sleep, for they rang not to prayers from one end of the weeke to another, except upon the Sunday and Then not till ten a clock."

"Now to the late old person's living was presented a young man, a Mr. of Arts of Cambridge, who was sediligent in his place as his predecessor was remisse; for he preached every Sabbath, and Catechized in the afternoons, reading prayers every Wednesday and Friday, observing the Canons duly in everything; and which crowned his other good parts, he was a great lover of Peace and Unity among his neighbours, and could not endure any wrangling or babbling among his Parishioners."(1)

Peacock's description of Master Lime, the gouty old attorney, is strongly reminiscent of his own word-pictures of December and January(2) and of Deloney's description of old Bosom in Thomas of Reading.(3)

---

(1) Mann and Tunst (1656) pages 7 and 9
(2) Supra pages 216 and 210, note 2.
(3) "Becomes Inne...was so called of his name that kept it, who being a foule sloven, went alwais with his nose in his besome...figuring forth a description of cold winter, for he alwais wore two coats, two caps, two or three pair of stockings, and a high pair of schoes, over which he drew a great pair of lined slippers." Thomas of Reading ed. F.O. Mann (1912). page 218.
"They found Master Lime in an upper Chamber, sitting by
a good fire in a Wicker Chaire, with three or foure night Caps,
and an old Grosse Hat on his head, one Fotte upon the Tonges,
in the Chimney corner, and the other on a little buffet stoole
upon a Cushion, his legge many Times bound about with a rouler
of red cloth."(1)

Comparison of this description with earlier passages in the same
strain brings home the fact that, in this instance at least, Peacham is
not actually drawing from the life, but is treating a conventional
subject in such vivid phrases that his picture has the semblance of
realism. This use of realistic descriptive detail constitutes one of
the chief features of this pamphlet; Peacham's imagination, not usually
particularly active, seems to have been quickened by some creative
impulse, for he infuses the most trivial points with colour and life:

"Men and Tuam in Theaving-Lane: Tuam a little
darke rooms, that had but one window, no bigger then a Cat
might crepepe through, hard by Hell, noere to the upper end
of Westminster Hall."(2)

"They met with an old Woman, carrying a Pitcher of
Buttermilk in one hand, the other held up her apron,
wherein was a Cat blindfolded, of her They enquired of an
honest Alehouse...Shee Told them in a lane on their right
hand was a very good and a quiet house, at the signe of the
two Bears and the Beehive."(3)

SECTION III

(c) Contemporary Ways and Means.

The most frequently reprinted of all Peacham's works and that
by which he was best known to readers in the late Seventeenth Century
and early Eighteenth Century was The Worth of a Penny or a Caution to
Keep Money, at least eight editions of which appeared by 1704.(4)

(1) Men and Tuam (1639) page 32.
(2) Men and Tuam (1639) page 17.
(4) Questions regarding the date of the first edition of this pamphlet
have already been discussed. (Supra page 67.) First extant edition:
1647
Later editions: 1664, 1667, 1669, 1677, 1687,
1696, and 1704.
Modern editions: 1818, 1833, 1903.
The post-Restoration history of the pamphlet is one of successive tamperings with the text. Even in 1664 the publisher William Lee had had the Greek and Latin sentences translated, and sundry notes added in the margin by one of Peacham's friends, and the next edition (prepared in 1665, but prevented, first by the plague and later by fire, from appearing until 1667) was "well fitted and corrected with some useful additions printed in a change of letter". In 1669 the size of the pamphlet was further augmented by interesting tables showing the various causes of deaths in London during the years 1642 - 1669, and these tables were brought up to date for another edition in 1677. The next edition was made in 1687 by Samuel Keble; the new publisher, whether by accident or design, omitted approximately seven and a half pages at the beginning of the text, and about four lines at the end. The two subsequent editions (1695 and 1704) are similarly shortened.

Carew Hazlett mentions an edition of 1686, and one of the copies in the Bodleian (Douce 236) contains a catalogue slip referring to an edition dated August 31 1686. This error probably arose from a misinterpretation of the 1687 title-page:

"...Licensed August 31 1686. Rob. Midgeley, London. Printed for Samuel Keble...1687"(1)

The shorter version which appeared in 1642 with the title A Caution to Keeps Money is printed on the eight pages of a single quarto gathering (the Worth of a Penny contains 20 leaves); since it almost certainly represents Peacham's first draft of the full length pamphlet it may rightly be considered first. A comparison of the summary of the contents which appears on the title-page(2) with the headings of the twelve paragraphs which make up the Worth of a Penny will show how Peacham developed his subject:

(1) From title-page of 1687 ed. in British Museum(8225. a. 46) See Bibliographical Notes
(2) See Bibliographical Notes
"The Common and Ordinary Causes why men are poor and want money. The Symptoms of a mind dejected, and discontent for want of money. The misery of Want of Money in regard of Contempt in the World. How necessity and want compelleth to offend both against body and soul. Of Frugality or Parsimony what it is, and of the Effects thereof. The Definition of Frugality or Thrift. The Derivation of the word Penny, and of the value and worth thereof. The simpleworth of a single penny. How many ways money may be saved in diet, apparell, recreation, and the like. Of Thrift and good husbandry in Apparell. Of Recreations. Of such honest ways that a man in want may take to live and get money."

Peasam's hand is readily recognisable in parallels to other pamphlets, and in a reference to Lincolnshire. The scarcity of new ideas in A Caution to Keep Money is one good reason for supposing it to be a first draft of The Worth of a Penny, since in the longer pamphlet the old ideas have been expanded and new ones added. One of the most characteristic passages in the short version is that in which Peacham urges - as he had done as early as 1622 in the Preface to the Compleat Gentleman - that boys of all classes should learn some trade so as to support themselves in Time of need:

"If such a one (i.e. a rich man) comes to miserie, especially in a strange Countrey there is none more miserable than hee, by reason of his estate and riches he would never give himselfe to learne or follow any as is the manner for the most part of our English breeding, that turne but himselfe and a common fider in their doublets and hose to seeke Their fortunes in another Countrey: The Fider in a very short time would starve the Gentleman, as having no art to earn his bread, whereas in other Countries the Gentrie are able to live without their hereditary means by some profession of the minde, or manuell trade or other...Mauris late Lantgrave of Essen was an excellent composer in Musicke have (sic) made more forty several Sets of Meeters or Church Songs, which upon festivall daies he himselfe would play upon the Organs." (1)

The old grievance against the bad treatment received by poor men dining at the houses of the great, which had been aired in The Truth of our Times (2), is discussed in very similar words in both the long and the short version.

(1) A Caution to Keep Money (1642) page 7.
(2) Cf. supra page 245.
"Though he goe in good clothes and hath beene knowne to be necessitous he shall be slighted, if he be invited to a rich mans table, he must be content to take his place at the nether end, to be carved to the last, and of the worst, and if sometime the Mistress of the feast shall offer him the first cut as of Braume, Venison or the like, it was That that lay at the bottome of the source tub, if venison his peace was either tainted or bruised in the carriage, if his bread be given him of the first cut of the loafe let him be assured it was either mouldie or mouseaten, when others discourse he must be silent, or at the most whisper in his eare that sits next him, or to the waiter, if hee want drinke or anything else, arise and leave his stoole at the coming in of the Bason and Eyre...."(1)

"What greater grief can there be to an ingenuous and free spirit, who sitting at a superior's table and thought to be necessitous and only come for a dinner, to be placed the lowest, to be carved unto of the worst and first cut as of boiled beefe, braum, or the like, and if the Indie or loosebodied Mistress presents unto him the milke from her trencher, then assuredly it is burned.....if he be carved unto out of a pastie or venison, it was some part that was bruised in the carriage and began to strike, yet for all this he must be obsequious, endure any jeere, whisper for his drinks, and rise at the coming of the Bason and Eyre....What discourse soever is offered at such Tables the necessitous man, Though he can speak more to the purpose than them all, yet the must give them leave to engross all the Talke, and though he knows they Talk palpable and gross lies, speake the absurdest nonsense, That may be, yet must he be silent, and be held all The while for a Vau-neant."(2)

His dissatisfaction with the meagre rewards accorded to his labours as tutor and author led Peacham to look back regretfully upon what he imagined to be the comparative ease and affluence of the days of Elizabeth. He writes as laudator temporis acte, overlooking the far from rosy descriptions left by Ascham and Spenser, yet there is no doubt that there were in his own day new and special causes of insecurity; the heavy taxation and increasing unrest and anxiety which marked the years immediately prior to the outbreak of The Civil War must have caused a considerable decline in the generosity of those upon whom men like Peacham relied, if not for their living, at least for Their entertainment and recognition in the world.

"In the beginning of the Reaigne of Queene Elizabeth of blessed memorie, learning was advanced and admired, no poor Scholler (though but meanely learned) but could get preferment, yea many times were sought unto and entreated to take voide livings, the Ministers of the word were then had everwhere in

(1) Caution to Keepe Money (1642) page 5.
(2) Worth of a Penge (1647) page 16.
great reverence, and welcomed of Noblemen, Knights, and gentlemen
to their houses, there being then no rent of Schisms in the Church,
except now and then such brainsick fellows as Penrie, Browne,
Copinger, and some few other, who by night sewed their cockle in
holes and corners, when Pluralties were hardly knowne or heard of,
their wittie books and Poems were published and high esteemed of
and admired. In these days we find the contrary of
all. A poore Schooler now in want shall now never come to any
preferment whiles he live, he shall finde neither countenance nor
entertainment among our great ones, without the helpe of monied
friends, Noblemen and our Gentrie then Took the dedication of
booke as honour unto them now no better then a begging, then was
there amongst us Comynns via una, but now our hearts and wales are
divided, as many seuerall opinions as seuerall faces, a...Cobler
shall have as much respect as a Schooler, and a base Ironmonger
shall dare to affront The most learned Bishop and that impune".(1)

This long passage has no counterpart in The Worth of a Penny beyond
an allusion to the practice of selling livings, a subject already
discussed in The Compleat Gentleman and The Truth of our Times:

"A good and painfull Schooler having lately Taken his orders
shall be hardly able to open a Church doore without a golden key,
when he should ring his bells."(2)

Although Peaches is still harping on the old string tempora mutantur,
his paragraph upon the increasing disadvantages of the Courtier's position
has a special interest in that he very rarely mentioned the Court and his
own early connection with it in his later works:

"The time hath beene when to have had a place in Court was
esteemed the Achine or highest pitch of preferment in the land,
he was the prime man in the Parish where he lived, he was welcome
in a vacation to all the gentlemen and his neighbours, hee had
power in every office in the Court to bid his friend welcome, as
the Pantrie, Beere and winesellers, hee could though but of The
Guard, have commanded a pece of boyld Beefe for a breakfast, but
...it is well if he can but get his owne due in mony which
while he wanteth his case is hard and to be pittled."(3)

(1) A Caution to keepe Money (1642) pages 5 and 6.
(2) Worth of a Penny (1647) page 7.
(3) A Caution to keepe Money (1642) page 9.

Of also Truth of our Times
quoted supra p.252
and Compleat Gentleman
supra p. 137.
The chief reason for the frequent repringing of The Worth of a Penny was its continued relevance to economic problems. Years passed by, fashions changed, kings lived and died, parties rose and fell, but the want of money was still 'an Epidemical disease reigning over the whole country', and men continued to grumble at high taxation, and the conveyance of money out of the country by foreigners. Hence, although the details of his work belong unmistakably to the Seventeenth Century, Peasam's pamphlet has always seemed fresh to succeeding generations of readers, and can be read Today with an appreciation that depends less upon its interest as a literary curiosity than upon the vivid reality of such phrases as:

"One very well compared worldly wealth, or money, unto a football, some few nimble heeled and headed run quite away with it, when the most are only lookers-on, and cannot get a kick at it in all their lives."(1)

The list of useful commodities, cash to be purchased for a penny in Peasam's day would have to be considerably modified to meet the case in the Twentieth Century. It is no longer possible to buy enough 'strong water to save life in a fainting fit' for a penny; indeed all the items mentioned are now worth about sixpence, except the Baker's roll, and the daily newspaper which corresponds to the Seventeenth broadsheet:

"You may have all the Newses in England, of Murders, Floods, Witches, Fires, Tempests, and what not in one of Martin Parker's Ballads."(2)

The disquisition ends with some advice on how to earn a living; Peasam's principal suggestions - Emigration and Teaching - were less worn then than they are Today, and he makes life in the outposts of

---

(1) Worth of a Penny (1647) page 6.
N.B. This idea is to be found in Minerva Britanna (1612) Emblem on page 61.
(2) Worth of a Penny (1647) page 21.
Empire sound very attractive, even if experience forbade him to offer a rosy prospect to the would-be pedagogue:

"If he hath a minde to travall, he shall finde entertainement in the Netherlands.... If you list not to follow the warres you may finde entertainement among our new Plantations in America, as New England, Virginia, the Barbadas, Saint Christopher, and the rest, where with a great deal of honest employment, as fishing with the net or hooks, planting, gardening, and the like, which beside your maintenance you shall finde it a great content to your conscience to be in action which God commands us all to be, if you have beene ever in a Grammar Schoole you may every where finde children to teach, so many no doubt as will keepe you from starving."(1)

Peacham's warning against the formation of intimate friendships contained in The Compleat Gentleman has already been noted(2); his somewhat over cautious attitude had been modified before The Truth of our Times was written, for in the essay Of Friendship he advised his readers to preserve a 'real' friend with loving care:

..."Use him tenderly and not oft, and then but in cases of necessity when (as a good sword) you shall see what mottel he is made of"(3)

The longer he lived the more clearly Peacham seems to have recognised the value and rarity of friendship. The advice of 1638 was reiterated in The Worth of a Penny, where the husbandry of friendship is described as a necessity part of Thrifty living:

"Let every man endeavour by a dutifull diligence, to get a friend, and when he hath found him (neither are they so easily found in these dayes), with all care to keep him, and to use him as one would do a christall or a Venice glass, to take him up softly and use him tenderly; or as you would a sword of excellent temper and mottel, not to hack every gate, or cut every staple and post therewith, but to keepe him to defend you in your extremest danger."(4)

(1) The Worth of a Penny (1647) pages 33 and 34.
(2) Supra page 156.
(3) Truth of our Times (1638) page 38.
(4) Worth of a Penny (1647) page 34.
The short tract entitled *The Art of Living in London*, which was published in 1642 as "By R.P.", contains much material also to be found in *The Truth of our Times* and *The Worth of a Penny*, and is so closely akin to the latter in style and conception, that Peacham's authorship is practically indisputable. In this pamphlet he tackles the problem of living safely and happily in a city crowded with thieves and tricksters, and advises his readers how to spend time and money to the best advantage. The motive of writing is purely didactic; Peacham does not indulge in fantasy or witticisms, but lays down his rules of wise conduct as soberly as he had done his 'first and plain directions' in the *Art of Drawing* nearly forty years before. Now, as then, his instructions are based upon personal observation:

"Now the Citie being like a vast Sea (full of gulls) fearfull dangerous shelves and rocks, ready at every storme to sinke and cast away, the weake and inexperienced Barke (with her fresh water souls) as wanting her compasses and skilful Pilot; myselfe, like another Columbus or Drake, acquainted with her rough entertainement and stormes, have drawne you this chart or map for your guide, as well out of mine owne as my many friends experience."(2)

Peacham's advice was principally addressed to two classes of country cousin, gentlemen drawn by occasion of business, and the poorer sort coming thither to seek their Fortunes. He urged those who came on business to make that their first interest and to transact it as quickly as possible, warning them of the many ways in which substance may be wasted - visits of vain acquaintance, necessitous persons ever borrowing, fashionable clothes, play-going, gambling, feasting, and hiring of Boats and Coaches. He seems to have been as much concerned for his readers' purses as for their souls; he probably thought that reasonable and

(1) See Bibliographical Notes for full title
(2) *Art of Living in London* (1642) page (Al) V
moderate expenditure was one sign of a well-balanced intellect and
a temperate, God-fearing disposition. His remarks are based on sound
common sense; he insists that the traveller should see his horse well
housed and cared-for, settle upon terms with his host before taking a
room or ordering a meal, and avoid drinking and gambling in the Inn-
parlour. His sovereign remedy against vice and discontent was healthy
and improving occupation, and he regarded idleness as the root of many
evils:

"I call idleness keeping your chamber, consuming the
day lying in bed, or risen in walking up and down from street
to street, to this or that Gentleman's Chamber, having no
business at all, and cannot meet with usefull company, let the
Bible, and other books of piety such as treat of Philosophy,
Natural or Moral History, the Mathematicks, as Arithmetick,
Geometry, Musicke, sometime Heraldry and the like be your
chiefs company; for you shall find books no flatterers, nor
expensive in your converse with them."(1)

Peacham approved of serious Humanist study, but had only scorn for
the vague and ambitious speculations of those who wasted their time on
"unprofitable, yea and impossible inventions and practises, as the
Philosophers Stone, The Adamantine Alphabet, The Discovery of that
new world in the Moone, by those new-devised perspective glasses (farre
excelling...those of Galilaeus) sundry kindes of uselessse wild-fire,
Waterworks, Extractions, Distillations and the like."(2)

The connection of this pamphlet, and those sections of The Truth
of our Times, and Neum and Tuum which expose the tricks of fortune-
tellers, quacks and charlatans, with the earlier Coney-catching tracts
is obvious. Peacham bids his readers beware of pickpockets, card-
sharpers, and confidence-men, but adds that such warnings should be
unnecessary in view of the repeated exposures which had already been
made.

(1) Art of Living in London (1642) page A2.
(2) Worth of a Penny (1647) page 15.
"If you are a country man and newly come to town you will be snubbed by some cheaters or other, who will salute, call you by your name (which perhaps one of their company meeting you in another street hath learned by way of mistaking you for another man, which is an old trick) carry you to the Taverne, saying they are kin to someone dwelling near you etc. But all tricks of late years have been too plainly discovered, and are so generally known almost to every child, that their practice is out of date, and now no great fear of them."(1)

Finally the art of living - in London and elsewhere - is epitomized in the following note of instruction:

"Serve God, avoid idleness, keep your money, and beware of ill company."(2)

Because of the great variety of material and ideas - literary, topical, and personal - which Peacham has contrived to cram into the eight pages of A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce to Smætymmaus 1642(3), this pamphlet cannot easily be placed in any of the categories already defined. The title suggests a connection with his contributions to political and religious controversy, but the reference to Smætymmaus is not to be taken seriously; Peacham seems to have used the name as the Elizabthen did that of Euphues, in the hope of attracting public attention. There is, at present, no means of proving that this was actually Peacham's last pamphlet, but it is certainly one of the last, and the manner in which it recapitulates the Themes of many earlier pamphlets justifies its separate consideration as Peacham's final statement of his attitude to life and letters.

(1) Art of Living in London (1642) page A5v.
(2) Op. cit. page (64)v.
(3) For full title etc. see Bibliographical Notes. Only the initials H.P. occur on the titlepage, but the general style together with numerous parallel passages and personal references establishes Peacham's authorship with little difficulty.
The pamphlet’s principal object is satirical; on the surface Peacham’s paradoxical praise of ‘duncery’ is no more than an elaborate literary joke, but a serious vein of dissatisfaction and disappointment underlay his flippancy manner. His satire was directed against a particular aspect of folly and injustice from which he had personally suffered, and to which he had referred from time to time in the course of his life—the promotion of ignorant men to positions of honour and responsibility in Church and University which should rightfully have been filled by learned and cultured persons.

In spite of his resentment at the scanty return he had received for his life of hard work, Peacham treated his subject with the same good humour that he had displayed in Coach and Sedan and Meum and Tuam. For all his complaints against the hardness and difficulties of the times in The Worth of a Penny and the rest of his topical pamphlets, he remained uncrushed and unembittered by circumstances, and was still able at the ripe age of sixty-four to look on the lighter side of life and give vent to his spleen in a satiric pamphlet which is less sarcastic than mildly amused. There seems to have been scarcely a trace of personal jealousy in Peacham’s composition; when other men have been slighted and their merits disregarded they have lacerated their successful rivals with cunning rapier thrusts, or stabbed them in the back and left them for dead; Peacham merely pokes them in the ribs with his ferula, and leaving them to enjoy their stalled ox as best they may, goes off to his dinner of herbs at the Threepenny ordinary in Black Horse Alley.

In the first paragraph Peacham proves to his own satisfaction that he himself is no dunce:
"When I undertook this subject I considered whether I were myselfe a Dunce or no... But when I saw that I had spent no small a Time in the University, published some useful Bookes (as well in Latine as in English) to the commonwealth, which have taken in the world, and I could never get any thereby... silken words, I concluded I was no Dunce, but the greatest reason of all That persuaded me was, that for all my pains I would never get preferment, had I bin Dunce, without question I had long ere this, perhaps bin double or Treble beneficed, bin a lasie Prebend, or Deane of some Cathedral myselfe, or kept a fellowship with a good living to boote in some Colledge or other, as long as I had lived."(1)

The main force of the attack is directed against ignorant pedants and priests; Peecham, picks out some of the best stories from his earlier books to illustrate and diversify his work. One of these describes the country schoolmaster who 'was accused before the Major of the Towne for teaching his Boyes to speake false Latine' and who boasted in reply that 'they should play at Cat or Spanne Counter with all the Boyes in the Country'.(2) Another instance is a false rendering of a line from Horace by one of Peecham's own masters, which has already been quoted from The Compleat Gentleman(3). The point of a mediocre epigram published in The More the Merrier (1606)(4) is developed, with the assistance of an appropriate setting, into a really good story to prove that 'many of them though they want learning, yet have They oft times good Naturall wits, and ripe conceits upon any occasion':

"One came before Bishop B. to be examined and posed of the Bishop for a Living when he came for his institution, and it fell out to be late at night, and at such a time as he was writing of a letter. Mr. B. quoth the Bishop you have picked out an ill time, for me to examine you, neither an I at leisure to ask you many questions, come one, quoth the Bishop, what is latine for this Candestick, and if it please your Lordship, quoth the other, the Candestick is latine of itself, so it was

(1) Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce (1642) page 1.
(2) Praise of a Dunce (1642) page 5. Cf. Thelia's Banquet Epigram No.48
(3) Supra page 22. 'Upon Sir Hugh' beginning: "A Free-schoole Maister in a Country Towne, For's Idlenesse was brought before the Mayor...."
(4) See Appendix to Chapter...
Indeed a latin Candlestick, the B. not knowing whether he spoke out of simplicity, or in way of jest, gave him his institution without further questioning. "(1)

Peacham managed to collect a formidable array of 'duncey virtues; he seems to have been genuinely grateful for the amusement afforded by Latin solemnisms:

"They make good sport in Their exercises by speaking false Latin... to the exceeding recreation of other."

"A dunce also makes us good sport with any of his works he publishes;... witness Epistolx obscurorum virorum where you shall see Duncery to the life, that if a man be extremely melancholique, let him read that book, and I will warrant to cure him."(2)

Another reason for gratitude to the 'dunce' was his generosity to poor scholars. One is tempted to wonder whether Peacham had been one of those who earned his breakfast by composing other men's declamations; in any case he seems to have been an adept at obtaining free meals.

"While they are in the Universitie they are very beneficially by bestowing Suppers and Breakfasts (besides their liberalitie in Money) upon such learned Schollers as make their Declamations and other exercises for them."

"If a Dunce falls into a Scholler's company in travell upon the way, or meet at an Inne at night, he is the most boone companion of the world, he will... call for the best meats... and in the end pay for all, which who can deny but to be a most honest and generous part."(3)

The sense of superiority which is derived from knowing more than one's neighbour seems to have been mightily pleasing to Peacham, and he was really sorry for those who had to make a virtue of taciturnity and hold their peace 'where matter of knowledge or learned discourse is offered', but in spite of his profound respect for learning - he could not resist getting in a back-handed blow at those who overload their sermons with rhetorical ornament, by describing the effectiveness of a simple straight-forward dunce's sermon. Finally, he decided that the preacher's appearance counts more than his words:

(1) Praise of a Dunce (1642) page 3.
(2) Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce (1642) page 2.
(3) Op. cit page 8. Cf. also Truth of our Times (1638) page 95.
"Whatsoever their Doctrine or their divisions be, if they be head-d and wear pontifical Beards, they are much commended by the Poeminine auditory."

Peacham was nothing if not fair-minded; having been somewhat sparsely blested at the beginning of his career with this world's goods, he had been forced to choose the path of knowledge, and he knew well enough that most of his so-called 'dunces' would have been equally good scholars if wealth had not excused them from applying themselves to learning. He had come to understand that Education is not an end in itself, but only one of many means to salvation:

"And to say truth as our Times are the matter is not great whither (sic) a man be learned or a Dunce, for he may come to preferment as soon by the one as the other, though he be but a Tradesman or a Mechanicks"(1)

Experience had so far damped the ardent faith which he had preached in The Compleat Gentleman that Peacham was able to recognise in the round unthinking face of the successful dunce an ironic commentary upon the earnest endeavour which The Renascence had devoted to the fashioning of a noble person in virtuous or gentle discipline.

(1) Paradox in Praise of a Dunce (1642) page 8.
Henry Peacham's works bear the impress of a pleasant and not uninteresting personality. From his own words we learn that he was 'addicted to melancholy', 'a profest enemy to idlenesse', and could as well away to carry fire in his hand as hate in his heart; apart from his own remarks we have nothing but Edmund Peacham's undoubtedly biased description of him as an unmanageable guest to guide us. The principal traits of his character, sincerity, seriousness, patience, and kindliness (all necessary attributes of a good teacher) are apparent in Peacham's writings from first to last, and the gradual development of his intellectual powers may be traced from book to book.

The genuine pleasure which he found in learning and teaching, in the society of books and ancient monuments, and in seeing and handling 'the very same individual things which were in use many ages ago', together with his alert interest in present-day men and matters are characteristic of his Age; the conflicting, yet complementary, motive-forces of the Renascence, cloistered bookishness and worldly culture, reverence for tradition and thirst for new adventure, had each some part in forming his mental outlook and - running counter to the current of Humanism - was the
religion, which 'How vain a thing is wretched man'. The abundant supply of mental and physical energy which permitted him to take such an active interest in all that was going on around him he owed to the sturdy Lincolnshire stock from which he sprang.

The culture which Peacham represents is Roman rather than Greek; he is less the artist than the craftsman, less the 'poet' than the deft manager of syllables, and is sensitive rather to harmony and proportion than to abstract beauty. The world portrayed in his books is almost exclusively masculine. He regarded friendship as indispensable to true happiness, but was indifferent to the society of women. His writings contain scarcely a trace of erotic sentiment, and he mentions marriage only to scoff at the unfortunate state of the married man. From this it may be deduced that feminine wiles and graces made no impression on him, that he had no desire for the respected and admired position of head of the household, and that in spite of his thrifty disposition he was not domesticated. Indeed, he says that 'the true taste of life's sweetnesse is in travaile upon the way', and there can be no doubt that the somewhat uncertain comforts of the saddle and the wayside Inn attracted him more than a well-ordered but uneventful existence at his own fireside.

Peacham's reasonable, unemotional attitude to life is
probably the key to his political opinions. Although decidedly pro-King and anti-Puritan, he was by no means a militant royalist, and numbered several important friends (such as the Wreys of Glentworth) amongst the Parliamentarian families of Lincolnshire and East Anglia. The peace and unity of England was more to him than the triumph of this or that party, and it is perhaps not unjust to conjecture that his personal welfare (which was likely to be injured by civil war) occupied a larger share of his thoughts than questions of the Divine Right of Kings or the legality of Ship-Money.

The development of Peacham's ability to express himself in literary form continued with unabated vigour to the last years of his life. In The Truth of our Times, published in his sixtieth year, he set down with greater strength and clarity than he had ever achieved before a large part of his life's experience as Scholar, Tutor, Traveller, and Author. The direct approach which he established between personal experience and its expression in black and white had been impossible twenty years before; in 1614 he had been able to make nothing more of his journey to the Low Countries than a very nearly dry-as-dust historical pamphlet, but by 1636 the art of writing with one's eye on the object and of translating the details of daily life into words had so far matured in him that his personality is vividly reflected in every essay. None of the later proseworks
was undertaken solely or even primarily for the sake of self-expression; a didactic intention underlies *The Worth of a Penny*, and *The Art of Living in London*, the chief purpose of *Neum and Tuum*, and *A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce* is satiric; while the main-spring of *Square Capa turned into Round Heads*, and *The Cross at Cheap and Charing Cross* is religious controversy, but the same personal contact is evident in each of them. Peacham's newly-acquired and naively unconscious power of recollecting emotion in tranquillity and committing it to paper overrules all pedantic convention, and gives his later work a literary quality of which *The Compleat Gentleman*, the most finished product of his middle period, had scarcely given a promise.

It is to Peacham's credit that, having been left to seek his fortune with no equipment but a good education and a taste for Art and Letters, he achieved as much as he did by his own effort and initiative. His own century thought well of him, and without doubt he fully deserves more recognition and respect than is usually accorded to him at the present-day; both as an enlightened educationalist and as the writer of vigorous, picturesque, and individual prose which far excels that of the other minor essayists of the period and is worthy to rank with that of his more famous contemporaries, Burton and Howell.
I. Manuscripts

(1) Bodleian. M. S. Rawlinson. Poetry. 146

Maden's Summary Catalogue of Western M.S.S. in Bodleian No. 14639. In Latin and English on Paper: made of three M.S.S. (A, B, C) written in seventeenth century and eighteenth century, 11 1/2 x 8 1/2. 11 46 leaves.

A. (written early in the seventeenth century by H. Peacham)
1 (fol. 11)


In three books containing in all 56 emblems, each with a Latin quatrains and a quotation from the Basilikon Durov, in the author's handwriting. All drawings surrounded by an ornamental border, not always the same border. No introduction. A leaf may be missing after f. 21. The codex is in bad condition, and the leaves slightly dog-eared especially at the beginning.

The words 'John Candy owth: this book' appear in a late seventeenth century hand at the beginning; and the name 'H. Whatton' in an eighteenth century hand on fol. 3.

(2) British Museum. M. S. Harleian 6855 (13).

[Basilikon] / Durov / Eis ta / Emblemata

Basilikon / Durov / Totum versum, ac in tres / libros (Regia / methodos / observavta) divisum / Authore: / Henrico Fechose.

Hoc operis, in calce auctae est / ad Regem in quatuor / partibus, / cantico votiva, seu concr- / tulatimia, ab / alumnis Quatuor Magnorum, Anglo, ac: / Scoti, Galli, & / Hiberno / Concinanda, / ab ipso autore composita /

In English and Latin on Paper. 36 leaves. Folio 11 1/2 x 7 1/2. Dedicated 'Russico ac serenissimo Regi Jacobo Magnae huius / Britanniae Monarchae primo'.

In three books containing in all 65 emblems in black and white.
(3) British Museum M.S. Royal 12.A. lxvi.

BASILIKON ΔΩΡΟΝ / IN / BASILICA EMBLEMATA / Totum versaum / Singula suis Iconibus et Tetrastichis / Latinis donata: / Autore, / HENRICO PEACAMO.

In English and Latin on Paper. 42 leaves. Folio 11½ x 7½.
Dedicated 'Illustrissimo ac vere / generosissimo Henrico / Waliae Principi / Cornubiae Duci Caestriæ / Comiti et / ordinis nobilissimi Periscelidis Equiti auro at etc.'
In three books containing in all 78 emblems in watercolour.


A miniature (much oxidised) of Prince Henry in armour on horseback by Henry Peacham, prefixed to a treatise entitled 'Le Pourtrait de Monseigneur le Prince'.

Paper, Quarto 8 x 6½. A.D.1612.

(5) British Museum M.S. Harleian 1500.

Collection of 26 documents, mostly notes on small pieces of paper, relating to history of Garter family. Two (on f. 116 verso) are signed Henry Peacham, 20 others are in a similar hand, but are not signed. No other signature appears. Some refer to the Library of Sir Robert Cotton, or to M.S.S. belonging to Selden, or to records in the Tower of London, etc.
II. Printed Books

(1) The Art of Drawing with the Pen (1606)

Entry in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iii 144)
23 Octobris (1606)

William Jones Entred for his copye under the handes of the
Wardeens, a booke called the Artes of Drawinge
with the penne, Drawinge in Watercolours
more exactly then heretofore taught and
enlarged with the maner of paintinge upon
glass, the order of makinge yours fournace,
Annealinge etc. PROVIDED that nothing be
printed in this booke that is already entered
vjd
to any other.

First Edition 1606
Title: (Headpiece) / THE / ART OF DRAWING / WITH THE PEN /
AND LIN / MEN IN WATER COLOURS, MORE / EXACTLY THAN
HERETOFORE TAUGHT / and enlarged; with the true manner of
Painting upon glasse, / the order of making your furnace,
Annealing, etc / published, / for the behoofe of all young
Gentlemen, or any els that / are desirous for to become
practitioners in this / excellent, and most ingenious Art,/
BY H. PECHAM, Gent. / (device, a reproduction of one of the
illustrations) / At London, Printed by Richard Bradock,
for William Jones, and / are to be sold at his shop at the
sign of the Gun, / neere Holburn Comuneit. 1606/

Quarto.

Collation: A-E4, Forty leaves. (A1) title; (A1)v bl; (A2)
headpiece, Dedication signed Henry Peacham; (A3) headpiece,
Address to the Reader signed H. Peacham; (A4)v bl; B-E4 Text;
E4 v bl. Pagination begins at Bl. (1-69, 69, 70)
Notes 3rd and 4th leaves unsinged, except B3, B4.

Copy used: British Museum C. 31. h. 11

Second Edition 1607
Bath Catalogue (1830) vol.4
'Art of Drawing... by H. Peacham... 1607'
from the collection of Sir W. Tite.
Notes that this is second edition.
This edition also mentioned by Hazlitt and Hunter.
Note Hunter also mentions an edition of 1617; this is not
mentioned anywhere else and is probably an error.
(2) The More the Merrier (1608)

A full account of this publication is to be found on p. 191 in the Appendix to Chapter III, where proof is shown of Peacham's authorship.

(3) Minerva Britannæ (1612)

Entered in Stationer's Register (Arber Transcript iii 200b) 9th Augusti 1611

Master Righte Entred for his Copy under the names of the wardens, to be printed when he hath further Authority, A bookes called, MINERVA BRITANNA or a GARDEN OF HEROICAL Devises, furnished and adorned with Emblemæ and Impresa's of sundry natures, newly devised, moralized and published by HENRY PEACHAM master of the Artes. Vjd.

First Edition 1612

Title: MINERVA / BRITANNA / OR A GARDEN OF HEROICAL / Devises, furnished, and adorned with Emblemæ / and Impresa's of sundry natures, / Newly devised, / Moralized, and published, / by HENRY PEACHAM maister of Artes / VIVITUR INGENIO CASTELA MORITIS ERUNT: MENTE VEDADOR / LONDON / Printed in Shoe Lane at the signe / of the Faulcon by Wai: Eght / N.B.: the title is contained in the decoration which covers the page.

Quarto

Collation: A-Ff4. 116 leaves. (A1) title decorated; (A1) v arms of P. Henry with Epigram; A2, dedication signed Henry Peacham, tailpiece; A3 headpiece, address to reader signed Henry Peacham; (A4) headpiece, Latin verses to Prince Henry; B1-(B4) complimentary verses in various languages; (B4)V-24; Ae-Ff4 Text, each page with picture in decorated border and tailpiece when space allows; Ff4 v bl.

Pagination begins on B4v. (1 - 212) 4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum C.35.f.28.
Note: The copyright of *Minerva Britanna* changed hands in 1627, but the book does not appear to have been re-published.

Transference entered in *Stationers Register* (Arber Transcript iv 145)

4 June 1627

Richard Sharlakers Entred for his Copies by Consent of a Court holden this day these three Copies hereafter mentioned which were Walter Rights his Master xviij a vizt *MINERVA Britanna* by HENRY PEACHAM or PEACHAM'S EMBLEMES....etc.

(4) *Graphics* (1612)

The Gentleman's Exercise (1612)

Two issues, differing only in title-page, of an enlarged version of the Art of Drawing.

The Art of Drawing re-entered in *Stationers Register* (Arber Transcript iii 214 b) by a different publisher.

16to Decembris (1611)

John Browne Entred for his Copies by assignment from William Jones and under master warden Lowndeis his hand, one books called, The Arte of Piantinge, drawinge, and Lyyminge, donne by Henry Pecham Master of Artes, (etc. other books mentioned)

Titles: (a) *Graphics* (Ornamental border) /

GRAPHICE / OR / THE MOST / AUNCIENT AND / EXCELLENT ART / of Drawing and Limming / disposed into three / booke./ By HENRIE PEACHAM Master of Artes, sometimes of Trinitie Colledge / in CAMBRIDGE / In Genium puccarre metas / LONDON / Printed by W.S. for John Browne, and are to / bee sold at his Shop in S.Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleete-/streete. 1612. /

(b) *The Gentleman's Exercise*

The Gentleman's / Exercise. / Or / An exquisite Practise, as well for / drawing all manner of Beasts in their true / Por- / tractatures; as also the making of all kinds of / colours, to be / used in Lyyming, Painting, Tricking, & / Mason / of Coates & Armes, with divers others most / delightfull and pleasurable observations, / for all young / Gentleman and / others. / As also / serving for the / necessarie use and ge / nerall benefite of divers trades- / men and Artificers, as / namely Painters, Jovners, Free- / masons, Cutters, and Carvers, / As for the farther gracing,
beautifying, and garnishing of all their absolute and worthwhile pieces, either for Borders, Architectes, or Columns &c., by HENRIC PEACHAM Master of Artes. (ruling)
LONDON, / Printed for John Browne, and are to be sold at his shop / in Fleet-street in Saint Dunstane Church-yard / 1612 /

Quarto

Collation: (exactly the same in each case except for titlepage) A-24, (+1) 97 leaves. (A1) title; (A1)v bl; A2 headpiece, dedication signed Henry Peacham; A3 headpiece, address signed Henry Peacham; (A4)v headpiece, Latin verses; B1 verse from Joannes Thorpe; B1v arms of P.Henry; A2 headpiece - 24 Text; Extra leaf with head and tail pieces contains Errata, Pagination begins B2. (1 - 174). 4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copies used: (a) British Museum 786.c.30
(b) " " C.57.c.38

Note: Title (b) was probably the final choice since this was the one reproduced in later editions. It is an excellent example of lengthy advertisement-title so frequently found in early seventeenth century.

Copyright changed hands again in 1623, and the transference was entered in the Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iv 54) 17/ februaii 1622 (i.e. 1623)
John Marriott Assigned over unto him by Mistress Browne, and Consent of a Courte holde the third of this instant for February, All her estate in the Copies hereafter followinge visit vsvjd

***
Peacham's Arte of Liminge...etc.

In 1634 The Gentlemen's Exercise was reprinted at the end of the Compleat Gentleman.

Title: THE / GENTLEMANS / ENRISE. / OR, / An exquisite practise, as well for drawing all manner of Beasts in their true Prospects, as also the making of all kinds of colours, to be used in Liminge, Painting, Tricking, and Emblem, of Contests, and Armes, with divers other most delightfull and pleasurful observations, for all / Young Gentlemen and others / As also / Serving for the necessary use and generall benefit of divers Trades-men and Artificers, as / namely...
Painters, Joyners, Free-masons, Cutters and / Carvers etc. For the farther gracing, beautifying and / garnish-
ing of all their absolute and worthy pieces, el- / ther for Borders, Architects, or Columns, &c. / By HENRY
PEACHAM Master of Artes / (decoration) / LONDON, / Printed for John Harriott, and are to be sold by Francis / Constable at the signe of the Crane in Paul's Church-
yard / 1634 /

(A1) title; (A1)v bl; a2 headpiece, dedication;  
A3 headpiece, Address signed Henry Peacham; (A4)v  
bl; B headpiece - X4, Y2 Text.  
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum 721.e.17.

Note: New blocks are used for the illustrations; they have been carefully copies from the earlier edition but are obviously not the same. Also the new printer has modernized the spelling:  
yellow for yelow  
Henry for Henrie etc. etc.

In 1661 The Gentleman's Exercise was again re-printed at the end of The Compleat Gentleman.

Title: THE / GENTLEMANS / EXERCISE. / OR, /An exquisite practise, as well for draw- / ing all manner of Beasts in their true Portra-
tures: as also the making of all kinds of colours, / to be used in Limning, Painting,  
Tricking, and / Blazon of Coats, and Arms, with divers / other most / delightful and pleasurable observations, for / all young Gentlemen and others. / As also / Serving for the necessary use and gene- / ral benefit of divers Trades-men and Artificers, / as namely Paint-
ers, Joyners, Free-Masons, Cutters, and / Carvers, &c.  
for the farther gracing, beautifying, and / garnishing of all their absolute and worthy pieces, either / for Borders, Architects, or Columns, &c. / By HENRY PEACHAM  
Master of Artes. / (ruling) / (decoration) / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed for Richard Thrale, at the signe of the / Cross-Keys in Paul's Church-yard. 1661. /

Collation: Signatures run on from Compleat Gentleman QQ-mm4.  
Pagination beginning from B1 (305-455).  
4th leaves unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum E.1088
(5) The Period of Mourning (1613)

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iii 235)
8th February 1613
John helme Entred for his copie under the hands of master
Nyd and master barnson warden A bookes called The
period of Mourninge by HENRY PEACHAM

Title: THE / PERIOD / OF / Mourning. / Dispos'd into sixe
VISIONS? / In Memorie of the late Prince. / TOGETHER /
With Euptiall Pymes in / Honour of this Happy Marriage/
 betweene the Great PRINCES, / FREDERICK / Count Palatine
 of the RHENS, / AND / The Most Excellent and Aboundant
President / of all VIRTUE and GOODNES / ELIZABETH /
only Daughter to our Sovereigns, / his MALESTIE. / Also
the manner of the Solemnization of the Marriage at /
White-Hall, on the 14. of February, being Sunday, / and
St Valentine's day / (ruling) / By Henry Peacham, Mr of
Arts / (ruling) / LONDON: / printed by F.S., for John
Helme, and are to be sold in Saint Dunsan's
Churchyard in Fleetstreet, 1613 /

Quarto

title; (A2)v bl.; A3 headpiece, dedication signed
Henry Peacham; (A4) headpiece, Latin verse from
A.S.; tailpiece; (A4)v headpiece, verse to the
Muse, tailpiece; B headpiece - G4, H3 Text; H3v bl.
Not pag'd. 4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum 1070.1.10 (2).

Note: One copy in Bodleian (4o.H.4.Art) has a titlepage without
the words "Also the manner of the Solemnization...St.
Valentine's day". A second titlepage signed H4 appears
at the end of the book, with these words added.

Copy used, Bodleian (Godwin Pamphlets, 1597)
1792. Reprinted in Waldron's Literary Museum.
(6) **Prince Henry Revived (1615)**

Entered in **Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iii 253)**

150 January 1614 (i.e. 1615)

John Halse Entred for his copule under the handes of master
Doctor Midd and both the wardens a booke called
**Prince HENRIS revived.**

**Title:** Prince HENRIS revived, / OR / A POEME UPON / THE BIRTH
AND / in Honour of the Hopeful yong / PRINCS HENRIS
FREDERICK, / First sonne and Heires apparent to / the
most Excellent Princes, FREDERICK / Count Palatine of
the Rhine, / And the Mirror of Ladies, Princesse
ELIZABETH, his / Wife, only daughter to our Sovereigne
IAMES / king of Great Britaine, Ac. / By / HENRIS
PEACHAM / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed by J. Stansby
for John Halse, and are to bee / sold at his shop in
Saint Dunstana Church- / yard, under the Diall / 1615/.

Quarto

**Collation:** A3, B-C4, D2. Fourteen leaves; (AL) title; (AL)v
Engraved portrait of baby Prince in a border with
arms etc., with Latin verse signed Henricus
Peachamus; A2 headpiece, dedication signed Henrie
Peacham; (A3)v verses to Princess Elizabeth;
B headpiece = C4; D2 Text.

**Pagination:** None. May have been cut off.
3rd and 4th leaves unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum. C.39.c.40.

(7) **The Affaires of Cleve and Gulick (1615)**

Entered in **Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iii 253)**

150 January 1614 (i.e. 1615)

John Halse Entred for his copule under the handes of master
Doctor Midd and both the wardens a booke called
a true relacon of the affaires of Cleve and
Gulick.

**Title:** A MOST TRUE / RELATION OF / THE AFFAIRES / OF CLEVE
AND / GULICK, / As also / of all what hath passed
this last sum- / mer, since the most Excellent and
Victorious Prince, / MAURICE of NASSAU, tooke the
field with his / Arme, encamping before Rees in
in Cleveland: and / the losse of Wesel, taken in by
the Germans / SPINOLA: / unto the breaking up of our
Arms / in the Beginning of December / last past 1614 / With the Articles of the / Peace, propounded at /
SANTEN / by Henrie Peacham. / (quotation) / (Ruling) /
LONDON / Printed by W. Stansby for John Halse, and are
to be sold / at his shop in Saint Dunstan Church-yard,
under / the Diall 1615 /

Quarto

Collation: A2-4, B-34, F2; Twenty-one leaves. (A1 missing?)
(A2) title; (A2)v engraving with verse signed
Henricus Peacham; A3 headpiece, dedication signed
Henrie Peacham; (A4) headpiece, address; B, head-
piece, = E4, F2 text; F2v bl.
Pagination, none; but may have been cut off.
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: British Museum 1.194.b.33.

(8) Thalia's Banquet (1620)

Not entered.

Title: THALIAS / BANQUET : / Furnished with an hundred and
eache dishes of newly devi / sed Epigrams, / Where-
unto (beside many worthy / friends) are invited all
that / love in offensive mirth, / and the Muses. / By
H.F. / (ruling) / (ornament) / (ruling) / LONDON, /
Printed by NICHOLAS ORNS / for Francis Constable,
dwelling in Pauls / Church-yard, at the signe of the / White Lyon. 1620. /

Octavo.

Collation: A-C6, D6. Thirty leaves. No pagination (it may
have been cut off), (A1) title; (A1)v bl; A2 head-
piece, Epistle to Mr. Drury signed Henry Peacham;
(A3) headpiece, Latin address to reader; (A3)v headpiece, verse address entitled Thalia Loquitur;
A4v bl; A5 headpiece - C6, D6 Text; (D6)v bl.
5th-8th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: Malone 579 in Bodleian Library.
(9) The Compleat Gentleman.

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iv 35)
30 July 1622

Master Constable entered for his Copy under the handes of master Doctor God and master Knight, A bookes Called The Compleat gentleman by HENRY PEACHAM.

First Edition 1622

Title: (On an engraved title page, done and signed by Francis Delarama),
THE / Compleat Gentleman / Fashioning him absolute in the / most necessary & commendable / qualities concerning Minge or / Mode that may be required / in a Noble Gentleman / By / Henry Peacham, / Or of Arts. / Some- / time of Trinity Coll: / in Cambridge. / - inutilis / olim / Ne vulgar vixisse - / Anno 1622 / Imprinted at / London / for Francis Constable / and are to be sold at / his shop at the white 115 / in Pauls Churchyard /

Quarto

Collation: A-V4, X5, Y6, Z = Es4. 115 leaves. (A) engraved title; (A)v bl; A2 head and tailpieces; Contents; A2v Arms of W. Howard and Latin verse; A3-(A4) head- / piece, Dedication to W. Howard signed; B-B2 head- / piece, Epistle to the Reader; B2v bl; B3 headpiece - / V4, X5, Y6, Z4; As-DD4, Es2 Text; Es2v bl.

Pagination begins on B3 (1-211)
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Notes: Gathering Y is signed 1,2,3,4,5. pp.161-172
X5 and Y1 are both paginated 161,162.
Z1 is paginated 166,170.
Pagination proceeds regularly from Z2.
This confusion is probably due to alterations and additions made while the book was in the press. It occurs in the section dealing with arms of noble families.

Copy used: British Museum 721.e.16 (1).

Second Edition 1626. Noted by Hazlitt who describes it as follows:
"The second Impression much Inlarged Anno 1626 Imprinted at London for Francis Constable &c 4o. Title engraved by Delaram 1 leaf, blank, arms of George Villiers, duke of
Buckingham 1 leaf, Dedication to Buckingham 1 Leaf, List of Contents &c, Second dedication to Master William Howard... 2 leaves, To the Reader 2 leaves, Text B3-Nh2 in fours".

Bibliographical Collections and Notes (1876) p.124.

There appears to be no extant copy of this edition.

Third Edition 1627

Title: Delaram's engraving was reprinted for this edition, but is missing from the Bodleian Library copy, which has a new title on Al.

THE / COMPLEAT / GENTLEMAN. / Fashioning him absolute, in the most necessary and commendable qualities concerning / Hinde or Bedie, that may be required / in a Noble Gentleman. / Whereunto is annexed a description of the order / of a main Battle, or Pitched Field, eight / several ways: as also certaine necesaries in / instructions concerning the Art of Fishing, / with other Additions. / By HENRY PEAChAM, Master of Arts, / Sometime of Trinitie College in / CAMBRIDGES, / - inutilis alia / Hae videar vixisse - / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed for FRANCIS CONSTABLE, and / are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, / at the signe of the Crane. / 1627 /

Quarto.

Collation: A-24, Aa-Gg4, Nh2, 122 leaves. (Al) title; (Al)V bl; A2 head and tail pieces, contents list (which contains four printing errors); A2v headpiece. Latin dedication and arms of William Howard; A3 headpiece dedication to William Howard signed Henry Peacham; Bl headpiece epistle to the reader; B2v bl; B3 headpiece = Nh2 Text.

Pagination begins on B3 (1-221 regular, after this many irregularities occur: 221, 302, 303, 224, 215, 225, 227, Bl, Bl, 300, 301, blanks to the end.)

4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Copy used: Malone 583, in Bodleian Library.


Engraved titlepage bears certain alterations. Addition of "The second Impression much enlarged". Date altered to 1634; but the date of engraving remains 1626. Publisher's address altered to "his shoope in pauls Churchyeard at ye crane".

New titlepage: THE / COMPLEAT / GENTLEMAN. / Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessa / ry and commend-
able Qualities concerning Minds or Body, that may be
required: in a Noble Gentleman. EERMUETO IS
ANNEXED A DECE scriver of the order of a Maina
Battalio or / Pitched Field, eight several Wores: with
the Art of Limning and other Additions / newly
Enlarged. / BY / Henry Peacham Master of Arts: Some-
time of Trinitie College in Cambridgio. / (quotation
as above) / (ruling) / LONDON; / Printed for Francis
Constable, and are to bee sold at his / shoppe in
Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of / the Crane. 1634./
Quarto.

Collation: (*) A-V4, X6, Y-X24, Ll2. 137 leaves. (*) Engraved
title page, verso blank; (Al) title; (Al) v bl; A2
Contents; A2 v headpiece, Latin dedication to W.
Howard, signed Henry Peacham (sic); H1 headpiece,
To the Reader; B2 v bl; B3 headpiece = V4, X6, Y-Z4,
Aa-EH4, Ll2 tailpiece Text.
Pagination begins on B3 (1-255).
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Note: Gentleman's Exercise published in same volume, but
gatherings separately collated and paginated.

Copy used: British Museum 721.e.17.

Engraving altered again: 'The Third Impression', 'Anno 1661',
'for Richard Thrale at the Cross-Kyes at Saint Pauls-gate
entring into Cheapside'.

New titlepage: THE / COMPLEAT / GENTLEMAN / ....(as before)....
/ that may be required/in a Person of Honor / To which is added the / GENTLEMANS EXERCISE....
(Sc)/ (ruling) / By HENRY PEACHAM, Mr of Arts....
Cambridge / (quotation) / (ruling) / The Third
Impression much enlarged, especially in the / Art of Blazonery by a very good Hand. / (ruling) / LONDON; / Printed by E.Tyler, for Richard
Thrale, at the signe of / the Cross-Kyes at St
Pauls Gate, 1661 /

Quarto.

Collation: A-(Qq)4, Qq-Mmm4. 236 leaves. (Al) engraved title,
(Al) v bl; (A2) titlepage; (A2)v headpiece, Contents;
A3 headpiece, To the Reader signed Henry Peacham,
B2 v To the Reader signed H.S. B headpiece = 24.
Notes: BL2 occurs twice.
Qg4 contains advertising matter.
Qg-Zs4, Aaa-Mnu4 contains text of Gentleman's Exercise.

Copy used: British Museum, E.1088 (1).


Notes: Malone in a M.S. note in Malone 582 Bodleian Library points out that ed. of 1661 should not be called 3rd but 5th impression; and suggests the following dates:
1622 First
1627 2nd
1634 3rd
1654 4th
1661 5th

It is not clear what foundation Malone had for postulating an edition of 1654.
Ruth suggests that the edition of 1622 was re-issued in 1625 (1) and 1627, and that editions of 1634 and 1661 are rightly called 2nd and 3rd 'Impressions'.

(1) a slip for 1626 (?).

(10) An Aprill Shower (1624)
Not entered.

Title: An Aprill Shower; / Shed in abundance / of TEARES; / FOR THE DEATH / AND INCOMPARABLE / LOSSE, OF THE RIGHT NOBLE; / TRULY RELIGIOUS, AND / Virtuous, RICHARD SACVILLE, / Baron of BUCKHURST, and / Earle of DORSET. / Who Departed this life upon Easter / day last, being the 28th of March, / at DORSET = / House. / By Henry Peacham. / (ruling) / Sublatus oculus querelius invici / (ruling) / LONDON, / Printed by Edw. Alle, 1624
Quarto.
(A2) title; (A2)v Latin verse and Dorset's arms; A3 headpiece, dedication to Anne, the countess dowager, dated April 13th, signed Henry Peacham; (A4)v Latin Epitaph, and English 'Monument to the reader'; (B1) headpiece = (B4) text.
Pagination begins B1 (1-5), A2, A4, B1, B4 unsigned.

Copy used: Malone 290, Bodleian Library.

(11) Thestylis Atrata (1634)

Not entered.

Title: Thestylis Atrata: / OR / A FUNERAL / ELEGIE UPON THE / Death of the Right Honourable, / most religious and noble Lady, / FRANCES, / Late Countesse of WARWICK, / who / departed this life at her house / in HAGARNE / near unto / LONDON; / In the Moneth of June Last past, 1634. / (ruling) / ...Et fastinantes sequimus / (decoration) / LONDON; / Printed by J.H. for Francis Constable. / 1634. / Quarto

Collation: A-C4 12 leaves. (A1) title; (A1)v Coat of Arms; A2 Dedication signed Henrie Peacham with headpiece; A3 Epistle to the Reader unsigned with headpiece; (A4) Latin epitaph; (A4)v bl; B-Cv text; (C4)v Colophon "Imprimatur The. Weekes S.T.B. & R.P.D. Episc. Lond. Cap. domest".
4th leaves unsigned.

Copy used: Photostat facsimile of a copy now in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

(12) Coach and Sedan (1636)

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iv 328) 90 Februaryi (1636)

John Crouch Entry for his copy under the hands of Master Weakes and Master Smithwick warden a booke called A dispute betweene Coach and Sedan by HENRY PEACHAM.
Title: COACH and SEDAN / Pleasantly disputing for place and precedence / The Brewer's-Cart being Moderator / spectatum admissi, risum teneantis amici? / (woodcut) / LONDON: / Printed by Robert Raworth, for John Crouch; and are to be sold by / Edmund Paxton, dwelling at Paul's chayne, neere Doctor's-Commons 1636.
Quarto

(A1) title; (A1v bl; (A2 headpiece, Dedicated
signed Missamplain; (A3) headpiece, To the Reader;
(A3v) 'To my worthy friend the author' signed
Anonymous; (A4) headpiece = G4 Text. G4v bl.
No pagination. It may have been cut off this copy.
4th leaves unsigned throughout.

Note: D misprinted for E on El recto.

Copy used: British Museum Cl.2314.c.88.


(13) Truth of our Times (1638)

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript IV 364)
26to Die Julii 1637

James Beckett Entered for his Copy under the hands of master
Weekes and master warden Apaley a tract called
the Truth of our Times by way of Essay by HENRY
PEACHAM

Title: (In a Border) / The Truth of / our Times; / Revealed
out of one / Hans Experience, by/ way of Essay / (ruling)
Written by
H v LONDON ; / Printed by N.O. for James / Beckett, and
are to be sold / at his shoppe at the / middle Temple /
gate. 1638. /

Duodecimo.

Collation: A6, B-112, K6, 108 leaves.
(A1)p; (A2) title; (A2v bl; A3 headpiece to my
honoured friend; A4v headpiece = (A6)v To the
Reader, signed R.P., (decoration), Imprimatur, Tho.
Weekes, R.P. Episc. Londi, Cappel, Domest, (decoration);
B-(112), (K6) text; (K6v bl.
6th and 12th leaves unsigned throughout.
Pagination begins on Bl (1-203)

Copy used: British Museum 8405.a.17.
(14) Valley of Variety (1637)
Entered in Stationers' Register (Arber Transcript iv 365)
10o Mart 1637 (i.e. 1638)
James Beckett Entered for his copy under the hands of Master Bray and Master Apseley warden a booke called
The valley of Variety or matter of ingenious
discourse of antiquities by HENRY PEACHAM vjd.

Title: (In a decorated border) / THE / VALLEY OF / VARIETIE: / OR, / Discourse fitting for / the times, / Containing
very Learned and / rare Passages out of Antiquity; / Philosophy, and History, / Collected for the use of / all ingenions Spirits, and / true lovers of Learning /
(ruling) / By HENRY PEACHAM Mr of Arts, / sometime of
Trinitie Colledge / in CAMBRIDGE, / (ruling) / 'inutilis
dilim, / ne vides vixisse' Palingen. / (ruling) /
LONDON / Printed by H.P. for James Beckett / at his
Shop at the Inner-Temple / Gate in Fleet-street. 1638

Colophon: On A8 verso between head and tailpieces
MARCH 10 / 1637: / IMPRIMATUR / GUIL. BRAY /.

Duodecimo.

Collation: A8, B-H12, I3. 95 leaves,
(A1)bl; (A1)v engraving in ruled border; (A2) title,
(A2)v bl; A3 headpiece; dedication signed Henry
Peacham; (A5) headpiece, address to the reader
signed H.P.; (A6) = (A8) tailpiece, Contents; (A8)
v colophon; B headpiece = H12; I3 text.
Pagination begins A1 (1-174)

Note: B3 misprinted as N3
6th - 12th leaves inclusive unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum 123.b.21.
(15) Neum and Tum (1639)

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iv 412)

27<sup>th</sup> September 1638.

Master Clarke Entered for his copy under the hands of Master Baker and both the wardens a Book called A Merry discourse of Neum and Tum &c. by H· P· vjd.

Title: A MERRY / DISCOURSE / OF / MEUM, AND TUUM, / OR, / NINE AND THINE, / Two crosse Brothers, that / make Strife and Debate where / soever they come; with their Descent, Parentage, / and late Progresse in divers parts of / ENGLAND. / [Ruling] / by H·P· / [Ruling] / [Device] / [Ruling] / LONDON, / Printed by the assigns of T·P· for J· Clark, / and are to be sold at his Shop, under Saint Peter's / Church in Cornhill, 1639 / Quarto.

Colophon: on extra leaf at end 'Imprimatur / Sa. Baker / Lond. 1638 / Oct. 1 /'

Collation: A· E<sup>4</sup>, F<sup>3</sup>. 23 leaves.

(A<sup>1</sup> missing?) A· title; A<sup>2</sup> v bi; A<sup>3</sup> headpiece, address to the reader signed H·P·, A<sup>4</sup> headpiece - E<sup>4</sup>, F<sup>3</sup>v tailpiece Text. Pagination begins on A<sup>4</sup>. (1-58)

4th leaves unsignd.


Note: Carew Hazlitt (Bibliographical Handbook 1867 p.449) gives 1636 as the date of another edition of Neum and Tum, but gives no source of information.
(16) The Duty of all True Subjects (1639)

Entered in Stationers Register (Arber Transcript iv 458)

13 Aprilis 1639.

Master Seile Entred for his copie under the hands of Master Alsop and
Master Mead warden a Books called The Duty of all true Subjects
to their king &c. by H. P;

Title: In a ruled border / THE / DUTY OF ALL / TRUE SUBJECTS TO /
THEIR KINGS / as also to their Native Countrey, / in time of
extremity and danger / With some memorable examples of the
miserable / ends of perfidious traitors / In Two
Books. / Collected and Written by H.P. / - mutiliscolin,

He videar vixisse - PALINGEN / Device / In Two
Books. / Collected and Written by H.P. / - mutiliscolin.

LONDON / Printed by E.P. for Henry Seyle, and are to be sold
at his Shop, at the Tygers Head in Fleetstreet, / over against
St. Dunstanes Church. / 1639 /


Quarto.

Collation: A', 3, A-H4; 56 leaves. A7 title; A7 v bl; * headpiece.

Dedication signed H.P. colophon; *3 headpiece, address to all
subjects, signed H.P., dated May 7 1639; Ag headpiece - H4 text;
H4 v bl; 4th leaves unsigned.

Pagination (1-63) begins A2.

Copy used: British Museum. 8122.c.69.
(17) **The Cross in Cheap & Charing Cross. (1641)**

Not Entered.

**Title:** A / DIALOGUE / BETWEEN / The CROSS in Cheap, / AND / Charing Cross. / Comforting each other, as fearing their fall / in those uncertain times. / By Eyleton Fanech. / [A woodcut in a ruled border, of the two crosses] / Printed. **Anno 1641** / Quarto.

**Collation:** Four leaves. [A⁷ title; A⁷ v-b4; A² headpiece - A⁶ text.]

No pagination. First and fourth leaves unsigned.

**Copy used:** British Museum: E.236(9).

(18) **En Surcolus Arbor (1641)**

Not Entered.

A single folio broadsheet, containing an emblematical drawing, and descriptive verses in Latin and English, dedicated 'Wilhelmo Nassenio d. e. Principi Aranicio' by 'Henricus Peachanus'.

Published by Fenoclaus Hollar, Bohem. Londoni.

**Anno D. M. 1641.**

British Museum: G.30. f.2 (288).
(19) The Worth of a Penny (1641?)

Entered in Stationers Register (Eyre Transcript (i), 21.)

20 April 1641

Master Hearne Entered......

under the hands of Master Hausley and Master Downes warden,
a book called The worth of a penny, or a caution to keep
money, by H.P. vjd.

First Edition

Noted in Catalogue of the Bnt Library (1880) vol.4, where it is
described as 'By H.P. Master of Arts. London. Printed by R. Hearne 1641.
Quarto. A-B in fours.' If this is a genuine note, not made up with help
of Stationers Register, it evidently records the existence of a first
edition in 1641.

Second Edition (1647)

Title: THE / WORTH / OF A PENNY: / OR A / Caution to keep Money. / With
the / Causes of the scarcity and misery of the want / hereof in
these hard and mercilessse Times. / AS ALSO, / How to save it in
our Diet, Apparall, Recreations, &c. / And also, / What honest
Courses men in want may take to live / Felling / By H.P. Master
of Arts. / Felling / Daviss / LONDON, / Printed, Ann. Dom. 1647. /
Quarto.


A7 title; A7 v bl; A2 dedication to Mr. Richard Gyps signed
Hon. Peacham; A3 - E3 text; E4 v bl. 4th leaves unsigned.
Copy used: E.399 (6). British Museum.

Third Edition 1664.

New entry in Stationers Register (G.E.B. Bye Transcript ii)

26 May 1664.

Master Will Lee Entered under the hands of Doctor Staundling and Master Luke Farnie warden a boke or copy intituled The Worth of a Penny or a caution to keepe money, by Henry Peacham M.A.

Title: As 1647 ... "may take to live / By HENRY PEACHAM Mr of Arts, some / time of Trinity Colledge Cambridge / Now newly reprinted according to Order, and / made more publisshe / then heretofore : with some / Additions of Notes in The Margin; and the / Greek and Latin Sentences englishe/s.

June 24, 1664 / London, / Printed by S. Griffin for William Lee, and are to be sold at the Turks / Head in Fleet Street over against Potter Lane, 1664."

Quarto.

Pagination irregular; Begins 8 (1-31, 33, 24, 25).

Collation: A², B-E⁴, F². 20 leaves

[A² title, decorated border; A²][v bl; A² headpiece dedication to Mr. Richard Gipps signed Hr. Peaches; B-E⁴, F¹ Text;
F² recto Contents; F² verso headpiece Advertisement to the reader signed W.L. 4⁴ leaves unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum 1077. i. 21.
Fourth Edition 1667.

Title: Same as 1664 ... 'Latin sentences englised'. Now last of all, are added some grave Sentences, with many learned observations, in a different letter from the former: Printed this 17th of May, 1667. London: Printed by S. Griffin, for William Lee .... 1667.

Quarto.

Collation: A-s^4, 20 leaves.

Pagination Begins A^5 (1-28, 29-33)

A^2 title; A^2 v bl: A^2 dedication and advertising matter; A^3 headpiece -- E^3 verso Text; E^7 headpiece contents; E^7 verso advertisement to the Reader. 4th leaves unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum. 1029. c. 1 (2).

Fifth Edition 1669

Title: Same as 1667 .... different letter from the former: With a Catalogue of the Bills of Mortality from 1642-1669.

Printed this 12th of January 1669. London .... 1669.

Quarto.

Collation: E0^2, E-E^4, F^2. 20 leaves. Pagination begins on E^1 (1-33).

E^1 title; F^1 verso Contents; E^2 dedication; F^2 v Advertisement to the Reader & advertising matter; E' headpiece -E^4, F^2 recto text; F^2 v Bills of Mortality.

All 4th leaves unsigned, also C^3 & F^2.
Sixth Edition 1677

Title: Same as 1669, but Mortality Bills carried up to 1676.

This printed for Thomas, not William, Lee.

Quarto.

Collation: (a)², B-F⁴, 22 leaves. Pagination begins B¹:

(1 - 33, 35, 34, 36)

A² title; B² v b.1; C² dedication; D² v contents;

E-F Text; G² Mortality Bills; H² v Advertisement to the

Reader; I² advertising matter.

4th leaves unsigned, also G³, F⁵.

Note: p.19, appears as p.91.

Copy used: British Museum, 12352.c.12.

Seventh Edition 1687

Title: As above .... Cambridge / Licensed August 31 1686 Rob. Midgeley / London, Printed for Samuel Keble .... 1687 /

Quarto.

Collation: A², B-F⁴, E². 16 leaves. Pagination begins B¹ (1-28).

A² title; B² v b.1; C² dedication; D² v contents; E-F⁴, F² Text.

4th leaves unsigned, also G³, D³, F².

Copy used: British Museum, 1029.c.1(3).
Eighth Edition 1695

Title: As above 1687, with date 'August 31 1686' omitted.

"For Samuel Keble ... 1695."

Quarto.

Collation: $E^2$, $E^4$, $E^2$. 16 leaves. Pagination begins $B'$ (1-28).

$E^2$ title; $E^4$ v bl; $E^2$ dedication; $E^2$ v Contents and advertising matter; $E^4$, $E^2$ text; $E^2$ v text followed by advertising matter.

4th leaves unsigned, also $C^3$, $D^5$, $E^2$.

Copy used: British Museum. 1029.c.1 (4).

Ninth Edition 1704

Title: As above with addition of 'and Author of the Compleat Gentleman'

after 'Cambridge'.

Quarto.

Collation: Exactly as 1695.

Copy used: British Museum. 8405.dd.15.

Modern Editions.


1903. Arber's English Garner republished as Social England Illustrated

with Introd. by Andrew Lang.

Worth of a Penny on pp. 363-408.
A Sub-Version of Worth of a Penny — A Caution to keep Money (1642)

Not entered.

Title: A CAUTION TO KEEPE MONEY: Shewing the Miserie of the want thereof. / I In a State or Kingdom, to supply Warre. / II In younger Brothers paying their Lands, to redeem them. / III In Shopkeepers wanting Stock to Supply. / IV In Handicraft- trades by negligence. / V In Handsome and honest Maidens, wanting Portions. / Declaring their slight neglect and scorne in these hard and dangerous Times. / London. Printed for G. Lindsey, and are to be sold by P. Coules, I. Wright, and T. Bates 1642.

Quarto.

Collation: Four leaves. A title; A v headpiece — A Text.

Pagination (2-8) begins on A v.

First, 3rd and 4th leaves unsigned.

Copy used: One now in my possession. Bought of Maggs Bros. in 1932.

Previous history unknown.
(20) The Art of Living in London (1642)

Not Entered.

Title: In a decorated border / THE ART / of living in / LONDON, / OR, / A Caution how Gentlemen, Countreymen / and Strangers, drawn by occasion of businesse, / should dispose of themselves in the thriftiest way, / not only in the Citie, but in all other / populous places / AS ALSO, / A direction to the poorer sort that come thither / to seek their Fortunes. / By H.P. / Printed for John Gyles, and are to be sold by Samuel Rand, at his / shop at Barnards Inne in Holborne. 1642 /

Quarto.

Collation: Four leaves. title; text.

No pagination. First and fourth leaves unsigned.

Copy used: British Museum E.145. (20).
(21) **Square Caps turned into Round Heads (1642)**

Not entered.

**Title:** SQUARE-CAPS / TURNED INTO / ROUND-HEADS / OR THE / BISHOPS VINDICATION / AND THE / BRONNISTS CONVICTION / Being a dialogue between Time, and / Opinion : Shewing the folly of the one, and / the worthinesse of the other / by H. P. / Emblematical woodcut shewing time and opinion in a ruled margin / Quatrain in English / LONDON, Printed for I. Cyles and G. Lindsey. 1642 /

Quarto.

**Collation:** Four leaves. No Signatures.

**Paginated 1-8.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1}^\text{st} & \text{ recto title; } \text{2}^\text{nd} \text{ v head-piece - } \text{3}^\text{rd} \text{ Text.}
\end{align*}
\]

**Copy used:** British Museum: E (149) (1).
A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce (1642)

Not Entered.


Pagination (1-6) begins A 2.

Copy used: British Museum: E.135 (30).

Note: Device is same as that on title page of The Worth of a Penny (1647).
Summary.

It has been possible in the preceding study to shed light on the following points connected with the life and work of Henry Peacham:

The Life.

(1) Circumstances and home of Peacham’s family.
(2) Dates of his father’s Ordination and Institution to the Benefice of North Leverton, Lincs.
(3) Date of Peacham’s birth.
(4) Probability of his Ordination.
(5) Peacham’s marriage and parenthood.
(6) Date and circumstances of Peacham’s death.

Note: An examination of the ultimate sources of the generally accepted ‘life of Peacham’ has shown that in several respects this is incorrect and founded on faulty or insufficient evidence, especially as regards his association with the earl of Arundel, the period of his residence at Wymondham, and his circumstances at the time of his death.

The Complete Gentleman.

(1) The relation of certain chapters to contemporary movements in Art, Music, and Astronomy.
(2) The combination of Elizabethan and Jacobean elements in Peacham's Literary Criticism.
(3) The position of this book in the history of Education, and in the history of 'Courtesy' Literature.
(4) The relation of Peacham's statements about Education to actual conditions in School and University as recorded in contemporary documents.

The Verse.

(1) Minerva Britannia and contemporary fashions in polite versifying and the use of Emblems.
(2) A comparison of the three M.S. versions of the Basilicon Doron.
(3) Peacham's development from Spenserian to Meta-physical in a chronological survey of his verse.
(4) The disentanglement of Peacham and Henry Parrot.
(5) The establishment of The More the Merrier (1608) as Peacham's work.

Note: - Hitherto no detailed study of Peacham's work has been made.

The Minor Prose Works.

(1) The classification of Peacham's minor prose works (didactic, political and topical).
(2) The relationship of *The Valley of Varietie* to its Italian and Latin originals, and its place in the history of 'Literature of vulgarisation'.

(3) *The Truth of our Times* and the essay in England. Expression of Peacham's personality in essays on subjects drawn from his own experience.

(4) The revival of the Elizabethan realist novel tradition in two short tracts, *Heum and Tuum* and *Coach and Sedan*.

(5) Advance in the art of writing topical essays and discourses seen in Peacham's pamphlets.

(6) A new version of *The Worth of a Penny* (published as *A Caution to keeps Money* in 1642) not hitherto noticed by bibliographers.

(7) Restatement of Peacham's attitude to life in *A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce*.

Note: - Hitherto no study of the entire series of Peacham's minor prose works has been made.

The Bibliographical Notes comprise the first complete list of all Peacham's known works, M.S. and printed. One copy of each early edition (including two books now in America and one in my possession) has been described.
LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.
List of Books Consulted.

I. Manuscript Material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Library</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Wills in the Lincoln District Probate Registry</td>
<td>11 68</td>
<td>111 153.Bi 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1634</td>
<td>Will at Somerset House</td>
<td>A x 80.Bi 125</td>
<td>2 Barrington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>Chancery Proceeding</td>
<td>Dugdale 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636-</td>
<td>Heraldic Common-place Book</td>
<td>Bodleian</td>
<td>Malone 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1615-</td>
<td>Perotti poema varia</td>
<td>Rawlinson B.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664-</td>
<td>Collection of Quotations</td>
<td>Bodleian</td>
<td>Additional 21111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>from Peacham in a commonplace book described as 'olim liber' written by Thomas Watson</td>
<td>23066-98</td>
<td>33406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713-</td>
<td>George Vertue's Note-books</td>
<td>24478</td>
<td>24490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-</td>
<td>Joseph Hunter's Note-books</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>Additional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II. Printed Books

### 1. Books mentioned by Peacham as Sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blundeville, Thomas</td>
<td>A Brief Description of Universal Maps.</td>
<td>1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bossewell, John</td>
<td>Works of Armorie.</td>
<td>1572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brearewood, Edward</td>
<td>De ponderibus et prattiis veterum Nummorum.</td>
<td>1614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferne, John</td>
<td>The blazon of Gentrie.</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillim, John</td>
<td>A display of Heraldry.</td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haydock, Richard</td>
<td>Art of Painting.</td>
<td>1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legh, Gerard</td>
<td>The Accident of Armory.</td>
<td>1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minsheu, John</td>
<td>Doctor in Linguas.</td>
<td>1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayerne, Turquet</td>
<td>Generall History of Spain.</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mander, Carel van</td>
<td>Le Livre des Peintres.</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancirolì, Guido</td>
<td>Liber rerum perditarum</td>
<td>1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(also Raccolta breba d'alune cosa piu segnalate Livre des Antiquités perdute)</td>
<td>1612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of many memorable things lost.</td>
<td>1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasquier, Estenne</td>
<td>Recherches de la France.</td>
<td>1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandys, George</td>
<td>Relation of a Journey begun 1610</td>
<td>1615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savot, Louis,</td>
<td>Discourse sur les Medalles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antiques.</td>
<td>1627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selden, John</td>
<td>Marmora Arundelliana.</td>
<td>1629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasari, Giorgio</td>
<td>Dellevite de'piu eccellenti pittori. (Rome)</td>
<td>1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vecchi, Horatio</td>
<td>Canzonetti a Quattro Voci.</td>
<td>1600-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nuremberg)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webbe, Joseph</td>
<td>An Appeal to Truth.</td>
<td>1632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney, Geoffrey</td>
<td>A Choice of Emblems.</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(also ed. H. Green for Holbein Society)</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, Edward</td>
<td>Certain Errors in Navigation</td>
<td>1599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Description and Use of the Sphere.</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Les Apophthegmes du Seigneur Gaulard</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Treasure of Ancient and Modern Times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(collected &amp; published by Jaggard)</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acham, Roger</td>
<td>Toxophilus</td>
<td>1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon, Francis</td>
<td>The Scholomaster</td>
<td>1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essays.</td>
<td>1597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(later enlarged editions 1606, 1625, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton, Edmund</td>
<td>The Advancement of Learning.</td>
<td>1605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hypercritica</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(not published until 18th.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brathwaite, Richard</td>
<td>The English Gentleman &amp; Gentlewoman.</td>
<td>1641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Il Cortegiano</td>
<td>1528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trans. Hobie)</td>
<td>1561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brinsley, John</td>
<td>A Defense of Homer</td>
<td>1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burton, Robert</td>
<td>Pax Grammatica</td>
<td>1633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Institution of a Nobleman.</td>
<td>1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camden, William</td>
<td>A Reformation of Schooles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trans. S. Harlbre)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castiglione, Baldassare</td>
<td>Life of Prince Henry.</td>
<td>1641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essays.</td>
<td>1600-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, George</td>
<td>Crudities.</td>
<td>1611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Odosbian Banquet.</td>
<td>1611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, John</td>
<td>A Method for Travell.</td>
<td>1606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Memoire.</td>
<td>1837-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleland, James</td>
<td>A Reformation of Schooles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Revolutionibus Orbium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Celestium.</td>
<td>1543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenius, John Amos</td>
<td>Life of Prince Henry.</td>
<td>1641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwallis, Sir Charles</td>
<td>Essays.</td>
<td>1600-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwallis, Sir William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coryate, Thomas</td>
<td>Auto-biography.</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ed. J.O. Haliwell)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallington, Robert</td>
<td>Pastoral Works.</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby, Sir Kenelm</td>
<td>First Book of Ayres.</td>
<td>1597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Musical Banquet.</td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Reformed School.</td>
<td>1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Boke named the Governour.</td>
<td>1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adagio.</td>
<td>1508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Praise of Folly.</td>
<td>1509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Pueris Institutio.</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A World of Wonders.</td>
<td>1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resolves.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ed. O. Smoeton)</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Art of Making Densico</td>
<td>1646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Ewes, Sir Symonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Estienne, Henri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destienne, Henri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feltham, Owen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortescue, Sir John</td>
<td>The Forest</td>
<td>1571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, Thomas</td>
<td>The Holy and Profane State</td>
<td>1640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worthies of England</td>
<td>1662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaillarde, Jean</td>
<td>The Complete Gentleman</td>
<td>1675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbon, John</td>
<td>Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam</td>
<td>1682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giglio, Girolamo</td>
<td>Nova Seconda Selva</td>
<td>1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert, Humphrey</td>
<td>Queen Elizabeth's Academy</td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guazzo, Stephano</td>
<td>(pub. for E.E.T.S., by F.J. Furnival)</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guevara, Antonio de</td>
<td>Le Civile Conversazioni</td>
<td>1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trans. as Civil Conversation)</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religi des Princiss.</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trans. by North as Dial of Princes)</td>
<td>1568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. W.</td>
<td>The true picture and relation of Prince Henry his noble and virtuous disposition. (Leyden)</td>
<td>1634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollyband, Claud</td>
<td>The French School-Master</td>
<td>1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoole, Charles</td>
<td>A New Discovery of the old art of teaching School</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howell, James</td>
<td>Epistolae Ho-ellianae</td>
<td>1513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James I, king of Great Britain.</td>
<td>Instructions for Foreign Travel</td>
<td>1642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Robert</td>
<td>Basilicon Doron</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essays, or rather Imperfect Offers.</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonson, Ben</td>
<td>Conversations.</td>
<td>1619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Daniel</td>
<td>Timber, or Discoveries</td>
<td>1640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley, T.</td>
<td>The Vale Royal of England</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machiavelli, Nicolo</td>
<td>The Works of Polydore Vergil</td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason, William</td>
<td>Il Principe</td>
<td>1513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Handful of Essays or Imperfect Offers.</td>
<td>1621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meres, Francis</td>
<td>Palladis Tamia.</td>
<td>1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexia, Pedro di</td>
<td>Selva di varia locacion</td>
<td>1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(also 1544, 47)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton, John</td>
<td>Tractate of Education</td>
<td>1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montaigne, Michel de</td>
<td>Festical Works.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrice, Thomas</td>
<td>Essay.</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(trans. by J. Florio)</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulcaster, Richard</td>
<td>An Apology for Schoolmasters.</td>
<td>1619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positions.</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementarie.</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradis, Claude</td>
<td>Heroicall Devices.</td>
<td>1591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacham, Henry</td>
<td>The Garden of Eloquence</td>
<td>1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(also 1593)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty, Sir William</td>
<td>The Advice of W.P. to Mr. S.</td>
<td>1645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Primandraye
Puttenham, George
Sadoletto, Jacopo
Sansovino
Selden, John
Standish, Arthur
Sturm, Johann
Taylor, John
Tuvil, Daniel
Twyne, Thomas
Valerius Maximus
Verdier, Antonie da
Walton, Isaac
Webbe, William
Willymat, W.
Woodward, Hezekiah

The French Academie.
The Art of English Poesie.
De Fueris Recte Instituendis.
(trans. with introd. by E.T.
Campagnac and K. Forbes)
Selva di varie lettonie.
Table Talk.
The Commons' Complaint.
De litterarum ludis recte aperi-
endis liber Nobilitas Literata.
trans. A Rich Storehouse for
Nobility.
The Whip of Pride.
Epigrams.
Essay Politick and Morall.
Vade Mecum.
The Schoolmaster.
Libri Noven Factorum Dicctorum-
que Memorabilium. (Leyden)
Diverses Lecons.
The Compleat Angler.
A Discourse of English Poetrie.
Speculum Principis.
Of the Child's Portion, viz.
Good Education.
The Institution of a Gentleman.
The Father's Blessing.
The Babes' Book.
ed. F.J. Furnival for E.E.T.S. 1878
Manuale Scholarium.
ed. Seybolt.

3. Modern Works of Criticism, History, Biography, Bibliog-
-raphy, Records & Indexes etc.

Ames
Baker, C.H.C.
Beloe, William
Bliss, P.
Brydges, Sir S.E.
Burghclere, Lady

 Typographical Antiquities.
 (ed. Dibdin)
Lally and the Stuart Portrait
Painters.
Anecdotes of Literature.
Edition of Horace's
Nicothography.
Censura Literaria.
Restituta.
Life of James, first duke of
Ormonde.
Burney, Sir Charles
Clark, H.
Clark, Arthur M.
Collier, John Payne
Dalleway, James
Dalton, Charles
Day, I. Forman
Eyre, G.E.B.
Foster, Joshua James
Gordon, G.S.
Gough, Richard
Green, Henry
Grove, Sir George
Hawkins, John
Hazlitt, W. Carew
Kedser, Ruth
Kettlewell, John
Lewin, S.
Lister, T.H.
Lowndes, W.T.
Marsden, J.H.
McKerrow, R.B.
Michel,
Mullinger, James B.
Ormerod, Sir George
Pinto, V. de Sola
SIRR, Henry
Spedding, J.

History of Music.
Rudimentary Grammar Schools.
Thomas Heywood.
Bibliographical Catalogue.
Origin and Progress of Heraldry.
The Wrays of Glentworth.
Windows.
A Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers Cty. (1640-1703)
Samuel Cooper & the English Miniature Painters of the 17th.
Introduction to ed. of Peacham's Compleat Gentleman.
British Topography.
Shakespeare & the Emblem-writers.
History of the Science and Practice of Music.
Bibliographical Handbooks.

The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the 16th.
(Complete Works.
(Univ. of Illinois)
Lincolnshire Churches in the Holland district.
Life of Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon.
(Also ed. Bohn
College Life in the Reign of James I.
Introduction to Bibliography.

History of the University of Cambridge.
History of Chester.
Life of Sir Charles Sedley.
John Thorpe & Rowland Stickles Architectural drawings of their times.
Life and Letters of Francis Bacon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Jeremy</td>
<td>History &amp; Antiquities of Boston.</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Piscly</td>
<td>Alumni Cantabrigiensis.</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venn, John</td>
<td>Les Sources et l'Évolution des Essais de Montaigne.</td>
<td>1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villey, Pierre</td>
<td>Account of his own Life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallis, John</td>
<td>Published as Appendix No. IX to Preface to Thomas Hearne's ed. of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.</td>
<td>1725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsingham, Edward</td>
<td>A Catalogue of Engravers.</td>
<td>1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warton, T.</td>
<td>Life of Sir John Digby.</td>
<td>1768-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, Foster</td>
<td>Edition of Milton's Minor Poems.</td>
<td>1785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Antony a</td>
<td>The English Grammar Schools to 1660.</td>
<td>1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erasmus on Education.</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Studies in Education during the Renaissance.</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vives on Education.</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catalogue of Rare Books.</td>
<td>1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pub. by West the bookseller.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliotheca Heberiana.</td>
<td>1834-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Register of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ed. J.R. Bloxham</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catalogue of the Ruth Library.</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heralds' Visitations of Hertfordshire (1572-1634) Harleian Soc. vol. 22</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London Marriage Licences (1529-1610) Harleian Soc. vol. 25</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Registers of the University of Oxford.</td>
<td>1887-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parish Records of St. Martin's in the Fields (1550-1619) Harleian Soc. No. 125</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dictionary of National Biography.</td>
<td>1895, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln Episcopal Records.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canterbury &amp; York Soc. Publications vol XI</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge (1546-1760) ed. W.W. Rowse-Ball and J.A. Venn</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cambridge University Matriculations &amp; Degrees. ed. John Venn</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln Wills.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln Record Soc. vol. 5 ed. C.W. Fosger.</td>
<td>1914-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Calendars of Administrations in the Consistory Court of Lincoln.
Record Sec. vol. 16 ed. C.W. Foster.
Calendars of State Papers Domestic (1600-1650)