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TORQUATO TASSO
THE HOUSEHOLDERS
PHILOSOPHIE

LONDON 1588





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TORQUATO TASSO
THE HOUSEHOLDERS
PHILOSOPHIE
ANEXED
A DAIRIE BOOKE

LONDON, 1588

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The Housholders Philosophie.

Wherein is perfectly and profitably described,
the true Oeconomia and forme of
Housekeeping.

With a Table added thereunto of all the notable
things therein contained.

*First written in Italian by that excellent Orator and Poet
Signior Torquato Tasso, and now translated
by T. K.*

Whereunto is anexed a dairie Booke for
all good huswiues.



AT LONDON
Printed by F. C. for Thomas Hacket,
and are to be sold at his shop in Lombard-streete,
vnder the signe of the Popes head.
M. D. LXXXYIII.





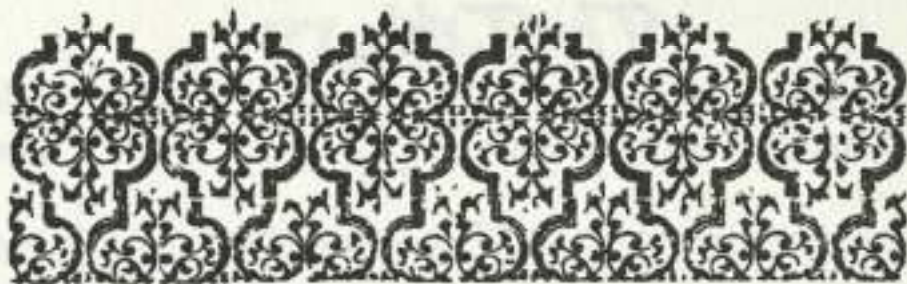
☞ To the worshipfull and vertuous
Gentleman Maister Thomas Reade Esquier,
health and all happines.

WOrth more then this digested thus in haste,
Yet truely set according to the sence,
Plaine and vnpollished for making waste,
Of that which *Tassos* pen so highly gracde,
This worke I dedicat to your defence.
Let others carpe, tis your discretion
That must relieue myne imperfection.

Your worships most affectionate
T. K.

¶ 2.





A Catalogue or Index of those thinges woorth the memory contained in this Booke.

(. . .)

A

A Chilles is not to bee imitated of a noble man.	Folio.13
Ayde amongst Seruaunts for the helpe and ease of one another necessarie.	17
Action distinguished.	codem
Arte of weauing honourable.	fol.21
Artificers defined.	fol.17
Autumn more copious of fruites then the springtime.	fol.6
Autumn wherfore iudged the best of other seasons.	7
Age in marriage to be lookt vnto.	10
Apparrell for Women.	11
Arteficiall riches what.	fol.19

B

Beautie more regarded in a Woman then a Man.	fol.11
Beauty forced by painting insupportable in a woman.	cod.
Beefe at feasts, more vsed for fashio then foode.	fol.5
Beefe sought for and desired by Vlysses Seruaunts in theyr trauaile.	

The Table.

trauayle. eodem
 Bodie wedded to the soule. folio.9

C

Catullus why he called Wine bytter.	fol.6
Colour of Wine and what it ought to be.	fol.5
Circes giuen to weauing.	7
Comodities of the spring and of Autumn.	6
Complexion of seruaunts, and what it should be.	16
Conditions in Seruaunts	17
Consideration in condicions of possessions.	19
Clerkes or Secretaries who and what they ought to be.	17
Coniunction of man and wife like that of the body and the soule.	9
Conseruation of things howe it shoulde bee vsed by a good hufwife.	18.20
Customs in bringing vp of Children.	13
Care of housekeeping of diuers sortes, and whether they varie in forme onely or in gettings.	20
Care of Children how it is to bee deuided twixt Father and the Mother.	12
Care of the Hufwife concerning thinges that are brought into the house.	20
Cares necessary for a housekeeper desirous to preferue his wealth.	18
Care of household is deuided into two parts.	8
Care of housekeeping as great to the Fathers and Maisters thereof, as is the care of a Kingdome to a King.	eodem
Clenlines in housekeeping.	16
Care of seruaunts in their sicknesses.	17
Chastisement toward seruaunts what.	13
Countrey prouision vnought seruing for the Table.	3
Conserues necessary in houses.	20
Ciuill warres begunne by Seruaunts.	15
	Desire

The Table.

D

Desire of ryches and howe farre it dooth concerne a house-keeper.	Fol.24
Difference betwixt Exchange and V fury.	25
Difference of Seruaunt and soueraigne or Maister, founded first by Nature.	fol.14
Delights of the Spring and of Autumne.	fol.6
Deuision of lande Quadrupartite.	3
Difference betwixt the instruction of Seruauntes and of Beastes.	fol.15
Disconiodities of Sommer and Winter.	6
Disobedience of Wiues whence it riseth.	10
Distinction of nobilitie betwixt man and wife how great.	9.
Difference in merchandize.	codem

E

Earth vniuersall nurse of all thinges.	Fol.23
Education of Children as well appertaines to the Mother as the Father.	fol.12
Education of Children and what it ought to be.	13
Exercise of Housekeepers for health.	10
Equallitie in marriage to be respected.	Fol.9.
Equallitie in marriage wherein it doth consist.	codem
Exercise a Husbandmans phiticke	fol.10

F

Families or housholdes of what sorte of Seruaunts to bee made.	fol.16
Factors and surueighors and ouerseers.	codem.
Feasts nor forbidden to Women.	21

The Table.

Fortune maketh many men seruile.	15
Fruites preferued in Vineger.	20
Fruites of the earth are naturall gaines.	19
Feare not commendable in a man.	10
Forme of getting what.	23

G

Gain in ware naturall	23
Gain vnaturall how it is distinguished	25
Gain purchased with sweat or sweete.	codem
Gain honestly made by the Mistresse of the house.	23
Grapes gathered out of season.	fol.5
Grapes growing in Greece, of what collour and what wine is made of them	codem
Grapes gathered in Autumn.	6

H

Homer why he called Wine sweete, and why bitter.	fol.6
Homer what properties he gaue to Wine.	5
Hufwifry consistig much in spinning.	20
Hayre a great ornament of nature.	11
Hayre cut from Wemens heads and why.	codem
Honest recreation not to be with-held from Women.	12
Harts not bredde in Affrick.	fol.5

I

Idlenes and ease make some seruaunts euill.	Fol.16
Instruments of housholde to be kept cleene.	codem
Imitation of Nature.	codem

Loue

The Table.

L

Loue figured without a bearde.	Folio.11
Louers wanton embracings different from those of married folke.	codem
Loue of Children.	12
Lynen and wollen weauing necessary in housekeeping.	20

M

Money why and how founde out and vsed.	Fol.19
Marrimonie maketh equall many differences.	10
Marriage at what yeeres to be solemnized	4
Meate wanting vpon suddaine entertainment of guests, how to be supplied.	12
Mothers ought to giue their owne Children sucke.	codem
Mothers ought not to be too tender to their children.	13

N

Nature chaunged by Nurfes Milke.	Fol.12
Nurfes commonly ordinary persons.	codem
Naturall gayne how to be rayfed.	codem
Naturall riches what.	10

O

Offices how and when to be distinguished.	Fol.16
Oxen placed by Hesiodus in steede of seruants.	15
Opinions of some concerning the soule.	9
Orders in housholde busines.	16
Orders of Publicans.	24

The Table.

P

Practises of minde and body howe to be vsed.	Fol.13
People regard aparances.	14
Petrarchs opinion of the people.	eadem

Q

Qualitie of substaunce what.	19
Quality of seruaunts what.	eadem

R

Reuenewes.	Fol.18
Rents.	eadem
Regard of householders.	19
Reason necessary in Seruaunts.	ead.
Riches howe to be considered.	20

S

Seruaunts working.	Fol.17
Seruaunts care in maintayning of their working tooles.	16.17
Salary or wages fit for Seruaunts.	14
Shamfastnes not improper to a married man.	9
Situation of landes.	eadem
Seruaunts a defence to their Maister.	15
Seruaunts different from slaues.	14
Seruaunts what and who they be	17
Seruaunts how to be vsed.	eadem
Thales	

The Table.

T

Thales one of the seauen wise men of Greece, howe hee became rich.	Fol.19
Times of the yeere to bee considered of a householder and good Husbands.	codem

V

Vertues proper to men what.	9
Vertues proper to Women.	codem
Vsury how pernicious a thung it is.	25

W

Wealth how to be vsed	18
Weauing how first found out.	20
Women how to be chosen in wedlock.	11
Women married rather yong then olde.	10

FINIS.





☞ The Houholders Phi- losophie.



IT was then about that time of the yere that the Grape-gatherers were wont to presse their Wines, and that the Trees were seene (in some place) dispoiled of their fruite, when I (in the habitte of an vnknowne Pilgrim) rode betwixt Nouara & Vercellis, where seeing the ayze were blacke, & enuironed on euery side with clowdes ready to raine: I began to set spurs to my Horse, but the whilst I heard a confused cry of dogs, and turning me about, I beheld a little Kidde surchargd, pursued, and anon euertaken by two swift Grey-hounds, in so much as it there died at my feete. The vnerpected pleasure of which game, stayed me til a youth of eightene or twenty yeres of age, tall of stature, of a good aspect, well proportioned, tough sinewed, and of a strong constitution, beating and crying out vpon the doggs tooke the poore Kidde fro soth their mouthes, and gaue it to a pesaunt attending on him, that laid it on his shoulders, and at a beck of the youth gat him swiftly on befoze. Where vpon the young man turning towards me said. Tell me sir of courtesie, whither is your iourney? I would to Vercellis (quoth I) this euening if the time woulde giue mee leaue. You might happily get thither (qu he) were it not that the Riuer that runneth befoze the Cittie, and that deuideth the confines of Piemount from those of Millan, is so querflowen

The Houholders

that you can hardlie passe it, so that I would aduise you, if it please you, to lodge with me this euening : for not far hence neere that Riuer, I haue a little Cottage, where you may repose your selfe with lesse disease then in any other place nigh thereabouts. Whilst he thus spake I stedfastly beheld him, and me thought I perceiued in his very countenance a kind of gentilitie and grace, so that (iudging him to be of no base or meane condicion) seeing him a foote, giuing my Horse to a hyrcing that came with me, I dismounted. Whereupon (quoth he) you shall aduise your selfe yonder on the Riuer side, whether you were better to passe on or staie : and whether will I goe befoze, not to arrogat anie superiortie, but as your guide, because perhaps you are not well acquainted with the waie. Fortune (quoth I) doth fauour mee with too noble a conduct. God graunt in other things she shewe her selfe as prosperous. Where I became silent, and I folowed him, but he regarded oft, and often ouerlooked, and looked on me as if he were desirous it seemed to vnderstande of whence I was : so that I pzeuented his desire, and in some sort to satisfie him, said I was neuer till nowe in this Countrey, but heretofore going into Fraunce I pass by Pycmout, howbeit I repent me not that I came this waie, for the Countrey is very pleasant, and inhabited of people passing courteous. Where perceiuing that I ministred occasion of speech, he could no longer hide what he desired, but sayd.

Tell me I pray you, what are you, what Countreyman, and what good fortune ledde you into these parts ? I was borne (quoth I) in Naples, a famous Cittie of Italie, my mother a Neapolitan, my father of Bergamo, a Cittye scituate in Lombardy, my name and surname I conceale, for they are so obscure, as if I should report them, yet you coulde not be the more enformed of my state. The wrath of Fortune and of mightie me I thin, howbeit I am estones shrowded vnder the the estate of Sauoy. Under a magnanimous, iust, and gracious Prince you sojourne then (quoth he.) But modestlie remembzing that I desired to conceale some part of mine

mine estate, he enquired no further of me. Wee had nowe walked little more then halfe a mile, but wee arriued on the side of the Rhyer, swifter then which, neuer ranne arrowe fro forth the strongest bow of Parthia: and it was swoln so high, as it farre surpass the wonted limmits, neither could it be contained in the compasse whereunto it was accustomed. And it was tolde me by y^e Countrey men commozants there, that the Passador woulde not put off from the other side, but y^e (vpon what occasiō they knew not) he had refused to waite ouer some French Gentlemen, that would haue giuen more then ordinary soz their passage. Whereupon, turning to the youth that was my guide, I said, What necessity now bound me to accept his courtesie, which notwithstanding I had not yet determined to refuse: albeit I had rather acknowledge this fauour proceeding from your owne disposition then from fortune. It pleaseh me notwithstanding that she hath wrought it in such sozt as wee shall haue no neede to doubt of your abode.

Thus more and more he confirmed mine opinion, that he was neither of ignoble birth noz meane capacitie, wherevpon content to be consozted with so well accomplished an Hoste: (¶ I) the sooner you shall please that I receiue the fauour to be lodged, the more shall I accept of it, and therewithall he ledde me to his house that was not farre situate from the Riuer side, and it was as high as on the outside we might easily perceiue it comprehended diuers roemes and stories one aboue another. Befoze the house there was a little Court enuironed with Trees, and there they ascended by double staires which were without the Gate, eyther of them containing fise and twentie large & molle commodious steps. On the top of the staires we entred into a faire Hall, foure square & of conuenient greatnes, for it had two porthals on the right, and two on the left side, and as manie in the upper end. Directlie against the Gate whereby wee entred, was there another Gate, and thereby we descended by as manie other steps into a little Court, about the which

The Householders

were prettie lodgings for seruants, and houses for Coznes, and thence we past into a Garden large enough, and filled with fruitfull Trees, verie orderlie and artificially disposed. The Hall was furnished with hangings and euery other ornament beſeeming the lodging of a Gentleman. In the miſt thereof was the Table covered, and the Cupboorde charged with curious plates of Candie, furnished with all ſorts of daintie fruits. Faire and paſſing well placed (quoth I) is this goodlie houſe, and it can not be poſſeſt but of ſome noble Gentleman, who though amongſt the woods and in a Countrey Towne, lets not yet to imitate the delicacy and neatneſs of the Cittie, but are you the Lord thereof? Not I (quoth he) my Father is, whom God graunt a long life, neither denie I him to be a Gentleman of the Cittie, or vncperienced in Courte or on the worldes conditions, albeit he hath ſpent the greater part of his time in the Countrey, hauing a Brother that hath long bene a Courtier in Rome, and that yet abideth there, highlie fauoured of the good Cardinall Vercellis, whoſe valour and authozitie in theſe quarters highly are accounted of. And in what part of Europe and of Italie, (quoth I) is that good Cardinall knowne and not accounted of.

Thus as we were reaſoning, there mette vs another youth of leſſe yeres, but no leſſe gentle ſpirit, that brought worde of his Fathers comming, who eſtſoones was returned from ſurueighing his poſſeſſions. And anon there came the Father on horſebacke attended with a footman, and another ſeruitoꝝ that rode befoꝝe, who diſmounted, immediatly came by the ſtaires. He was a man of middle age, yet neerer thꝛeſcoꝝe then fiftie: of countenance verie pleaſant, myred with comelie grauitie, and by the whitneſs of his hayꝛe and beard (that only made him ſeeme old) his dignity was much augmented. I framing my paſſage towardeſ the good man and maiſter of the houſe, ſaluted him with that reuerence which I thought fitting both his yeres and ſuch as he ſhould ſeeme. And hee turning to his elder Sonne with a pleaſant countenance,

countenaunce, asked him whence I was, for I haue neuer seene him hereabouts or els where (quoth he) to my remembrance. To whom his Sonne made answer thus. He cometh from Nouara, and trauals towards Turyno, but making nêrer to his ffather, he whispred to him in such sorte that hee woulde enquire no further of my state, but saide, whence soeuer he be, hee is welcome here a shoze, for hee is happened on a place, where to our powze, honour and seruice alwaies hath beene vled to strangers. I thanking him for his courtesie, praid that as I willingly receaued thys fauour of him, so in other things I might shew my selfe mindful and regardant.

These things thus discoursed, the seruants had prouided water for our hands, and (hauing washt) we sate, as it pleased the good old Gentleman, who desired to doe me honoz beeing a stranger. Forthwith was the Table furnished with fruits, as Bellons, Cytrons, and such like, which at the end of Supper were at a wincke of his reserued and set vp, & then he began thus. The good old man Coricius, the Gardener of whom I remember I haue reade in Virgill.

Nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.

Hyed home at night & fild his bord with delicats vn bought

And in imitation whereof Petrarch speaketh, reasoning of his Plowman.

*Epoi la mensa ingombra,
Di pouere viuande,
Simili a quelle ghiande
Le quai fuggendo tutto'l mondo honora.*

And then he decks his boord about
With meats of meane esteeme,
Like to those Iayes whose flight contents
The world, cause faire they seeme.

So that you nêde not meruaile if I after their fashon, fill your Table with vn bought viands, which though they be

The Housholders

not such as you are bled to taste elsewhere, remember you are in a Country Town, and lodged in the house of a poore Host. I hold it (quoth I) a happy thing to haue no neede to send for necessities to the Cittie for the supply of good manners, I meane not of good meate, for thereof sir me seemes here wants no store. It lightlie happeneth not (quoth hee) that I send to y^e Cittie for any thing necessarie or fit for the life of a poore Gentleman, for (God be praised) I haue abundance of euery thing ministred vnto me vpon myne owne ground, y^e which I haue deuided into foure parts or formes, call them what you will. The first and greatest part I plow and sow with wheate and all kind of graine. The seconde part I leaue for Trees and plants, which are also necessarie either for fire, the vse of Architecture, & other instruments of household, as also in those places that are sowne are manie reues of Trees, whereupon the Vines after the manner of our peccie Countries are laid and fastened. The third is Meadow ground whereon the Heards and little flocks I haue are wont to graze. The fourth I haue reserued for hearbes, flowers and rootes, where also are some store of hyucs for Bees, because beyond this Orchard wherein you see that I haue grafted so many fruitfull Plants, and which you see is somewhat seperat from my possessions, there is an other Garden full of all sorts of sallet hearbes and other rootes.

You haue well deuided your lands (quoth I) and it is well sene that you are studious of Varro not of Virgil only. But these Mellons here that are so sweet, are they also growing vpon your owne grounde? Yea (quoth hee) and if they please you, eate of them and tarry not for me. For if I haue eaten but a little, it hath not bene for sparing them, but because I deeme them scarce wholesome: for albeit they be sweet of saour and pleasant to the taste: neuerthelesse, hanging alwaies on the earth and not discovered on al sides to the Sunne, it must needs be, that there they soke vp the superfluous humours of the earth, which most commonly (being vnpossible to be wel or equallie ripened by the vertue

tie of the Sunne, which cannot enter into every part) it hap
peneth that there are few good Mellons to be found, but that
many of them taste like Words and Cowgomers, which al
so hang vpon the earth vnripened.

Here he became silent, & I to shew that I allowed of that
he spake, said little : knowing that olde men, or they y grow
in yeeres, were euer moze desirous of reasoning and talk;
then any other thing, soz we can not please them better, then
to harken to their speeches with attention. But he then al
most at a staie, said because his wife was wanting. Sir, my
wife being withdrawne from your pzeence, happily lookes
to be invited, therefore if it please you I wil cause her to bee
called. For albeit I knowe that modest Strangers are moze
abashd with the company of women then of men, yet not
onely the Towne but the custome of our Countrey, carrieth
a certaine pziuiledge, whereof it wil be wel that you begin
to aduise your selfe.

The Wife being called, came and sate her down at the
opper end of the Table, in that place that was purposelic
left empty for her, and the good man of the house beganne a
gaine. Nowe haue you scene (q he) all my dearest thinges,
soz heauen hath not graunted me a maiden Child, soz which
I were to thanke the much, were it not but that my wife la
menteth oft soz want of one to beare her company, soz my
Sonnnes are soz the most part absent & imploied otherwise,
wherefoze I thought good to haue married myne eldest
Sonne had he not much disliked and intreated to the contra
rie. I cannot (quoth I) in anie sort commend this custome
of marrying yong mē so soone. For it standeth not with rea
son that they should first be getting Childzen, befoze them
selues were come vnto their groweth, wherunto me thinks
your Sonne haere hath attained : besides, the fathers ought
to excede their childzen alwaies eyght and twenty or thirty
yeeres at the least, soz otherwise they are in y vigoz of their
yeeres when the youth of their sonnes begin to flourish, inso
much as their desires are yet vnaccomplished, which if by

The Housholders

none other meanes, yet by example of their Childzen they might moderate, and oft it is the cause, that such regarde is scarcely had or vsed to them by their Childzen as is due to Parents, for many times they are companions & brothers in their conuersation, nay nowe & then (which is most abhorminable) they are ryualls and competitozs in loue, where if they exceeded moze in yeres, their Fathers could not match them in theyz young desires, but (being decrepit) shoulde solely expect and appzoue that ayde and comfozt at theyz hands, which is their due, and nature bindeth Childzen vnto. And herein I remember that apt foyme of speach vsed by Lucretius. *Natis munire senectam.* For by nature Childzen are the foztresse & defences of their Parents, neither coulde they be such, were they not of able and sufficient yeres, whē their Parents are arriued and come vnto their age. Wherē vnto your selfe being estsoones nigh, mee thinks you ought to hold your selfe no lesse satisfied of the helpe you haue, thē of the good conditions of your Sonne, who though he cannot yet find in his hart to be married, shal happily confoyme him selfe therunto ten or twelue yeres hence, and time inough. Whilst I spake thus, I remembred that my argument was moze acceptable to the Sonne then the father, and he according to my remembzaunce, said. I hunted not all in vaine to day, for I haue not onely kild, but moze then I looked for, I haue happened on an honest aduocat to pleade my cause: and thereupon he carued me of the daintiest mozels of the Kid, and laid it on my trenchour, whereof some was rolle, some was backt after the manner of mynced meate. Wytth the Kidde was serued (in seuerall dyshes) some part of a wylde Boate, dyest after our Countrey fashion with Larde, and in two other dyshes, two payze of Wygeons, the one roasted, the other boyled This wilde Boate, (quoth the good man) was taken by a Gentleman a friende and neighboz of ours, who often time participates the profit of his sports with my Son, the Wygeons, them I haue from my owne Douehouse, and with these selwe haue we furnished a poze Supper, as

foz Wæse and such like, I hold it rather a trouble to the stomack and the Table, then a necessarie meate foz this contagious weather. It suffiseth mee (quoth I if it bee not more then needes) to eate of two kinds of wilde flesh: & me thinks I haue supped with noble men to night, in whose time wee reade there was none other flesh eaten then Wæse, Dozke, and Venison and such like, foz the banquets of Agamemnon as we read in Homer, although (by the opinion of Lucian,) they might deserue to haue old Nestor at thē almost as a Parasite, were not furnished with other viands And þe companions of Vlisses, bare not so many misshaps and heates of the Sunne foz the desire of Feisants oz Partrich, but to sæde vpon Wæse. Virgil likewise inducith Æneas, that in Affrick slew seauen Harts, where, after þe iudgment of some, it shold haue beene some other thing, foz in Affrick are no Harts bred, but in hauing regarde to the conueniencie and custeme of Noblemens dyet, he fained oz sozgat that which properlie is vled and eaten in that pzoouince.

And wherefoze (quoth the olde man) did the Poets faigne that Noble men of their time, did eate such kinde of flesh. Because (quoth I) they are of great nourishment, and they (as those that exercised themselues with much labour) had neede of great nourishment, which Birds cannot yelde that are so easilie digested: but the flesh of wild Beasts, although they be of great nourishment, yet are they wholesome because they be much exercised and stirring, and theyz fatte is farre more naturall then that of Swine, oz other Beastes that fatneth by the hande, foz it is not so sone pufft vp & fatned, as those Beasts that commonly are stald and foddered, therefore it was aptly said of Virgil, speaking of Æneas soldiours.

Implentur veteris bacchi pinguisque ferina.

And they are filled euery one
With olde wine and fat venison.

Foz they fedde thereof at will, without any noisome oz superfluous suines. Herewithall I held my peace, and the

The Houholders

Wines of
the Easterne
partz.

olde man began thus. The discourse that you haue made of Wine, and of the auncient times of Noble men, makes mee remember that which I haue hearde obserued of Homer, who euermore in pꝛayling Wine, called it *Nigrum et dulce*, which two conditions, me thinks are not very commendable, and so much the more it seemeth strange vnto me that he should giue Wine commendations of that sort, the more I haue obserued, that y^e wines of Leuant, which are brought ouer hère to vs, are white of collour, as are the Palmesey; and the Romaine wyne which I haue tasted of in Venice; without that, the wines which in the kingdome of Naples are called Grecian Wines, because they were made of the Grapes that grow in Greece, bee white oꝛ rather gold-coloured; as that aboue all the rest is wherof we haue spoken. And those wines are more properlie white that are of the Rheyne of Germanie, and those others that growe in colde Countries, where the Sunne hath not so much foꝛce as it can ryꝑen Grapes befoꝛe y^e time of Grape-gathering, albeit happilie the manner of their making, may also be the cause of their whitnes.

Wère I aunswered, that the Wines were termed swæte of Homer, with that kind of Metaphor wherwith al things, either pleasing to the senses, oꝛ acceptable to the minde, are required to be swæte. Howbeit, I denie not that perhaps he loued swæte Wines himselfe, which also most contenteth me, neither is this swætnes of Wine vnpleasant oꝛ hurtful but at some seasons: and the Palmesey, Greeke & Romain Wines wherof wee haue made mencion, all of them haue some kind of swætnes, which is neuerthelessse lost the older the Wine is: wherevpon we reade.

Inger mi calices amariores.

Pray fill with bitter Wine
These challices of mine.

This was not because the Poet desired bitter Wyne (foꝛ there is none to whom bitterness is not vnpleasant) but
because

because olde Wine loosing the sweetnes, yeldeth that sharp and heddic taste, which he calleth bitter, & I would so wishe you to vnderstande that it is called swete of Homer, as it was called bitter by Catullus : afterward Homer calleth it black, having reference to some particuler Wine that was then in price, as is now our *Lachryma*, which though it bee prest from one selfe same Grape as the Wine of Greece is, hath yet a vermillion coulour. Having answered thus, I tasted of a cup of delicat white Wine with my Mellons, and after ward, being begun to by him, I pledged him of a cup of neate Claret Wine, & upon interposition of some words, we ended our merry Supper. For the meate taken awaie, there was sette on the Table all sorts of fruite in great abundance, whercof when the old man had onely tasted, hee began thus to reason.

Which we
call redde
Wine.

I haue many times heard much questioning of the noble and varietie of seasons, and I haue seene two Letters that are extant to be reade, of Mutius the one, and the other of Tasso, wherein they contende of the woorthines betwixt Winter and Sommer, but me thinks no time may be compared to Autumn. For the Sommer with extreame heate, and the Winter with extreame colde, are otherwhile so intolerable, as we can neither temperate the one with fruits nor the other with pastimes : and they are not onely a hinderance to the Mariner, who in the Winter is enforced to keepe the Haven. To the trauailer, Souldier & huntsman, who in Sommer are constrained to retyre them from the heate, raynes and tempests, vnder the shade of a Tree, or shroude of a Church, whether they first find : but to y house-keeper alio, who without many inconueniences cannot haue the time so much as to surueigh his grounds. The one season then is full of laboz and of sweat, neither enioyeth it the third part of the fruite it byingeth forth, for spoile of weather, wormes and windes. The other slothfull and sleepe, betwixt idlenes and eating, vniustly consumeth that which the labour of another time hath yelded. Which iniustice, is

The Housholders

indifferently to be noted by the difference betwixt the day and night. For in Winter, the daie which is most woorthie, yeeldeth to the night, whereof it is vnreasonable y it should be overcome: and being short, colde, and cloudie, it giueth not men conuenient time to worke or to contemplate. So that our operations and contemplations are enclosed with darknes and reserued to the night, a time nothing necessarie for the one nor other. For the sences that are ministers of vnderstanding, cannot so entirely exercise their office in the night. In the Sommer, the daie becomes victor and raigneth not like a Lord, but like an extreme Tirant, that vsurpeth more then needes, leaving the night not so much time as that therein we may sufficiently restore our bodies resolved with exceeding heate and contagions of the day, of whose shortnes not onely y Louers (that would haue it long) were wont to lament, but the goodwife of the house also, who euen then that shee woulde nestle in the armes of her Husband, is by him forsaken and awaked, and therewithall hee laughed so hartlie looking vpon his wife, that shee blushing held downe her head, and he proceeded. These if I be not beguiled, are the inconueniences and discomforts of y Winter and Sommer, whereof the Spring and Autumn are not to be touched, for they are fraught with millions of delights, and in their times, the Sun (like a most indifferent Courteour) formith the day & night of such equalitie, as the one hath little cause to complaine of the other. But if wee wyl compare Autumn & the Spring together, we shall soone finde the Spring so farre inferior to Autumn, as hope is to effects, and flowres to fruits, whereof Autumn most aboundeth of all other seasons. Besides that, whatsoeuer fruite Sommer hath brought forth, endureth euen vntill then, and manie other hath Autumn onely proper to his season, whereof as one especiall, is Grape gathering for the wine-presse, which is, or ought to be one of the cheefest cares the Housekeeper should haue, for if hee be deceiued by his Seruaunts in gathering of his Cozne, he thereof onely sees some losse and discomfort

discounmoditie, but if in making of his Wines they practise neuer so little falshood, he doth not onely suffer the losse, but shame, when it happeneth that hauing honozable guests, he cannot commend his Supper with good Wines, without which, *Non solum frigescit Venus*, but all his meats are marred that might be dzest by the most excellent Cooke the Duke hath. Therefore I conclude that Autumn is the most noble and best season of the yere, and that which is indeede most acceptable to the Housekeeper: and I remember I haue hearde my father saie, who (if the troth reported of him may but be beleued) was for naturall Morall Philosophie and eloquent deuise, more then meanelie learned, that in this season the world began, as indeede wee may assuredlie beleue it did.

That (quoth I) hath bene the opinion of some Doctozs of the Hebrues, and Christians of great account, which notwithstanding being no Article of our beliefe, every manne may credite as he list, I for my part am one of them y holde the contrary, & it seemeth to me more likelie, that the (world beginning as it is supposed) it thē began about the Spring, which I will thus constrain my selfe to prooue.

You shall vnderstand that Heauen is round, and hath all his parts so vniforme, as in it there can bee perceiued neither beginning nor ende, ryght nor left, vnder nor ouer, before nor behind, which are the sixe positions of place, vnlesse it happilie be in respect onely of the motion, because that is the right side whereof the motion hath his beginning, but because the motion of the Sunne goes against the *Primum mobile*, it may bee doubted whether these sixe differences of place, ought chiefly to be taken according to the motion of the *Primum mobile*, or according to the motion of the Sun. Neuerthelesse, forasmuch as all thinges contained in this our variable and corruptible world, chiefly depende vpon the motion of the Sunne, which is the cause of generation and of corruption, & is indeede the father of all liuing things, it is requisite that the motion of the Sunne determine the

The Houſholders

differences of the place. According therefore to the motions
of the Sun, our Pole is the higher, which according to the
motion of the *Primum mobile* should be the lower. This be-
ing thus, if we will seeke in what season it is like the world
began, we shall see it is most reasonable, that it then began
when the Sun remouing so, goes not, but approacheth vs. Be-
sides, it beginneth with generation not with corruption, for
according to the custome of nature, things are first ingendred,
and afterward corrupted: but the Sun remouing out of *Aries*
it approacheth vnto vs, and there giueth beginning to the
generation and engendering of thinges. It is likelie then,
that when the world began the Sunne was in *Aries*, which
without doubt he shall see is so, that dilligently considereth
what was said in Platos *Tymeus* of God the Father to those
inferior Gods. True it is, that who so taketh the positions
of place from the motion of the *Primum mobile*, it must fol-
lowe that the Pole Antartick is the higher by nature, and
that the world began in that season wherein the Sunne re-
mouing approacheth neerer vnto our Antipodes, & beginneth
generation in those parts of the other world that are opposite
to these: which who so graunteth, it would seeme more like-
ly that the world began in the Autumnal equinoctial, when
the Sunne was in *Libra*, and yet it would follow that it be-
gan in the Spring, because this that is Autumn to vs, is
their springtime, in respect whereof, the beginning of the mo-
tion should be taken. But the first opinion, as by naturall
reason it is most likelie, so also may it be most commodiously
consozted with persuasions. For our worlde was dignified
with the presence of the true Sonne of God, who made
choyse to die in Ierusalem, which according to the Cosmo-
graphicall description of some, is in the midst of our Hemy-
sphere. Moreover, it was his will to dye in the Spring, of
purpose to redeme our humaine generation in that time
wherein at first he had created it. And here I ceased, when
the olde man moued with my speeches, beganne earnestlie
to looke vpon me, and said.

I haue entertained a greater guest then I expected, and you, (quoth he) are peraduenture one of those of whome the crye is come into our Countrey, who vppon some common fault are fallen into mis-fortunes, whereof you are as woorthy to be pardoned (cōsidering your offence) as to be praised and admired for your speeches. Report (quoth I) that coulde not happily blazon mine estimation or sufficiencis, whereof you are too courteous a commender, is nowe deriu'd from my mis-fortunes. But what or whoseuer I may bee, I am one that speake moze for truth sake then of hatred, dispraise of others, or superfluous conceit of mine opinions. If you be such an one (quoth he) for I will not search or pry into your state, you cannot but be an indifferent & fit Judge of a matter, which my Father (loaden both with age and with experience) participated vnto me a few yeres befoze his death, giuing by the gouernment of his house and care of his familie to me. And whilst he thus spake, the Seruants tooke away, and the auncient Gentlewoman giuing thanks arose, and was attended by her Sonnes, who after a while returning, I beganne. By, it shall be very acceptable vnto mee, to heare the dyscourse your Father made vnto you, as you were in purpose to haue tolde me, but because it woulde bee græuous vnto me to harken thereunto, with the dysleafe of those that are about vs, I beseech you commaund your Sons to sitte, who obeying the gentle commaunds of their father, the good olde man began thus.

About that time that Charles the fift deposed his Monarchie, and withdrew himselfe from the worlde, as from a tempest to contemplation and a quiet life, my good Father, being then threescore and tenne yeres old, my selfe somewhat moze then thirtie, called mee to him, and began to reason with me thus. The deedes of greatest Kings, that turne the eyes of all the world vpon theyr actions, albeit that for their greatnes and magnificence, it seemes they can haue no ppropotion of comparison with priuat men, neuerthelesse they mooue vs nowe and than with the authozity of theyr

The Housholders

examples, to imitate them in such sort, as we behold the providence of our almighty God followed by Nature: not onlie in man, a reasonable creature, whose dignity doth come so neere the Angels, but also in the industrie of other little creatures, whereby it should not seeme so strange to vs: if now that Charles the fift, that thise renowned Emperoz, hath thus deposed and discharged him of the weight of his so famous Monarchie, I also thinke by his example to disgrace me of this petit gouernment of household: which to my priuat personne, is no lesse then is his Empire to his Maiestie. But first, befoze I shall surrender this, that rather appertaines to thee then to thy Brother, as well in that thou art his elder as also moze enclind to husbandry (a thing most needful and appropiate to housekeeping) I will so instructe thee, touching things belonging to good gouernment, as I was taught not long since of my Father, who sprung of simple parentage, and heyze of a small patrimonie, with industrie, sparing, and good husbandry, did much augment it, which hath not bene deteriorated since by mee: but twice as much encreased since my father left it. Nowbeit if I haue not looked to my husbandry with so great care, nor liued so sparingly as he prescribed: neuerthelesse (let me boldly say thus much to thee my Son) the knowledge that I had touching the nature of things, & fellowship of the worlde more then he, hath bene the cause that I with little more experience haue easely accomplisht what he (being vnlettered and not experimented in the world) did hardly compasse with much sparing, and with exceeding toyle euen of his owne person.

Now to begin, I say thus. What the care of a good housholder is deuided into two thinges, that is, his body and his goods. In his personne he is to exercise thre offices, viz. of a Father, a Husband, and a Maister. In his goods two purposes are proposed, Conseruation, and Encrease, touching euery of which, I will particularly reason: and first of his body rather then his goods, because the care of reasonable thinges is moze woorth then that of things vnreasonable.

The

The good Housekeeper then, ought principally to haue care in choosing of his Wife, with whom hee must sustaine the personne of a Husbände, which happily is termed by a tytle more effectuall, Consort: for the Husband and hys wyfe ought indeed to be companions and consozts of one leise fortune, all the good and all the euill incident to life, ought by them to be common and indifferently sustained. In such sozt as the soule communicats her operations with the bodie, and the body with the soule, so that when any part of the bodie grieueth vs, the mind can hardly be content, and vpon the malcontentment of the minde folloves the infirmitie or weakenes of the bodie: so shoulde the Husband lament the sorowes of the Wife, and the Wife the troubles of the Husband. And the like communitie shoulde be in all offices and all operations. And so much is that coniunction that the man hath with the Wife, like to that which the body hath with the soule, as not without reason hys name of Consort or fellow is to be attributed to the Husband and the Wife, as to the soule it hath bene heretofore attributed. Forasmuch as Petrarch reasoning of the soule, saith.

Lerrante mia Consorte

My wandering Companion.

In imitation perhaps of Dante, who in his Canzonet of Noblesse said, that the soule was espoused to hys bodie. Albeit it for some other respect, it ought rather to bee resembled to the Husband then the wife, and euen as after that the bande that tyes the body and the soule together is disseuered, it seemeth not that the soule can bee conioynd with any other body. (Wherefore foolish is that opinion of some, that imagined the soule did passe from one vnto another, as dooth the Pilgrim passing from one lodging to another) so shoulde it seeme conuenient that that woman or man, that haue bene diuorced by death from that first band of Patrimonie, ought not to be knit vnto a second: noz without great admiration should Dydo haue continued her vntwillingnes of hauing a seconde husbände, who speaketh thus in the booke of Virgils *Aeneidos*.

The Housholders

*Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscens
Vel pater omnipotens aëgat me fulmine ad umbras,
Ante pudor quam te violam, aut tua iura resoluem
Ille meos primus qui me sibi iunxit Amores
Abstulit : ille habeat secum seruetque sepulchro.*

First wold I that the parched earth did riue & raught me in,
Or that th'almightie would with lightning driue mee to the
Ere I to lose or violate my chastity beginne, (deepe:
He hath my loue that first had me (interd) he his shal keepe.

Notwithstanding, sozasmuch as custome & the Lawes
dyspence with them in this, the woman as well as the man
may without shame undertake the second Marriage, espe-
cially if they doe it soz desire of succession (a desire most natu-
rall in all reasonable creatures) but happier are they that
haue but once in all theyz life béene tyed with that band.

Howe much the greater then and straighter the con-
iunction is of the husbände and the Wife, so much the more
ought euery one prouide to be indifferently matched , and
truely this equallity of marriage is in two speciall thinges
to be considered : Estate and Age. For as two Dalkreys oz
two Dren of vnequall stature cannot be coupled vnder one
selfe yoake, so a noble woman matching with a man of base
estate, oz contrarily, a Gentleman with a Begger, cannot
be consozted well vnder the bands of wedlock. But when it
happeneth yet that by some accident of Fortune, a man ma-
rieth a woman of so high a birth, hee ought (not sozgetting
that he is her Husband) more honoz and esteeme of her then
of his equall oz of one of meaner parentage, and not onely to
account her his companion in loue and in his life, but (in dys-
uers actions of publique aparance) holde her his superioz.
Which honoz is not yet accompanied with reuerence as is
that which soz manner sake wee are wont to doe to others.
And she ought to consider that no distinction of nobilitie can
be so great, but that the league which Nature hath ordeined
betwixt

betwixt men and women farre excēdeth it, for by nature woman was made mans subiect. But if a man shal take to wyfe an inferiour or meane woman, he also ought to weygh, that Matrimonie maketh equall many differences: and further, that he hath not taken her for a slave or seruaunt, but for a fellow and companion of his life. And thus touching the estate of man and wife, let this suffice.

Nowe passing to the age, I say that the Husband should prouide to choose his wife rather yong then olde, not onelie because a woman is more apt to child-bearing in youth, the other wise, but because, (according to the testimony of Hesiodus) she can better receiue, and retaine all formes of customes and conditions, wherewith it shall content her Husband to commend her. And for this (that the life of a woman is conscrib'd and ordinarily concluded in lesser tyme then Mans, and sooner wareth olde, as one in whom naturall heate is not apportioned vnto superfluous moisture) the man ought to excēde the woman so many yeeres, as the beginning of the ones age match not with the others, so that one of them before the other become vnable and vnfit for generation. Nowe if it happen that the Husband take a wife with these conditions, he shall furthermore easily exercise in her that superiority that hath bene graunted vnto man by nature, where otherwise it often commeth to passe that he shal find her so excēding wayward, crabbed and disobedient, that where he thought hee made his choyse of a companion that should helpe to lighten and exonerat that ponderous & heauie load which our humanity affordeth, he findes he is nowe matcht and fallen into the handes of a perpetuall enemy, who euermore none otherwise impugneeth and resisteth him then our immoderate desires, that in our minds so much oppose themselves to reason: for such is woman in respecte of man, as is desire in comparison of vnderstanding: and euen as desire, (which of it selfe is vnreasonable) is by obeying to vnderstanding, formed and beautified with many faire and necessary vertues: so a woman that conformes her selfe vn-

The Householders

to her Husband is adozned with those vertues, whereof by beeing obstinat she continueth vnfurnished. It is then a vertue in a woman, to know howe to honoz and obey her Husband, not as a Seruant doth his Maister, or the bodye the mind, but ciuilly and in such sort, as we see the Cittizens in wel gouerned Citties obey the Lawes, and reuerence their Magistrates, or so as in our soules, wherem as wel the well dysposed powers as the orders of the Cittizens within their Citties, compell affections to be subiect vnto reason: & heere in it hath bene conueniently ordeined of Nature. For being needful that in the felowship of mā and wife, the offices and dueties should be diuers, and the operations of the one, varying from the others, it is conuenient also that their vertues should be diuers.

The vertues proper to man, are Wisedome, Fortitude, and Liberalitie. To woman, Modestie and Chastitie, wherewith both the one and the other of them, may very well performe those operations that are requisite: but albeit Chastitie or Shamefastnes be not properly the vertues of a man, yet ought a good Husband to offend the league of Patrimonie as little as he possibly may, and not to be so incontinent, as (beeing absent for a season from his wife) he cannot abstaine from pleasures of the flesh, for if hee himselfe doo not first violate the bandes by so defiling of the marriage bedde, he shall doubtles much confirme the womans chastitie, who by nature libidinous, and no lesse inclined to venerie then man, onely by shame, loue and feare, may not be withdrawn from breaking of her faith vnto her Husbande. Amongst which three affectiōs, Feare is as woorthy of praise as blame, where the other two are indēde most commendable. And therefore not without great reason was it said of Aristotle, that Shamefastnes which merits no praise in a man, is most praise woorthy in a woman: and his Daughter very excellently approues. What no collour better graceeth or adoznes a womans cheekes, then y^e which shamefastnes depainteth, which increaseth and draweth as earnest loue and desire of others to them, as happily those other artificiall Dyles and dawblings

Datwings which they vse, decreaseth & withdzaaweth from
 them, bëeing in deede fitter soz bizards, pageants & poppets,
 then wholesome, handsome oz toothsome. And truely as a
 woman of discretion will in no wise marre her naturall cõ-
 plexion, to recouer it wth stime oz artificiall coulered trash, so
 ought the husband in no sort to be consenting to such follies.
 But because it behoueth the rule and authoritie of the Hus-
 band to be moderate in those things, chiefly which apper-
 taine to women, which soz that they are receiued and kept
 of custome, can not bee condemnd as arguments of much
 vnshamefastnes: We can p^ractise no way better to dyswade
 her from such muddy making faire her face, then with thew-
 ing himselfe a hater, contemner, and carelesse of those that
 are faire with that filthy spunging, p^roigning, painting and
 pollishing themselues. As soz women desirous to seeme faire
 I cannot say to please others, but of honest women desirous
 to content their Husbands, I may boldly speake, that at such
 time as they shal see their tricking vp their selues with Lie
 and such like filth, pleaseeth not their husbands eyes, they I
 know of modestie and loue, will suddainly sozbeare it. Much
 moze easie to be entreated should the husbände be in graun-
 ting her those things, whereof her bodie with conuenient
 oznaments should be sufficiently apparelled, soz albeit su-
 perfluous pompe be fitter soz a Stage oz Theater then the
 person of an honest Patron: notwithstanding, herein much
 may be attributed to vse, neyther should a womans fantasie
 so sharplie be offended, considering that by nature shee is so
 desirous to adorne and beautifie her bodie. For albeit we see
 that Nature in other creatures hath effected, that the bo-
 dies of the Male be moze adorned then the Females, as the
 Hart with his sayze and bushie b^raunched hoznes, the
 p^rincely Lyon with his p^roude and feltred locks, which the
 Females neuer haue, and hath embzoidered the Peacocks
 taile with moze variety of collours thē those of they^r Hens.
 Neuerthelesse, wee may perceiue that in the shape of man,
 he hath had moze regard to the beauty of the Female then

Ouid de
 med: faciei
 Certus a-
 mor morū
 est, formam
 populabitur
 ætas.

The Housholders

the Male. For the flesh of women, as it is more soft & daintie, so are they ordinarily more desired to be gazed on, neither are their faces shadowed with beards, which albeit they become men, being proper unto us, yet can we not deny but that the countenances of youths upon whose faces hayre neuer came, are fayer & farre more louely then those of bearded men. And Loue by the iudiciall figures of antiquitie hath bene portraied like a Boy, so Bacchus, so Apollo, who of all the other Gods were most fayer, were deciphered without beards, but with long curled locks trussed vp in tresses, whereupon the Poets call him Phæbus wyth these Epythetons almost continually. *Non tosato o comato* but hayre (which is a great ornament of Nature) groweth not so hastilie vpon a man, nor so soft and fine as vpon women, who delight in theyr hayre as Trees do in theyr leaues, and therefore at the death of theyr husbands spoiling and despoiling themselves of all theyr other ornaments, they vse yet in some place of Italic, to cut away theyr hayre which also was an auncient custome, as we read of Hellen in Euripides. How much the more regard then Nature hath had to the beauty of women, so much the more conuenient it is, that they account of it, and maintaine the same with comely ornaments.

Vakempt.

Wherefore when thou shalt take a wife, such an one as I desire thou maist haue, fayer, yong, equall in estate with thee, modest, discreet, courteous, and brought vp in good discipline, vnder the education of a graue Matron and wise mother: how much the more she shall content thee, so much the more thou shouldest contend not to discontent her. Wherein thou oughtest not onely giue consent, that she may goe apparelled as others of her calling do, not restraining her from going to feasts and other publique shewes, where other honest women and those of credit do assemble: nor on the other side to giue her the bridle of libertie so much, that she be forwarde with the first at all dauncings, Comedies, & other such assemblies: but also not to forbid her those honest recreations

ations and desires, which are as incident to youth, as flewys to the Spring time, least she hate or feare thee with y^e dread wherewith base slaues or seruaunts are kept vnder by they^r Maisters, no^r yet to be so easily induced, to watch or follow her, as she thereby become so bold and hardy, that she lay aside honest shame, (a decent thing in honest womē) which also is a kind of feare distinguished from seruile base feare, and is as easily accompanied with loue, as seruile feare with hate, & of this feare which more properly is tearmed shamefastnes or reuerence, spake Homer, saying:

O my beloued father in law whom I haue hourelly feard.

Neither should he onely cause or procure shamefastnes in all her actions and busines of her life, but also in her entertainment and embzacing, for the Husband commeth not with those prophane and superstitious cleppings as the delicate and wanton Louer doth, which maketh me the lesse to meruaile that the kysses of Bell'ingannus Paramour, seemed sweeter to her then her husbandes: albeit I beleue that there was neuer greater sweet in loue, then that which moderatly springs of honest Matrimonie. And I could compare the embzacing of the Husbände and the Wife to the temperate suppers of well dieted men, wherewith they taste no lesse commodity of the meats, then the most incontinent and surfeiting cōpanion: but hapely so much y^e more by how much more their senses (ruled by reason) are vpright Judges of they^r opposites and indigested contraries. Neither will I yet desist in this mine enterprize. For when Homer faigned that Iuno taking away Venus garter, went to seeke her Husband on the Mount of Ida, and hauing enticed hym with loue and louely termes and amorous games,

Lay down with him vpon the grasse al couered with a clowde

We meant none otherwise but this, that she taking vpon her the person of a Louer, and deposing the habit of a Wife, went to seeke Iupiter. For the faire wordes, pleasing fashyons, and daintie whispering speech that she had taken wyth the garter from Venus, were things more beseming a Lo

The Housholders

uer then a Wife : wherefoze it was conuenient, that being ashamed of her selfe, a Clowde shoulde bee sent to hide her. And where he saith Loue had not the so much desire towards her as befoze when he first tooke her to his Wife, it giueth vs to vnderstand, that married women are not forbidde for a little while to represent the person of yong Louers, which notwithstanding she must speedilie reforme, because it is most vnsauelie in them that (as a Father or Mother, Maister or Maistres of a house) desire to rule theyr family wyth honest and enterchaungable loue, which ought to bee twixt man and wife, who are also to liue vnder the lawes of Patrimonie. For if a man hauing an vicious or vncaste wyfe, should presently kyll her, or in some other sort but punish her according to the Lawes, he may be happily employed better in some other action, which to eschew (taking a wyfe of our decyphering) he shall neuer neede to be aduertised by vs.

Now proceeding to the education of Children, the care of them should be deuided so betwene the Father & the Mother, as she may nurse and he may teache them : for the mother ought not to deny her milke to her owne Children, vnllesse she be preuented or forbidde by infirmitie. Forasmuch as that first and tender age of infancie, apt to bee molded of any fashion, oftentimes with the milke sucketh the conditions of the Nurse : besides, if the mylke altered not the bodies and consequently the manners of yong sucklings, the Nurses shoulde not be so narrowly forbidde the often vse of wyne : but the Nurses being ordinary base persons, it folowes that the first nourishment which the little ones receiue of them, cannot be so gentle or so delicate as the Mothers, so that who so denieth the nursing of her child, in some sort denies to be the mother of it, because the Mother is chiefly knowne and commended by the bzinging of her children vp.

But that first age past ouer, that is nourished with milke, the little ones doe yet continue in their Mothers custodie, who

who are vsed to be so kind and tender ouer them, as oftentimes they bring them vp too delicatly. For which the Father is commaunded to prouide this reamedy, that so as much as that first age aboundeth in naturall heate, he accustome them to cold soz restraining the naturall heate within, and causing that which the Philosophers call *Antiperistasis*, the complexion of the childe becommeth strong and lustie. And it was the manner of some nations, and especially those of Aquitan and thereabouts, as we read in Aristotle, to wash their newe borne Childzen in the Riuers, to indurat & harden them against the cold, which custome is by Virgil attributed to the Latins as it is to be noted in these verses,

*Durum a stripe genus natos ad flumina primum,
Deferimus sauoque gelu duramus, et undis,
Venatu inuigilant pueri, syluamque fatigant
Flectere ludis equos & spicula tendere cornu.*

A painful people by our byrth, for first our babes we bring,
Like vs to be inurd to cold, and plundge them in the spring:
But bigger grown they tende the chafe, & tire the woods to
Their horses fit for seruice, & their archery for aime. (frame

Which custome as I commende not, because to vs that haue not vsed it it seemes exstreame, so yet I thinke good to aduise thee, that if it shall please God to giue thee Childzen, thou do not bring them vp vnder so soft and easie discipline, as they become such milke sops as were those Phrygians, of whom the same Poet in that same booke of his *Aeneidos* maketh mention.

*Vobis, picta croco & fulgenti murice vestis
Et tunica manicas, & habent redimicula mitra
O vere Phrygie, (neque enim Phryges) ite per alta
Dyndima, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum,*

Antiperistasis, where heate expels cold, or cold expulseth heate, it is applied to well water, which is therefore cold in winter, because the hygh parts of the ayre being cold, the heate withdraweth to the lower parts.

The Housholders

*Tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecynthia matris
Idæ, finite arma viris, & cedite ferro.*

Your robes are dyed wyth Saffron and with gliftring purple buds,
Your cote hath mittins, and your high Priests hats are made like hood
O Phrygia in deede (nor Phrygians yet) feale you high Ida hyl,
Where trompets eccho clang's to those that of the custome skyl,
Cebiles Berecynthian pypes and Tymberils you see
Doe call you thence, leaue armour then to such as Souldiers be.

Whom (me thinks at this day) they of some Citties in Lombardy are like, for if any there be valiant, many of the Phrygians also were couragious. For would I yet that thou shouldest bring them vp so hardly or scuerely as the Lacedemonians were accustomed, or as Achylles of Chyro was. I would not (I say) that y^e shouldest bring thē vp so fiercely, for such an education makes thē rather wilde & sauadge, which though the Lacedemonians reputed fitting for a noble man, yet was not Achilles such an one in his conditions, as others (of our time need) to propose him or his behaviour for theyr example.

Thy private estate requires that so thou teach and bring vp thy Childzen, as they may become good members of the Cittie where thy selfe inhabitest, or they shall dwel, good seruitors and subiects to their Prince, which in theyr trades if they be Merchants, in good letters if they bee learned, and in wares if they be able, they may shew themselves. Neither shall thy Childzen be vnfurnished of all, or one of these professions, if thou see that they become not werry and of a womanish effeminate complexion, but of a strong & manlie constitution, and that they exercise themselves in practise of the mind and body, al alike or both togeather. But because al this part of education and bringing vp of Childzen, is or ought to be in a manner, the care of a Father and good Housekeeper, because it is wholie politique, that should prescribe an order to the Father, howe he is to educate & bring vp his Childzen, to the ende that the Citties discipline may
conforme

conforme and be agréable therewith.

I will lay a part this argument, or at least dysioyne it from the rest which I will speake of housekeeping, and it shall suffice me soly to advise and counsell, that thou bring them vpp in the feare and loue of God, honoz of their Parents, and in their Princes service and obedience, and that they be continually exercised in those most commendable practises of mind and body, as become them, and may better their estate with praise and honestie.

We haue nowe spoken so much as hath bene conuenient for thee to doe in the person of a Husband and a Father, eftsoones it remaineth that we come to the consideration of the third person: I meane that of a Gouvernour or Maister, terme it as you list, which soly hath relation to the seruant. And if we shall giue credite to antiquities witten of housekeeping and government of families. The Maister ought to holde them satisfied with labor, victuall & chastisement, & to keepe them exercised in obedience. But forasmuch as theye Seruants in olde time were slaues taken in warres, and afterward called seruants *a seruando* (for y they were preserved from death, and are at this day for the most part manumitted and enfranchized) mee thinks this latter part of chastisement might well be left, as nothing requisite for our times or customes (except percase in those partes where slaues yet serue) and in steede thereof, the Maister to giue them admonition, which should not be such neyther, as is vsed by the father to the son, but compleat and vttered with more austeritie and signiozing termes, and if that will not serue, to suffer the disobedient skifnecked and vnproffable seruant to depart, and to prouide himselfe of one that better may content him. And yet one thing hath bene forgotten of those men of elder times, which was not conuenient for slaues, but not onely fitting, but most needfull for freemen, & this is sallarie or wages. With wages, meate, work and admonition, then the Housekeeper shall so gouerne his familie, as they shall rest content of him, and he be satisfied

The Housholders

of their labour. But because (albeit the Lawes and vsages of men are variable and diuers, as wee see perticularly in this of seruaunts, who for the greater number are at this day free-men: yet soasmuch as the Lawes and dyfferences of Nature are not chaunged either by alteration of time, or variety of customes.) Whatsoeuer others saye, thou art thus to vnderstande, that this distinction of Soueraigne, Ruler, Gouvernour, or Maister, is first founded vpon Nature: for some are naturally bozne to commaunde, and others to obey: and hee that is bozne to obey, were hee of the Kings bloode, is neuerthelesse a seruaunt, though he bee not so reputed: because the people that onely haue regarde to exterioz things, iudge none otherwise of the conditions of men, then they do in Tragedies of him they call the King, who apparrelled in Purple and glistering all in Golde and pzealous stones, represents the person of Agamemnon, Atreus or Etheocles, where if he chaunce to faile in action, cōlines, or vtterance, they doe not yet derogate from his olde title, but they say, The King hath not playde his part well. Likewise he that represents the person of a noble man, or Gentleman, that in this life (which is a Theater of the world) hath bene deposed or bereft his dignitie, he shall neuerthelesse be called the Noble or Gentleman stil, though he be happily Dauus Syrus or Geta. But when it happeneth y some one is found, not onely seruaile in condition and of fortune, but base of mind, grosse of vnderstanding, and as Petrarch sayth. *Nudo di iudicio e pouero d'argomento.* Naked of iudgment, and poore of argument. as the greater number are, he may be properly termed a Seruaunt, and of him and such like, the good Housekeeper (that woulde haue such persons serue him as he might commaund with reason) may well furnish his house, seeking no further vertue in them then that they may be capable of his commaundements, and execute them willingly, wherein they differ from Horses, Oxen, and other Beastes, whom Nature hath also framed apt to learne, and to be ruled tamed and guided by man, for they

they in the absence of their Maisters receoꝝd the things commaunded, which these no longer knowe then they are learned, oꝝ scarce perfoꝝme euen when they are commaunded: so that a seruaunt may be called *Animal rationale*, a Reasonable Creature, by participation, euen as the Moone and the Starres receiue light by participation with the Sunne, oꝝ as mens appetites by participation with the light of vnderstanding become reasonable: foꝝ as our appetites receyue within themselues the foꝝme of that vertue which reason hath impꝛinted in them, so doth the seruaunt reserue y^e foꝝme of those impꝛessions whatsoeuer, commaunded oꝝ required in him by his Maister, and of them & of theyꝝ Maister sometimes may be sayde, as Petrarch speaking of himselfe and Laura reasoneth.

*Si che son fatto huomo ligio,
Di lei ch' alto vestigio,
M'impresse al core, e fecel suo simile.*

So that I see I am become hir liege man and hir thrall,
That made impressions in my hart, & printed hyrs withall.

And because the authozity of Hesiodus that auncient Poet shall not beguile thee, who reckoning by the properties of housekeeping, placed the Dre in steeꝝde of y^e seruaunt, I wil thou vnderstand moꝝe properlie, y^e the manner wherewith seruaunts are gouerned, differeth much from y^e wherewith we gouerne Beasts. Foꝝ that enstruction oꝝ kinde of teaching Beastes, is not discipline, but an vse and custome, dissonant and segregat from reason: not vnlike as the right hande holdeth and disposeth any soꝝt of weapon, better then the left, albeit there is no moꝝe reason in it then in y^e other, but the mind also of Seruaunts is accompanied with reason, and may become discipline, as is that of Cyprioten, wherfoꝝe they speake without sence and coniecture vnrasonable, that rob and reauē their Seruaunts of the vse of reason: con-

The Houſholders

ſidering it is no leſſe needfull for them then Childzen but moze peradventure, (they hauing alreadye ſo much temperance and ſtrength, as not only ſerueth to defend theſelues, but to reſcue many times and aſſiſt their Maſters in the perill of ſome ciuill bzoyle or other troubles, that may oftentimes beſide them.) And therefore was it well ſayde of that Thoſcan Poet.

Ch' inanzi a buon ſignior fa ſeruo forte.

Before his maſter whom he likes,
The ſturdy ſeruaunt ſtoutly ſtrikes.

And not without cauſe were Mylos ſeruaunts commended ſo by Cicero in his Oracion *pro Milone*, and all thoſe others of whom we reade ſome memorizable matters in Valerius Maximus, with many moze, whoſe examples if I ſhould but practice to recount, I ſhould ſoone forget my purpoſe. That ſeruaunts are properly thoſe that are borne to obey: who therefore are not capable of any office within the Cittie becauſe they want vertue: whereof they taſte but barely ſo much as onely makes them apt and ready to obey. But if thou haſt peruſed Hiſtozies, and reed of that moſte perillous conflict amongſt the Romains which they called Cyuill warre, (becauſe it was begunne and ſtirred vp by ſeruaunts) and likewise in our time of the Armies which the Soldane gathered of ſlaues, and at this day of thoſe fearefull Hoſtes which the great Turke muſtereth, and for the moſt part maketh of the like: thou ſhalt then recozd and bring to mind our plaine diſtinction, that abſolutely will reſolue thee, and diſcharge the greateſt doubt thou canſt imagine. Manie are ſeruaunts by Fortune that are free by Nature. And it is not to be meruailed at, that many cruell conflicts and dangerous warres are cauſed and continued by ſuch as theſe. Notwith, it is a great argument of baſeneſſe, that ſeruite fortune can engender ſeruite euils in a gentle mind. And yet for inſtance I remember an example of the Scythians worth
the

while the noting : who hauing assembled an Armie of mē a gainst theyꝝ seruants y had then rebelled, knowing none oꝝ ther meane oꝝ policy to paciffe oꝝ put thē down, they aduise to carry with them to y field (besides their weapons) many whips and ballonadoes which (making them remember the strypes & strokes that in theyꝝ seruitude they had receiued) put them presently to flight.

But returning to those Seruants whercof a house oꝝ familie in deede should be composed oꝝ furnished, I cannot commend those that are neither fitte foꝝ warre, in mind noꝝ body, but such as are of strong complexion, fit foꝝ laboꝝ, countrey busines, and household exercise. These would I deuide into two formes, the one vnder the other, as the one of superindents, surueighoꝝ, oꝝ woꝝk-maisters : the other of woꝝkmen. The first shall be the Stewarde, to whom by the Maister of the house, should the household care bee commended. The next, to whom the busines of the stable & of Hoꝝses should be gyuen, as in great houses it hath béene accustomed. The thyꝝd, the Baylieffe to whom the Town affaires belong and are committed. The others shall bee such inferiours as shall be controlld, and at commaundement of those higher officers.

But foꝝ asinuch as our fortune hath not gyuen vs that wealth whereby we should expect to haue our houses so distinguished and multiplied with offycers, it shal suffice thee to pꝝouide one foꝝ all, that may be Stewarde, Hoꝝsekeeper, and Bailieffe, and (him) commaunde the rest that are thy Wyndes and meaner seruants to obey : gyuing euery one hys sallary oꝝ day wages, more oꝝ lesse as in theyꝝ labours they deserue : ordeyning victuall foꝝ them, so as they may rather haue too much then want. Howbeit, yet thou art to feede thy Seruants with some other meate, then such as shall be set vpon thyne owne boꝝrde : where dyfdayne not nowe and than to see such grosse oꝝ homely kind of fare, as according to the season shall be happilye purueighed oꝝ pꝝouided foꝝ thy seruants, to the ende that they seeing thy selfe

The Householders

sometimes vouchsafe to taste thereof, may the more willingly be satisfied thereto: amongst which, those relics & fragments of that finer fare that shall be taken from thy Table, may be served, still having some respect to the estate and desert of every one. But because a family well fedde and truly paid, may with idleness and ease become pestilent, breeding evil thoughts, and bringing forth worse works: not unlike those Pooles and standing waters, which (having no recourse) putrefie the good, and engender naughtie fish.

Why these care, and the duetie of thy Steward, shall be thys, to keepe euerie one perticulerlie exercised in his perticuler office, and generallie all, in such busines as thou canst not severallie set them to. For euerie thing that belongeth to keeping of a house, cannot necessarily bee done by him that hath another charge: the Stewarde, he must purueigh thy meates: the Chamberlaine, make the bedds and bussh: the Horskeeper, rubbe the horses and cleanse the stable: and consequently euery other, otherwise be occupied. The carefull Steward or surueighor of the house, should therefore (wyth dyscretion) dispose the works, that are or cannot be deuided or distributed, nowe to one, nowe to another, but aboue the rest, to haue a speciall care, that in the house, Cortes, Tables or Coffers, be no vncleanes, filth or Rubbishe, but that the very walles and pauements, lofts and sellers, Varnes and implements of household, maie bee polished and kept so cleane, that (as we terme it) it may shine like Siluer, or looke as bright as Chryskall. For cleanlines is not onelie pleasing or delightfull to beholde, but adioyneth worth, and bettereth things by Nature base and filthy, as continuallie beaues and filth, corrupt, disgrace and spoile, thinges otherwise of value and account: besides, Cleanlines increaseth and preserueth the health, as much as stuttishnes annoyeth and impayzeth it. Pay what moze is, euery seruant should perticulerlie haue such care of scowzing and keeping cleane those tooles and instruments he workes withall, and that belong vnto his office, as the Souldiour hath to see his weapons

weapons to be bright, for such are, is, or should be, every toole to him that hath the exercise thereof, as are the weapons which the Souldiour useth: whereupon Petrarch speaking of the Ploughman, writeth thus.

L'auaro Zappatore l'armi reprende.

The Ploughman takes his weapons once againe. After the imitation of Virgil, who before he had called those instruments weapons, which the Countrey men did vse, wrote thus.

Dicendum & qua sint duris agrestibus arma.

And tel the weapōs wherewithal the sturdy clownes can work And where also he termes the Bakers instruments weapons.

*Tum Cererem corruptam vnxis, cerealiaque arma
Expediunt fessierum:*

Then run the weary forth to fetch the watrie rotten Corne, And baking weapons &c.

But because it sometime happeneth, that one is too much charged with laboꝝ, and another hath more day then work, one should so helpe another, as wee see by vse in our owne bodies, when the one leg is weary we can rest it one y other, or when the right hand is ouer labored, we can ease it wyth the left, and when entercourse of loue & courtesie entreats not thus amongst them, then shoulde the Maister himselfe commaund the negligent and vnprofitable Seruant, to help and ease the weary and the well imployed.

But aboue all, me thinks the Charitie of Maisters, and loue of Seruants to their fellowes in their sicknes, is especiallie to be vld and shewn, at which time, the sicke are to be seuerally lodged from the whole, and nourished with more choise and daintie meate: nor shoulde the Maister of y house dysdaine, or shew himselfe so scozful or vnkind, as not to visite them: for if brute beasts reioyce to see their Maisters cheerishly them, as we may dailie see in dogs, how much more may we beleue that men and reasonable creatures are comforted therewith: Whereupon it comes to passe, that good ser-

The Houſholders

wants liking and affecting of their Maſters, vnderſtand the at a beck, and obey them at a wink of the eye, or bent of the brow, not as a water-ſpaniel, but as the hand is ſturred to obey the mind, ſo prompt and ready is the ſervant to obey his Maſter. For as the hand is ſaid to be The instrument of instruments, being it (indeede) that ſerues to feede, apparrell, and keepe cleane the reſt of the lims, which are alſo called instruments, ſo is the ſervant ſaid to bee an instrument of instruments: becauſe he keepeth all the instruments of houſhold occupied, not only to liue, but to liue wel, wherein he differeth from all the other instruments. For where they are *Inanima*, things without ſoule, he is *Animatus*, and diuinelic is enriched with a ſoule, and heerein differeth from the hand, ſo that the hand is faſtned and vnited to the bodie, but he ſeparate and diſoynded from his Maſter, and is alſo different from Artificers, ſo Artificers are Instruments of thoſe things which properly they call workmanſhip: but the ſervant is Instrument of the action, which alſo is diſtinguiſhed from workmanſhip. So y the ſervant, if you will rightly vnderſtand him, is, *Animatum actionis, & Instrumentum ſeperabile*. A liuely & ſeueral instrument of action. But ſo much as of actions, ſome are placed in care of families and houſholde buſines, ſome ſtretch further, and extend to ciuil adminiſtration, there are ſome Gentlemen (amongſt whom I wiſh thee to be numbred) that vſe to keepe a youth, who in theyr ciuill government, doth ſerue to write and manedge, ſome of their affaires, and him they call theyr Clerke, but theſe doe farre differ from the other, conſidering that ſo the moſt part they are, or ought to be, not of ſeruile or materiall witt, but capable of faſhions, or apt to ſtudie or contemplat, and betwixt them and their Maſters, can be properly no ſeruitude or ſigniorie, but rather that kind of friendſhip, which by Ariſtotele is applied in the higheſt. Albeit in thoſe good worldes of the Romaine Common wealth, theſe were taken from that number of other ſervants, and ſuch an one was Terence, the wyter of Comedies, who was ſo familiar with Lelius and Scipio,

Scipio, as it is thought there is somewhat of theyr dooings in his woꝝks. The like was Tyro, of (whom are many Letters extant that were wꝛitten by Tullie) who beeing an excellent Gramarian, was also a most dilligent obseruer of some little things, whereof Cicero was rather a dysprayser then ignoꝛaunt. But because that vse of seruice as wee talkt of, is (at this day) vtterly extinguished betwixt Maisters and their Seruants of such singularity: those lawes of friendship ought to be obserued & maintained in moze highe degꝛe. And heereupon was that Treatise of vnder Officers (especially) wꝛittē by Signior Giouanni della casa, which (foꝛ that thou art desirous to peruse his woꝝkes) I knowe must many times be redd and redd again by thee, I will therefore particularize none, but refer thee to the booke.

And now because we haue sufficiently spoken, (though not so much as you desire) touching the regard of the person, foꝛ that our spēche hath reference as well to Maydens as men Seruants, and because there hath beene nothing left out that belongeth to a Husband, a Maister, or a Housekeeper: I thinke it requisite to come to that, which we denied and denied foꝛ the second part of our discourse: that is, of Wealth or substance, wherein we wil effectually make mention of the duetie of a Huswife, and of womens busines. The care of wealch or substance, as we said befoꝛe, is imployed to Conseruation and Encrease, and is deuided betwixt the Maister and Mistresse, because the encrease is as proper to the Maister, as the keeping to the Mistresse, howbeit to him (that perticulerly considereth the care of the encrease) it is proper to the Maister, and the other common, whatsoeuer others heertofore haue spokē to this purpose. But foꝛasmuch as nothing can be encreased that is not first, and wholly kept togather: the Housekeeper that is desirous to pꝛeserue his wealth, should perticulerly know the quallitie, and quantity of his reuenues and expences, wherewith he is to keepe his house, and to maintaine his family with credit, and (measuring the manner of his reuenues, with the issue of his

The Housholders

charges) so to liue, as his expence may pzooue the least, making that pzoportion with his comings in, as foure to eight, or fixe at least, soz he that spends as much, as he receiues of his possessions, cannot recouer those losses, which by chaunce or Fortune may betide him: as by fires, tempests, inundations, & other such, noz supply the necessity of some expence, which (béeing accidentall) cannot be pzoouided for. Furthermore, (to be certified of his substance, and the value of his riches) it behooues that he himselfe haue scene, and measured his possessions, euen with those compasses, which gaue beginning to Geometry in Egypt; which though they be diuers according to the variety of Countreys, is (notwithstanding) no occasion of substantiall difference; it also behooueth that he knowe, that what he reapes be answerable vnto that he sowed, and with what pzoportion, the earth restozeth that which it receiueth: and as requisit it is, that hee take & like notice of all whatsoeuer els belongeth, to husbandry or grazing, and no lesse to harken after the pzoices, that are sette by publique Magistrates, or by consent of Marketfolks within the Countrey where he dwelleth, then to be enformed how they buy or sell in Turyno, Myllan, Lyons, or Venice, where of (béeing well aduertised and instructed) he cannot be deceiued by his Bailieffe, béeing a Husbandman, or abused by his Factor béeing a Merchant. But sozasmuch as I haue said, that he ought to be aduised, both of the quantity and quallitie, of that which he possesseth: (I call not onely that Quantitie which is measured by Geometrie, as are Fields, Meadows, Woods, or that which is accustomed to be numbred by Algorisme, as flocks and herds, but that which is accounted as gold or siluer coyned) soz (in the quadering and making euen of the enteries, with the expences) no quantity is moze to be considered, then that of money, which may be gathered and receiued of Rent, and such like reuenewes, which is often chaunging and incertaine: soz Landes are not alwaies let at one rate, their pzoice and pzofits rise and fall as other meane things, or things of moze account. In
which

which incertainty and variable state of thinges, a good Husbands iudgment, experience, & dilligence so much p̄uailes, as not only is sufficient to p̄serue, but to encrease his substance, which b̄eing in the manurance and handling of an ignorant, or ouerwēener, doth not onely decrease, but periſheth.

That call 3 Quality of substance then, that is artificial or naturall, of liuing things, or things without life: Artificial are moueables or household implements, and hapely the house it selfe, and money which was first found out by mans appointment. Because we may liue without it, as they dyd in the old time, wherin exchange of things was made without returne of money: afterward (by the lawe of man) was money inuented, whereupon it was called *Nimus* of *Namus*, which (by the Greeke interpretation) signifieth Law, which commodiously fitting, and making equall things exchanged, hath made the entercourse of buying and selling, very easie, and more certaine, then when they onely vsed exchange.

Artificiall riches may all those things be called, wherein the workmanship of the Maister is rather solde and more esteemed, then the matter or the thing made: Naturall are those that are produced by Nature, whereof also some are without life, as Lands, Medowes, Mettals, and some with life, as Flocks & Heardes, whereof the good Housekeeper (of ſentime) receiueth profit. Further it commeth into the consideration of Qualitic, to know whether the Landes or possessions, lye neere or far frō any Cittie, if they ioyne to any standing Lake or Doole, by the exhalation of whose euill vapours, the ayre becommeth filthy and infected: or whether any Springs or Ryuers be adiacent, which by (ofte recole and refluence) may gather vertue, to reāne and purge the ayre: and whether they be guirt or enuironed with hylles, or lye open to the winds, whether vpon the bancks (to any nauigable water) or in a champant Countrey: whereby the commodities raised thereupon, may be transported easily in Carres, or other carriages vnto the Cittie, or whether it lie

The Housholders

steepward downe the hyls, vneassie and painful to be pass, so that he must needs be chargde wth sompter men : whether it be néere to any high way o^r common stréet, thzough which the Trauailers, Italian Merchants, o^r those of Germany o^r Fraunce are vsed to passe : o^r far from frequence, o^r reso^{rt} of Passengers, o^r such as vse to bartre o^r exchaunge : if aloft, where it lyes in p^{ro}spect, o^r below in some Walley, where it may be ouerflowne : all which conditions, as they much increase and deminish the p^{ri}ce and value of the things possesst, so may they be occasion of sparing in expences, and teach thée to conserue and multiply thy Reuenues, if (like a good husband) thou advise thee and consider it.

But to come somewhat moze perticulerly to the care and regard, that is (indeede) required, he should so p^{ro}vide that whatsoeuer is necessarye for the vse of his house in the Cittie, be bzought from his Ferme o^r Mannor in the Countrey, and to leaue his house there, furnished of so much as may suffice him and his family when he shall bee disposed to sojourne there, and to sell the rest at such conuenient time as things are déarest, and with the mony that ariseth thereof, to buy those things which his owne possessions yéld not, and yet are necessary for a Gentleman, now & then when they are better cheape. All which he may easily do, if in sparing that expence he vsed at first, he reserue some mony ouerplus: againe, he may keepe his mony by him many times, when by his own coniecture, opinion of P^{ro}gnostications, o^r spéech of other mens experience he heares, o^r seareth any dearth o^r scarcity, and then to lay it out when hee perceiues the great aboundaunce of the yere, and fruitfulness of seasons, remembering that example of Thales, who (thzough his knowledge of naturall things) suddainly became rich, with a bargaine that he made for Dyle. Thys shall bee the Husbands care. But such things whatsoeuer as are bzought into the house, eyther from the Countrey, o^r bought about in Markets, shall be wholly recommended to the wyues charge, who is to keep and set thē vp, in severall places, according to their natures,

Thales, one
of the seven
wise men of
Greccc.

foz some would be kept moyſt and cold, and ſome dry, other ſome would be one while ſet in the Sunne, another while in the winde, ſome wilbe long kept, other ſome a little while, all which a good huſwife (well conſidering) ſhold cauſe thoſe that wyl not keepe, to be firſt eaten, and make ſtoze of the reſt. Howbeit, thoſe alſo that will not keepe, (without cozruption) may be holpen many waies, and made to keep long. Foz Salt and Vineger do not onely keepe fleſh long time ſweete, and ſeaſoned, but fiſh and fowle, which will bee ſuddainly cozrupt. Beſides, many ſozts of fruit that will quickly putreſſe and periſh, if they be ſharpe oꝛ tarte (otherwiſe not) wil be long maintaind in Vineger. Likewiſe the hanging vp in ſmoke, oꝛ baking of ſome kinds of fleſh, oꝛ fiſh. and diuers ſozts of fruits, dꝛawes away theyꝝ moyſture, (that is cauſe of their cozruption) and maketh that they may be kept the longer.

Again, there are ſome things, which (beeing dꝛyed) wold become both hard, and naught to eate, without ſome kinde of liquoꝛ oꝛ Conſerues, whereof a good Huſwife makynge ſtoze, foꝛ her pꝛouiſion (if it happen that by ſome miſchance oꝛ hynderaunce whatſoever, there can not come ſufficient ſtoze of meate from the market, foꝛ her huſbands Table, oꝛ that they ſuddainly are dꝛiuen to entertaine a ſtraunger) ſhe may (in a minut) furniſh her meſſe with thoſe iunckets, and yꝝ in ſuch good ſort, as there ſhalbe no miſſe of any other meats. She muſt alſo haue regard, yꝝ al her houſhold Coꝛne, be ſome ground foꝛ bꝛead, and other ſome made fit foꝛ dꝛinke, and ſo diſtribute it indifferentlie with equall meature, both to the men and mayd ſeruants, bleſd foꝛ thoſe purpoſes: amongſt whom, ſhe ſhall haue one aboue the reſt, as the Maſter hath his Steward oꝛ Caſhur, that ſhall keepe one keye, and ſhe another, that though the Maſter oꝛ Miſtreſſe be abꝛoad, there may be one to deliuer out ſuch thinges as ſhall be needfull, and to bid a ſtranger dꝛinke, which cuſtome is not gueaſon in ſome houſes, where the Steward oꝛ Butler beares the keyes, as well of houſhold neceſſaries, as

The Houholders

all things els, pleasing y^e Patſter, and not vnpleſant to the appetites of thoſe he entertaineth. Wherefoze a good Huswife ſhould ſo provide, that all things whatſoener (if occaſion of reſort of ſtraungers be not to the contrary) may be ſparingly diſpoſed: For thriſt oz liberalitie is as needfull in a woman as a mā. Beſides, ſhe ſhould buſſe herſelfe in viewing and ſurueighing ſuch things, as ſhe charged to be kept, meaſuring things to be meaſured, and keeping iuſt account of things that are to be accounted: neyther ought her care onely extend to the ſpending of them, oz vnto other things rehearſed, but alſo to y^e wyneſ, w^{ch} the older they are, and y^e longer they are kept, become ſo much the better, I ſpeake of choyle wyneſ, which get ſtrength with age: for the ſmall wyneſ, and thoſe of little ſpirite that quickly loſe they^r ſtrength, ſhould be firſt dronk oz ſold if thou haue any quantitie. But her principall care ſhould be of Lynnen oz of wollen weauiug, wherewith ſhe may not onely make prouiſion neceſſary & ſitt, for the ability and credite of her houſe: but honeſtly gaine, which is as requiſite in her, as is her Husbands profit gathered by the buying, ſelling, oz exchanging other things. Neither ought a good Huswife to dyſdaine oz ſcozne, to ſet her hand nowe and then to ſome work. I mean not in the Kitchin, oz other ſoyled places, which may ſpoile oz ray her garments, becauſe ſuch buſineſ are not to be managed and handled by noble Patrons (yet to be ſeene vnto by ſuch whoſe ſtate may tollerate ſuch thriſt) but in thoſe onely that without noyſomneſ oz filthineſ ſhe may be bolde to touch, and ſuch are properly the whēles, lombes, & other inſtruments that appertaine to weauiug, wherewith a good Huswife may furniſh any ſufficiēt houſe oz dwelling, either for her eldeſt Sonne oz Daughter: and not without reaſon was this arte firſt attributed to Minerua goddeſſe of wyſedome, in ſo much as it was deriued firſt from her, as appeareth by theſe verſes in the Booke of Virgill.

*Inde, ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abacta
Curriculo expulerat ſomnum, cum femina primum*

*Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
Impositum cinerem, & sopitos suscitāt ignes
Noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
Excereat penso, castum ut seruare cubile
Coniugis & possit paruos educere natos.*

The first sleepe ended, after midnight did the woman wake
That liu'd by spinning, & she gins the ymbers vp to rake,
And adding so vnto her labors some part of the night,
Hard at their distaffe doth she hold her maids by candlelight
To keepe her chaste, and that her children wel maintaine she
(might.

In which verses it appeareth, that he spake not of base
women, but of a Mistres of a house, which had bene accus-
med to be attended on, by many seruants: & so much worth
(it seemeth) that this arte hath in it, as it hath not only been
ascribd or attributed to priuat huswiues, but to princely La-
dies, as appeareth by these verses of Penelope, the wyfe of
wise Vlisses.

*Come la nobil Greca ch' a le tele sue
Scenio la notte, quanto il giorno accrebbe.*

As did that noble Grecian dame that bated in the night.
As much as she had wouen by day to bleare her futors sight.

And Virgil of Circes which was not onely a woman and
a Quæne, but a Goddesse, wrote thus:

Arguto coniux percurret pectine telas,

Vpon a wel deuided loome thy wife doth weaue apace.

In which example he followed Homer, who not onely *Homer in
his Odiss.*
brought Penelope and Circes in y number of women wea-
uers, but placed the daughter of Alcinoe the King of Phæa-
ces amongst them: and albeit the Greekes obserued not so
much decorum as was necessarie. The Romaines yet that
were both greater & more curious obseruers of such things,
forbad the Mistres of the house all other works, the kitchen
Cookery and such like, but graunted they might weaue, and

The Housholders

that not without great commendation : and in this kinde of woꝝk was Lucretia often found, by Collatyn, by Brutus, and Tarquinius when they were enamored of her.

But to returne to the Mistres of the house oꝝ huswife, who beeing a fortunat mother of Childꝝen, the further off she is from nobles oꝝ estate, so much the lesse she may disdain to busie herselfe in such things, as carie meaner woꝝth in showe, and lesse woꝝkmanship then weauing. And heerin seemeth it, that in some soꝝt she shall aduance herselfe, and come into comparison with her good man : foꝝ she not onely gathereth but encreaseeth, with the pꝛesitt of those labours. Neuerthelesse, considering that those benefits are small, and but of slender reckoning. We shall doe well to say, that it belongeth to the wife to keepe, and to the husband to encrease. But soꝝasmuch as things pꝛeserued, may the better be disposed, if they be carefully pꝛouided foꝝ, and oꝝdered, the good Huswife ought aboue all things to be dilligent heerein. Foꝝ if she reserue not things confusedly but seperat, and placd in sorder, accoꝝding to their quallitie, and the oppoꝝtunitie of vsing them, she shall alwaies haue them ready and at hand, and euer moꝝe know, what she hath, and what shee wants: and if there can be no similitude inferd to this purpose woꝝthie of consideration, most notable is that of Memory, which laying vp, pꝛeseruing and impꝛinting in it selfe al the Images and soꝝmes of visible & intelligible things, could not vtter them in time conuenient and dispose them to the tongue and penne, vnlesse it had so oꝝdered, and oftentimes recounted them, as without that the memory it selfe coulde scarce containe them, of so great efficacye and foꝝce is oꝝder, but it hath also no lesse grace and comlines, in beautifying and adozning things, as hee that dooth acquaint his studie with the vse of Poetꝛy, verie easilie perceiueth. Foꝝ Poesy hath neuer moꝝe spirit added to it, with the greatest arte & industrie, then when it is set foꝝth with wel disposed Epythetons, and significat termes, & the one oꝝdered with the other, may altogether consent, oꝝ musically aunswer crosse, as hath artificie

Ars Memo-
riativa.

artificially beene vsed by Orators, which though it be pleasant to the eare, is painfull to the memoire: and be it so, as some Philosophers haue saide, that the forme or fashion of the World, is none other then an order, comparing litle things with great, we may well report, that the forme of a house is the order, and the reformation of the house or familie, none other then a second setting it in order, wherein I purpose to speake somewhat: which albeit of it selfe it beare no great semblance of credit, yet for the order & cleynlines it deserues so much, as hauing seene it without disdayne, and diuerſie admiring it, may without impeach (I hope) bee profitably recounted.

As by repetition or maintai-
ning of a
point, as
Musitions
terme it.

Returning from Paris, and coming by Beona, I entered the Hospitall, wherein, though euery Roome I sawe my thought, was worthy commendations, yet was the Kytchen to be wondred at (which as it was not vsd continually) so did I find it passing neat, and queintly tricked vp, as if it were the Chamber of a new married Bride: therein saw I such a quantitie of necessary implements, not onely for the vse of the Kitchin, but seruice of the Table, so discreetly ordered, and with such propozition, the Pewter so set vpp, the Brasſe and yron works so bright, as when the Sun shyned on the wyndowes there vpon, cast such a delicat reflection, as it might (me thought) be well resembled to the Armoire of Venice, and of other places, next to be spoken of, then shewed to straungers: and if Gnato, that disposed the household of his glorious Sig. Capitano, in manner of an Armie, had but had a sight of this, I am well assured he would haue compared it, to some higher matter then an Armoire.

But returning now from keeping to encreasing, it may be doubted whether this arte of encreasing be housekeeping wholly, or but a member, part, or Minister therof. If a Minister, because it ministreth the Instruments, as the Armourer doth the curasse and the Helmet to the Souldiour: and that ministreth the subiect or the matter, as y Shipwright that receiues the Tymber of him that fells and seasoneth

The Householders

the wood. It is very manifest, that the art of housekeeping, and getting, is not all one: for the one it behoueth to provide, the other to put in vze of things provided: now it rests to be considered, whether to get, be a forme or part of housekeeping, or vltterly disioyned and estranged from it. The facultie of getting, may be Natural and not Naturall: Natural I call that, which getteth the living out of those things that hath bene brought forth by Nature, for mans vse and service: and soasmuch as nothing is moze naturall then nourishment, which the Mother giueth to her Childe, most naturall aboute the rest must that gayne needes be, that is had and raised of the fruits of the earth, considering that the Earth is the naturall and vniuersall Mother of vs all: Naturall also are the nourishments and soue that we receiue of Beastes, and of the gayne that may be made of them, which is distinguished according to that distinction of Beastes, for of Beastes, some are tame and compynable, othersome, solitary and vntamed: of those are flocks, Herds and Droues compact, of which no lesse profit may bee raised: these they make their gayne, to hunt: and manie of them serue for sustentation and succour of the life. It also seemes of Nature hath engendred, not onely brute Beastes for the seruice of Man, but hath framed men, who are apt to obey to serue those whom also she hath framed to commaund. So that whatsoever is gotten or obtained in the warres being iust, the same may also bee feared naturall gayne: and heerein will I not conceale what Theucidides hath obserued in the poem of his Histozie. That in the olde time, prayeng or robberye was not to be blamed. Whereupon we reade, that one asked another, whether he were a Pyrat or a Rouer: as though it were no iniurie to aske him such a question. To which vse or reason, Virgill hauing regard, brought in Numa boasting thus.

*Ceniciem galea, premimus semperque recentes
Connectare iuuat pradas & viuere rapto.*

We

Philosophie. fol. 23

We hide our gray haire with our helmets, liking evermore
To liue vpō the spoile, & waft our praies frō shore to shore

And that may well be called Naturall gayne, which the
Knights of Malta haue against the Barbarians and Turkes.
Euery of which naturall gaines, if seemeth necessarye that
Housekeepers haue knowledge of, but especiall of Husban-
drie: and he that mingleth and exchaungeth the profit of all
those things togeather which he gathereth, shoulde happilie
therin do nothing vnwoꝛthy or against y^e title of good Hus-
bandry. For that trade or science is at this day commonlie
called Merchandize, which is of many sorts, and to be taken
many waies, but that is the most iust, which taketh thence
where things superfluously abounde, and transpōteth them
thither where is want and scarcity of those comodities, and
in their stedd returneth other things, whereof there is some
dearth, because it growes not other-where so plentiously:
and heereof speaketh Tully in his Booke of Offices, that
Merchandize if they were small were base, and but of vile
account, if great, not much to be dislyked: but hys woꝛdes in
that place, are to be taken as the saying of a Stoyck, that too
seuerely speaketh of those matters. For in other places
where hee argueth like a Cittizen, hee commendeth and
defendeth Merchants, and the manner of theyꝝ trade,
and calleth that order of the Publicans most honest, who had
the whole reuenues of the Common wealth in their pos-
sessions, besides those things whereof they exercised tra-
ffique, and the trade of Merchandize. But as that forme of
Merchandize is iust and honest, which traffique their com-
modities to Countreys where they want, and thereof make
their best, so most vniust is that, which hauing bargained
for the comodities of a Countrey, retaileth them, or sellet
them againe in the same place, watching the opportunitie
and time whē they may vtter them vnto theyꝝ most aduan-
tage: Howbeit, y^e care of opportunity to sell what is a mans
owne, and what he gathereth of his owne Reuenues, and

The Housholders

possessions, and of his flocks, heards and such like, seeme not either inconuenient or dishonnest in a Husbandman.

And so much touching naturall gayne, necessary for a house-keeper, wherein he shall much aduantage him and hys, if hee be but indifferently instructed, not onely of the nature, goodnes, and value of all things that are vsed to be exchanged: and are from place to place transported, but also in what Prouince, Shyre or Countrey grow y better, and in which the worse, and where in most aboundaunce, where in lesse, where they are helde deereest, and where best cheape. So should he also be enformed of the fashions, sleights, and difficulties of transporting them, and of the times and seasons wherein they be carryed or recarryed most coueniently, and of the league and traffique that one Cittie hath with another, one Prouince or Countrey with another, and of the times wherein such merchandize are solde, which for y most part are called Fayres or Fairs.

Notwithstanding, the Housekeeper ought to handle these things like a Husbandman, and not like a Merchant, for where the Merchant pzeopoleth for his principall intent, the encrease and multiplying of his stock, which is done by traffique and exchange, by meanes wherof, he many times forgets his house, his Childzen and his Wife, and trauails into forren Countreys, leauing the care of them, to Factors, Friends, and Seruaunts. The care of the Husbandman or Housekeeper, doth reape his profite of exchange by a second obiect, directed vnto household gouernment, and so much time and labour onely hee bestoweth, as his chiefe and principall care may not therby be anoyd or hyndered. Moreover, euen as euery arte doth infinitely seeke the end it purposeth, as the honest Physitian will heale as much as hee can, the Architect erect and bulde with as much excelency and perfection as he can, so the Merchant seemes to make his benefit of things vnto their vttermost. But the Housekeeper hath his desires of riches certaine and determinat, for riches are none other then a multitude of Instruments that appertaine

pertaine vnto familiar or publique cares, but the instruments of some arts, are not infinit, either in number or in greatnes, for if they were infinit in number, the Artificer could not know them: for as much as this word infinit, as touching the infinitiue, is not comprehended in our vnderstanding, vnlesse it be in things that cannot well be handled, managed, or lifted for their greatnes.

And as in euery arte, the instruments should be proportioned and fit, as well for him that worketh, as the thing that shall be wrought withall (for in a Shypp, the Rudder ought to be no lesse then may suffice to direct hys course, nor greater, then the Mariner can guide, and in grauing or cutting, the Chizzell should not be so ponderous and heauie, as the Mason may not lift, nor so light, as hee cannot with much a doe pierce the out side of the Marble) euen so shoulde riches be proportioned and limitted vnto the Housekeeper, and the family that he is charged withall, that he may inherite and possesse so much and no more then shall suffice, not onely for hys living, but hys lining well, according to his estate, condition of time, and customes of the Citty wher he liueth and inhabiteth. And where Crassus sayd hee was not ryche, that was not able to maintaine an Armie, he happily had reference vnto those ryches which are needfull for a Prince or Ruler within the Citty of Rome, which were too too much and immoderate for any one in Præneste or in Nola little Townes in Italic, and happily superfluous for many men in Rome. For to muster and maintaine Armies, becommeth Kings, Tyrants, and other absolute Princes, and is not necessary or fitting for a Cittizen, inhabiting a place of liberty, who indeede ought not to excede the rest in any such condition, as may interrupt or spoyle that good proportion, that is requisit and meet in the vnitng of free men. For as the nose vppon some mans face, growing by disorder or dysorder, more then Nature made it, may become so grosse and large in time, as it may be no more resembled or reputed for a Nose, so a Cittizen, of any Citty whatsoeuer, exceding

The Houſholders

ving others in his riches, either miſerably gotten, or encreaſed by wrong, is no more a Cittizen, be hee what or who hee will, for riches are to be conſidered alwaies in reſpect of him that doth poſſeſſe them. For can wee well preſcribe howe much they ought to be, but this we may ſoly and ſafelie ſay, that they ought to be appoſtioned to him that hath them, who ought ſo much, and no more to encreaſe them, then may be after wards deuided and bequeathed amongſt his Children, to liue well and ciuilly withall. Neither reſteth anie more for me to ſay, conſerning this naturall gaine conuenient for a Houſekeeper, which may as properly bee taken and deriued from the Earth, Heards, and flocks, as by the trade of merchandize, warre, or hunting: wherfoze we may call to mind that there were many Romains called from the Plough and Carte, to be Magiſtrates, and mightie men in Princes Courts, and after wardes diſrobed of their Purple, returned to the Plough: But becauſe the Husbandman and carefull houſekeeper, ſhould haue regarde vnto his health, not as a Phiſition, but as a father of a familie, he ought moſt willingly to apply himſelfe vnto that kind of gayne, which moſt preſerueth health, wherein he ſhall alſo exerciſe himſelfe, and ſee his familie and ſeruaunts buſied, in thoſe exerciſes of the bodie, which not deſiling or defacing him, are great helps to health: wherunto Idlenes and ſuperfluous eaſe, are enemies profeſt. Let him therfoze loue to hunt, and to make more reckoning of thoſe games which are gotte and followed with paine and ſweat, then thoſe that through deceit, and vnconſoꝛted with ſome laboꝛ, haue bene, and yet are vſed to be gotten.

But ſithence we haue reaſoned of that manner of gayne that is naturall, it ſhall not bee vnnecessary, that wee ſome what manifeſt the other, which is vnnaturall, although it be impertinent to Husbandry and houſekeping. This wee deuide into two ſozmes or kindes. The one is called Exchange, the other Vſurie, and it is not naturall, becauſe it doth peruert the proper vſe, ſoꝛasmuch as mony was ſounde
out

out, and used (a while) to make equall \hat{y} inequality of things exchangd, and to estimat and measure p \hat{r} ices, not so \hat{z} that it ought to be exchangd, so \hat{z} of mony (as touching the mettall) we haue no nee \hat{d} e, neither receiue we any benefit thereof in our priuat o \hat{z} our ciuil life, but in respect of making eu \hat{e} inequalities, & iustly measuring \hat{y} wo \hat{r} th & value of each thing, it is thought both necessary and commodious. When money then is changed into mony, not directed & implo \hat{y} ed to some other vse, it is used beyond the p \hat{r} oper vse, and so abused. In which exchange Nature is not imitated, so \hat{z} as well may exchaunge that doth multiply o \hat{z} accumul \hat{a} t infinite and excessive profits, be said to haue no end, o \hat{z} absolute determinat \hat{i} on as Usurie, but Nature alwaies wo \hat{r} keth to a certaine set and determinat ende, and to a certaine ende do \hat{e} all those meanes and members wo \hat{r} k, that are o \hat{r} dained to be stirrers vp of Nature.

I haue told you then that Exchange may multiply in profits infinitely, because Number as touching Number, not apl \hat{i} ed to materiall things, groweth to be infinit, and in exchange is not considered to be otherwise appl \hat{i} ed. But so \hat{z} thy better vnderstanding what we say, know that Number is reputed, either according to the so \hat{z} m \hat{a} ll o \hat{z} materiall be \hat{i} ng. Formall number is a collection of a summe, not apl \hat{i} ed to things numb \hat{e} red. Materiall number, is a summarie collection of things numb \hat{e} red. Formall number, may infinitly encrease, but the Materiall cannot multiply so much: so \hat{z} albeit in respect of the partition o \hat{z} deuision, it seeme that it may multiply in effect, notwithstanding, since deuision hath no place in that we speake of, we may saie, it cannot infinitly encrease, because things of all kinds that cannot be deuised, are of number certaine. This deuision being thus considered, much mo \hat{z} e may riches multiply that consist in bare money, then that which consisteth in thinges measured and numb \hat{e} red from money: so \hat{z} albeit the number of mony bee not so \hat{z} m \hat{a} ll, as that which is appl \hat{i} ed to Gold, and Siluer, mo \hat{z} e easily may a great quantity of mony be heaped vp and

The Houfholders

gathered together, then anie other thing, and so by covetous desire to become infinit. Yet betwixt Exchange & Usury there is some difference. Exchange may be retained, not only for the custome it hath taken and obtained in many famous Citties, but for the force of reason y it seemes to beare. For exchange is used in steade of our transporting and conueighing Cozne from place to place, which being hardlie to be done without great discomoditie, and perill, it is reason that the party that erchaungeth may haue some sufficient gaine allowed. Besides the value of mony of some Country coigne, being variable and often to be changed, as wel by the Lawes and institutions, as for the sundry worth, weight, and finenes of the Golde and Syluer, the Reall exchange of mony, might bee in some sort reduced vnto naturall industrie, wherewith Usury can neuer be acquainted, being an arteficiall gayne, a corrupter of a Common wealth, a disobeyer of the Lawes of God, a Rebelle and resister of all humane orders, iniurious to manie, the spoile of those that most vphold it, onely profitable to it selfe, more infectious then the pestilence, & comforted with so many perilous euils, as are hard or neuer to be cured. Euery or either of which, hauing not onely bene condemned by Aristotle, but vtterly inhibited by the olde and new Law, who so considereth not, let him read what verdict Dante hath giuen of it in these verses, who to proue Usury a sinne, cyteth a sentence put by Aristotle, in his booke De Phisicis.

Leuit.
Pecuniam
tuam non
dabis fratri
tuo ad vsu-
ram & fru-
gum super-
abundantiã
non exiges.

David
Qui habi-
tabit &c.
qui pecuni-
am non de-
derit ad
vsuram.

Luk
Date mu-
tuum nec
inde spe-
rantes.

*E' setuben la tua fisica note,
Tu trouerai non dopo molte carte,
Che la' rte vostra quella, quanto pote
Segue; come'l maestro fa il discente;
Si che vostra arte a Dio quasi e Nipote.
Da questi due; se tu ti rechi a mente,
Le Genesi dal principio conuene
Prender sua vita, & auanzar la gente:
E' perche l' usurier altra via tene
Per se Natura & per la sua seguace
Dispregia, poich' in altro pon la spene*

If Aristotles phisicks thou peruse,
 Not turning many leaues thou there shalt finde
 That arte doth Nature imitate and vse
 As pupils pleasing of their Tutors minde,
 So that our arte is Neipce to God by kind.

Of this and that, if thou remember it
 In Genesis euen God himselfe doth say,

Quod ab initio oportuit

Humanum genus vitam sumere

Et unum alium excedere

Per artem et naturam. Now because

The Usurers doo wander otherwise

Without regard of God or godly lawes

Nature and arte (her follower) they despise,

For in their Gold their hope beguiled lies.

It is also said by Aristotle, that God is *animal sempiternum & optimum*, of whom both heauen and Nature doe depend, which nature is imitated of our arte as much as may be, for arte depending vpon Nature, shee is as it were her Child, and *per consequence* Gods Preipce. So that offending Nature we immediatly offende God, and he that offendeth arte offendeth God touching the hurt or annoyauce of Nature, but the Usurer offendeth Nature, for it is not naturall that money should beget or bring forth money without corruption, since Nature willet that the corruption of one bee the generation of another, and it offendeth God because it doth not exercise the arte according as God commaunded the first man, when he saide, in the sweate of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread, and it is not artificiall that money shoulde bring forth money, as the Usurers wold haue it, which putteth the vse in the thing. With those verses therefore, mee thinkes not onely our discourse of naturall and not naturall gaine may be concluded and determined, but whatsoeuer els we purposed at first concerning Husbandry and keeping of a house, which you haue now seene howe it turneth and re-

The Houholders

turneth to the wife, how to the Childzen, howe to the Seruants, and howe to the conuerting and imploying, as also the encrease of whatsoeuer substance or possession, which were indeede those fīue especial points whereof we promised to speake and to entreate perticularly.

But so; it is my chiefe desire that thou recozd effectually those things whereof I haue aduised thee, and that in so precise a sort as thou heereafter not forget them, I will bestowe them and bequeath thee them in wꝛiting, that by often reading and perusing them, thou maist not onely learne them but thoroughly resolute to imitate and practise them: so; practise is the end imposed to all instructions of humaine life.

This was my Fathers discourse, gathered by him into a little Booke, which I so often red, and studiously obserued, as you neede not meruaile that I haue so perfectly reported and repeated them. How would I be silent, to the ende that my discourse should not be made in vaine, so; if anie thing be said that in your opinion may be bettered, let it not I praye seeme troublesome vnto you, thereof to certefie mee and amend it.

Sir (quoth I) so; anie thing that I can see, your father hath not onely well and learnedly instructed you in all hys institutions, but you (it seemes) haue exercised them as industriously. This onely could I wish, that somewhat more might be annexed to that which he hath vttered, and that perticularly is this. Whether household care or household government be all one, if more then one, then being more then one, whither then they be the knowledge & the labor of one or more. You say true (quoth hee) and heerein onely fayled his discourse, so; the government of priuate houses and of Princes Courtes are different, but I can tell you why hee spake not of it, because the care of Princes Valles belongeth not to priuate men.

Trust me Sir (quoth I) you are of swifter vnderstanding & more eloquent devise then I expected. But since wee found that there is difference in household governments. It
rests

rests that we consider, whether they be discrepant in forme or greatnes. Forasmuch as if they onely differ in the greatnes, then euen as the consideration of the forme of a Princes Pallace and a poore mans Cottage, appertaines to one and the selfesame Mason, Carpenter or Architect, so shoulde the care of either houskeeping be one. But thereunto he answered thus, though I were swift of conceit at first, yet now (I doubt) I shall not be so prompt to find, or so iudicial as to censure that which you propose. Howbeit, I can tell you this, that if my hart or happe would giue mee leave to keepe a great yet (pziuate) house, I meane not a little Court, I beleeue that pziuate house of mine, should farre surpasse that Pallace for a Prince, which onely differeth from the other in the pompe and greatnes.

You are in the right (quoth I) for as a Prince is still to be distinguished from a pziuate man, by forme: and as the forme of their commaundements is distinguished, so are the governments of Princes and of pziuate men distinguished, for when it happeneth that in comparison of number, the household of a poore Prince is as little as a rich mans familie, yet are they to bee governed diuersly: neuerthelesse, if that be true which is approued by Socrates to Aristophanes *In conuiuio Platonis*. That to compose or wryte a Tragedie and Comedie, bee bothe the worke of one, albeit they onely differ not in forme, but are opposit and contrarie: it should consequentlie be as true, that a good Steward knoweth as well how to gouerne a Princes household, as a pziuate familie, for the manner and facultie of eyther is alike: and I haue read in a pamphilet that is dedicated to Aristotle, that their governments or dispensations of a house, are deuided into foure parts, Kingly, Lordly, Ciuill, and Priuate, *Regia, Satrapica, Ciuilis & priuata*, which distinction I reprove not. For albeit wee differ farre from those of elder times, yet I see the governments of those houses of the Viceroyes of Naples, Sicilie and the Governour of Mylain, are as correspondent for proportion to those Rogall houses as were of olde that,

The Housholders

Reggio,
a Cittie in
Lomberdy
There is
Modone &
Modona,
Modonea
Cittie in
Grece.
Modona a
Cittie in
Italie.

custome of the Dukes and other noble men: which propozition also may be found amongst the houses of the Dukes of Sauoy, Ferrara and Mantua, and those Gouvernours of Asti, Vercellis, Madona, Reggio, & Monteferrato. But I cannot see yet, how the governments of a ciuill and a priuate house doe differ, vnlesse he call his government Ciuill, that is busied and employed in Office, for the honours of a Common wealth, and that mans priuate, that is segregat and not called to office, so that wholly hee applies him to his housholde care. And that this is his distinction may wee gather by the wordes that he hath witten. That priuate government is the least, and yet rayseth profit of those things which are despised and disprayed of the others, which others are to be intended, those ciuill Gouvernours or officers, that being vsd and exercised in affaires of more estate, dislike of manie thinges, which neuerthelesse are entertained and praised of priuate men. But for it may percase come so to passe, that some of your sonnes following the example of theyr Uncle, may endeavour and apply themselves to serue in Court, I could wryth that some what might be said concerning that so necessary care of governing a Princes house, but nowe it is so late, and we haue let so long, that time and good manners will hardly giue vs leaue, albeit somethings vnspoken of might be requied and produced, whereof hee shall haue time and ease to learne and to collect enough, part out of Aristotles Bookes, and the rest by his owne cyperience in Court.

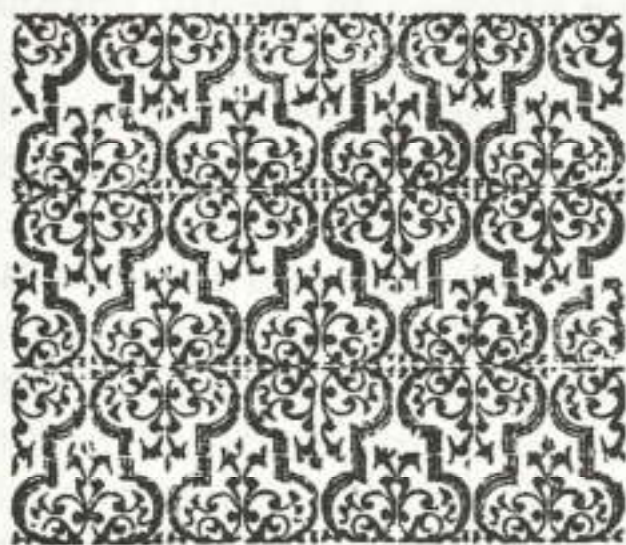
Where withall the Gentleman seeming to bee satisfied with my speeches, arose and accompanied me vnwozthy, to the Chamber that the while had bene prouided for me, and there in a very soft bed I bequeathed my bones to rest.

(. . .)

*Me mea sic tua te
Cetera mortis erunt.*
T. K.

A dairie Booke for good hufwiues.

Very profitable and pleasaunt for the making
and keeping of white meates.



AT LONDON
Printed for Thomas Hacket, and are
to be solde at his shoppe in Lomberde streete,
vnder the signe of the Popes
head, 1588.

☞ To all good Huswiues dwelling
within the Countie of South-hamshire, *Bartholomew*
Dowe, wisheth vnto them all heere in this life, health, wealth,
and prosperitie : and heereafter in the life to come
ioyfull and endles felicitie.


(. .)

FOrasmuch as of late, an honest Matron a South-
hamshyre VVoman, was desirous to haue con-
ference with me beeing a Suffolke man, to heere
my mind concerning making of whitmeate, after the
manner vsage and fashion of Suffolke where I was
borne, albeit for forty and seauen yeeres passed, I haue
beene and still am inhabiting & resident in this Coun-
tie of South-ham. For that mine aunswers to her de-
maundes and questions therein, was so well liked of
by them that were present at that time, and so accep-
tably taken among them all, that they very earnestlie
required mee, to reduce all our communication then
had betweene vs into wryting, to the end they might
heere it the oftner, and theyr neyghbours myght also
be pertakers thereof as well as they : which at theyr
instant request I haue heere taken vppon mee to doo,
more homelie then seemely to satisfie their desires, &
also to auoyde idlenes, which folkes in age bee sundry
times much giuen vnto. And because also I am vn-
apt to doo any good labour or worke, and nowe none
other thing in effect can doe but onely write, I haue
written this simple quire rudely penned, and dedicate
the same generally to all good huswiues in South-
hamshyre. Humbly desiring the all to beare me good
will for my dooing thereof, seeing willingly I will de-

The Epistle.

ferue none other at their handes. Fully trusting, that the mirth and recreation that they shall take, by the reading or hearing thereof: shal minister occasion of further profit to encrease amongst them. And to withdraw them from dumpes and sullen fantasies (being a cōmon disease amongst women) to bee the quicker spirited, the better and the liuelier occupied, and the lustier stomaked in all their busines, as well in white-meate making, as in all other their hufwifelye dooings. And thus wyshing all them to beare wyth my weakenes, and to accept my good will, in this my rude dooing. I beseeche almighty God sende them heere good life and a ioyfull ending.

All yours. B. D.

 A Dialogue betweene a South-
hamshyre woman and a Suffolcke man concerning
making of whitmeate.

The Woman.



Sir, as I heard of late, ye haue had much
conference and talke with some honest wo-
men of this Countrey, concerning the ma-
king of Butter & Cheese after your Coun-
trey sort : and for that your communicati-
on liked them well, by the report they
make thereof, I beseeche you I may bee so bolde to aske you
some questions, concerning the circumstances of the same.
And first of all I pray you shew me, if euer you vled to make
Cheese your selfe, seeing yce seeme so well to bee experienced
therein.

The Man.

Never in my life good wife, I haue made any, but I haue
in my youth in the Country where I was bozne, seene much
made : for in the very house or grange that I was bozne in,
my Mother and her maides made all the Whitmeate of
seauen scoze kine and odde.

The Woman.

The number of kine was great that you speake of, and
therefore I pray you shew me how many maides your mo-
ther did then keepe to milke them ?

The Man.

Not aboue seauen maides, for euery scoze of kine a maid.

The Woman.

When I thinke they were very long in dwoing, for eight
or nine kine is enough for one maide seruaunt to milke in
this Countrie, if they milked so many kine euery of them:
what time came they to Church vpon the holy day ?

A dairie booke

The Man.

To the beginning of diuine seruice, as well as they that dwell néere vnto the Church. And yet they had a long mile thether, and soule waies.

The Woman.

Then your Mother and her Maides were very earelie or rathe vp in the mozning about their busines.

The Man.

She and her Maides were euery daie in the yéere Winter and Sommer vp out of their beddes, befoze foure of the clocke euery mozning.

The Woman.

I perceiue by your saying, they bee better and earlier ryfers in your Countrey then they be héere. I pray you now shewe or declare vnto me, the order of the milke houses in your Countrey. What manner of Presses they vse to presse their Chéeses in, their Chernes for Butter, what buckets or pailles they vse to milke in, their Chéese fates to make their Chéeses in, or to put their Milke a running in, and Trowes to powder and salt their Chéeses in.

The Man.

All these things I wil shew you, as néere as I can remember. First the Milke house (if ye milke manie Kine) ought to be made the moze large, with shelues of plankes rounde about the house, as iust as may be to the walles of the house, of thre sote bzeadth, bzeast high, to sette your Milke and Creame vpon; in Earthen pannes that be but small, made flat in the bottome, shallow, and glased within, as high as the Milke shall stand in them. They bec best to sette your Milke in. The windowes of the Milk-house where y Milke doth stand, to be made vrrie ample and large, all a long on the North or East side of the same house, and specially for
the

for good huswiues.

the Sommer time, to the ende that the colde ayze may take effect in the Milke, for thereby ye shall gather much y more Creame. Your Chéele presses that bee made to presse your Chéeses with a stone or other waight, be not good, for commonly the Chéeses pressed with them, be moze thicke on the one side then on the other, but the best presses for Chéeses be made of a thick planck, with two peeces of Timber standing vpright with long mortelles in them, with a pece of Tymber also broadest in the middlest, and narrowe at bothe endes And that shalbe lifted vp and downe within the sayd Mortelles, with two yron pinnes, and driuen with a Mallet and wedges of Tymber. In this kinde of presse, ye may as well presse foure or fve Chéeses at once, as one. Your Chernes for Butter ought to be made higher, and broader in the bottome then ye vse to haue them in this Countrey. Your Cherne staffe in the lower ende thereof, to haue two peeces of seasoned Timber of Ashe, fast sette on like vnto a Crosse, of a hand breadth or moze, flatte, with two or thre holes bozed in the endes of the same two crosse peeces. With these manner of Cherne staves, you shal moze easily cherne your Butter, then with your cherne staves made of a round bozde full of holes, and neuer haue anie small chips in your Butter, as yee may sundrie times haue with your owne fashioned staves: whether yee milke in buckets or payles it is no matter so they be cleene kept. Provided alwaies that yee suffer not your Maides to haue their buckets or payles to milke in, to haue a furred coate at Midsummer, for of al thē that delight in clenlines it will not be well liked of. Chéele fats that be made in Suffolke, be farre stronger, and much better to all effects then those that bee made in this Countrey: for although y Turners heere be shewed any of those fats made in Suffolke (as I my selfe haue done) yet vndoubtedlie they cannot make the like. The Trowes to salt or powder Chéele in, in Suffolke, be but planckes of a convenient thicknes, set best high, that be not pass thre inches and a halfe deepe, to salt their Chéeses in.

A dairie booke

The Woman.

I pray you shew me whether the women in your Countrey, after they haue slit or skymmed their euening Milke in the morning, doe heate all the same euening Milke ouer the fire of a measurable heate, or els doe they heate parte of the same milke verie hote, to the intent that by the heate thereof, the rest of the euening Milke may haue heate enough to be put a running.

The Man.

The best way in that point is, to heate all your euening Milke ouer the fire somewhat more then luke-warme, and to straine your mozrowe Milke as fast as it can be brought in from the Kine and so strained, put them togeather a running: for if ye should heate some of the euening milke verie hote to giue heate to the rest, ye shall haue losse and hinderaunce thereby, for by meane thereof, ye shall make y^e lesse Cheese, & the Cheese so made will euer after be bad Cheese, drie and tough. For note ye this, the hoter the Milke is put a running, the sooner it will be runne, but if it bee ouer hote, the Cheese will be the worse and the lesse. And if it bee put a running too colde, it will be much the longer before it come or be full runne, and the Cheese so made, though it bee good Cheese, it wil euer be white, therefore the maker of the Cheese must vse her discretion therein.

The Woman.

Whether doe ye thinke it better to knede the Curdes after they be runne, in a bole or pan, or to bzeake them but in the Cheese fate?

The Man.

The best waie is to bzeake them very small onely in the Cheese fate, while they be warme, and to vse such dilligence therein, that none of the Curdes be pzedded into the Cheese fate

for good huswiues.

fate vnbzoken smal, soz if they be, in that place of the Chæse it will euer be wemmie oꝛ faultie. The Curdes bëing so well and small bzoken, presse them downe often with your handes holden a crosse, vntill the Chæse fate bee moze then filled, and highest in the middell of the fate, and let this bee done ouer a Tub, Couell oꝛ Fate, wherinto the whey may runne from the Curdes. When the Curdes be bzoken into an other vessell, the chæse part of the buttrines oꝛ fatnesse thereof, remaineth in the vessell, and so the Chæse by that meanes much the woꝛse drie and leane meate. And mozeouer then that, an other thing by the way, ye must well remember, soz it is well woꝛthy, when the Milke is wel run, then bꝛeake your Curds, and with a boledish speedily with draw the whey from the Curdes, and let it runne thꝛough a temple with a bottome of hayꝛe, standing vppon a Milke Ladder, ouer the vessell that is pꝛepared to receiue þe whey, and so with all conuenient spæde that may be, make your Chæse, and presse it without any clothe in the Chæse fate at the first pꝛessing. For marke well this, after the Curdes as a soꝛelaid be stirred, if you, oꝛ your maide that you doe put in trust to make your Chæse, do then goe about other busines and leaue the Curdes lying still in the whey till they be cold befoꝛe the Chæse be made, which pꝛactise is ought times in vse heere in South-hamptonshire, of the Curdes so vled I do assure you, yee shall neuer haue good Cheese, albeit the Milke whercof it were made were neuer sit oꝛ scimmed, soz that Chæse so made, will bee of this pꝛoꝛpertie, the longer ye kèepe it, the dꝛyer meate it will bee, and especially in the midst of the Chæse dꝛyest of all, soz the moꝛstest part of the Chæse will be nèere the rinde, oꝛ vtter part thereof.

The Woman.

I like your sayings heerein very well, but I pray you if one kèepe manie Kine, and so hath great plentie of Milke, is it not needefull to haue a Chimney within the house where the white meate is made.

A dairie booke

The Man.

It is both needefull and also necessarie in verie dede not onelie for the heating of the Milke, but also to haue warme water readie to scalde the milke pannes, and to walthe the Cherne, other vessels and cheese clothes, for after the Milke pannes in the mozning bee emptye, they must bee well scalded, cleene wiped and so set by. And in the afternoone, befoze Milke be put in them, they must be set with cold water a while befoze.

The woman.

Howe many times suppose yee the Cheeses must bee clothed, after they be put into the presse.

The Man.

At the least thzee or foure times: and if yee will haue your Cheeses for sale, or for your owne Table to seeme fine to the eye, ye must then after the second clothing, clothe the afterwarde with finer clothes, and ye may not suffer your Cheese to lie long in one clothe vnremoued, for if yee do, especiallie in the first or second cloth, your Cheese will be as sweete as a Childe that hath lien long be pist in his clothes. And that euill sauour so taken, will neuer after out of the Cheeses, though ye keepe them vntill they be very hard.

The woman.

I thinke your sayings heerein to be true, but considering that you said at the first of our conference therein: y Maide Seruaunts in your Countrey coulde milke so many kine a peece, mozning and euening, contrary to the order and blage of this Countrey, I woulde faine heere some part of your minde hoive they vse themselves therein, to the ende our Maides heere may do the like.

The

for good hufwiues.

The man.

As neere as I can I will satisfie your request heerein. They that haue great dairies, or do keepe manie kine to the pail in Suffolke, they provide them Maides that bee of a conuenient age and strength, that be liuelie & lustie wenches, willing to worke, and such as thinke no paine too deere for them, where as I see in this Countrie, some settis yonge girles and boies to milke their kine, that lacke strength to doo it. And manie others, because they may get them women Seruaunts the better cheape, or for small wages as it should seeme, they take dame Drowsie, and dame slowbacke to their Seruaunts, who vse to sitte a milking vpon their tailles, their legs lying a long vpon the ground, their heades leaning against the flankes of the kine, and there they catch a napp while they might haue milked diuers of their kine, and then they rise scant well waked, and their kine not halfe well milked,

The woman.

This was well bozne awaie of you, but as I do heare in your Countrey, they vse there to milke the two fore teats of their kine, and the two hinder teates togeather, where as heere they do milke the side teates togeather, which I and others do take to be as good a waie as yours.

The Man.

You maie accoꝝding to your fantasie thinke what yee list therein, but for true pꝛoofe thereof, if you cause some of your kine to be milked after my Countreie sort heereafter continuallie, if they then that be so milked, giue not the moze Milke, the better milke, and continue milche the longer, then credite me not heereafter. And furthermoze marke, that if your Milke be brought in from milking, as flatte as water in a Bucket, then surelie your Maides haue verie slacklie and slothfullie milked your kine, for if the kine bee

A dairie booke

well milked as they ought to be, the Milke then will haue a great frothe or fobbe vpon it, and that commeth of quicke and hastie milking when it is done with force. And it is profitable to haue your Kine so milked, for so yee shall haue the thicker Milke and the moze Creame.

The woman.

Wherefore doe ye will the Milke to be set so high from the grounde, as ye did at the beginning speake of.

The Man.

For preservation and safe keeping of the Milke and Creame, for if the pannes with Milk, or pots with Creame, were sette vpon (or neere vnto) the ground, then they were the moze readie for euerie dogge and Cat that shoulde come into the house, and also in some Countrey, as Bedfordshire and the Isle of Elie for Snakes, that shoulde come in & consume the same. And principallie it is verie fit and necessary that Milke and Creame be so ordered, sette and placed, as Cattes cannot in anie wise come therbie, for they will not onelie lappe and eate of the Milke and Creame, but when they haue full fedde thereof, they will oft times snuffe: and cast out of their heads blode plentiouslie all abroad vpon the Milke and Creame. And an other thing that much worse is and moze odious, they may some times happen to leaue behind them where they feede, some of the haire that doo growe vpon their tongues, which be well nigh as euill as poison, for whosoever doth eate or drinke one of those haire, it will not tarrie in the bodie, but where it commeth forth, it breedeth a greuous and painefull soze.

The woman.

If Cats haue haire growing vpon their tongues, it is moze then euer I heard of before.

The

for good huswiues.

The Man.

I doubt not but ye wil beleue your owne eies, for they be too necessarie witnesses to be beleued, open you y^e mouth of one of them olde oz yong, and then ye shall well apperceiue them, for they bee well nigh as stiffe as bzistles, and these haire once in a yere, they cast from them, as some doe holde opinion.

The woman.

I will regard Cattes the worse whilst I liue, hearing thus much euill of them, but all this while wee haue had no talke of making of Butter, wherein I pray you I may also heere some part of your minde.

The Man.

As touching that matter, ye must see that ye haue plentie of pots to put your Creame in, so that alwaies it is verie apt and necessarie that some be emptye, well washt & breathed whiles other be occupied. In Sommer time befoze you doe Cherne, it is meete the Cherne be washt, and sette with colde water in it a good depth. And contrariwise, in Winter beeing colde weather, to season your Cherne with hote liquour: and when your Seruaunt is cherning of Butter, he oz she, must still cherne till Butter be come, for if they haue cherned by the space of halfe an houre oz more, and do let it stand still but a verie little while, all their labour befoze bestowed is lost, and after the Butter is cherned cause your Cherne to be dilligently washt and sette vp, leaning vpon the place where the Milke standeth, with the bottome vpwarde, to the ende it may take aire and breath enough, to cause it to remaine drie and swete. And a verie apt thing it is for her that will make the most of her Kine to skimme her Milke much part her selfe, by meane whereof she may iudge and fullie perceiue, when her Maides doe it, whether it be to her hinderance oz no, and oft times it

A dairie booke

is good for the Mistres or dame to haue an eye to her Kine, whether they be well milked or no, for sometimes & cheefe lie vpon the Holidaies, the Maides beeing disposed to goe to dauncing or other pastime, they will make moze speeds in milking then shall be profitable for the owners of them. And consider that if the Kine be not well milked and stroked, or some of them left un milked, it is a marring to the Kine, for thereby they will the rather grow drie, and be the woze milch long time after.

The woman.

Yet all this while, I haue heard nothing of your Countrey fashion, for salting or powdzing of Cheese, and drying thereof.

The Man.

They laie their Cheeses to bee salted in such shallowe Trowes as befoze is spoken of, with byrne that cometh onelie of salt melted vpon to the middle of the side of y^e Cheese if they be thicke, the longer &c. When the Cheeses be taken out of salt, they must be well washt with warme liquour, then well wiped and dried, and so laide vpon faire shelues or boozdes, and euerie day once to turie them, and the Cheeses, and the place where they doe lie, to bee well and drie wiped each daie, for if through default of not so doing, the print or forme of the Cheese is seene where it did lie: it is a point of housewifrie that may be amended.

The woman.

Howe is your opinion for Cheese, washt or unwasht, which thinke ye best.

The Man.

The Cheese washt is fairest in sight, but Cheese unwasht will continue best, and continue moistest to be spent, and the better to be sold by waight.

The

for good huswiues.

The woman.

Forwe ye haue answered me in all these points, I render vnto you right hartie and condigne thankes.

The Man.

And I likewise thanke you good wife of your patience, and when you heereafter haue conference with any your Neighbours of this our former talke : I praie you repozte that I haue not taken vpon me to teache you oz others, how ye should make whitneate, for it were vnseemely that a Man that neuer made anie, (but hath seene and behelde others in doing thereof) should take vpon him to teache women that hath most knowledge and experience in that arte. I haue but onelic made vnto you rehearsall of the order and fashion how it is vsed in y^e Countreie where I was bozne, to the ende that you and others, vnderstanding bothe, may ple your owne mindes and discretions therein, for sure I am, olde custome and vsages of things bee not easie to bee broken.

The woman.

For my part I like your talke so well, that I beseeche you to make some rehearsall againe thereof concerning this misterie, by meane whereof ye may call to memozie some thinges yet vnspoken of, and thereby also cause me the better to beare it awaie.

The Man.

I perceiue well ye are desirous to haue me make a new rehearsall oz recapitulation of my former sayings, which to doe, because ye are a woman, who bee neuer satisfied, till they haue their will and minde fulfilled, I beeing one well knowne, that alwaies heeretofore haue beene of good will to accomplish womens desires, will nowe be content also to doe as ye haue willed me heerein.

A dairie booke

And first I will saie vnto you, it is both good and profitable to haue your Kine milked earlie in the morning, and rathe at night, for then (especiallie in Sommer time) they shall haue time to feede out of the heate of the daie, and by that meane giue the moze milke. If your Kine be milked farre from home, cause then the milke to be brought home in vessels betweene two felkes, conered with a faire Linnen cloth twice double, and cheefely in the morning, to the intent that thereby the milke may remaine warme enough to be put a running with the euening Milke made warme ouer the fire for that purpose. And if you send farre for your Kine to be milked at home, see in any case that they bee quietly brought home, for if they shoulde be haſtilie dzyuen, you shall haue thereby much the lesse milke. Your milking Maides (as I said) must be strong, quick, and in all theyr dooings clenlie. But marke ye one thing, that sometimes in Sommer season, by occasion of vehement heate, or by force of much thundring & lightning, or by noise of great Gunnes the drinke in your house may suddainlie change and growe eger, and then your swete Milke with that sower Ale or Beare, will make so pleasant a drinke, called of some a libub, or a possot vnder the Colwe, that if it be not seene vnto, ye shall finde thereby, that your Cheeses be not so weil filled after that as they were befoze, nor so much Creame gathered. Your pailles or buckets to milke in, ought to bee kept cleene and sweete as befoze, for otherwise they will cause the Milke to turne when it commeth to the fire. If the inner side of the be colleured like a Grey Friers or a Millers coate, I feare the Maides will be taken for slutties, although their Mistres or dame, will take occasion to excuse themselues, because they laie in bedde in the morning tyll their Maides had milked, where as if she had been a fine and a thziuing huswife withall, shee might while her Maides were in milking, haue sit or skymmed all her Milke pans of the euening Milke, there lyeth much profit therein if shee could find the waie to practise it. When vse your Milk thus,
put

for good hufwiues.

put the euening Milke skimmed and warmed ouer the fire, and the mozrow milke newe milked togeather, and so run them togeather, then make your Cheese as aforesaid, presse it well, and clothe it oft enough, scalde your Milke pannes well, then drie them and sette them vp an edge. When yee change your Cheese in pressing thereof out of one cloth into an other, if there happen some part of the edges of y^e Cheese to hang out of the sides of the same (as commonly bëing well filled in the fate it will doe) you must cut that awaie, paring it euen by the edges thereof, & cut that in smal pëces for your younge Chickens. A better meate yee can not haue to feede them with, and a moze apt place then your Cheese house is to këpe them in, ye cannot haue. But then ye must remember to put your Henne in a Coope, or for defaulte thereof, to tie her by the legge, in such place of the house as yee shall thinke meete for her, laying nêere vnto her a boarde of a fote and moze in bredth, whercuppon yee may be well assured the Henne will alwaies broode her Chickens rather then vpon the grounde. And if folke hastilie chaunce to come into the house where the Chickens be abroode in the house, although there were in euery corner of the house a Henne tied that hath Chickens, they will with all speede euerie of them runne for succour to their owne dam, where she standeth tied, as well as a Souldiour in the fielde will repaire to his Captaine in time of nêede. The next mozning after your Cheese is made, put them in brine as befoze is mencioned, & bëing salted enough, wash them with whote liquoz out of salt, wipe them drie, and laie them on sayze Shelues or boordes, and euerie daie turne them, wiping thē and the place where they laie, for as I saide befoze, if the Cheese lie so long vnturned, that the forme or print of the Cheese remaineth in the boordes where it did lie, it is much discommendable, and of all folkes delighting in clenlines to be disliked. Put no Cheeses into anie racks befoze they bee harde. When ye are disposed to make Butter, cause your Cherne diligently to bee prepared as befoze is spoken of,

A dairie booke

your Butter being come take it out of the Cherne , into a faire olde smoothe Wole, and therein washe it from y^e Butter whey, otherwise called Cherne milke, which being perfectlie done, put the Butter all abroade in the Wole, & with a Knife garse it euerie waie, drawing euer the edge of the Knife towards you, that done , then with your forefinger strike the most part of the Butter from the side of y^e Knife, then betwene your forefinger and your thombe strike all the Butter from the edge of the Knife, and holde that by betwene you and the light, and yee shall see therein both Lint and haire, though the Creame were neuer so well strained into the Cherne, although this be not here in vse, thee that leaue it vndoone, albeit to be very fine and cleynly thee seeth herselfe, lint and haire will be in her Butter. Then salt your Butter, and weigh it, and note if your Maids had as much Butter of like time gathered before.

And thus nowe I finish and make an ende , sauing one thing moze yet I call to mind , and that is, if your milking Maides be disposed to sing in time of their milking , some Cowe will take such a delight therein, that after ward when a Maide cometh to milke her and doth not sing , shee will not stand to be milked , and when Maides come to milke Kine moze gailiar apparelled, then they be accustomed to milke in, the Kine will be verie dangerous to stande to be milked of them. And at a Copie hold heere in South-hamshire of mine, I haue had also this experience , that one of my Kine hath had such a minde and fantasse to one of my Maides, that in her presence the Cow would neuer stand to be milked of anie other but of her onelie . And thus nowe I ende and take my leaue of you.

The woman.

And I effsoones render vnto you condigne thanks for all your gentle communication, and rehearfall of your former sayings.

The

for good huswiues.

The Man.

Because the keeping of so great a number of milch Kine in one ground or pasture, as befoze is spoken of, shall not be thought to be fained: it was at a Grange in Suffolk, belonging then to an Abbie of white Monkes, called Sibeton Abbie, five miles from Donwiche, and foure miles from Framingham Castell.

Heereafter followeth a saying of her that was the dairie wife, and made the whitemeat manie yeeres together of all the Kine aforefaide, in commendation of earlie ryfing.

Arise earelie.
Serue God deuoutly.
Then to thy woꝝke busilie.
To thy meate ioyfully.
To thy bed merilie.
And though thou fare poꝝely,
And thy lodging homelic.
Yet thanke God highly.

Ka. Dowe.

An other saying concerning the same.

To rise betimes, thy teife to recreate
To loke well to thine owne, & to keepe a sober est
Long ere thou eatest, and not to sup late,
To lie high with thy head, and to sleepe moderate
Maketh man rich, long life and fortunat.

FINIS.



